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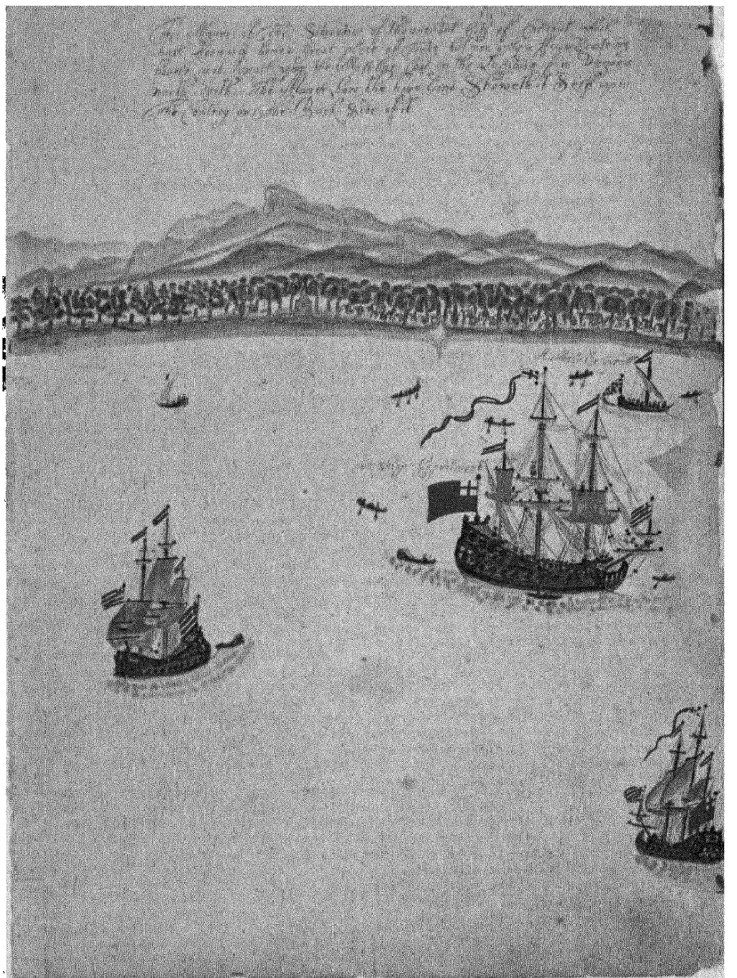
Title English Factories in India

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

(THE WESTERN PRESIDENCY)

1670–1677



'The Maner of the Situation of the anchant City of Calicout, which hath formerly bene a Great place of Trade, but now only a ffiaw [few] scatring houses: as it Liyeth upon the Malebar Cost in the lattitude of 12 degreis north, with the Maner how the hiye land Showeth it Self up in the Contrey on the Back Side of it.'

[and]

'Our shipp *Experiment*.'

Reduced from the original in the Journal (1655–1703) of Edward Barlow, seaman

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

VOL. I (NEW SERIES)

(THE WESTERN PRESIDENCY)

1670–1677

BY

SIR CHARLES FAWCETT

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED)

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE
OF HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL

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PREFACE

THIS instalment of the series *English Factories in India* inaugurates a new set of volumes, in which (following the wishes expressed by the Government of India) the India Office records are treated in a less detailed manner than that adopted for the last four volumes. Instead of giving extracts from, or epitomes of, the principal documents in turn, the contents of the records are to be digested into a readable account of the main events in each year. At the same time quotations are given in full or part, where this adds a marked flavour to the narrative, and details of interest are also included.

Another change is that, instead of each volume covering the whole of India, as has hitherto been done, separate treatment will be accorded to (i) the Western Presidency (Surat, Bombay, the Malabar Coast, and Persia),* (ii) the Coromandel Coast (Madras, Masulipatam, &c.), and (iii) Bengal. In view, however, of the smaller amount of matter available in the case of (ii) and (iii), it is proposed to incorporate the latter in one volume. Each volume will ordinarily cover six or seven years.

In the present volume, which deals with the factories or settlements under the Surat Presidency, the period covered has been extended to eight years, so as to comprise the whole of Gerald Aungier's administration as President at Surat and Governor of Bombay, and thus give a complete view of his great work in starting Bombay on its path of progress, in the face of manifold difficulties. This affords the main interest in the history dealt with in this volume. During over three years of its duration (June 1672 to September 1675) Aungier personally resided at Bombay. The latter place became the head-quarters of the Presidency in 1687, and in 1678 the Company proposed to reduce the Surat Council to an 'agency', though Aungier's successor, Rolt, was allowed to retain the title of President during his tenure of the office.[1] Bombay has consequently been given the precedence even at this stage, when its Deputy Governor and Council were under the President and Council at Surat.

* Events in Persia are noticed only so far as they influence, or especially concern, the history of the factories in India.

[1] Bruce's *Annals*, ii. 421.

It was providential that a man of Gerald Aungier's high calibre was in charge of the government of the place at this critical period of its history. He was evidently gifted with outstanding ability, energy, and initiative that made him a born leader. His personality and tact attracted esteem and affection. He had high ideals of justice, humanity, and morality, and a wider outlook than was common among his contemporaries. While a 'strong man', who showed firmness and indeed sternness* when he thought it necessary, he was accessible and ready to hear 'the other side'. He habitually consulted his Council on matters of importance, and was mainly guided by the dictates of reason and a fervent desire to promote the interests not only of the Company, but also of the Island and its population.†

Many of these qualities were no doubt due to heredity. He came of an Essex stock that had specially distinguished itself in the legal profession. The earliest Aungier known to English history—Henry Aungier (*c.* 1268–1327)—was successively a Puisne Judge, Chief Justice, and Chancellor under Edward II. He founded St. Michael's College at Cambridge, which was incorporated with Trinity College in the reign of Henry VIII, and 'Aungier's Lane' at Cambridge recalls his memory. Gerald's great-grandfather, Richard Aungier (*c.* 1528–97), was a distinguished Elizabethan lawyer, who became a Reader, Bencher, and Treasurer of Gray's Inn, and had a considerable practice. Richard's son and Gerald's grandfather, Francis (1558–1632), became Master of the Rolls in Ireland and was created Baron Aungier of Longford in 1621, chiefly as a reward for his work in connexion with the plantation of Ulster. His second son and Gerald's father, Ambrose (*c.* 1596–1654), was Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and became its Treasurer in 1628 and its Chancellor in 1636. Gerald was the second son of Ambrose, and his elder brother Francis (*c.* 1632–1700) became 3rd Baron Longford in 1655 and was, for political and financial services in Ireland, made a Viscount in 1675 and an Earl in 1677, with a special remainder to his brothers Gerald and Ambrose, failing heirs male of his body. As he

* It is mainly in regard to this aspect of his character that Aungier has been criticized as rather a Puritan, and too hard on the soldiers and the women sent out for marriage to them: see pp. 139, 140 *post*.

† Cf. Fryer (i. 170) as to Aungier's prudent and tactful administration at Bombay: 'and [he] does daily study to advance the Company's interest, and the good and safety of the people under him.'

died childless, Gerald, had he survived him, would have become 2nd Earl of Longford.[1]

The date, and even year, of Aungier's birth are unknown. The late Mr. Bruce Angier, who went fully into the question, thought that it probably took place between 1635 and 1640, with an inclination towards the latter year.[2] If so, Aungier would have been only 21 when he was appointed a factor for Surat in 1661. He headed the list of three who were allotted a salary of £30 a year, while half of the other eight were allowed £25 and half £20.* This does not, however, necessarily indicate that he was older than 21, for Streynsham Master was among the three who were allowed £30 a year and he was undoubtedly born in 1640.[3] It seems, on the other hand, improbable that, if Aungier had been as young as 21, his promotion would have been so phenomenally rapid as it was. He went out to India with Sir George Oxinden, who on the way entrusted him with important missions to Goa and Bombay, in connexion with the latter's rendition by the Portuguese. On his arrival at Surat in January 1663, he was immediately appointed to the high post of Warehouse-keeper,† and he was a member of Oxinden's Council by the beginning of 1665.[4] He superseded a number of his seniors, appearing as fifth in the list of Surat factory servants in 1663 and third in that of 1665.[5] These circumstances may be said to favour Bruce Angier's earlier supposition that he was born some time between 1630 and 1635, probably about the latter year.‡

[1] Articles on 'Gerald Aungier' in *Notes and Queries* for March 1924, cxlvi. 147–9, 205–8, by C. J. B. A. (Bruce Angier), and in *East and West* for July and August 1920 by P. B. M. Malabari, pp. 35–41, 60, 61, 65–8; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. Henry de Staunton.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, loc. cit., 148. Sir William Foster adopts this view in *E.F.*, 1668–9, vi and 183 n.

* *Ct. Min.*, 1660–3, 144, 145, 167, 168. It was not till 1671 that the Company made a practice of appointing no men above 21 and sending them out as only 'writers' (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 82).

[3] Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, ii. 222, 255.

† Streynsham Master, who was a nephew of Sir George Oxinden and had accompanied him to India in 1656 (*E.F.*, 1655–60, 202), only reached this post and that of member of Council in 1669 (Indian Records Series, *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, i. 191; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 37). If he and Aungier were the same age, it does not seem likely that Oxinden would have shown such marked preference for the latter.

[4] *E.F.*, 1661–4, 99, 107, 119, 211.

[5] *E.F.*, 1661–4, 213; 1665–7, 14.

‡ *Three generations of a Legal House*, by C. J. B. A., p. 59. This was typed for private circulation only and is largely reproduced in the article on 'Gerald Aungier' in *Notes and Queries* for March 1924. Bruce Angier seems to have changed his opinion, because in 1663 Gerald's elder brother, Francis, was described as a 'young nobleman'; but this is an elastic phrase. For instance, the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, in speaking of the accession of H.M. Edward VIII to the throne at the age of 41, called him 'our young King'.

As the annals that follow are themselves summaries of main events, it is unnecessary to give a lengthy survey of them here, and only the salient features of the period dealt with need be noticed. In doing so, references to pages are given only where there may be some difficulty in finding them in the Index.

When Aungier visited the Island in January 1670, the position was deplorable owing to dissentions that had broken out during Capt. Young's term of office as Deputy Governor. How he dealt with these has been related in the preceding volume (pp. 252–8). He made some important reforms during his visit, but as it lasted only about a month, his main work was done during his stay on the Island in 1672–5. He also, while at Surat, exercised a guiding hand over its administration. A prime necessity, which at once engaged his attention, was to improve the defences of the Island, and in particular to finish the building of the Fort on the plan adopted in 1669. In spite of difficulty in getting timber and other building materials, substantial progress had been made by the end of 1670, and three of its bastions had been completed by the beginning of 1674. The north-west bastion, which projected on to ground washed by the sea, gave more trouble and was still under construction at the end of 1677. Outworks, towards the cost of which the inhabitants made a voluntary contribution, were also put up, and guns were mounted on the finished bastions and platforms, so that, when a Dutch fleet threatened an attack in 1673 (to paraphrase Fryer),[1] they found the Fort and the Islanders in so good a condition that they left without attempting a landing or any assault.

The strength of the garrison was raised from under 250 in 1670 to 400 in 1674, but was on grounds of economy reduced to about 300 in 1675. There was a constant need of more English soldiers, who in 1670 were under 90. The arrival in 1671 of a full company under Capt. Shaxton improved the position, but at the end of 1672 the English numbered only about 180 out of 300 men in the two companies. In 1673 the strength of each company was raised to 200 men, but the total of 'sound Englishmen' was only some 150 (p. 72). In 1675, however, the English garrison had risen to nearly 200. The Company sent out recruits yearly, but the mortality among them was very heavy, especially in the first few months after their arrival. Thus out of 40 recruits put on the ships in March 1677, half had died

[1] i. 170.

by the following January (p. 177). The Company ranks were completed with 'white Portuguese' and half-caste 'topasses'.* Their reliability was dubious and, as the English garrison increased, their number was reduced. In 1672 Aungier started a small troop of horse, which was put on a better footing in 1676. In times of emergency, such as on the expectation of an attack by the Dutch or Sivaji, auxiliary Indian troops were also enlisted for short periods.

The regular garrison was supplemented by three companies of militia, one at Bombay, one at Mahim, and the third at Mazagaon, which were mainly composed of Portuguese native Christians and served more for show than any real defence. The Bhandaris, or toddy-tree tappers, also furnished 100 men, armed with clubs and bill-hooks.

The Island's marine force had previously been negligible. In 1671–2 two frigates,† *Revenge* and *Hunter*, and two other vessels, the ketch *Phoenix*, and the *Malabar Coaster*, were obtained from Surat; while the capture of the *Meijboom* (renamed *Mayboom*) from the Dutch in 1673 added another stout vessel. These were used not only as guard-ships for the Port or for transport purposes, but also against Malabar pirates, who gave almost constant trouble by attacking and seizing vessels along the coast to the great detriment of trade. In 1673–4 about 100 men of the garrison are stated to have been in service on the frigates; and by 1675 a practice had grown up of lending soldiers to protect merchant vessels on their voyages. The latter was anomalous and uneconomical, and was prohibited by Aungier in 1676. Four fast *shibars* (coasting vessels) and a 'balloon' (barge) were minor additions to the Bombay flotilla in 1675. To meet part of its heavy expense, of which the Company complained, the larger vessels were sent on freight voyages, when they could be spared. By 1676–7, however, they had become so leaky or otherwise unserviceable for this work, that it was difficult for them to obtain freight, and the *Mayboom*, which was the most defective, was put out of commission in 1676.

The enforcement of discipline in the garrison was no easy task. The military section of the 'laws' sent out by the Company was found in some respects unsuitable, and in 1670–1 a discretionary use of the Articles of War‡ was authorized. The arrival of Captain Shaxton

* As to this term, see p. 9 *post*.

† For the restricted meaning of the term 'frigate', see p. 31 *post*.

‡ As to these see *E.F.*, 1668–9, 100, 219, and *B.J.*, 8–11.

and his company in 1671 undoubtedly led to some friction; and various grievances, mainly as to their pay, in 1674 resulted in a serious mutiny. It might have developed into the overthrow of the civil government, but this was prevented by Aungier's vigilance and firmness. On the other hand, the soldiers had legitimate ground for complaint over loss in exchange on the currency in which they received their pay, and an undercurrent of discontent remained a source of danger.

The external obstacles to progress were very great. Throughout this period the Portuguese continued to obstruct the growth of trade at Bombay by the levy of customs on goods in transit at Bassein, Thana, and Karanja, and by prohibiting the transport of timber and provisions to the Island. They also sometimes seized Bombay boats, because they had not got Portuguese passes. In 1671–2 Aungier entered into negotiations with the Viceroy of Goa in an effort to achieve more friendly relations, but they never had any real chance of success and broke down. He did what he could to promote amicable feelings; but there was much friction, and in 1674–5 and 1676 hostilities nearly broke out between the two races at Bombay, owing to disputes involving English sovereignty and honour in the Port, which were successfully maintained (pp. 113–17, 145–8). The stoppage of provisions from Salsette and other Portuguese territory caused a frequent scarcity of them, which raised the cost of living and necessitated resort to Sivaji's dominions to obtain a sufficient supply. The interference with up-country trade by the levy of high transit duties was serious, but not so great as that due to the continual warfare between Sivaji and Aurangzeb.

This war hindered all Aungier's efforts to promote trade between Bombay and the Deccan, besides hampering trade at Surat, and the factories of Dharangaon, Rajapur, and Karwar. Sivaji became ever more powerful and would have been a dangerous neighbour to the Island but for Aungier's policy of keeping on friendly terms with him. This met with signal success. Negotiations for a treaty started in 1671 and were carried on intermittently, with the result that in October 1673 the main outstanding question as to the compensation that Sivaji should give for the sacking of the Rajapur factory in 1661 was provisionally settled, and the treaty proposed by Aungier was signed by Sivaji after his coronation in June 1674. Though some of its terms were never properly carried out, it at any rate ensured the

friendship of Sivaji, which was of paramount importance at this time. Thus in 1670 and 1671 the Bombay Council was apprehensive of his attacking the Island, and there is ground for believing that he was approached by the Dutch in 1672–3 to help them to take Bombay (pp. 60, 66).

The history of Bombay might have been very different had a joint attack of this kind been made. As it was, the Dutch war of 1672–4 inflicted little material harm, apart from prejudicing trade and adding to expenses. The preparations made by Aungier to meet an assault or siege and his display of force, when the Dutch fleet of seven sail appeared off Bombay on 20 February 1673, deterred it from taking an offensive, and afterwards all apprehension of a Dutch attack by sea or land practically ceased.

Anxiety and sometimes disturbance to the peace of the Island were caused by the almost annual visits of Sidi Sambal, the Admiral of the Mughal fleet, to the Port. These started in December 1672 and continued in 1673 and 1674, when his fleet succeeded in 'wintering' at Mazagaon, i.e. in staying there for the monsoon months of May to September. Aungier made strenuous efforts to prevent this, but was hampered by the difficulty that an absolute refusal was bound to offend the Mughal Emperor and might have inconvenient repercussions at Surat. He forced the Sidi, however, to accept conditions that helped to prevent the customary disturbances that his men committed ashore, as well as raids from the Harbour on the opposite mainland belonging to Sivaji (p. 88). The latter and the Sidi were engaged in bitter warfare, and Aungier had some trouble in persuading Sivaji that he was not siding with the Sidi by allowing his fleet to stay in the Port (pp. 66, 88). There was a respite from such winterings in 1675 and 1676; but in the next year it had to be allowed again, and a fracas took place in October between Sidi Sambal, who had been dismissed by Aurangzeb, and his successor Sidi Kasim, which was quelled by the troop of horse led by its commandant, Captain Keigwin. These troublesome visitors not only scared the inhabitants by their truculence, but also increased the scarcity of provisions. Their stay meant more mouths to be fed, while in October 1673 and again in April 1674 the Sidi showed hostility by blocking the Port's receipt of supplies from the mainland.

It says much for the excellence of Aungier's administration that, in spite of all these difficulties, the population of the Island rapidly

increased. In accordance with the Company's orders, he constantly did his best to encourage immigration. In some cases he did this by personal invitation and persuasion, but mainly by providing a refuge from the oppression that prevailed elsewhere and seeing that settlers received good treatment and protection. Fortuitous circumstances such as Arab incursions on to neighbouring Portuguese territory, and a big fire at Chaul, sometimes stimulated immigration, but there can be no doubt that the main inducement to new-comers was the fame of the just and impartial rule that he established. Dr. Fryer (i. 177) estimated the population in 1675 at 60,000, 'more by 50,000 than the Portugals ever could [count it]'; and it was computed that between the months of March and June in 1674 over 6,000 settlers came from Chaul (p. 106). It is true that most of them were, as Oxinden said in 1678, 'a miserable poor sort of people' (p. 183), and that rich merchants, like Bhimji Parak of Surat and Nima Parak of Diu, were cautious about coming; but the foundations for a better-class population were laid in this period.

As desired by the Company, weavers were especially invited to settle, in order to establish the local manufacture of cloth at Bombay. This met with some initial success: thus in 1671 over 100 are reported to have arrived. But in 1673 'the noise of the Dutch fleet coming' scared most of them out of the place, and some of them did not return. Again in 1676 difficulties were found in getting weavers to settle. The quantity of cloth and yarn manufactured during this period was on the whole disappointing, and the Company complained that Bombay calicoes were worse and dearer than those from other places (pp. 144, 182). All the same a substantial start was made in establishing the textile industry that was eventually to become one of Bombay's chief industries.

As already mentioned, increase of trade met with many obstacles, but after Aungier's arrival distinct progress was made, especially when the Dutch war was over. His constant efforts to encourage trade will be apparent in the account of Bombay that follows, but the difficulties that hampered it were too great to overcome substantially. Yet trade was being attracted to the Port to an extent that roused the jealousy both of the Portuguese and the Governor of Surat (pp. 58, 218).

Of the outstanding achievements of Aungier's civil administration one was the settlement of the vexed question of the lands that had

been attached by Sir Gervase Lucas in 1666–7.[1] These had been held mainly by Jesuits and other Portuguese inhabitants, who naturally resented their dispossession, and the resulting friction was a serious obstacle to progress. Inquiry into the titles of the claimants by *ad hoc* Commissioners began in 1671, but the Jesuits refused to co-operate and produce their documents and other evidence, so that the proceedings were held up till March 1672, when they agreed to appear. The further inquiry that ensued was, however, superseded by Aungier's personal intervention, which resulted on 12 November 1672 in the agreement known as 'Aungier's Convention'. Thereunder the titles of the claimants were recognized in perpetuity, subject to payment of an annual contribution of 20,000 zerafins (about £1,500) to the revenues, which had previously got little or nothing from this source. A right of resumption for public purposes on reasonable satisfaction to the proprietors affected, and a few other Government benefits, were also reserved. This is the origin of the 'pension'* lands in Bombay, the non-liability of which to enhanced assessment has always since been recognized. The security of tenure thus conferred on the landholders greatly contributed to further progress, especially as the subsequent influx of settlers soon enhanced the value of land and its products.

Aungier's Convention is the main survival associated with his name, but his achievement in superseding Portuguese by English law and establishing a Court of Judicature, with trial by jury for both civil and criminal cases, in August 1672 was of greater importance. It inaugurated British justice with its ideals of impartiality and independence; and the eloquent peroration in Aungier's speech at the opening of the Court† expressed his intense desire to see those ideals realized. Apart from the main facts of its establishment and continuance, little reference is made to the Court in this volume, as a full account of it is contained in the editor's book, *The First Century of British Justice in India*.

Aungier enthusiastically pursued his project of founding 'the city which by God's assistance is intended to be built'.[2] An extensive site was chosen for it in 1672 (p. 45), and traders, artisans, and others

[1] *E.F.*, 1665–7, 287, 288, & 1668–9, 95–7.

* Cf. *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 319, 335–8. 'Pension', as here used, is derived from Port. *pençao*, a payment for the enjoyment of land.

† This is reproduced by Khan, 498, and in *B.J.* 54, 55.

[2] Aungier's Convention, art. 6.

were invited to build substantial houses with tiled roofs, instead of the thatching that had hitherto prevailed. He further induced the Company to encourage building by its own servants. The elaborate proposals for the advancement of Bombay that he drew up in 1671 (p. 37) covered the provision of public buildings, and this was duly attended to. Want of adequate means was a recurring difficulty that hampered progress, but he succeeded in providing a large building called 'the East India House', a court-house, a mint-house, warehouses, and a granary. The erection of a hospital started in 1671, but various obstacles prevented one materializing till 1676. He planned having a church large enough to hold 1,000 people, and St. Thomas's Church (the Bombay Cathedral) owes its inception to his advocacy and encouragement, though it does not appear that its actual foundations were laid in his lifetime (pp. 185–6). One of its most cherished possessions and an appropriate memorial of Aungier's piety is the silver chalice which he presented in 1675 (p. 129) and is depicted on the plate facing p. 130.

As others had done, he wanted to reclaim the large area of inundated land that was lost to cultivation or other use; but it was too vast and expensive a problem to be undertaken in his time, and the Company, on whom he urged its importance, naturally hesitated about its initiation.

The first British Mint in India was established by Aungier in 1672, when he started the issue of copper and tin coins under the Company's authority. Silver (with the exception of a few specimens of his 'Anglianas' in 1672) does not seem to have been minted till 1675. In 1676 Charles II authorized the mintage at Bombay of rupees and other coins, bearing the royal arms, but none appear to have been issued there till after 1678 (p. 182). Aungier's coinage, which was generally current off the Island, as well as on it, helped its trade and was also profitable.

This gave some addition to the revenues, which remained considerably below the expenses of Bombay, in spite of Aungier's efforts to make them equalize. By September 1675, when he left Bombay, he had increased the revenue by about 67,800 zerafins, or over £5,000 (p. 129), but expenditure had risen in a greater proportion, mainly owing to the Dutch war. Aungier fully explained the exigencies necessitating the extra charges, but was censured by the Company in 1675 for extravagance and 'grandeur'—a charge which

he repudiated in moving language (pp. 134–7). He might have gained its approbation by a niggardly policy and avoidance of responsibility; but he was too public-spirited to place his welfare before that of the Island, for which he toiled and in a way sacrificed his life. The narrative that follows affords abundant evidence of the insalubrity of Bombay in those days, when the rules of health were so little understood; and the great strain imposed on him by his heavy work there probably led to the dysenteric illness that attacked him in 1673 and eventually caused his death in 1677.

Appreciation of his work includes, of course, that of those who helped him. As already mentioned he freely availed himself of the advice of his Council. On his first visit he enlarged it so as to include several military officers and two chaplains, but this was for special reasons and did not last long. The number of his Council was generally from 4 to 5, but was from 6 to 7 in 1672, while after his departure the Council was reduced and became 3, and even only 2, in 1676. From December 1670 to October 1675 it included a military member, not only for military matters but for all Council business; and from Capt. Shaxton's arrival in September 1671 to May 1672 there were 2. The Company, however, objected to this in 1676, saying it desired to keep the military power in subordination to the civil (p. 102 n.).

Matthew Gray was Deputy Governor from January to September 1670, when he was called to Surat to be a resident member of the President's Council. Philip Giffard, who succeeded him, held the appointment till October 1672, when (in accordance with the Company's wishes) he was displaced by Capt. Shaxton. Giffard did meritorious work in pushing on the fortifications that were urgently needed.* Shaxton was suspended in August 1674, as a result of the mutiny of most of his company, which he was charged with abetting, and was sent home at the end of the year. As Aungier was then at Bombay, no fresh appointment was made till July 1675, when (in view of the Governor's approaching departure to Surat) Giffard was reappointed. He fell ill early in 1676 and in September of that year left for Surat, where he died two months later. John Petit, on whom the brunt of the work fell during Giffard's illness, became Deputy Governor in November 1676. His bad health led to his seeking a

* Cf. Fryer's commendation of him (i. 169) 'for his great care in raising the bastions, and in a manner finishing what always was still but beginning by the rest'.

change of air at Surat in December 1677, when he was provisionally succeeded by Henry Oxinden. The names of others who took part in promoting the advancement of Bombay sufficiently appear in the first part of this book.

Turning to the Surat factory, the main feature is a depressing series of difficulties that severely hampered its annual shipments to England. The latter entailed a considerable expenditure of money, to meet which the Company sent out on their ships a yearly stock of goods and treasure. A large proportion of the former consisted of various kinds of broadcloth, which it was almost always difficult to sell, except at low rates. Other European commodities that were sent out, such as ivory, coral, tin, and cochineal, also fell in value and vendibility throughout this period. Several reasons contributed to this, but the main one was the recurrent warfare between Sivaji and the Mughal Emperor. In October 1670 Sivaji for the second time sacked Surat, but the factory escaped owing to the stout defence put up by Streynsham Master and some sixty seamen from the ships at Swally. Afterwards there were almost annual alarms that his troops were either approaching the town or were about to invade the neighbouring country; and as there was generally no adequate Mughal force available for its defence, the unsettled state of affairs paralysed trade, especially in commodities that were likely to lie long on the hands of merchants. The competition of the Dutch and French factories in similar goods also lowered prices, and Surat and other Indian markets became glutted with broadcloth and other European imports.

The Company's large debt at Surat was a grave handicap to economy in its trading. Not only did the annual interest on it amount to a large sum—for instance it was between £7,000 and £8,000 in 1672—but it enhanced the difficulty of raising money in times of trouble. Thus the Dutch war in 1672 and 1673, and Aungier's death in 1677, made the factory's creditors importunate. The debt steadily increased up to 1674, when it had risen to £135,000. In 1675 the Company sent out an extra large stock, with a view to discharging the debt; but only a partial reduction could be effected, and the sum due was over £100,000 by the end of 1677.

The result was that the Surat Council was forced to dispose of the stocks it received from England at a depreciation, in order to raise money for its annual consignments of Indian goods; and in 1676

Aungier estimated that the factory had incurred a loss of from 10 to 25 per cent. over its sales. Even gold bullion had to be disposed of at a loss in 1676 and 1677 (pp. 267, 282–3). Mughal rule also made it difficult to recover debts due to the factory from big customers such as Khwaja Minaz and Mirza Muazzam. Moreover sales to the Governor of Surat were not exempt from risk, for Aurangzeb repudiated a large purchase of lead the Governor had made, and it took four years to get the matter righted.

The war with Holland in 1672–4 naturally caused anxiety about the safety of the Company's ships. Thus the *Falcon* was captured by the Dutch on its way home from Swally in June 1672, and the factory suffered financially from the loss of three ships in the fight off Masulipatam in August 1673 (pp. 230, 233 n.). But otherwise the war entailed little interference with its investments and other pursuits, as the neutrality of the town and its port prevented hostilities between the two nations. The obstruction to inland trade caused by the continual warfare between Sivaji and the Mughals had far greater drawbacks. The many difficulties that arose in procuring enough cloth, pepper, and other goods to fill the ships for England, and the way the Council overcame them, will plainly appear to the reader of the following pages about Surat.

Fortunately Aungier was able to keep on good terms with the Governor and other high officials, and the factory received little, if any, obstruction from them. There was a dispute between the three European factories and the Governor in July and August 1671 that might have had serious consequences; but Aungier's tact and firmness played a large part in its amicable settlement, which brought the factory not only a distinct gain in prestige, but also material advantages, including an exemption of the Company's goods from all customs for one year (pp. 210–14). Ghiyas-uddin Khan, who was Governor from about January 1672 to November 1677, gave trouble by preventing Aungier's departure to Bombay in April–May 1672,* and his 'insatiable tyranny' did great damage to trade (p. 229); but he was, on the whole, a friend to the factory and was certainly better disposed towards it than towards the Dutch and the French.

During Aungier's absence in Bombay, Matthew Gray presided over the Council as Deputy President. He managed its affairs with

* Under a rule existing from 1624, the President had to obtain the Governor's permission before quitting Surat (*E.F.*, 1668–9, vi).

efficiency, and his sudden death in December 1676 (Aungier said) deprived the Company of one of its best servants in India. Another great loss was the death of Alexander Grigby in June 1673. The Company in 1670 directed that there should always be five resident members of Council at Surat, but from 1673 till Aungier's return to it in September 1675 this number was generally reduced to three, viz. Gray, James, and Chamberlain. A little friction occasionally occurred between Gray and Aungier over the anomalous position of the Bombay Council while the President was at Bombay but this did not affect their good relations (pp. 233–4, 242–3, 247).

Aungier's bad health and 'other discouragements' led in January 1676 to his asking the Company to let him resign and return home. He repeated this request in January 1677, but (owing to the time that communication between England and India took in those days) the Company's permission to return, when he pleased, did not reach Surat till after his death on 30 June 1677. His illness, which had started in 1673, must have been a serious handicap to the performance of his official work, and his devotion to duty is shown by the thorough and able way in which he did it almost to the very end. His successor, Thomas Rolt, did not reach Surat till January 1678, and meanwhile only James and Chamberlain were left to carry on the Council work until Child and Petit came to help them at the end of September and December 1677 respectively.

The subordinate factories (apart from those on the Malabar coast) may next be briefly noticed. As to Gombroon in Persia, there was at first some friction between its chief, Thomas Rolt, and Aungier, due mainly to the former's resentment at the promotion of his junior to the post of President (pp. 202, 216). The Company, without deciding the merits of the dispute, ordered Rolt to give due obedience to the Surat Council and enjoined both of them to lay aside all animosities; on Aungier's initiative a reconciliation thereupon led to more friendly relations. An event affecting trade between Surat and Persia in 1675–6 was naval interference by the Portuguese with ships bound for Gombroon, in an attempt to divert them to Kung, where they had a half share of the customs. The Company sent out two armed ships to protect its threatened privileges; but they were not required, as the Viceroy of Goa disowned the hostile proceedings of the Portuguese Admiral. Trade with Persia suffered from the Dutch war and the unsettled condition of affairs in India, with the result that the

Council had difficulty in getting any freight goods for Persia towards the cost of voyages by their vessels to Gombroon or Basra.

Three new factories were started or re-established by Aungier, viz. at Broach in 1673, at Dharangaon in 1674, and at Rajapur in 1675. The first of these (under Isaac Reynardson and, on the latter's death in 1676, under William Crawley) had fair success, though dacoities and other impediments often interfered with its supply of cloth and yarn. The Dharangaon factory, under Samuel Austen, was looted and burnt by one of Sivaji's generals on 1 January 1675, but was re-started in the next year. The quantity of its cloth consignments was, however, disappointing. The Rajapur factory, under John Child, suffered from great drawbacks and was almost an entire failure, except for its helping to keep Sivaji on good terms with the Company. His undertaking in the treaty of 1674 to hand over the old factory-house was never complied with, and efforts to obtain payment of the compensation fixed for the losses of 1661 met with practically no success. Rajapur itself had no goods or merchants, and everything had to be got from markets at a distance. The continual fighting in the adjacent country nearly destroyed all commerce, and the factory's contribution to ladings of the homeward ships was insignificant. In October 1676 Aungier ordered its dissolution, but on Child's recommendation and Sivaji's promise of better treatment it was reopened in 1677. An interesting episode is the censure that Aungier gave Child for his behaviour as chief of Rajapur in 1675 (pp. 258–63).

Coming to the Malabar coast, the two factories at Karwar and Calicut continued throughout this period, but had to contend with almost incessant difficulties, while troubles at Baliapatam led to the withdrawal of the factory there early in 1675. Caesar Chamberlain was chief of Karwar till he left for Surat at the end of November 1673. He was succeeded by Charles Bendish, who died there in January 1675. Robert Jones was then appointed to the vacancy, but was displaced by Henry Oxinden for a year from the end of November 1675, and again for about eight months from March 1677. They all had constant trouble owing to the unsettled state of the country. Thus in 1673 the factory-house was threatened with attack by an ex-Governor and rebel against the Bijapur king, whose territory extended to those parts. Fortunately it had recently been made strong enough to resist its would-be assailants, and the arrival

of the *Revenge* with soldiers and other assistance put an end to its peril. In the same year the Company's warehouse at Hubli was looted by Sivaji's troops; and that place and its vicinity, on which the factory was mainly dependent for its supply of cloth, suffered almost continuously from fears of attack and the proximity of contending forces. In April 1675 Karwar itself was burnt by Sivaji's men, and his rule displaced that of Bijapur. The factory escaped damage, but did not benefit by the change of government. The main result of such disturbances was that the factory was unable to supply anything like the quantity of goods required by the Surat Council and at times the work of getting them came to a standstill. In 1674, under the orders of the Company, it ceased to supply any Sonda pepper on account of its relative dearness.

Except in May to November 1670, when Grigby made a visit of inspection, the factories of Calicut and Baliapatam remained under the management of John Petit till December 1674, when he left for Surat. His successor, Mansell Smith, held his post till towards the end of 1676, when he also left for Surat. George Bowcher then became chief of the Calicut factory, that at Baliapatam having been meanwhile dissolved. The latter suffered from dissentions of the various Rajas of the country and the machinations of the Cannanore prime minister, Ali Raja, who was under Dutch influence. In 1671–3 a detachment of about thirty soldiers from Bombay was kept, at Petit's request, to protect the factory. The factors fortunately had a firm friend in the 'young Prince', who had the chief power in his hands; and his sudden death in August 1673 was a great blow to them. His successor was also friendly, but had not such a firm footing, and other Princes harassed them. In February 1675 the 'young Prince's' power was in danger, and Petit, with the approval of the Surat Council, closed the factory. Another trouble to it had been the behaviour of the Mopla traders in the bazaar, who were an unruly set of people and objected to the factors buying pepper elsewhere. Pepper and other goods continued, however, to be brought to Calicut from Baliapatam and the neighbouring town of Dharmapatam, until in January 1677 an attack by Kotta pirates on Aungier's vessel, the *Happy Rose*, while she was at anchor off Dharmapatam, led to a decision to cease all further commerce there.

At Calicut one source of worry was the frequency of demands for loans to the Zamorin or the Third Raja, who exercised the main power

in those parts. Another was the difficulty in getting the principal merchant, Sheik Mercar, and others to perform their contracts for the supply of pepper, although they were paid large advances. Excessive impositions and obstruction by the Governor of Calicut was a third trouble. But the main impediments to the factory's trade were the intrigues and opposition of the neighbouring Dutch settlements. This was particularly apparent when attempts made in 1671 and 1672 to settle a factory lower down the coast at Carnopoly (Karnagapalli) failed ignominiously on this account. The Dutch had strong garrisons and overawed the Zamorin and the inhabitants; and their opposition generally hindered the factory in getting a sufficient supply of pepper for the Company's ships. They took it in not only at Calicut, but at lower ports; and in 1677 the Third Raja demanded that customs should be paid him on all pepper shipped at Tanur, though it lay outside the Zamorin's dominions. He went so far as to go to war with the Raja of Tanur over the matter and the factors had to yield. Nor could they obtain any redress for injuries inflicted on them. The Company's prestige was in fact at a low ebb, and Aungier contemplated taking forcible reprisals at sea, in order to obtain better respect for it and its servants. His death and the desirability of getting orders from home on such an important change of policy prevented any action being taken of that kind. In spite, however, of all their difficulties, the factors managed annually to send a good quantity of pepper, though the Company complained that it was dear and dirty. Cardamoms of the high quality that the Company wanted and cinnamon were, however, almost unobtainable, owing to their being practically monopolized by the Dutch.

This ends a brief synopsis of the main tribulations with which Aungier and his fellow workers had to contend. It only remains for the editor to express his acknowledgements to Mr. Basil Lubbock and Messrs. Hurst & Blackett, the transcriber and publishers of *Barlow's Journal*, for their kind permission to reproduce three coloured drawings from that Journal, as well as to those responsible for the other illustrations, which enhance the interest of this volume. He is also indebted to Sir William Foster for his kindly helping to revise the proofs of the text and giving other valuable assistance.

C. F.

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REFERENCES, CITATIONS, ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

To facilitate references to the present volume, it has been numbered 'Volume I (New Series)'. The previous volumes are cited by the period covered by each as shown below:

Period.	*Period.*
1618–21	1646–50
1622–3	1651–4
1624–9	1655–60
1630–3	1661–4
1634–6	1665–7
1637–41	1668–9*
1642–5	

It has been thought best in a work of this kind to place references to records and other authorities in footnotes on the pages to which they relate. Notes confined to such references are numbered, while those containing further information are distinguished by asterisks, &c.

In printing foreign names or other words diacritical marks have been omitted, except in the Index.

Abbreviations used are given below.

I. BOOKS OR JOURNALS CITED

Anderson	Rev. Philip Anderson. *The English in Western India.* 2nd edn. London, 1856.
Arnold Wright	His *Annesley of Surat and his Times.* London, 1918.
Bal Krishna	His *Shivaji the Great,* vol. I. Bombay, 1932.
Barlow's Journal	Transcribed by Basil Lubbock, 2 vols. London, 1934.
Bom. City Gaz.	Edwardes, S. M. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island,* 3 vols. Bombay, 1909–10.
Bom. Pres. Gaz.	J. Campbell and R. E. Enthoven. *The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* 27 vols. Bombay, 1896–1904.
B.J.	Sir Charles Fawcett. *The First Century of British Justice in India.* Oxford, 1934.
Bruce's *Annals*	John Bruce. *Annals of the Honorable East-India Company, 1600–1708.* London, 1810.
Burnell	Ensign John Burnell. *Account of the Island of Bombay, 1710–12.* Edited by S. T. Sheppard in *Bombay in the Days of Queen Anne* (Hakluyt Society). London, 1933.
Campbell	James M. Campbell. *Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay*: vol. xxvi of the *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer,* 3 pts. Bombay, 1893–4.

* In view of the time that has elapsed since the publication of the last volume in 1927, it may be explained that the present editor was not appointed till November 1933 and his examination of the very large number of documents to be gone through has involved heavy work.

Ct. Min.	Ethel B. Sainsbury. *A Calendar of the Court Minutes, &c., of the East India Company, 1635–76.* Oxford, 1907–35.
Danvers	F. C. Danvers. *The Portuguese in India,* 2 vols. London, 1894.
Douglas	James Douglas. *Bombay and Western India.* London, 1893.
Edwardes	S. M. Edwardes. *The Rise of Bombay.* Bombay, 1902.
E.F.	Sir William Foster. *The English Factories in India, 1618–69.* Oxford, 1906–27.
Forrest *or* For.	Sir George Forrest. *Selections from State Papers in the Bombay Secretariat,* Home Series, vol. I.
Fryer	Dr. John Fryer. *A New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels, 1672–81.* Edited by Sir William Crooke, 3 vols, Hakluyt Society, 1909, 1912, 1915.
Grant Duff	Capt. James Grant Duff. *A History of the Mahrattas.* Revised edn. by S. M. Edwardes, Oxford, 1921.
Hamilton	Capt. Alexander Hamilton. *A New Account of the East Indies.* Edited by Sir William Foster for the Argonaut Press, 2 vols., 1930.
Hunter	Sir William Hunter. *History of British India,* 2 vols. London, 1899, 1900.
JBBRAS.	Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society *Journals.*
Kaeppelin	Paul Kaeppelin. *La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.* Paris, 1908.
K.R.	Strachey, Ray and Oliver. *Keigwin's Rebellion (1683–4).* Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. vi, 1916.
Khan	Shafaat Ahmad Khan. *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660–77.* Oxford, 1922. Also his *Sources for the History of British India in the XVIIth Century.* Oxford, 1926.
Malabari	Phiroze B. M. Malabari. *Bombay in the Making.* London, 1910.
Orme	Robert Orme. *Historical Fragments.* Reprint of the 1st edn., 1782. Calcutta, 1905.
Rawlinson	H. G. Rawlinson. *British Beginnings in Western India, 1579–1657.* Oxford, 1920.
Sarkar	Sir Jadunath Sarkar. *Shivaji and His Times.* 3rd edn. Calcutta, 1929. Also his *Short History of Aurangzib.* Calcutta, 1930.
Yule	Col. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell. *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases.* Edited by Sir William Crooke. London, 1903. Also his *Diary of William Hedges.* (Hakluyt Society) 3 vols. London, 1887/8.

In citing these or other works, if there is more than one volume the one referred to is indicated in roman numerals, while references to pages are in ordinary figures, e.g. Fryer, i. 189.

II. RECORDS

a. India Office, Whitehall, London

THE citations in the footnotes are all from Factory Records, unless otherwise stated; and the usual method of citing Law Reports has been followed by placing

first the number of the volume referred to, then the abbreviation indicating the particular records to which the volume belongs, and lastly the numerals of the page or pages referred to: e.g. 2 Bom. 36 means page 36 of the 2nd volume of the Bombay series in the Factory Records. Each volume generally contains two or more sections, and a particular page cited is that of the section containing documents of the date or dates mentioned.

In giving such dates the year is omitted, if it is the same as the one dealt with in the main text: e.g. in dealing with the year 1670, the date 10 November means '10 November 1670'.

In citing documents, the following abbreviations are used:

Bal.	Baliapatam.
Bom.	Bombay.
B.P.P.	Bombay Public Proceedings.
Cal.	Calicut.
commn.	commission.
Co.	Company.
con.	consultation.
desp.	despatch.
Dhar.	Dharangaon.
F.R.	Factory Records.
f., ff.	folio, folios.
G.R.	General Records.
instrns.	instructions.
Kar.	Karwar.
let.	letter *or* letters.
L.B.	Letter Books in the Factory Records.
Misc.	Miscellaneous. *Home Misc.* refers to the Home Miscellaneous series in the General Records.
O.C.	Original Correspondence from India in the Factory Records. In citing these the No. of a document is given, not the volume in which it is contained.
PS.	Postscript.
Raj.	Rajapur.
Sur.	Surat.
Sw.	Swally.

b. Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London

P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
C.O. 77	denotes the East Indian portion of the Colonial Office Records.

III. GENERAL

Arab.	Arabic.
art.	article.
c.	*circa* (about).
edn.	edition.
Guj.	Gujarathi.

Hind.	Hindustani.
pt.	part.
Pers.	Persian.
Port.	Portuguese.
Rs.	Rupees.
sec.	section.
vol.	volume.
Xs.	Xeraphins (zerafins).

For the meaning of vernacular words used, see the Index, which indicates the pages where each is explained.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA 1670–1677

BOMBAY, 1670

THE preceding volume of this series (pp. 252–8) has brought up the chronicle of events to January 1670, when President Aungier and two members of his Surat Council paid a short visit to Bombay and took over its administration. Captain Henry Young, the suspended Deputy Governor, had been brought with them, and his trial on a charge of murder has already been noticed (p. 252). This took up most of their time till the 21st. Another preoccupation was the dispatch of the two ships, the *Bombay Merchant* and the *Humphrey and Elizabeth*, that left for England on the 24th, taking with them Young and the other three officers, whose constant broils had so disturbed the peace of Bombay. Aungier could now turn his attention to the numerous reforms and wise administration that amply justify his title to be called the *true founder* of Bombay.[1]

There was another case awaiting trial, viz. a charge of murder that had been brought against Young's son-in-law, Richard Ball. This arose out of an alleged assault on a Portuguese-Indian some months previously. Aungier and his colleagues released the prosecutor, who had been detained in custody for failure to furnish security for the due prosecution of Ball, and made arrangements for the trial by 'a jury of halfe English and halfe Portugalls', in accordance with the Company's orders that disputes between the two classes should be settled in this manner.* As in the case against Young, they called in outside assistance for the trial, 'it being a case of felony which touches life'. It took place on 4 February, and resulted in Ball's acquittal.[2]

Aungier also enlarged his Council for the consideration of petitions that had been made in response to a proclamation he had issued, and for the disposal of other important business. The advisers called in were the two customs-officers, Thomas Cotes and Robert Barbor, the

[1] Hunter, ii. 214.

* This was in art. 6 of the third section of the Company's Laws for Bombay that were sent out in 1699. A copy of them (apparently made in 1748) is in G.R., 11 Miscellanies, 68–78, and has been reproduced in *B.J.* 18–28.

[2] 3 Sur. 40–5. For further details see *B.J.* 37.

Minister, James Stirling, and two military officers, Capt.-Lieut. John Burgess and Lieut. Herbert Haughton, who supplied the 'experience in the regulation of matters of the Island' that the Council lacked. This was on 31 January,[1] and on the following day there was a 'deliberate debate' on various subjects.[2] Objection had been taken to the Company's monopoly of the trade in *cairo* or coir, but it was decided to continue it, in view of the advantages that were derived from it. The complaints were partially met by empowering the Deputy Governor and Council to grant licences for the export of small quantities to Surat and other neighbouring places. The most important business was the consideration of the Company's Laws that had been received by Aungier in October 1669.[3] Aungier had them read out and 'desired the Councell seriously and deliberately to consider (it being a matter of great import) whether it were convenient to publish the Lawes at present or no, having a regard to the present juncture of the times and disposition of the people'. The next morning (2 February) the Council unanimously decided that the part of the Laws 'which concerne the Administration of Justice and Common right, the formes of Judicature and the penalties appointed against prophaneness, breaches of Morallity and Civil Government should be translated into Portuguez and Cannarin* languages and be published with all convenient speed'.

They then passed orders for the establishment of Courts of Judicature on the Island, which have been already published.[4] The Island was divided into two parts, and a Court of five Justices was to sit in each at least once a week. The respective 'customers' or customs-officers of Bombay and Mahim were to preside, and their assistants were natives. Their jurisdiction was limited to civil suits for sums not exceeding 200 zerafins,† and to 'thefts not exceeding the vallue of 5 xeraphins'. Provision was also made for a quorum, the requisite staff, and registers of their proceedings. In addition the Deputy

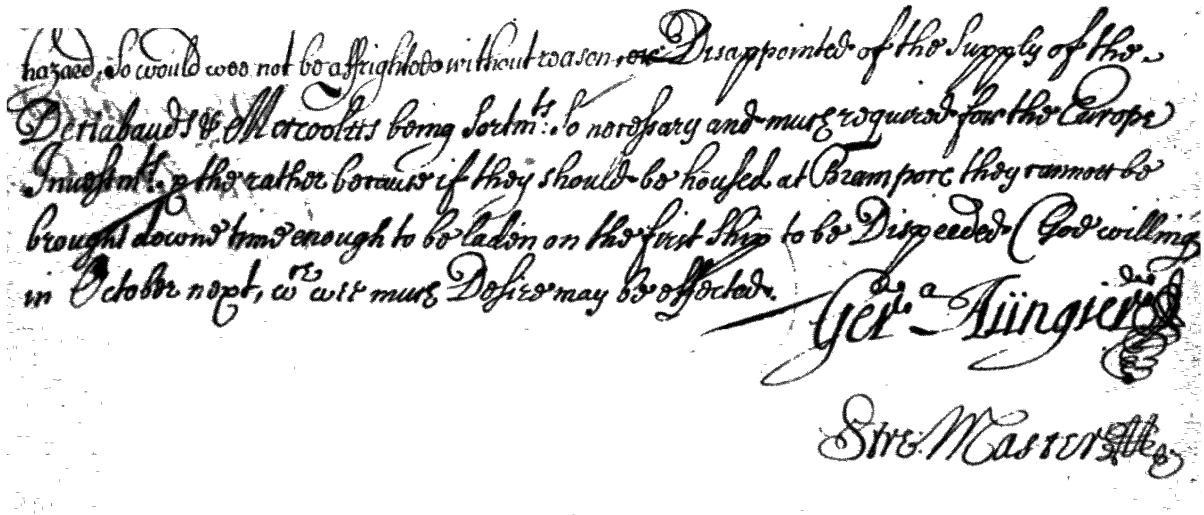
[1] 3 Sur. 37. [2] Ibid. 38, 39.

[3] Sur. let. to Co. 26 Nov. 1669, O.C. 3373, f. 12; the passage is reproduced in the transcript at 49 Home Misc. 172.

* i.e. the coast dialect of Marathi. Thus the *Konkani* grammar written by Father Thomas Stevens, S.J., was entitled 'Arte da Lingua Canarin', Rawlinson, 26; cf. *B.J.* 14 n.

[4] *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 205; Campbell, iii. 1, 2; Malabari, 146–8. These contain some inaccuracies mentioned in *B.J.* 34 n., 36.

† This sum was a little more than Rs. 150, as 10 rupees were then worth 13 zerafins (see p. 52 n. of the preceding volume). 'Zerafin' (or 'xeraphin', as it was usually spelt) is a corruption of the Arabic *ashrafi* (Yule, 974).



Entry of a consultation held at Surat on 31 March 1670, containing an addition in Gerald Aungier's handwriting
[reduced from the original]

Governor and Council were constituted a superior Court for hearing appeals from the two lower Courts and with original jurisdiction over suits affecting the Company or the government of the Island, or exceeding in value 200 zerafins. An important direction was that 'in this Court all tryalls shall be by jury as provided in the [Company's] Lawes'.[1] These orders were a departure from those Laws, so far as the latter provided for a single Court of Judicature under a judge and for trial by jury in that Court; but it was explained that this was 'through want of men able and understanding in the lawes'. The Company were asked to send out some person 'skilled in the Civell Law' for this purpose.[2]

Another order at this Council meeting was that the several *Mattarees** in the Island should 'bring in a particular role and list of the Inhabitants, together with their respective possessions'.†

On 3 February orders were passed rewarding those who had shown special 'assiduity, care and paines' on the work of the fortifications, including John Cooper,‡ the Company's gunner, who had acted as overseer of the work.[3] The remainder of Aungier's achievements is well summarized in his letter to the Company from Surat on 30 March 1670.[4] The most important orders were those reducing the two companies on the military establishment to one for the sake of economy,§ and carrying out the Court's recommendation that, to encourage trade, all goods imported or exported should be exempt from customs for five years (see the preceding volume, p. 239). It was, however, deemed advisable to levy one per cent. on the exempted goods towards the charges of the two custom-houses, and to retain the old

[1] 3 Sur. 39–41.

[2] Sur. let. 30 March, O.C. 3415, f. 1 (49 Home Misc. 219). The last phrase is taken from the Company's reply of 22 Feb. 1671, 4 L.B. 423.

* i.e. the plural of Marathi *mhātārā*, elders of the community: see p. 217 of the 1668–9 volume.

† 3 Sur. 39. The list does not appear to have been prepared during the year, and the *Mattarees* were expedited in September (Bom. let. 20 Sept., 105 Sur. 30).

‡ His name appears as one of the two gunners' mates on the roll of the Bombay garrison in Sept.–Oct. 1668 (105 Sur. 28). He served as Chief Gunner till his death in 1694: Bom. con. 28 May 1694, 4 Bom. 2.

[3] 3 Sur. 41, 42.

[4] O.C. 3415, the substance of which is given by Campbell, i. 38, and Bruce, ii. 271, 272.

§ 'Paucity of men' was also one of the reasons for the reduction (3 Sur. 46). It did not, however, last long, for in Feb. 1671 the Company sent out a full company with Capt. John Shaxton as their Commander: 4 L.B. 440. In fact, at any rate after this addition, the order never seems to have been carried out (see pp. 54, 154, *post*).

duty 'with some abatement' in the case of coco-nuts and coir, this being the natural produce of the Island, as well as on wine, tobacco, and opium.[1] The execution of the instructions of the Company for delimitating and building a town, as well as a dockyard, custom-house, and warehouses (see the 1668–9 volume, pp. 237–9), was deferred owing to want of men and money for the purpose. The coolies or fishermen had, however, been ordered to remove from the town to a convenient place at some distance, and this would leave 'a good spot of ground for merchants to build on'. They were doing what they could do to increase the revenues; and the house expenses, which had been 'somewhat extravagant' in Capt. Young's time, had been reduced. The making of calicoes was being encouraged and some silk weavers had come from Chaul. The manufacture of gunpowder had been improved and regulated. They had paid frequent visits to the over-flooded lands and thought they were recoverable, but had deferred the matter to a better opportunity of executing it. They had received many petitions about the seized lands (i.e. the lands attached by Sir Gervase Lucas: see pp. 95–7 of the 1668–9 volume), but were awaiting the Company's orders regarding them.

The grave state of affairs at Surat necessitating his presence there, Aungier left Bombay on 5 March;* but before his departure he made arrangements for its government. Matthew Gray was appointed Deputy Governor, and his Council was formed of Phillip Giffard (who was to come from Karwar) and the two 'customers', Thomas Cotes and Robert Barbor, while Capt. John Burgess and the other two commissioned officers were to assist in military affairs, and the Minister, James Stirling, was desired to take part in trying civil and criminal cases.[2] In the full instructions for the future government of the Island that Aungier left on 5 March 1670 he praised Stirling highly for the assistance he had given in civil matters and advised his being consulted 'in the most important affairs'.[3] He also recommended one Simon Serron, 'a person well read in the civill and Imperiall Lawes, and formerly Syndic and Procurator for the King of Portugall at Basseen', as likely to be useful in discovering the Company's rights and privileges.[4]

[1] References to these subjects will also be found in 3 Sur. 46, 47.

* He embarked on the *George* on that date and reached Swally on 11 March, O.C. 3415, f. 3 (49 Home Misc. 224).

[2] Bom. con. 12 Feb., 3 Sur. 49; O.C. 3415, f. 3 (49 Home Misc. 223).

[3] 3 Sur. 150, 151.

[4] Ibid. 49, 153.

Matthew Gray only held the Deputy-Governorship till about the middle of September, owing to the receipt of orders from the Company, requiring him to be a resident Councillor at Surat.[1] He was succeeded by Giffard, who had arrived on 26 March* to take his seat as 'Second of Council'. Grigby, who had been left behind by Aungier to assist the Deputy Governor, pending Giffard's arrival,[2] then resumed his Councillorship at Surat. Charles Smeaton, an 'able accomptant', was sent down to keep the books and succeed Giffard as 'Second' in Council,[3] but died within two months of his appointment.[4] Another loss was the death of Rev. James Stirling on 15 December 1670.† Cotes and Barbor remained on the Council, but their assistance was hampered by Cotes's frequent absence at Mahim and Barbor's 'not [being] able to stirr for the goute' or other illness.[5] Towards the end of the year Capt. Burgess was appointed to the Council for the general affairs of the Island, instead of merely for military matters, as before.‡

Aungier could well feel satisfaction at having left Bombay 'in such a peaceable and hopefull posture'.[6] He had made a good start, but the prosecution of his plans met with numerous obstacles. This is apparent from the correspondence that passed between the Bombay and Surat Councils during the remainder of the year, most of which is extant in the Factory Records.[7] For want of space this can only be summarized, so far as it bears on the main events at Bombay.

In view of its defenceless state, the paramount need was to com-

[1] Sur. let. 6 Sept., 19 Bom. 50.

* Bom. let. 29 March, 6 Bom. 10. On his way he was received into the Surat Council on 12 March, 3 Sur. 53.

[2] Bom. let. 29 March, 6 Bom. 10.

[3] Sur. let. 6 Sept., 19 Bom. 51.

[4] Bom. let. 3 Nov., 105 Sur. 54.

† Bom. let. 17 Dec., 105 Sur. 96. His death was caused by a fall from his horse, when he was accompanying the rounds during the military preparations mentioned on p. 8 : O.C. 3538, ff. 7, 8.

[5] e.g. Bom. let. 20 Aug., 19 Bom. 53, and Bom. let. 21 Nov., 105 Sur. 79.

‡ The inclusion of the head military officer in the Council was authorized by the Co.'s desp. 16 Feb., 4 L.B. 330. The appointment was reported to the Co. in Sur. let. 9 Jan. 1671, 2 Misc. 75. His name appears on letters from 17 Dec., 105 Sur. 97.

[6] Sur. let. 21 March, 19 Bom. 1.

[7] The Bombay letters will be found in 6 Bom., as well as in 105 Sur. from 24 Aug. The Surat letters up to 10 Sept. 1670 are contained in 105 Sur. O.C. 3505 is a copy of a later letter of 29 Oct. 1670. The Surat consultations in 105 Sur. and 2 Misc. also contain references to Bombay affairs. Details of this kind are not given later, as they are ascertainable from the printed list of Factory Records in the India Office.

plete the Fort, work on which had started early in 1669.* Aungier had, during his visit, settled 'the best manner' for its continuance, and had urged the Deputy Governor to give it special attention.[1] Its progress was, however, hampered by a deficiency of building materials, such as facing-stones—some had even to be dug out of an old ruin[2]—and *chunam* (lime), which could not be made locally during the rains.[3] Timber also was difficult to procure.[4] An attempt by Aungier to send a consignment from Surat was frustrated by the Governor prohibiting its export.[5] An effort to get some from Kalyan also failed.[6] Eventually leave was obtained from the Portuguese Captain of Bassein 'for the passage of 110 pieces of timber from Buinde [Bhiwandi], paying the customes of Tanna'.† Only 88 pieces had, however, arrived by 27 August, and though the rest was

* See pp. 100, 216, and 218 of the preceding volume. The plan on which the fortifications were being extended was apparently that drawn up by Capt. Samuel Smith (ibid. 100), and not the one prepared by Cooke in 1665 and reproduced as frontispiece to the 1665–7 volume of this series. The note at p. 67 of that volume requires modification, so far as it suggests that Cooke's plan had actually been carried out in a lasting form. In his letter of 23 Dec. 1665 Cooke says: 'It's all done with turffe and cocernutt trees, 14 foote hygh round.... Wee have been about it upwards of three monthes' (ibid. 67, 68). Such work would probably have been little more than a rough stockade, needing constant repair to keep it in good order; and two years later Capt. Gary found the old fortifications 'irregular, scarce capable of rectifying, the wett season in Sir Gervase [Lucas] his time prohibiting his intended endeavours therein' (ibid. 300).

Gary may have meant to carry out Cooke's plan, which he had perhaps himself drawn out, as the lettering on it appears to be in his handwriting; and in any case he seems to have adopted it, as the date on the similar plan contained in Ovington's *Voyage to Suratt*, p. 147, viz. 2 April 1668, corresponds to that of his last letter as Governor of Bombay to Lord Arlington (1668–9 volume, p. 49). Also in a letter of 10 October 1668 to the Earl of Clarendon (P.R.O., C.O. 77, f. 107) he speaks of his having intended to make fortifications, 'which should have been very substantially done with stone and lime and should not have cost His Majesty one penny'.

The long landward extension shown in Cooke's plan was clearly not adopted by Capt. Smith, nor did it apparently exist when Baldaeus made his picture of the landward side of the Fort some time prior to 1672. Smith's plan was on a much smaller scale; and Aungier in his big Report on Bombay complained of the 'ignorance of the Engineers who drew the line and laid the foundation at first, the longest curtaine to landward being not above 58 paces'. He also mentions that a fresh-water tank was about 100 paces from the nearest wall of the Fort, whereas in Cooke's and Ovington's plans it is shown as just outside the wall. (O.C. 3910, ff. 10, 11; passage printed in *JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 28, 29.)

[1] Instrns. to Gray & Council, 3 Sur. 151.
[2] Bom. let. 21 March, 6 Bom. 2, 3.
[3] Bom. let. 13 April & 5 July, 6 Bom. 13, 33.
[4] Bom. let. 21 March & 12 May, 6 Bom. 5, 23.
[5] Sur. con. 14 April, 3 Sur. 60, 61, and Sur. let. 15 April, 19 Bom. 12.
[6] Bom. let. 13 & 21 April, 6 Bom. 13, 18.

† Bom. let. 11 June, 6 Bom. 26. The Thana duties were very heavy, cf. Oxinden's complaint about them at p. 83 of the preceding volume.

ultimately obtained, the Captain seized and confiscated 20 pieces that had been purchased in excess of the licensed quantity.[1] There was even difficulty in getting the usual supply of firewood from the 'Maine'. The boats that went for it were sent back empty and told that there was 'an absolute order forbidding it'. This hindered the manufacture of *chunam* until a remonstrance succeeded in removing the difficulty.[2] In spite, however, of such impediments the work progressed. On 12 May Gray reports:[3]

Wee have done more then expected, having carryed both inward and outward wall, from the Gate by the Moodyes* house down towards the sea, so farr as the ground whereon the bastion is to be raised, and on the other side are raiseing the outward wall of the platforme from the north bastion to the staires. . . . It will be as high as the bastion now is.

The rains (which were unusually late in coming)[4] stopped the main work, but 200 men were employed in 'breaking the rocks and carrying the stones nere the works'[5] and in other preparations for its resumption. Giffard, shortly after becoming Deputy Governor, called a General Council, which, among other things, decided that special additions to the work were necessary, in case 'any enemy should appeare'.[6] This was by no means a remote contingency, as will be seen later. With the approval of the Surat Council,[7] a breastwork was to be erected upon the walls to landward, and two big gates to be set up, for the protection of the incomplete fortifications.[8] By the middle of December the work was almost completed, and Giffard was able to say, 'thanks be to God, wee are in soe good a position of defence that wee feare not any Indian enemy whatsoever'.[9] At the end of the year he told the Company that three bastions and two curtains had been raised 18 out of the 25 feet required to make them 'finished battlements', and that about half of the two platforms to seaward had been completed.[10]

There was, in fact, reasonable cause for apprehending a possible attack in view of Sivaji's activities in the war between him and the

[1] Bom. let. 27 July, 24 Aug., & 3 Nov., 6 Bom. 35, 54, and 105 Sur. 55 (also O.C. 3509).
[2] Bom. let. 14 Oct. & 3 Nov., 105 Sur. 42, 54.
[3] 6 Bom. 25.
* Guj. *modi*, house-steward.
[4] Bom. let. 5 July, 6 Bom. 31.
[5] Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 40.
[6] Bom. let. 6 Oct., 105 Sur. 34.
[7] Sur. con. 28 Oct., 2 Misc. 108.
[8] Bom. let. 6 Oct., 3 Nov., & 21 Nov., 105 Sur. 34, 54, 79.
[9] Bom. let. 17 Dec., 105 Sur. 96.
[10] Bom. let. 14 Jan., O.C. 3540.

Mughal.* By the end of June various Deccan forts and the whole province of Kalyan were in his possession.[1] In October came the news of his looting Surat, which he had entered on the 3rd at the head of 15,000 men.[2] In the same month a fleet of his, consisting of some 160 vessels, was in the neighbourhood of Bombay, and three of them actually entered the port, declaring that they came for a supply of salt.† Giffard was naturally alarmed. He doubled the guard and called out the militia—a step that was approved by the Surat Council.[3] It sent down the hoy *Little Charles*, 'to ride there till the present danger is over'.[4] Giffard had asked for the return of twenty-five soldiers that had been sent to Surat; and though the grave situation at that place prevented compliance with this request, Giffard was authorized to make a temporary enlistment of as many men as he thought necessary.[5] Towards the end of November the fleet passed Bombay on its way to the north, but was recalled by frigates. There was, therefore, still ground for apprehension in December, though it was recognized that the fleet's objective was probably some other place than Bombay.‡

Another occurrence in November that showed the need for protective measures was an insolent incursion of 'Mallabarrs', or Malabar pirates, into the harbour and their seizure of fishing boats at the stakes, which the fishermen had to redeem by a payment of Rs. 100. 'We tried to assault them'—says Giffard—but this was defeated by 'treachery of the coolies, who ran our boat aground.'§

* Or rather, the Mughal Emperor's son, Prince Muhammad Muazzam, to whom Aurangzeb had given peremptory orders to arrest Sivaji, and who is said to have feigned rebellion against his father. Grant Duff, i. 195, says there is no satisfactory evidence of such a rebellion, but there must at any rate have been a strong current report about it, for Aungier in a letter of 20 Nov. 1670 to the Company (O.C. 3515) speaks of 'the Princes Army, who is rebelled against the Mogull'. See also the passage cited at p. 204, *post*.

[1] Grant Duff, i. 191. [2] Ibid. 192. See also p. 195, *post*.

† Bom. let. 3 & 21 Nov., 105 Sur. 55, 78. The number of vessels is given as '60 or 70' in the letter of 3 Nov. 1670 (both in 105 Sur. 55 and O.C. 3509); but in his later letter of 21 Nov. Giffard says that 160 vessels had been counted by his own servant, whom he had sent as a spy, and the same number appears in the Surat consultation of 24 Nov. 1670 (3 Sur. 111 & 2 Misc. 109). [3] Bom. let. 3 Nov., 105 Sur. 55; Sur. con. 28 Nov., 3 Sur. 109.

[4] Sur. con. 29 Nov., 3 Sur. 111. [5] Ibid., 2 Misc. 109.

‡ Bom. let. 21 & 28 Nov. & 3 Dec., 105 Sur. 79, 81, 87, 92. The actual objective may have been Broach, at the mouth of the river Nerbudda: cf. Grant Duff, i. 194. The fleet returned to Dabhol, a port about 100 miles south of Bombay: ibid. & Bom. let. 17 Dec., 105 Sur. 96, 97.

§ Bom. let. 17 Nov., 105 Sur. 73; Sur. con. 29 Nov., 3 Sur. 112. The Malabar pirates infested the western coast, mostly south of Bombay: for their methods see Col. John Biddulph, *The Pirates of Malabar*, 69, 70.

The garrison, which (as already mentioned) was to be reduced to one company, was in a weak state. Aungier, in a letter to the Company, gives an entertaining account of an interview he had with some Mahommedan merchants at Surat, who had fled to the English factory for protection during Sivaji's incursion. They thought of changing their residence in view of its dangers and going to live in Bombay. Aungier did his best to encourage them, but says, 'wee find it difficult to perswade them that one hundred Englishmen, with some Portugalls, are able to secure that Island'.[1] The actual figures were considerably less. Two lists of officers and soldiers for October and November 1670[2] show the strength of the whole garrison as follows: 3 commissioned officers, 4 sergeants, 8 corporals, 4 drummers, 87 (85) English 'centinels', 6 (9) Dutch do., 3 (2) French do., 73 (75) 'White Portugueses', 54 (51) 'Topases'*—Total 242 (243). (The figures in brackets are those for November, where they differ from the October figures.) At the end of October, the Surat Council authorized the temporary enlistment of 20 more 'White men',[3] and by the beginning of December Giffard had increased the rolls to 300, including the staff-officers.[4] He considered, however, that the garrison was insufficiently manned with English, and asked the Company to send 250 to 300 recruits, saying he would be 'loth to trust' the others against a European enemy.[5] Fortunately the Company was already taking steps to comply with this request.†

Another military need that gave cause for anxiety was gunpowder. The first of the few extant consultations for this year records that in March the amount in store 'is soe low that it is a shame it should be publickly mentioned'.[6] There happened to be some Portuguese vessels that had come from Goa 'in the roade', and it was decided to buy some barrels of gunpowder from them. Its local manufacture

[1] Sur. let. 20 Nov. 1670, O.C. 3515, ff. 14, 15 (49 Home Misc. 325). [2] 105 Sur. 35, 59–61.

* Indo-Portuguese soldiers. The term, as used here, may be a corruption of Pers. *top-chi*, a gunner or musketeer. Thus Fryer (i. 171) calls them '*Topazes* or Portugal Firemen', and in his glossarial index he gives '*Topazes*, Musketeers'. But a more usual derivation is from Hind. *topi*, a hat, i.e. hat-wearers (Yule, 953). On the other hand Sir Richard Temple (*Indian Antiquary*, I. 106) favoured *dubhasi*, one with two languages, whence comes the anglicized 'dubash', as its true origin through its Malayalam form *topashi*.

[3] Sur. con. 28 Nov., 2 Misc. 108, reproduced by Campbell, i. 39.

[4] Bom. let. 6 Dec., 105 Sur. 92.

[5] Bom. let. 14 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3540, f. 2 (49 Home Misc. 355).

† They were arranging to send out a full company under Capt. Shaxton.

[6] Bom. con. 18 March, 1 Bom. 1.

was hampered by want of saltpetre. Gray asked for 100 maunds or more from Surat, but the Governor withheld permission for its export.[1] When the Surat Council at last got a promise from the Governor that he would sanction the sending of gunpowder to Bombay, its fulfilment was frustrated by his sudden death from apoplexy.[2] The expectation of a supply by the Company's ships from England was also disappointed.[3] In July Gray reported that he had mounted all their guns, 'but our powder is very bad by reason of the [damp] weather'.[4] In August they were in 'a greate streight' for gunpowder, as well as for saltpetre, but in September they were to some extent relieved by getting the captains of the ships that had come out from England to spare them twelve barrels.[5] In November there was again a 'want of powder'.[6] On 17 December Giffard reported there was no saltpetre on the Island, but next day he received some by the *Berkeley Castle* on its way home from Surat.[7] The Surat Council also sent 200 maunds of gunpowder by the *Little Charles*, having managed to get this 'with privacy'.[8]

Otherwise the garrison was fairly well supplied. A list of stores at Bombay, dated 26 October 1670,[9] shows that these were mainly military, and Giffard acknowledged to the Company that they had sent out 'large supplies of all things necessary for a garrison'. The only things wanted besides gunpowder were, he said, iron bars, half a dozen halberts for the serjeants, and matches.* His only other complaint was about the coal and guns that had been sent out.[10] The former had proved so bad that they had had to burn charcoal in the forges. This was very dear, and its deficient supply at times prevented the smith's forge working.[11] As to the heavy guns, their unshipping was troublesome, owing to the unsuitability of the only boats available at Bombay, and some of the 'old Dutch gunns' were unfit

[1] Bom. let. 21 March & 13 April, 6 Bom. 5, 15. Sur. let. 15 April, 19 Bom. 12.
[2] Sur. PS., 10 Sept., 19 Bom. 54.
[3] Bom. let. 12 May, 6 Bom. 22; Bom. let. 20 Dec., 105 Sur. 98 & O.C. 3527.
[4] Bom. let. 11 July, 6 Bom. 33.
[5] Bom. let. 29 Aug. & 1 Sept., 6 Bom. 53, 58; Bom. let. 20 Sept., 105 Sur. 30.
[6] Bom. let. 21 Nov., 105 Sur. 79.
[7] Bom. let. 17 Dec. & 24 Dec., 105 Sur. 96, 98.
[8] Sur. con. 5 Sept. & 29 Sept., 3 Sur. 86, 111, 112.
[9] 105 Sur. 56, 57.
* Bom. let. 20 Dec., 105 Sur. 98 & O.C. 3527, & 14 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3542. The last item here refers, of course, not to matches in the present sense of that word, but to the specially prepared wicks, cords, or ropes that were then used for firing cannon or other fire-arms.
[10] Bom. let. 20 Dec., 105 Sur. 98.
[11] Bom. let. 5 July, 6 Bom. 33.

for the garrison. A good many were sent on to Surat, under instructions from the Council there.[1]

The maintenance of discipline in the garrison was subject to difficulties. One thing that hampered it was the liberty given to the royal troops that had come over to the Company to resign when they pleased.[2] Another source of trouble was the portion of the Company's Laws dealing with military offences. Thus in the case of Simpson, a 'matross' or gunner's assistant, who was charged with enticing soldiers to 'run off' the Island and take service under the Mughal, it was found that his punishment under the second article of those laws was impossible, because it required the testimony of two witnesses upon oath, whereas only one was available.[3] Again, the main punishment allowed by the article was fining, to be supplemented, if thought fit, by corporal punishment. On this point Gray wrote to Surat:[4]

Wee beseech you to hear us patiently that wee doe declare these millitary Lawes of the Hon. Company doe not extend so fully to all perticular cases and disorders that doe happen among souldiers, as doe the Lawes of Warr, which are provided in most cases, and although they seeme to be dreadfull by the name of death soe frequently therein (to keepe an awe upon the souldiers rather then to execute the extremities thereof) yet the souldier thinks the Company the severer, that would take away their money; they had rather suffer corporall punishment then part with that must susteine them, having noe more then from hand to mouth, and for this cause it was that the Deputy Governor long since wrote to the President to send downe the martiall lawes. All the commission officers declareing that if they proceeded according to the Company to mulct the souldiers for their offences, they would runne off the island.

The Surat Council authorized a discretionary use of the Articles of War, in the following reply:[5]

As to what you propose touchinge the unsuitableness of the Laws sent out last yeare by the Company with the constitution of your government, wee have debated the matter in Councell and declare our judgment to agree with yours, that the said Laws doe not beare

[1] Bom. let. 15 Sept., 105 Sur. 22, 23; Sur. let. 6 Sept., 19 Bom. 53 & O.C. 3472.
[2] Bom. let. to Co., 14 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3540; see also p. 53 of the preceding volume.
[3] Bom. let. 28 June & 27 July, 6 Bom. 30, 36. [4] Bom. let. 27 July, 6 Bom. 36.
[5] Sur. let. 9 Aug. 1670, 19 Bom. 35: cf. Sur. con. 8 Aug. 1670, 3 Sur. 78, 79.

due proportion with the nature of millitary discipline and yet they conteine many necessarie, prudentiall rules and orders for your direction. Wherefore in regarde the body of the Islande is composed of a politie military and civill, the Government thereof must necesarie correspond thereunto and grounde itselfe on maximes answerable to the exigences of each respective species. Wee therefore thinke fitt it be left to the discretion of the Deputy Governor and Councell in all emergent occasions of punishments to be inflicted on the soldiers and others, to act either by the Articles of Warr or by the Laws sent out, that is either to punish by way of fines, or else corporall penallties,* as they shall judge most convenient, recommending withall the just moderation which the Company does wisely press in all theire orders.

This eased the situation, and courts-martial continued to be the usual method of dealing with military offences. Thus in two cases the offenders were cashiered and sent to England.[1]

In now turning to matters of civil administration, we may first notice the question of admitting dangerous visitors to the Island, as it also concerned its defence. In April Gray instructed Sergeant Adderton at Mahim not to admit 30 or 40 armed men, who had come for a marriage, without disarming them, 'as it was not consistent with our present weakness, nor was it permitted by former Governors, that any persons should come armed upon the Island'.[2] In October Giffard complained of the insolence of Cojah Allavady (Khwaja Alla-uddin), 'the pretending Mogulls Ambassador',† to whom all the Moors on the Island addressed themselves, coming 15 or 20 at a time and declaring that they had business with him, so that such a number of them might collect as to endanger the peace of the Island. He also used unbecoming and threatening expressions on visits to the Fort, and the Council recommended his removal. Pre-

* This meant 'corporal penalties not extending to the taking away of life', as is stated in the report to the Co. about it, Sur. let. 9 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3538, f. 5 (49 Home Misc. 348). It had already been ordered by Sir George Oxinden and his Council that no court-martial at Bombay was to try any officer or soldier for a capital offence without express permission from Surat (see preceding volume, p. 226).

[1] Bom. let. 5 Aug., 6 Bom. 39, & 26 Oct., 105 Sur. 55. [2] 6 Bom. 17 & 19 Bom. 11.

† Aungier called him 'an envoy from Ourangabad': Sur. con. 28 Oct., 2 Misc. 108. He seems to have been the Cojah Alladin who is mentioned as going to the Prince's Court at Aurangabad in 1668 (see pp. 66, 73, & 88 of the preceding volume). The same Cojah Alladin went in August on a voyage to Goa and was shipwrecked near Bombay: Bom. let. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 49. Capt. Gary was accused of 'caballing' with him and was described as 'his onely intimate and councellour', ibid., and see p. 18 *post*.

viously Giffard had asked for advice as to permitting 'that great concourse of . . . Moores, which aboute a month hence (as they formerly have donne) resorte to the number of five or six thousand to vissit a tombe at Mahim* and remaine a weeke in the place', for in view of the insolence of a Moor, who had told the Governor of Mokha

that this Islande belonged to the Moores and that if any Englishman should here meddle with him, he would get Mooremen to helpe him . . . tis not for our security to admit more on the Islande, but rather to commit others off, for they neither worke nor anyways are beneficiall to the Islande but a burden.[1]

Aungier and his Council gave full orders to check any danger of this kind.[2] A list of the Mohammedans on the Island was to be drawn up, with details as to their estates, trade, arms, &c., and none but merchants and handicraftsmen were to be permitted to dwell in Bombay. Private meetings of Moors, Christians, or Gentus were to be prohibited by proclamation except at times of devotion, and no one was to go armed to any meeting. Before the poll was taken, the whole company of soldiers was to be ready in arms, and the militia was to be raised to prevent any disorder. At the same time the Kazi and all the Moor merchants were to be assured that the Surat orders were 'for their encouragement and protection—for their security as well as for our own'. A strict guard was to be kept at the Custom-house and all landing-places, and an account kept in a book of all entrants, whether Moors, Gentus, or Christians. The captain of the guard was to report about this daily to the Deputy Governor, as well as to what arms were brought in or taken out. Force or incivility was not to be used in taking the poll or searching for arms; but those who opposed it were to be dealt with as an 'example for the terror of others'. How far these orders were acted on does not appear in the records.

Besides the Mohammedans, the Bhandari community was a source of apprehension. In March Gray wrote about them as follows:

Here are people come from the Maine that are called Bandarines.

* Giffard refers to the annual pilgrimage to the shrine of the Moslem saint Makhtum Fakih Ali Paru at Mahim, which is attended by a large number of Mohammedans from very many places in and beyond India (*Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 19, & iii. 301–4).

[1] Bom. let. 1 Sept., 6 Bom. 57 & O.C. 3470.

[2] Sur. con. 28 Oct., 2 Misc. 108, & Sur. let. 29 Oct., O.C. 3505.

They were first admitted by Cap. Gary, in his government, to inhabit here* and he gave them liberty likewise to beare armes and made them his guard, when he went abroad for his greater state, and granted them privilege to hire trees, draw toddy, and of said toddy to distill arrack. There are about 200 of them, the most of which—if not all—have armes in their houses. These are they that have taken up their habitation on the Company's ground, nere the Custom house and are the source of all debauchery in the towne, drinking and roaring all night, insomuch that the inhabitants who have anything of vallew, fear to keep it in their houses, lest these lewd fellows should fire the towne in their drinke. They pay the Company 767 zeraphines *per annum*, which wee thinke they might better spare then [than] permit such a people to live on the Island, for wee have noe occasion for such a guard, but rather suspect them to lie here upon some designe of Sevagees or other. . . .[1]

He proposed to disarm them and to remove them from the place they lived in, so that 'a close passage may be made as far as the Custome house, to be reserved for wharves, storehouses and accommodation of merchants'.[2] Aungier approved of this, saying: 'As to the Bandareens wee ever esteemed them a dangerous sort of people and can by no meanes approve they should be so near the towne. . . .'[3] Though the disarming was not immediately enforced, they had in April removed their houses to a distance; while the coolies (fishermen), who had been ordered to do the same, were on their petition given a respite during the rains.[4]

The Bhandaris were also giving trouble by refusing to pay the customary rent of two laris† a tree to the *rendero* (licensee) of the arrack farm, and to bring pressure on them some twenty were confined as prisoners in the garrison.[5] Aungier even counselled their expulsion, if they continued to be refractory, declaring: 'in case they are to be a burthen to the Island, it is safer to discharge them, for

* The idea that Gary first admitted them to the Island is, of course, absurd. They are mentioned by Cooke in his first report on Bombay, dated 15 March 1665 (p. 49 of the 1665–7 volume). They are supposed to have immigrated even before the time of the Hindu Raja Bimb or Bhimdev, who is believed to have made Mahim his capital in the thirteenth century (Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, 27–9; *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 14–17, 19, 20).

[1] Bom. let. 21 March, 6 Bom. 5. [2] Ibid. [3] Sur. 2 April, 19 Bom. 5.

[4] Bom. let. 13 April, 6 Bom. 14; Bom. let. 21 March, 6 Bom. 7; & Bom. let. 20 Sept., 105 Sur. 30.

† Pers. *lārī*, the well-known hook money of the Persian Gulf (Yule, 506). It was worth about 6*d.*, the zerafin about 1*s.* 6*d.*, and the rupee about 2*s.* 3*d.*

[5] Bom. let. 11 June, 6 Bom. 27.

they are of Sevagees country, and if he shall have any designe against us, they would be snakes in our bosome.'*

Another source of disquiet was the 'daily resorte to the Island of a company of idle sturdy beggars called Fuckeers', some of whom were armed and behaved 'very insolent towards the inhabitants of this place'. A proclamation was issued in April, ordering their departure within three days.†

This influx of beggars was probably due to scarcity of grain, as to which Gray reported in April: 'rice is scarce and dear, being risen to 15 zeraphins the mora.‡ Those who have it, hoord it up, by reason none is brought from the Maine.'[1] In June the hoarding had forced the Council

to make a general search and take an account what every man had in his house, enjoining them to sell rice at the rate of 15 zeraphines per mora, a price not overburdensome to the poor, and equally profitable to the seller, yet they will be obstinate and sometimes bring none to markett.... That which troubles us most is the thoughts wee have that there is not enough on the Island to susteine it three months, and of wheat there is very little, yet we finde it will be neither generosity nor pollicy to drive these people off the Island, who are fled hither from the armes of Sevagee for refuge.[2]

The export of grain was also prohibited;[3] but in October Giffard, at the solicitation of the chief inhabitants, when they came to make the customary congratulations to the new Deputy Governor, withdrew the order prohibiting the selling of rice at above 15 zerafins a mora, and issued a proclamation allowing import of any quantity and its sale at what it could fetch in the market, with a view to encourage its import from the mainland, and in the hope of getting it as cheap or cheaper than when the price was limited.[4] This course was approved by the Council at Surat.[5]

* Sur. let. 10 July, 19 Bom. 27. It is satisfactory to note that Aungier subsequently changed his opinion and described them as 'good soldiers, stout, faithfull and lovers of the English': Aungier's report on Bombay, dated 15 Dec. 1673, O.C. 3910, f. 4 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 19).

* Bom. con. 14 April, 1 Bom. 2, & Bom. let. 13 April, 6 Bom. 14. Fakir is probably used in a generic sense as including Hindu mendicants: cf. Yule, 347.

† Mahr. *muda*, a package of grain, &c. (Yule, 583). According to Dr. Fryer (ii. 131), a 'moora' was a little more than 1½ candies, 8 'parras' (*phara*) making a candy, and 12½ 'parras' a 'moora'.

[1] Bom. let. 18 April, 6 Bom. 14.

[2] Bom. let. 11 June, 6 Bom. 16.

[3] Bom. let. 20 Aug., 19 Bom. 47.

[4] Bom. let. 6 Oct., 195 Sur. 33.

[5] Sur. con. 28 Oct., 2 Misc. 108.

In addition to this difficulty, there was considerable sickness and mortality among the European community, attributed largely to the late monsoon. In July Gray wrote: 'tis now a sickly time for fluxes and feavours, yet praised be God, wee have buryed but one man these three months past.'[1] But later in that month the deaths took place of Rev. James Hutchinson, the Minister, and John Martyn, the secretary to the Council, whose place (Gray said) it would be difficult to supply with 'a sober person and one that is quallifyed for it';* and in August he wrote:

Wee have diverse of our people sick and tis a harde sayinge when the surgeons tell them they have no medecines to give them, occasioned by the improvidence of those [to whom] our Masters intrust it at home, that neglected sendinge any out by the last three ships, which falls out unhappily to the loss of the Company's servants and alsoe to the greate encrease of these charges [through having to pay the ships double the amount that the medecines so obtained would have cost at home].[2]

In September there was an improvement in this respect, Gray having purchased a medicine-chest from Dr. Bird† for Rs. 44, and received another which the Company had sent out on one of the ships, so that he hoped the supply would be sufficient till the next year's shipping arrived.[3]

Aungier had during his visit marked out a convenient place for a hospital, and had ordered one to be built at the Company's expense. Gray accordingly employed stonecutters, bricklayers, and carpenters, in getting materials ready for one;[4] but no actual building appears to have begun during the year.

The Company had sent out four ships to Bombay this year. Of these the *Berkeley Castle* arrived on 19 August, and the *Hannibal*, the *Experiment*, and the *Loyal Subject* on 7 September.‡ The first three

[1] Bom. let. 5 July, 6 Bom. 31; cf. Sur. let. 22 July, 19 Bom. 32.

* Bom. let. 11 & 22 July, 6 Bom. 32, 34. Hutchinson's piety and meekness of disposition were commended by Aungier (O.C. 3515, ff. 24, 25). Martyn was succeeded in September by Stephen Ustick, who had been sent out by the Company as a sergeant, no factor being entertained this year; but the Company recommended him for better employment, 'he being bred a merchant and rendred to be a very ingenious person': 4 L.B. 331 (49 Home Misc. 141).

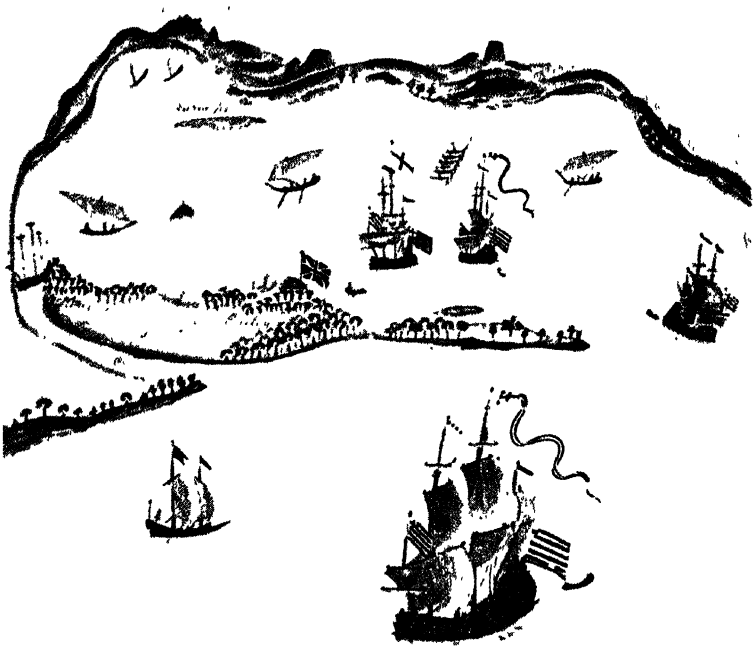
[2] Bom. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 42.

† Dr. Bird was then out of the Company's service (see p. 95 of the preceding volume) and was seeking re-employment.

[3] Bom. let. 5 Sept., 6 Bom. 61.

[4] Aungier's instrns., 3 Sur. 152; Bom. let. 12 May, 11 June, & 11 July, 6 Bom. 25, 26, & 33.

‡ Sur. let. to Co. 19 Dec., O.C. 3523. An interesting account of the voyage of the *Experiment*, written by Edward Barlow, a seaman on her, is contained in *Barlow's Journal*, i. 178–85.



'The Maner of the port & harbour of Bumbay, Lying upon the Cost of East India in the Lattitude of 19 degrees north.'

Reduced from the original in the Journal (1655–1703) of Edward Barlow, seaman

left for Swally about 15 September, after unlading their consignments for the Island. The *Loyal Subject* was detained a week or so longer, 'gunns [in her] being troublesome to gett out', and Gray left on her to resume his seat on the Surat Council.[1] The Company's despatch of 16 February, which the ships brought out, settled some points on which orders had been requested. As to the lands seized by Lucas (preceding volume, pp. 77, 230), careful inquiry was to be made into the titles of the claimants, so that on the one hand any that were proved to be such as would have been good against the King of Portugal were to be recognized as valid, and on the other hand unjust claims and encroachments should not be admitted. The request for engineers to be sent out (ibid., 66, 81) was refused, the Company saying 'we find persons of great abillities difficult to be obteyned, and extraordinary willfull in their way and expensive, and therefore would have you make use of Capt. Smith, Capt. Toldervy or any others that are able upon the place . . . fortifications being now more generally understood then formerly'. Instead, the Council had to be content with 'Books of Fortifications' that were sent to help them. The question whether the King's flag should be continued at Bombay (ibid., 67, 83) was answered by its being judged most convenient that the flag should be the Company's own.* The Council was authorized to buy land near the town, or if necessary in other parts, for settling artificers, &c., on it, at a cost not exceeding £1,000

[1] Bom. let. 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 59.

* The Company's flag at this period was one of alternate longitudinal red and white stripes, the number of which varied from 9 to 13, the odd ones being red, with St. George's cross in red on a white canton in the upper corner next the staff (W. G. Perrin, *British Flags*, 129, 130; *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, viii). In the eighteenth century its flag, with thirteen red and white stripes and the union of St. George's and St. Andrew's crosses in the canton, had become familiar at Boston and other ports in the American colonies from the Company's ships that traded there; and there is apparent ground for the assertion that it was the origin of the identical stripes in the U.S.A. national flag (W. J. Gordon, *A Manual of Flags*, 264–6). It seems at any rate to be clear that the 'Congress Colors' flown in 1775 were precisely the same as the East India Company's flag of that time (*National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, xxxii. 288; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., x. 460).

Aungier told the Company in January 1671 that they had not yet altered the Union flag, which had hitherto been used, 'for fears it might cause some thoughts among the souldiers' (O.C. 3538, ff. 4, 5); and this is corroborated by Barlow's drawing of Bombay port and harbour, which is reproduced facing p. 16, and which shows the Union Jack flying from the Fort and the Company's flag on each of the four ships lying in the harbour. The view of Bombay Fort from the land-side by Baldaeus in about this year (reproduced in *Bom. City Gaz.* i. 6) also shows the Union Jack on the Castle, though the view from the harbour (ibid. 5) has a flag with St. George's cross on another part of the building. It is, in any case, clear that the King's flag was flying above the Fort in 1674–5 (pp. 113–17, *post*).

or £1,500; and the manufacture of calicoes at Bombay was again earnestly recommended (cf. ibid., 238).[1]

The Council had reason to complain of the conduct of other Europeans besides soldiers. Richard Ball and Capt. Gary in particular gave trouble, with the result that in August Aungier ordered that they should be summoned before the Council and reprimanded for their disloyalty and misbehaviour.[2] For one thing they had backed a spurious claim to property by Khwaja Alla-uddin, with whom they had a private understanding; and Gary was said to have 'put him confidently in beliefe that he [Gary] shall be Governor next yere, the other [Ball] . . . that his father-in-law Capt. Younge shall be soe and come out upon the first ship [that] arrives from England'.[3] Gary had also refused to account for money received by him before the Company's time.[4] Ball had endeavoured to infringe the policy of neutrality in the war between the Mughal and Sivaji that Gray and Aungier had naturally adopted. The Sidi at Danda Rajpuri (Janjira) had made overtures for a supply of provisions, which in any case the scarcity at Bombay would have hindered; and when a vessel of his called at Bombay, it was only given sufficient rice for the voyage back to Danda Rajpuri. A design of Ball and other freemen to furnish that place with rice they had bought, and for some of them to go there in person, was discovered and frustrated.[5] Ball was also reported to have been driving a trade with it for 'elephant's teeth', which the Danda vessels had got by piracy.[6] In June Aungier had had a somewhat acrimonious correspondence with Ball over the Company's demand upon him for loss in weight of pepper at Karwar, when he was employed there.* Moreover, Ball's obstructive conduct in some litigation that arose out of a trading venture of his father-in-law, and that occupied the attention of the Council for many months, caused dissatisfaction.†

[1] 4 L.B. 315, 386.
[2] Sur. let. 27 Aug., 19 Bom. 47.
[3] Bom. let. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 50, 51.
[4] Bom. let. 27 July, 19 Bom. 37, 38.
[5] Bom. let. 20 Aug., 19 Bom. 47, 48.
[6] Ibid.

* 19 Bom. 19, 22–4. Ball was at Karwar in 1661–2: see the volume for that period, pp. 29, 30. Aungier in his letter of 15 June says that he had deserted the Hon. Company's service and applied himself to Anjidiv for protection, where he had fomented discord and made 'abusive scandalls' about the President and Council (cf. the volume of 1661–4, pp. 342, 351).

† Bom. let. 14 Oct., 105 Sur. 41. The proceedings from 12 May to 14 Sept. 1670 take up most of the only consultation-book of that year (1 Bom. 2–10). Further proceedings and correspondence are contained in 19 Bom. and 105 Sur. For details of the litigation, see *B.J.*, chap. v.

Another person who gave trouble was Nicholas Searle. He had been appointed a factor in 1668 (see p. 15 of the preceding volume), but was put under arrest on 29 November 1669 for mutinous conduct at Surat.[1] Aungier brought him to Bombay, with the intention of sending him home, as unfit to be a factor; but on the intercession of Gray he had been employed as Steward for the Fort. In spite of his debauchery and excess expenditure,

he continued in his stewardship untill, takeinge distaste that the Deputy Governor should call him to accompt for beateinge the Moodies brother with a rattan untill the blood appeared in many places on his back, the gentleman in an angry vaine [vein] without our knowledge rudely leaves the Forte, and takes his wife with him, and they have since lived upon their meanes in the quarters, and good ease to the Company.[2]

Yet 'he hath the confidence . . . to presume that the vacancy of Secretarie and Register is preserved for him of right, but wee . . . looke not upon him in the capacitie as the Company's servant, unless he shall take a muskett and become a souldier'.[3] Aungier approved of his dismissal.[4]

Women also came in for censure. In a report to the Company at the beginning of 1671, Giffard wrote:

Several persons of the ordinarie sorte come out of both sexes, whose lives and carriages not being enquired into, prove when they arrive heare soe strangely debauch[ed] and factious that they are not onely dangerous and troublesome, but are alsoe a disgrace both to there country and religion.[5]

The Company in 1669 had sent out single women, not only of a class suitable to be soldiers' wives but also 'some gentlewomen', who had been recommended for such treatment and respect 'as their virtues shall deserve' (see pp. 237 and 241 of the preceding volume). In November Giffard makes a remark which shows that some of them did not succeed in getting husbands, viz. 'the ladyes that are unmarried begin to despaire and desire leave to goe home', if they were not more successful in the following two months.[6]

An incident that occurred on 15 August and created some stir was the shipwreck of a Calicut vessel sailing back from Muskat. It was

[1] 3 Sur. 3.
[2] Bom. let. 5 Aug., 6 Bom. 39.
[3] Bom. let. 5 Aug., 6 Bom. 39.
[4] Sur. let. 16 Aug., 19 Bom. 44.
[5] Bom. let. 14 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3540.
[6] Bom. let. 3 Nov., 105 Sur. 55 & O.C. 3509.

driven ashore on the point of Verula (Warli) and broke into pieces. There are several letters that passed between Gray and Cotes, who was at Mahim, on this subject.[1] On board the ship were about 100 men, including several *Bania* passengers with their valuables, and some horses. All but eleven of the men were saved, as also two horses, which (Gray reported to Surat) 'would be of service to the Company on the Island in place of the old decayed jades delivered up with the Islande'. Unfortunately plundering ensued: 'those that gained the shore were barbarously used by the savages of Verula who robbed them of all they had', and even endeavoured to drown them.* Gray explains, however, that the culprits were not 'naturall inhabitants of the Islande, but fugitives from other parts, their business is fishinge off at sea'.[2] In addition there was looting by coolies sent out by the Padrees (Portuguese clergy) of Bandra, though the wreck lay in the Company's jurisdiction.[3] Stern measures were taken to stop this and punish such offenders as were caught. Gray ordered the Mahim Justices to be called together and the Militia to be mustered. His remarks on the latter point[4] are worth reproducing:

[After instructions as to the method of raising the men and appointing officers over them.] But there is more to be done in this affaire then the raisinge the men, and that which we espeatially recommend to you with the Justices, . . . is that there be no partiallity in the bussines, as we have formerly hearde of, that they shall put a man to the charge of a muskett which is not worth one, not in vallue, and other men who are landed [i.e. possessed of lands] and are able to finde three or four have found but one. Wee pray you to imprint this on the Justices your assistants and to minde them of their oath that they doe all things without favour or affection, conceivinge every man to finde accordinge to his estate.

Gray's report of 1 September is also interesting:[5]

Wee herewith send you a list of what wee have saved from the wrack, and what wee heard the Bandora Coolys have stolen out of her; wee have now examined our owne Coolys of Verula, but can get nothing more out of them; wee have discharged most of them with a

[1] 19 Bom. 37–47.

* This was confirmed by some survivors, who said that none were saved, except those who could swim ashore, although boats went out to the wreck (Bal. let. 11 Nov., 105 Sur. 86).

[2] Bom. let. 20 Aug., 19 Bom. 50.

[3] Bom. let. 20 Aug., 19 Bom. 52.

[4] Gray's let. 16 Aug., 6 Bom. 46.

[5] Bom. let. 1 Sept., 105 Sur. 14.

good whipping. There are some more notorious rogues, who are like to part with their ears at the pillory for a publique example, those who cut the Banians fingers and endeavoured to drowne him and others, and tooke away his gold, of which they have returned nothing and the other two who took 500 abasses* and delivered in but twenty; and the Bandare Coolys are all examined; some confessed without whipping and others would not confess with it; these wee resolve to keepe prisoners untill wee have ended the business with the Padrees of Bandare.

Eventually some property, including 2,005 abasses, was restored by the Padrees, who (it was stated in November) 'are mighty earnest about their coolies, and we think now of releasing them, as we know not how they can be further useful to us'.[1]

Most of the Justices at Bombay and Mahim had been appointed in March, although there were some difficulties, as shown by the following remarks:

[After saying that commissions had been delivered to Robert Barbor, Lewis Cassada, Pera d'Silva, and Francisco Antumes de Careira as J.P.s of Bombay.] These are not all the same men that were appointed when his Honour was here,† for at the day when wee intended to deliver five commissions to such persons as were chosen, wee understood that such of them as are called white men and boast much of their descention from Europe parents accounted it the greatest affront could be passed on them to set [sit] among such as are descended from the natives of the Island and are of the Black Cast, which they would never yet condescend to let set in their presence, a state although soe inherent with them yet wee conjecture not thought of by you, noe more then by some of us, when wee sent for them to deliver their commissions. . . . Wee have sworne and delivered Mr. Thomas Cotes his commission for a Justice to officiate in Mahim; hitherto wee cannot finde fit persons to joine with him . . . two of those chosen are at present sick and the most judicious person Francisco Barrett taken from that to serve the Hon. Company in other employment. [Mr. Cotes is going to Mahim to find the most capable person to officiate.] And these will bee filios de terra of the Black Cast, for there is not at this time in all these precincts any persons descended from Europe, unless they be Padrees.[2]

* These were Persian coins, so named after Shah Abbas I (1587–1629) and Abbas II (1642–66).

† The names of these appear, however, to be the same, except that Pera d'Silva takes the place of Antonio Ribero (Bom. con. 2 Feb., 3 Sur. 4).

[1] Bom. let. 3 Nov., 105 Sur. 54.

[2] Bom. let. 21 March, 6 Bom. 3, 4.

In a letter about a month later Gray reported that he had given commissions to the Mahim Justices, but Cotes 'is very earnest to have Antonio Baretto among them, as one who is able. The others are thicksculled. Wee shall endeavour to perswade him to it, for his bussyness about the cairo [coir] is not much'.[1] Aungier approved of this and instructed Gray, if necessary, to appoint some one else to look after the cairo.[2]

This business was, however, of some importance, though trade conditions during the year were extremely bad. Aungier thus sums up the state of affairs:[3]

Want of stocke, the jealousys of our neighbors, and the warr begann by Sevagy soe neare us, hath given some check to the increase of trade, which yet hath gayned ground and will advance yearely. The cairo wee have raysed to be a proffitable commodity to you. . . .

In September Gray complains that the ten bales of cloth sent him by the Company are unsaleable, not only because the colour was 'improper for this place', but also 'having no vend for commodities during the warrs on the maine, all passages being stopt by Sevagee. . . .'[4] Similarly in their December letter to the Company, the Bombay Council say:

only of that large quantity of goods enordered for this Island, wee tooke noe more ashoare then what specified in the inclosed list, Bombay at present having not soe currant a trade as wee hope to expect hereafter: especially if ever the Portugalls are either perswaded or forced to take of[f] those great customes of Tanna, which is a very great, nay almost the only, impediment of trade to this Island.[5]

As Thana lay at the north-east extremity of Bombay Harbour and so commanded the ordinary line of communication with the mainland, the Portuguese were able to cripple the trade of Bombay. In consequence of these difficulties, most of the Company's goods were sent on to Surat for disposal.[6]

This involved giving up money that otherwise might have been obtained by the sale of the goods, and enhanced a financial stringency

[1] Bom. let. 13 April, 19 Bom. 14.
[2] Sur. let. 3 May, 19 Bom. 15.
[3] Sur. let. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515, f. 7 (49 Home Misc. 312).
[4] Bom. let. 5 Sept., 6 Bom. 60.
[5] Bom. let. 20 Dec., 105 Sur. 98.
[6] Sur. con. 27 Aug., 3 Sur. 83.

that had all along been felt. In March Gray reported that their treasure was so exhausted that they could hold out only for a fortnight longer.[1] The Council at Surat did their best to help him. In April they sent Rs. 15,000.[2] In May they also sent Rs. 300 in small pice, as there was a scarcity of small coin, which was needed for paying labourers, while 'for want of such money the poor people cannot buy provisions'.[3] In October they sent a 'convenient stock' of Rs. 20,000 by the *Berkeley Castle*.[4] Yet in December the cash in the treasury had fallen to between 200 and 300 zerafins.[5]

The Company's trade at Bombay was, therefore, mainly confined to coco-nuts. In March Cotes at Mahim sold 45,000 at 17 laris per hundred, the price prescribed during Aungier's visit.[6] In April cairo was sold to neighbouring chieftains and others.[7] As it could be sold profitably at Surat, the Bombay Council was asked to send as much as it could spare. Accordingly 142 candies (as well as 27,000 coconuts) were forwarded in October, and 20 candies and 202 bundles in December.[8] Aungier reported to the Company that they had made Rs. 5,000 by its sale at Surat, in addition to the profit at Bombay.[9]

The manufacture of piece-goods by the weavers imported from 1669 (see pp. 224, 228, and 246 of the preceding volume) continued. Aungier in January 1671 reported to the Company on this subject:

> The manufactuie of cloath goes on very hopefully. Last yeare there was some stopp for want of tanna* and loomes, which since we have supplyed from hence and they have allso procured from other places. The cloath is of a very good sorte, and the kindness wherewith we use the weavers wee doubt not will encourage others to come and settle with us.[10]

Another obstacle to the work was a want of cotton yarn, and in May it was thought that twenty weavers would have to be got rid of temporarily on this account.[11]

Aungier had formed an intention in December to pay another visit to Bombay, accompanying the ships that were to call there on

[1] Bom. let. 29 March, 6 Bom. 8.
[2] Sur. let. 15 & 27 April, 19 Bom. 11, 12.
[3] Bom. let. 18 April, 6 Bom. 16, & Sur. let. 3 May, 19 Bom. 14.
[4] Sur. con. 28 Oct., 3 Sur. 100.
[5] Bom. let. 6 Dec., 105 Sur. 92.
[6] Bom. let. 21 March, 6 Bom. 2.
[7] Bom. let. 13 April, 6 Bom. 14.
[8] Sur. let. 6 Sept., 19 Bom. 53; Bom. let. 14 Oct. & 17 Dec., 105 Sur. 43, 97.
[9] Sur. let. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515, f. 7 (49 Home Misc. 312).
* This is the Marathi *tāṇā*, warp.
[10] Sur. let. 9 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3538 (49 Home Misc. 345).
[11] Bom. let. 29 March, 13 April, & 12 May, 6 Bom. 10, 15, 24.

their way home;[1] but, as will be seen later, this project did not eventuate. The *Berkeley Castle* arrived on 18 December and left on the 22nd.[2] The other two ships did not call there till January 1671.

BOMBAY, 1671

THE Company's three ships, the *Loyal Subject*, the *Hannibal*, and the *Experiment*, which had left Swally on 10 January, reached Bombay on the 12th and were dispatched within 48 hours.* To the great disappointment of the Bombay Council, they did not bring the President with them. Aungier had in fact been ready to embark, when he received a friendly message from the Governor of Surat to suspend his voyage, 'if he valued the Company's honour and interest of their trade', so for this and other forcible reasons his contemplated visit was given up.[3] He was thus precluded from giving his personal attention to the claims for restoration of the 'seized lands', as he had intended.[4] This was an important question calling for early action, in view of the Company's orders for an inquiry, and the dissatisfaction caused by the attachment, which had lasted for four years. Accordingly the matter was referred to the Bombay Council in January, with a direction that it should see justice done both to the claimants and the Company, whose rights should be preserved against encroachments and invalid pretensions.[5] In order to help them, the Surat Council appointed three English and three Portuguese residents at Bombay to make the requisite inquiries, and Simon Serron† to be Proctor or Solicitor-General to defend the Company's rights before the Commissioners.[6] Giffard and his colleagues were much troubled that 'so weighty an affair' should be put upon them, and reported a general unwillingness among the inhabitants to meddle in it, while most of the qualified Portuguese were subject to improper Jesuitical pressure.[7] Much to their relief, Aungier sent

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 20 Nov., P.S. 15 Dec., O.C. 3515, f. 33 (49 Home Misc. 329); Bom. let. to Co. 20 Dec., O.C. 3527, f. 2 (49 Home Misc. 365). [2] Bom. let. 24 Dec., 105 Sur. 98.

* Sw. let. to Co. 26 Jan., O.C. 3456, f. 1; Bom. let. 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 111. Cf. *Barlow's Journal*. i. 194, 195. He mentions that each ship carried 2 or 3 spotted deer as a present to the King, and that on the arrival of the ships at Blackwall, the Keeper of St. James's Park came on board for them.

[3] Sur. let. 10 Jan., O.C. 3539; Sw. con. 7 Jan., 2 Misc. 112.

[4] See p. 37 *post*. [5] Sw. let. 10 Jan., O.C. 3539.

† He was a Portuguese, who had been appointed legal adviser to the Bombay Council, see p. 4 *ante*.

[6] Sw. con. 12 Jan., 2 Misc. 112; Sur. let. to Co. 26 Jan., O.C. 3456.

[7] Bom. let. 31 Jan. & 6 Feb., 105 Sur. 112, 113, 115.

some disinterested persons from Surat to conduct the inquiry, viz. Capt. William Bass (formerly Commander of the *George*), who presided over the Commission, Stephen Flower (late Chief in Persia), George Simonds (who had also served in Persia), Col. Herman Bake (a German, whom Aungier appointed Engineer and Surveyor-General at Bombay),* and Col. Richard Palmer (who was also designated for employment there).† With them were associated Stephen Ustick (the secretary of the Bombay Council), Richard Ball, and three Portuguese residents.[1] Detailed instructions for their guidance were issued by the Surat Council.[2] They held sittings in March and April, with the result that several *ortas*, or coco-nut gardens, and other lands were given up to claimants, who were held to have established their titles, while encroachments on royal rights or privileges were ordered to be retained for the Company's use.‡ The Jesuits, however, adopted a policy of non-co-operation, refusing to produce their evidence or titles for examination, and demanding restitution of the lands they claimed without any such process.[3] Aungier anticipated that they would make a clamour about it in England, so had copies of all relevant documents sent home by the Company's ships.§ He also made the following comments on their behaviour:

As they are very wise, subtle and powerfull, so in truth they are very troublesome, not to say insolent, and . . . they have used all politick ways to bring their ends about, that these lands might be surrendred without examination. Your President thinks it not fitt to tell you how he hath bin tempted by them to abuse his trust; but we judge it worthy your knowledge that when they cannot gaine

* Sur. con. 2 April, 2 Misc. 113. The Co. had granted him a passage out to India in Jan. 1670 (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 291). Aungier says he made this appointment, having discovered his abilities and being sensible of the need for an able engineer for draining the over-flown lands, lining out the new town, surveying the Island, and having an exact record of each man's possessions and title thereto (Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 2).

† He was appointed to manage the custom-house at Mahim (Sur. con. 2 April, 2 Misc. 113), but does not appear to have taken up the appointment (cf. Bom. let. 8 March, 105 Sur. 116).

[1] Sur. con. 14 Feb., 2 Misc. 113; commn. 1 March, O.C. 3533; Bom. let. 28 Feb., 105 Sur. 118. [2] O.C. 3554.

‡ Sur. let. to Co., 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 7; Bom. let. 7 Oct. & 18 Dec., 106 Sur. 13, 58. Before the claimant got possession, he had to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, deposit two copies of his title, and have the land surveyed by Col. Bake: see the last certificate of 10 April in O.C. 3556.

[3] Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 3. See also O.C. 3555, 3557–9, 3564, 3565.

§ Sw. let. 30 Sept., 87 Sur. 4. Aungier's anticipation was fulfilled. Complaint was made by the Viceroy of Goa, and Aungier's effective answer is in the P.R.O., C.O. 77, vol. xii, f. 43.

their desires that way, they use another more dangerous to your government, which is by threatning those your servants (whom we are forct to employ in this affair of the Roman Catholick principle) with severe spirituall censures, with excommunication, pronouncing them damned for serving hereticks, and suchlike illegall pernicious arts they use to weaken the hearts of your people there from their duty and obedience to your service.[1]

The big Mazagaon estate-holder, Alvaro Pires de Tavora, as well as the 'pretenders' to the Bombay 'house',* also sided with the Jesuits.[2]

Apart from this controversy, conditions in Bombay showed a decided improvement on those of the previous year. The fortification works went steadily on without the former recurring difficulties. In May they were reported to be 'in good forwardness',[3] and in November they were 'very forward, and wee thereby in a good posture of defence, and [we] hope by December next [year] to finish them'.† According to Aungier, all who had seen the Fort confessed it 'the most impregnable work of all these parts'.[4]

At the beginning of the year a fire burnt down some 300 houses, which were all poor ones of *cadjan* or palm-leaves, mostly belonging to the coolies, and the rest to Hindu merchants.[5] The Surat Council proposed to take advantage of this and issue a town-planning regulation requiring the houses to be rebuilt in stone,‡ with tiled roofs, in regular streets, placed so as to be commanded by the landward bastions of the Fort;[6] but Giffard objected that the building of the Fort took up all the available stone and *chunam* (lime), and that till it was finished, nothing could be done in the matter.[7] He also pointed out that many of the people affected could not afford the expense, and suggested that the town-planning should wait till Aungier came to Bombay.[8] On the other hand, progress was made with

[1] O.C. 3556, f. 8.

* That is, the family of Donna Ignez de Miranda (see the preceding volume, p. 237).

[2] Bom. let. 3 May, 105 Sur. 161. [3] Bom. let. 29 May, 105 Sur. 167.

† Bom. let. to Co. 18 Nov., 106 Sur. 36. That 'December next' meant December 1672 is shown by the remark in Bom. let. to Co. 18 Jan. 1672, 'the fortifications arise apace, and we doubt not but to finish them as we formerly advised'.

[4] Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 16. [5] Sur. let. to Co. 19 Jan., O.C. 3546, f. 1.

‡ This was in accordance with the direction of the Company, who had sent out a copy of the Act for rebuilding the City of London: see the preceding volume, p. 237.

[6] Sw. con. 12 Jan., 2 Misc. 112; O.C. 3546, f. 1. [7] Bom. let. 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 113.

[8] Bom. let. 28 Feb. & 18 March, 105 Sur. 119, 137.

building a hospital, and in April its completion was reported to be in sight.[1]

This was indeed an urgent requirement. The letters from Bombay contain frequent references to the sickness and mortality prevalent among the European residents. The Council was particularly affected. In January both Cotes and Capt. Burgess were sick.[2] Cotes in fact had a long and tedious illness that ended in his death in November.[3] Barbor, who had been very ill with gout and 'flux', apparently had a stroke in June, which rendered him speechless.[4] In July provision was made by the Surat Council for Flower to succeed him at Mahim, if he died.[5] He was, however, still alive at the end of the year, though apparently unable to do any work.* Henry Chown, who had returned to Surat on the *George* from the discarded factory at Achin, took his place on the Council in June.[6]

The Deputy Governor also suffered from illness in the latter part of the year, and the balancing of the Bombay accounts was delayed in consequence.[7] During the months of October and November sickness was rife, as the following extracts from letters of the dates given in brackets show:

(*7 Oct.*) Is a very sickly time with us, there being at least 45 soldiers sick and both Dr. Powell and Dr. Boice† given over—so that we have no person that knows how to apply anything to anyone's distemper, which doth much discourage our men.

(*13 Oct.*) We have a very sickly time of it here, not one of us enjoy our healths hardly a weeke together. Dr. Powell is dead, and Thomas Boice‡ given over long ago, so in much want of a Dr.

(*23 Oct.*) We have still many of our men desperately ill and some dye almost daily.

(*8 Nov.*) We find no abatement of those malignant distempers among us, which carry off daily one or other away—not two of us in

[1] Bom. let. 31 Jan. & 8 April, 105 Sur. 113, 165.

[2] Bom. let. 14 & 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 102, 112.

[3] Giffard's let. 10 Nov., 106 Sur. 31.

[4] Bom. let. 24 June, 105 Sur. 177.

[5] Sw. con. 15 July, 2 Misc. 115.

* Cf. Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 26: 'Mr. Barbor is so ill and his memory so fails that he cannot better inform us.' He signed no Council letter after that of 7 April, 105 Sur. 163–5. A consultation of 21 July 1673 refers to his death (1 Bom. 64).

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 7 April & 1 June, O.C. 3566, f. 1, & 3567, f. 7; Bom. let. 3 June, 105 Sur. 170.

[7] Bom. let. 12 Aug., 23 Oct., & 1 Nov., 105 Sur. 194 & 106 Sur. 26, 28.

† Dr. Powell was appointed surgeon at Bombay in July 1668 (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 37, 38). Dr. Boyce was formerly employed in Persia (see the preceding volume, p. 41).

‡ His death was reported next month, Bom. let. 8 Nov., 106 Sur. 33.

the Fort well, but some dangerously ill, which is a great hindrance to business and to the accounts.[1]

Nor was it till the close of the year that the want of a surgeon was remedied.[2]

This unhealthiness of Bombay was largely attributed to the old-standing practice of *buckshaw*, i.e. manuring coco-nut trees with putrid fish.* The Company in their despatch of 22 February expressed a similar view that this was prejudicial to health, and called upon the Surat Council to consider whether it could not be forbidden.[3] Accordingly notice was given to the inhabitants of Bombay to discontinue it;[4] but both Aungier and Giffard anticipated there would be difficulties about it,[5] and many years were to pass before the prohibition became effective.†

Another contributory cause among the soldiers was, as Aungier put it, 'their ill-government, debauchery and wicked intemperance, even as they lay on their death-beds'.[6] Giffard tried to check drunkenness by a proclamation prohibiting the supply of drink to soldiers, except for ready money.[7]

Trade conditions remained much the same as in the previous year, except that there was not the same cause for alarm. Giffard wrote in January that they would do their best to promote trade in the Island, 'but the inhabitants are generally very poore, and those that have money know not what belongs to trade, and soe will hardly be perswaded to such hazards, but wee hope some merchants from [the] Decan may be easily perswaded to try'.[8] But in September he was less hopeful: 'the Maine', he says, 'is in such an uncertaine condition that noe merchants will appear to trade for fear of having what little they have left forced [in these broils] from them.'[9] Still, the situation had then undoubtedly improved. The Fort was nearing completion; the garrison had been strengthened by the arrival of a new company

[1] 106 Sur. 13, 22, 26, 33.

[2] Bom. let. 15 Dec. & 13 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 56, 62; Sw. let. 1 Jan. 1672, 87 Sur. 15.

* e.g. Fryer, i. 68, 69; Hamilton, i. 181. The fish used is the small one known as *bummelo*, which in its dried state is famous under the name of 'Bombay duck' (cf. Yule, 117, 126).

[3] 4 L.B. 429.

[4] Sur. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 17.

[5] Ibid., and Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 26.

† This manuring was, for instance, still being allowed in 1722 and 1724, outside a certain distance of the town (Bom. con. 23 Feb. 1722 & 1 May 1724, Bom. Pub. Progs., vol. 5).

[6] Sw. let to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 7.

[7] Bom. let. 24 June & 12 July, 105 Sur. 178, 183.

[8] Bom. let. 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 112.

[9] Bom. let. 26 Sept., 106 Sur. 12.

sent out from England; and there was no fear of an attack by Sivaji, who had sent an envoy to negotiate with the Council and wanted to be on friendly terms with the English.[1] In October Sivaji's fleet arrived from Dabhol,[2] without creating the alarm it had caused the previous year.[3] Its objective was supposed to be Danda-Rajpuri, the Sidi's fortress at Janjira, for the capture of which Sivaji wished to obtain armaments from Bombay.[4]

The project of negotiating a treaty with Sivaji continued throughout the latter part of the year. Under orders from Surat, Lieut. Ustick and Ramsinai (Ramchandra Shenvi), the Portuguese 'scrivan',* were to be sent to treat with Sivaji personally,[5] and full instructions were given in September by Aungier for this purpose.[6] A present of considerable value was also sent from Surat for Ustick to take with him.[7] But owing to Sivaji being otherwise engaged, the proposed visit was hanging fire at the end of the year.[8] Meanwhile, the Company in a despatch of 23 June approved of Aungier's negotiating with Sivaji about reopening a factory at Rajapur.[9] Towards the end of the year Aungier also addressed the Viceroy of Goa regarding the Company's protests against the customs levied at Bassein, Thana, and Karanja,[10] which continued to harass trade with Bombay.

Accordingly, when the five ships that the Company sent out this year arrived at Bombay in August,† Giffard refrained from landing any goods, 'for till the country is more quiet and the passage open, there is very little likelyhood of vending anything'.[11] This method of raising money was consequently not available; and Bombay continued to be almost entirely dependent on Surat for its supplies, as only a little treasure had been sent out to it,‡ and the revenues were

[1] Bom. let. 2 Sept., 106 Sur. 7; Sw. let. 30 Sept., 87 Sur. 1.
[2] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 27.
[3] See p. 8 *ante*. [4] Bom. let. 9 Sept., 23 Oct., & 8 Nov., 106 Sur. 9, 26, 32.
* Writer: Port. *escrivão*. He had been appointed in 1668 (preceding volume, p. 64).
[5] Sw. let. 30 Sept., 87 Sur. 1; Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 11.
[6] O.C. 3585. For a summary of them see Bruce, ii. 203.
[7] Sw. let. 5 Oct. & 30 Nov., 87 Sur. 3, 8.
[8] Bom. let. 15 Dec. & 13 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 56, 62. [9] 4 L.B. 462.
[10] Sur. con. 4 Sept., 2 Misc. 116; Sur. let. to Karwar, 15 Nov., O.C. 3608.
† The *Antelope* on 16th, the *Phoenix* on 17th, the *London*, the *Falcon*, and the *Massingberd* on 22nd: O.C. 3594, f. 2. [11] Bom. let. 2 Sept., 106 Sur. 7.
‡ Only four chests of cruzados (a Portuguese gold or silver coin, with a cross on it) seem to have been received: Bom. let. 2 Sept. & 7 Oct., 106 Sur. 7, 13.

decreased by the restoration of 'seized' lands.[1] As in the previous year there were constant requests to Surat for money, especially for meeting the cost of building the Fort and the pay of the garrison. For the former, pice (a copper coin worth under ½*d.*) were much needed, for as soon as there was any scarcity of them labourers left the Island to seek other work.[2] There was a difficulty, however, in getting the requisite supply from Surat.[3] Cruzados were sent, but many of these were defective and would not be taken by the country people.[4] Though the Surat Council sent cash from time to time, the exchequer at Bombay was often very low and had to resort to borrowing money, which could not be raised cheaply, 'this Island not being very well furnished with this commodity'.[5] In November Rs. 10,000 were sent to Bombay, the Council having reported that they were in great need of money;[6] yet within the next two months they had to borrow Rs. 3,000 to keep their men at work and said there was not a farthing available to meet the next garrison pay-day.[7] The Company in their despatch of 22 February gave directions for the establishment of a Mint at Bombay for the coinage of gold or silver;[8] but this was a matter for deliberation, and action in it was naturally deferred by Aungier.[9]

On the other hand, most of the difficulties in obtaining other requisite supplies that had been so conspicuous in the previous year had disappeared. In January Giffard reported that they were 'reasonably well stored now with all things',[10] and urgent requests for stores were generally confined to small articles, such as iron bars, rattans for hooping barrels, nails, rosewater for use on ceremonial occasions, and paper of good quality.[11] The manufacture of gunpowder continued steadily with the saltpetre supplied from Karwar, though it was described as 'very foule'; but the powder-rooms were so damp in May, that another one was improvised 'under the studdy'.[12] Karwar and Baliapatam also sent supplies of timber:

[1] Bom. let. 2 Oct. & 18 Dec., 106 Sur. 13, 58.
[2] Bom. let. 31 Jan. & 10 Feb., 105 Sur. 114, 119. [3] Bom. let. 18 March, 105 Sur. 138.
[4] Bom. let. 10 Feb., 105 Sur. 117. [5] Bom. let. 3 & 14 June, 105 Sur. 169, 171, 172.
[6] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 27; Sur. let. 7 Nov., 87 Sur. 3.
[7] Bom. let. 18 Dec. & 8 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 58, 60. [8] 4 L.B. 428, 429.
[9] Sur. let. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 17. [10] Bom. let. 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 111.
[11] Bom. let. 2 & 16 Sept. & 1 Nov., 106 Sur. 5, 8, 29. A list of 'what wanting in the Garrison of Bombay', dated 15 Nov., is in 106 Sur. 37, 38.
[12] Bom. let. 3 May & 6 Nov., 105 Sur. 160 & 106 Sur. 49; Sw. let. 7 Dec., 87 Sur. 11.

that from the former place was reported to be very good, though very dear.[1]

Its transport was facilitated by the Surat Council's provision of a 'nimble friggatt', which they bought for Rs. 1,200, and placed at the disposal of the Deputy Governor and Council, along with the old hoy, *Mary*.[2] The two vessels also earned freight for private cargo carried between Bombay and Surat or the Malabar Coast.* The *Charles*, which was eventually repaired at Karwar,[3] was offered to the Bombay Council but refused as being too expensive a vessel.[4] Four large boats were also built at Surat and sent to Bombay at the end of the year.[5] They were particularly wanted for fetching firewood from the mainland, and so saving the extravagant cost of hiring boats for the purpose.[6]

The Company in their despatch of 22 February authorized the building of two small frigates or brigantines for freeing the coast from the Malabar pirates and for service as convoys, &c.[7] The order was welcomed by Aungier, who proposed to build another frigate as soon as the one bought had procured enough timber.† The 'Mallabars' had, he said, 'much infested the road', and in November Giffard reported that they had taken several boats and vessels belonging to Bombay.[8]

The arrival of the Company's five ships, in the latter part of August, which has already been mentioned, was an event of considerable importance to Bombay. It brought, first of all, a much needed accretion to the garrison in the shape of a full company, and secondly a new military commander in the person of Capt. John Shaxton. Both of them had, however, a disturbing effect. The soldiers, on landing, behaved insolently towards the Deputy Governor and his Council in making demands as to their pay, and a letter was

[1] Bom. let. 18 March & 7 Oct., 105 Sur. 138 & 106 Sur. 13; Kar. let. 18 April & 20 Sept., 105 Sur. 142 & 106 Sur. 16.

[2] Sur. con. 17 Feb., 5 March, & 27 May, 2 Misc. 113, 114; Sur. let. to Co., 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 7.

* Bom. let. 11 May, 105 Sur. 162; Sur. con. 27 May, 2 Misc. 114. The former shows that the 'nimble friggatt' was the vessel afterwards known as 'the *Malabar Coaster*'.

[3] Kar. let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 16.

[4] Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, ff. 9, 18.

[5] Sur. let. 30 Nov. & 3 Dec., 87 Sur. 9, 10.

[6] Bom. let. 3 May & 14 June, 105 Sur. 162, 172, & Bom. let. 20 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 64.

[7] 4 L.B. 429.

† Sw. let. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 17. It was subsequently resolved to build two frigates (Sur. let. 30 Nov., 87 Sur. 9). The term 'frigate' here does not mean the large and well armed warship of modern times: it was a shallow-bottomed coasting vessel, fitted to sail or row, with only a light armament.

[8] O.C. 3594, f. 17; Bom. let. 9 Nov., 106 Sur. 33.

sent to Shaxton requesting his assistance to suppress the trouble.[1] He at once came ashore, promised to do this, and showed a respectful demeanour towards the Deputy Governor; but the incident was reported to Surat.[2] Shaxton resented this, saying it was done 'through spleen' and that he was virtually charged with being 'a promotor of the soldiers' misbehaviour'.[3] But there was still stronger cause for friction between him and Giffard. The latter had in January asked the Company not to send out any officers with the new soldiers, for 'these here do expect, according to promise, to have none sent out over their heads: if anyone do come it will undoubtedly breed disturbance'.[4] This did not reach the Company till after the men had left England, and it was natural that an officer should be engaged to command the full company sent out. But the Company went much farther and designated Shaxton (who was entertained as a factor, as well as a captain) for the appointment of Deputy Governor of Bombay, to the supersession of Giffard, whose feelings can be well imagined. The time for the change was, however, left to the discretion of the Surat Council, 'as soone as you shall find it with any reasonable conveniency'.[5] And, though Shaxton had evidently been led to expect immediate advancement, he showed admirable restraint and willingness to submit to such orders as should be deemed to be in the best interests of the Company. Aungier did his best to smooth matters. While, for obvious reasons, he did not for some time supersede Giffard, he appointed Shaxton 'second' in the Bombay Council, promised him that justice would be done to the recommendation in his favour in due course, and saw that he was properly treated.* At the same time he reduced animosity on the part of Capt. Burgess and the other military officers by maintaining the former's pay as captain, instead of reducing it as suggested by the Company, and by making his company the 'elder' of the two.[6]

[1] Bom. let. 23 Aug., 105 Sur. 196. [2] Bom. let. 24 Aug., 105 Sur. 197.

[3] Shaxton's let. to the Surat Council, 11 Sept. & 13 Oct., 106 Sur. 3, 21.

[4] Bom. let. to Co., 14 Jan., O.C. 3540. [5] 4 L.B. 430.

* Sur. con. 1 Sept., 2 Misc. 116; Sw. let. 30 Sept., 87 Sur. 2; Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 11; Shaxton's let. 22 Nov., 106 Sur. 38; Sur. let. 7 Dec., 87 Sur. 11. Dr. Fryer (i. 169, 170) says that Capt. Shaxton's arrival 'revived the not extinguished fewd between the merchants and the soldiers'. No doubt he had good ground for this statement, but his addition, 'whereupon Shaxton was kept from it [the Deputy Governorship] a full year', overlooks the discretion given to the Surat Council, and the expediency of Shaxton gaining some experience before he was given that office.

[6] Desp. 22 Feb., 4 L.B. 430; Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 17.

Animosities also began to arise between the men of the two companies, to prevent which they were mixed and divided into two companies of half new and half old soldiers.[1] Then there was an awkward question to settle about their pay. The new recruits demanded 21*s.*, at 9*d.* a day for a month of 28 days, whereas the soldiers recruited since the surrender of the Island had been paid at a lower rate, taking 30 days to the month. On Shaxton's assurance that, under the Company's orders, he had enlisted the men at the rate they claimed, the Council agreed to pay them accordingly.*

The increase of the English garrison enabled a reduction to be made in the Portuguese contingent. The Surat Council at first ordered 100 of them to be disbanded, but subsequently agreed to Giffard's proposal to restrict the discharge to those in excess of 280.[2]

The maintenance of discipline in the garrison still gave trouble, owing to a firm belief among the English and Portuguese soldiers that the Council could not call a court martial. So long as this prevailed, said Giffard, 'it would be impossible to keep them quiett, the woefull experience whereof wee dayly to our trouble meet with'.[3] This was said to be due to the promulgation of the military section of the Company's Laws (No. VI) by posting them up, and the Bombay Council had them taken down. The Surat Council objected, and received the following submissive reply:

The Company's orders being taken downe, not by proclamation of drum, but by a verball order, is easily put in its former place, by which wee shall hereafter act without any further dispute, wee having not taken it downe on any particular designe, but only we acted by example of our predecessors who did follow the court martiall, and soe thought it not convenient that the souldiers should have the opportunity of saying they were governed by two sorts of Laws civill and military; and wee must also confess wee did not soe fully understand the utmost extent of the Hon. Company's Laws, untill they were more fully explained to us by your Honours.[4]

But almost simultaneously Giffard and his colleagues revived their objections to the Laws. John Goodman, the Company's armourer,

[1] Bom. let. 16 Sept., O.C. 3594, f. 10.

* Bom. let. to Co. 14 Jan., O.C. 3549; Bom. let. 26 Sept. & 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 12, 26. The Co. in their despatch of 15 March 1672 ordered that all the soldiers should receive pay at 28 days to a month, 4 L.B. 543.

[2] Sur. con. 1 Sept., 2 Misc. 116; Bom. let. 16 Sept., 106 Sur. 4; Sw. let. 30 Sept., 87 Sur. 1, 2. [3] Bom. let. 18 March, 105 Sur. 138. [4] Bom. let. 8 April, 105 Sur. 165.

had been taken into custody for abusing the storekeeper, but 'beate the sergent and all his guards and got away'. The Deputy Governor, who was then at supper, hearing the uproar, went down to see what it was about. Goodman, who had concealed himself, was eventually found, and on being told by Giffard to behave himself 'caught holde of the Deputy Governours haire and pulled him downe, [also] stroke him severall blows'. The Bombay letter of 7 April reporting the affair proceeds:

He afterwards, being brought before a Court, consisting of the Councill and [military] officers, and seeing Capt. Bass and severall witnesses against him, confessed all with a world of outward seeming repentance, begging very hard, but the Court sentenced him to be casheered, and to lye in irons during the Deputy Governours pleasure, but he considering he had a wife to maintaine and looke after, both their greifes prevailing with severall persons intervenied, the Deputy Governour gave him his liberty, and soe remaines a freeman. Wee should have made him run the gauntlett as some other[s] have done before, but the clause of your Honours letter concerning the court marshall made us not to proceed in that way of punishment without further order,* though we conclude it impossible to governe the souldiers without wee are permitted to call a court martiall according to the Articles of Warr, therefore desire your consideration.[1]

Again, in regard to two soldiers found sleeping on their posts, the question of the sentence to be passed was referred to Surat, with the following remarks:

The Company's Laws enorder in such cases, beside their corporall punishment, a certaine fine of two months pay, which should wee stopp upon all such occasions, as from 1 piece of eight† to 4 for swearing etc., wee should not keepe a souldier on the Island, therefore wee have not medled with it till further order. But if your Honours will command us to follow the Company's orders absolutely, wee shall readily obey, though there is noe sentence hardly without a fine.[2]

* Such a sentence could, however, have been passed under clause 1 of section VI of the Laws. In a letter of 8 May, 105 Sur. 160, Giffard admitted that the main reason for his leniency was that Goodman's wife was 'a foolish young girle . . ., who was soe skittish that . . . if he were confined she would quickly bring a scandall upon our nation and undoe herself'. Giffard was evidently a merciful man, for he acknowledged that Goodman deserved severe punishment.

[1] Bom. let. 7 April, 105 Sur. 164.

† The 'piece of eight' or 'rial of eight' was a Spanish coin, which had a large circulation in the East, and was then worth about 5*s*. (cf. the preceding volume, p. 129). Section V of the Company's Laws prescribed fines of the value of so many pieces of eight: see *B.J.*, 21, 24–6.

[2] Bom. let. 9 May, 105 Sur. 163.

The Surat Council, however, refused to allow a free resort to the Articles of War, holding that to do so 'would reflect much on the Company's honour' and that, 'though the Deputy Governor and Council do not think good to put up the Laws again lest they bring a disesteem on the Government, yet that they rule wholly by them—only for the satisfaction of the soldiers that corporal punishment be inflicted instead of those fines ordered by the Company'.[1] The general result was that the discretionary power given in the previous year for trial by court martial was materially restricted.

Aungier also insisted on the Laws being followed in criminal trials to which they applied.[2] Giffard objected that the punishment prescribed for robbery was insufficient, saying:

We have of late had several robberies committed on the Island, notwithstanding when convicted they are not only severely punished, but also lose both their ears in the pillory. Yet they take not warning, whereas if one or two of the notoriests were hanged for example sake, without doubt it would be a great terrifying to the rest. [After mentioning a case of dacoity, for which four men were in prison] . . . we shall think of some severe punishment to inflict on them our powers not extending to death and the Company's laws being very remiss as to any notorious robbery.[3]

This was a complaint that led to occasional death sentences in later years,[4] but the only case in which the Bombay Council at this time actually inflicted capital punishment appears to have been one where a 'noted wizard', who was alleged to have bewitched four persons to death, was convicted by a jury of murder and burnt to death in accordance with the English law of that period.*

No mention occurs of any internal danger from Mohammedan gatherings, such as figured in the events of the previous year;[5] but that there was still apprehension of possible trouble from this source is shown by orders of the Surat Council in September. The Governor of Surat had requested permission for pilgrims to visit Bombay and worship at the Pir's tomb at Mahim during the annual fair held there. Aungier, however, thought it not safe to permit many of them to do this, and orders were sent to the Bombay Council

[1] Sur. con. 16 May, 2 Misc. 114.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Bom. let. 12 July, 105 Sur. 185.
[4] See *B.J.* 71–3.
* Bom. let. 23 April, 3 May, & 14 June, 105 Sur. 152, 161, 162, 172. For further details, see *B.J.* 43.
[5] See pp. 12, 13 *ante*.

accordingly. The latter went further and prohibited Mohammedans from making 'their loud exclamations at their time of prayer, the rounds haveing every night order to forbid them, soe that of late they have not beene heard'.*

Apart from cases of drunken violence among the soldiers, such as that of John Goodman, the European residents seem to have given little trouble. Capt. Gary is praised for giving assistance in the inquiry as to the 'seized lands';[1] but later on he got into trouble for selling arrack contrary to a proclamation, and perversely insisting on the 'justness and reasonableness' of his conduct.[2] Richard Ball was one of the Commissioners for the same inquiry, but in November Aungier complained to the Company that he had 'publicly and in a most peremptory manner opposed your authority', and said, 'he is of an evil nature, despising all government'.[3] The Surat Council gave him permission to stay on as a freeman only till the next monsoon.† These insubordinate persons were, however, exceptions; and Aungier and Giffard reported to the Company in November that there had been 'a happy peace' and 'perfect quiet' among them, any tendency towards rupture being severely checked.[4]

Towards the end of the year, the arrival of French men-of-war at Swally[5] had natural repercussions in Bombay. In November the Bombay Council were instructed to observe their actions, if they came there on their way down the Malabar coast.[6] It was not, however, till the beginning of 1672 that the fleet came to Vesova in Salsette. A French boat then had the audacity to come and take soundings at Karanja and off Mahim; and the garrison was kept 'constantly in arms for fear of the worst'.[7] This was, however, a later event not affecting the general quietude of 1671.

In spite of the difficulties that impeded trade, distinct progress was made in the weaving of cloth on the Island. In April Giffard reported that twenty more weavers had come; and Aungier estimated

* Sur. con. 8 Sept., 2 Misc. 116; Sur. let. 5 Oct., 87 Sur. 3. The prohibition was probably directed against the loud cries of *muazzins* from mosque minarets, calling the faithful to prayers.

[1] Bom. let. 28 Feb., 105 Sur. 119.

[2] Bom. let. 24 June, 105 Sur. 178.

[3] Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, P.S., f. 22.

† Sw. con. 24 Nov., 2 Misc. 118. The Company in their despatch of 22 Feb. (4 L.B. 435) had authorized the deportation of any English freeman who misbehaved.

[4] Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 1; Bom. let. to Co. 18 Nov., 106 Sur. 36.

[5] See p. 215, *post*.

[6] Sw. let. 17 Nov., 87 Sur. 6.

[7] Bom. let. 8 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 60.

their total immigration 'of late' at 100.[1] When Chown took his seat in Council in June, he was put in charge of the warehouse and the weavers, as he had had experience in this line at Broach.[2] In November Giffard told the Company that 'the weavers daily increase', and that he expected to send some very good samples of their cloth by the next shipping.[3] As it happened, they had more ready for shipment than the ships—already fully laden at Swally—could take in.[4] Some cloth was also sent to Surat.[5] The only impediment to its manufacture appears to have been the need for cotton-yarn and warp.[6] On one occasion the former had to be obtained from Kalyan-Bhiwandi on account of the non-arrival of an expected supply from Surat. This meant the payment of extortionate customs to the Portuguese authority, and when the Council complained about it they got nothing but 'base and reproachfull' words.[7]

As in the previous year, a good stock of *cairo* (coir) was sent to Surat for sale.[8] The advisability of maintaining the Company's monopoly in its disposal was raised by Aungier, but it was decided to make no change till the President came down.[9] As in 1670, Aungier was hoping to be able to come to Bombay on one of the ships sailing in the following January.[10] He told the Company in November that he had 'some designes tending to [their] advantage in his thoughts, and [that he] was resolved to oppose all difficulties put in the way of his going down'.[11] Aungier doubtless referred to his well-known 'Proposals touching Bombay Island', which he sent home in January 1672.* These included the establishment of a Court of Judicature in accordance with the Company's Laws; and he took a preparatory step towards this by sending George Wilcox, a factor with some legal experience, who had come out in September, and whom he evidently had chosen to be its first Judge, to Bombay as Secretary of

[1] Bom. let. 7 April, 105 Sur. 163; Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 7.
[2] Sur. let. to Co. 1 June, O.C. 3567, f. 7; Bom. let. 3 June, 105 Sur. 170.
[3] Bom. let. 18 Nov., 106 Sur. 36. [4] Bom. let. 20 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 36.
[5] Bom. let. 2 Sept., 106 Sur. 64.
[6] Cf. Bom. let. 23 April & 3 May, 105 Sur. 152, 161, & Sur. let. 5 Oct., 87 Sur. 3.
[7] Bom. let. 12 July, 105 Sur. 186.
[8] Bom. let. 10 Feb., 105 Sur. 117; Bom. let. 2 Sept., 106 Sur. 8; Sw. let. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3534. [9] Bom. let. 6 Dec., 106 Sur. 49; Sw. let. 18 Dec., 87 Sur. 13.
[10] Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 19. [11] Ibid.
* These are printed by Forrest, 51–6, and by Campbell, i. 40–6. They were sent with Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611.

the Council, instead of Ustick.* At the same time, Thomas Niccolls returned to Bombay, with his wife and family, being appointed to assist Wilcox and to be clerk of the Court of Judicature.[1] Aungier was also trying to induce Armenians to settle in Bombay.†

There remain only two small matters that deserve notice. One is about the rule regarding Company's servants all dieting at the 'general table'. A difficulty arose about this in the case of Capt. Shaxton, whose family members totalled fifteen or sixteen, and it was decided that he should be allotted the house Capt. Young used to occupy, where he could diet them all and recover his expenses on an 'exact account'.[2] It was probably in consequence of this case that Aungier proposed to the Company the allotment of a diet-allowance to their married servants, instead of their eating at the general table.‡

Another matter for discussion arose through English women wanting to return to England, owing to the death of their husbands or for other reasons. Aungier expressed the opinion that no woman, especially those of ordinary quality, should be allowed to leave the Island at her pleasure. He cited the Dutch rule requiring fifteen years' residence before a return home was allowed. Meanwhile (he said) the Surat Council did not dare totally to forbid women returning to England, but they discouraged it all they could and, to encourage them to stay, helped those who were not able to maintain themselves.[3]

BOMBAY, 1672

THE outstanding event of the year was the arrival of Governor Aungier on 7 June for a visit that lasted for over three years. His repeated attempts to come earlier were frustrated by the Governor of Surat, as narrated at pp. 218–20. The consequent uncertainty as to his coming was no doubt prejudicial to any initiation of reforms or much activity pending his arrival. Another handicap was the ill

* Sur. let. 7 Nov., 87 Sur. 4. For further information see *B.J.* 45–7.

[1] Ibid. and Sw. con. 1 Nov., 2 Misc. 118.

† Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 7; Sur. con. 5 Feb., 2 Misc. 113. The 'Zelpha' referred to in the consultation was probably Zulfa in the south of Armenia.

[2] Bom. let. 16 Sept., 106 Sur. 4; Sw. let. 30 Sept., 87 Sur. 2.

‡ Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 17. The proposal was approved in the Company's desp. 15 March 1672, 4 L.B. 528, married factors and surgeons being allowed Rs. 15 a month for their diet and lodging out.

[3] O.C. 3594, f. 19.

health of most of the Council. Both Deputy Governor Giffard and Capt. Shaxton had attacks of 'flux' or dysentery, which often confined them to bed;[1] while Chown suffered from 'continued indisposition'.[2] This enfeeblement of the administration was (as will be seen later) accentuated by dissension on the part of the remaining Councillor, Capt. Burgess.

The three homeward-bound ships, *Massingberd*, *Falcon*, and *Antelope*, called at Bombay on 16 January and were dispatched within 48 hours. They were so fully laden that only seven of the twenty-five bales of Bombay cloth that had been got ready for them were actually shipped.[3]

News of the war that broke out between England and Holland in March of this year did not reach Bombay till the following September, and the ships had no dangers to fear from this source in Indian waters. But Malabar piracy became prominent about this time. On 12 January the Council decided that the *Malabar Coaster** should carry twenty soldiers on her voyage down the coast to protect her against the pirates.[4] That steps of this kind were necessary had been shown by the capture of the hoy *Mary* on her way back from Goa. She was attacked by three Malabar vessels and after some ineffectual firing from a distance was deserted by her crew, without offering any further resistance.[5] To check such boldness Giffard sent out two armed sloops under Ensign Adderton, which captured one of their vessels at Tull near Bombay towards the end of January.[6] About a month later he had a sharp encounter with pirates off Rajapur road, in which he sunk one of their vessels, took another, and killed 100 or so of their men.[7] In April Aungier described them as growing 'daily stronger, arming out fleets of 10 to 15 sail, each vessel carrying from 100 to 300 men', and emphasized the need for building several brigantines or frigates to check them.[8] He had already acted on the Company's sanction to build two at Surat, and the *Hunter* was sent

[1] Bom. let. 13 June, 22 July, and 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 112, 116, 145; Bom. let. to Co. 14 June & 7 Oct., O.C. 3649, f. 8, & 3683, f. 4.

[2] Bom. let. 16 Feb., 31 Oct., & 26 Nov., 106 Sur. 70 (pt. 2), 16, 17.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 18 & 20 Jan, 106 Sur. 64, 65.

* This was the vessel that had been bought in 1671 for Rs. 1,200, see p. 31 *ante*.

[4] 2 Misc. 138.

[5] Bom. let. 25 Jan., 106 Sur. 68; Sur. con. 2 April, 2 Misc. 122; Sur. let. to Co. 6 April, O.C. 3633, f. 2.

[6] Bom. let. 25 Jan., 106 Sur. 68.

[7] Bom. let. 26 March, 106 Sur. 74; Sur. let. to Co. 6 April, O.C. 3633, f. 2; Adderton's let. 11 March, 106 Sur. 72.

[8] O.C. 3633, f. 2.

to Bombay in April, along with a new ketch called the *Phoenix*.[1] The other frigate, the *Revenge*, was not ready till November and had a sharp fight with four Malabar vessels on her way down from Swally.[2] That the menace still continued was further shown by news in the same month of a fleet of seventeen large and strongly manned boats off Dabhol, on the coast below Bombay, whose commander was reported to have threatened to attack the first English vessels he met in revenge for the many pirates slain earlier in the year.[3] Aungier fully realized that trade with Bombay would be entirely discouraged and the English name dishonoured, unless the pirates were given a severe chastisement.[4]

The work of completing the Fort went steadily on, with the erection of bastions and curtains, and the digging of a trench, on the landward side. Giffard was so set on this that he successfully resisted a proposal of the Surat Council to take workmen off it for building houses for the accommodation of Company's servants and new settlers.* Even when bricklayers were sent down to begin the houses, Giffard put them on the work of fortification and got the other project postponed pending Aungier's arrival.[5] On 1 May he reported that the north-east bastion and the front curtain were completed, except for the former's battlements, and that the remainder of the curtain-work would be finished that month.†

There are only a few other events prior to Aungier's arrival in June that require notice. In January, James Adams was appointed Chief Customs-officer at Mahim, subject to his allowing Robert Barbor, who was still ill, one room and his diet.‡ The similar post at

[1] Sur. let. 16 April, 87 Sur. 27. [2] Bom. let. 26 Nov., 106 Sur. 16, O.C. 3722, f. 25.
[3] O.C. 3722, f. 26. [4] Ibid.

* Bom. let. 16 Feb., 13 March, & 14 April, 106 Sur. 70, 73, 74, 87. There was a great want of such accommodation, and the hospital appears to have been temporarily diverted to housing Company's servants (Bom. let. 14 April, 106 Sur. 87; Sur. let. 16 May, 87 Sur. 36).

[5] Sur. con. 13 March, 2 Misc. 121; Sur. let. 6 April, 87 Sur. 26, 29; Bom. let. 9 & 23 April, 106 Sur. 86.

† 106 Sur. 94. On the other hand, Capt. Shaxton considered that the Fort had been so badly designed that it would take two years to complete properly (O.C. 3732).

‡ Bom. con. 23 Jan., 2 Misc. 138. Adams had been sent to Bombay in January to settle a question about his indebtedness to the Company (Sw. let. 13 Jan., 87 Sur. 16). He then intended to proceed to Bantam on the *Advance* (Bom. let. 20 Jan., 106 Sur. 64), but the vacancy due to Col. Palmer's death (*E.F.*, 1667–9, 215) presumably led to an alteration of this plan. In December 1672 the Company modified their previous order banning his appointment at Bombay in words showing that their only objection was a fear that his presence there might lead to a renewal of the differences that arose in Capt. Young's time (5 L.B. 28).

Bombay needed a 'settled incumbent'.* A competent surgeon was still wanted, and Dr. Bird, whom it was proposed to re-engage, refused to accept the appointment, unless his emoluments were raised.† In February Lieut. Ustick departed with a suitable present for Sivaji, whom he hoped to interview on the subject of the proposed treaty.[1] He had, however, 'a long and tedious attendance' before he managed to get 'half-an-hour's discourse' with him and his Brahmins in April or May.[2] Sivaji received Ustick 'with extraordinary respect and outward expressions of friendship', but showed no disposition to agree to the compensation demanded for the Company's losses at Rajapur.[3]

A better success attended the question of the 'seized lands', which after partial investigation had been left in abeyance.[4] On 5 February Giffard reported that the Jesuits had appointed a new Procurator, by name Reginald Burges,‡ and as only Col. Bake and Lieut. Ustick were left of the former Commissioners, he asked for fresh appointments to be made. At first the Surat Council were disinclined to do this, as the matter had been referred to the Company and it suspected further 'unreasonable and subtle designs' on the part of the Jesuits. Giffard had, however, already delivered up several lands, to which the Procurator's title was held to be good, and on the Jesuits acknowledging their previous misbehaviour fresh Commissioners were appointed.[5] They made some inquiries,[6] but their work was soon superseded by the well-known 'Convention' that is dealt with later on.

There was the usual want of money, which had to be met by remittances from Surat. On 13 March Giffard wrote that they had no money left but 100 bags of pice; on 9 April 'not 1000 Rs. in cash' were available; and on 14 May there was not enough left to pay the garrison and the workmen on the Fort at next pay-day.[7] The

* Bom. let. 5 Feb., 106 Sur. 69. In December Thomas Niccolls held the post (Bom. con. 23 Dec., 1 Bom. 9).

† Bom. let. 20 Jan. & 6 May, 106 Sur. 64, 104; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 34. Aungier settled his engagement on his arrival (Bom. con. 7 June, 2 Misc. 138).

[1] Bom. con. 22 Feb., 2 Misc. 138. [2] Bom. let. 14 May, 106 Sur. 105.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 14 June & 21 Dec., O.C. 3649, f. 7, & 3722, ff. 39, 40.

[4] See p. 25 *ante*.

‡ He signed Aungier's Convention as 'Padre Reginaldo Burguez' (O.C. 3698).

[5] Bom. let. 5 & 16 Feb. & 13 March, 106 Sur. 69, 70, 73; Sur. con. 14 March, 2 Misc. 121 Sur. let. 1 March & 6 & 16 April, 87 Sur. 22, 26, 27; Sur. let. to Co. 6 April, O.C. 3633.

[6] Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, f. 3. [7] 106 Sur. 74, 86, 105.

revenues of the Island were also decreasing. In addition to the loss of income from attached lands that had been restored, the auction of the tobacco monopoly resulted in a fall of Xs. 1,000. This was partly attributed to the prohibition of *buckshaw*, or dunging coco-nut trees with rotten fish, which had led to a diminution of profits affecting the sale of tobacco.* The tavern rents on the other hand were sold for Xs. 300 more than before, but this involved a dispute with the Bhandaris, who complained that the licensee, Elias Hill, made undue exactions from them, with the result that the farm was given to them at a fixed annual rental.[1]

Trade was also at a low ebb, and Giffard reported there was no market for European commodities. He hoped that Aungier would be able to contrive how to dispose of a larger quantity, but pleaded that 'our merchants cant dive into the means of doing this, as times now stand, being all in such a distraction that merchants dare not buy or sell'.[2] He even excused his 'thin' consultation book on the ground that there was no trade.† Altogether affairs were in a bad way and there was clear need for Aungier's presence in Bombay.

In his letter to the Company reporting his arrival, Aungier gave detailed reasons for his visit, which may be summarized as follows:

(*a*) The Fort being 'now in a defensive posture and strangers flocking to the town', careful town-planning and provision of accommodation for them were requisite. Quarrels among the 'multitudes of small nations flocking to the Island' also needed his personal attention.

(*b*) The internal troubles so hindered trade at Surat and gave the Governor such a power of undue interference that it would be better to develop trade at Bombay.

(*c*) He proposed to build a church from voluntary subscriptions and, subject to the Company's approval, to erect suitable buildings for Council meetings, Courts, and other public purposes.

(*d*) He intended, in accordance with the Company's directions, to

* Bom. let. 13 March, 106 Sur. 74. On Giffard's recommendation the prohibition was withdrawn, as to the less offensive method of *buckshaw* by burying the fish in the ground during the rains (Bom. let. 24 May, 106 Sur. 107, 108; Sur. let. 4 June, 87 Sur. 43, 44).

[1] Bom. con. 11 March, 2 Misc. 138; Bom. let. 13 & 26 March, 106 Sur. 74, 75; Sur. let. 6 April, 87 Sur. 27; commn. to Bhandaris, 9 Aug., 2 Misc. 147.

[2] Bom. let. 6 May, 106 Sur. 104.

† Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 43. The summaries of the Bombay consultations during these five months of Giffard's Deputy Governorship contain only four entries.

start a Court of Judicature and to substitute English laws for the Portuguese that had hitherto prevailed.

(*e*) There had been misbehaviour of certain officers in 'contemning' the Deputy Governor's authority, which had encouraged the soldiers and others to 'commit many irregularities'.[1]

The last reason refers to trouble that had been brewing for some time. It is not mentioned in the Council's letters to Surat, but is shown by written declarations of Adams, Ustick, Niccolls, and Shaxton as to rude and contemptuous, if not mutinous, behaviour of Capt. Burgess towards the Deputy Governor.* The testimony against John Petter, the house-steward, who was court-martialled for using opprobrious expressions about Giffard, also suggests that there was a movement in favour of his being supplanted by Burgess.[2] Aungier and his Council took strong action and issued a proclamation for the arrest of Burgess and his committal to prison, pending his trial.† This was carried out; but the situation was dangerous, as Burgess had sympathizers in the garrison. For instance a soldier, by name Lush, not only broke his sword, because his captain was committed, but also got hold of the proclamation in the bazaar on the pretence that he wanted to read it and tore it to pieces.[3]

After Aungier's arrival a marked change came over the scene, and in July he was able to report to the Company that the suspension of Capt. Burgess, 'with severe punishments on the soldiery, has cast such a dread on them that they are now reduced to better order'.[4] On the other hand he showed mercy to Burgess: instead of dismissing him from the Company's service, as recommended by Giffard,[5] he accepted his submission and, after giving him command of the frigate *Revenge*, reappointed him to the garrison.‡

Burgess, however, lost his place on the Council, as also did Robert Barbor. Before coming to Bombay, Aungier resettled it by adding to the existing two members, Shaxton and Chown, three others,

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 14 June, O.C. 3649, ff. 3–5.

* 106 Sur. 100–3. Most of these statements appear to have been made in March and to refer to incidents in February, but one (p. 101) speaks of similar conduct in December 1671.

[2] Progs. of 15 April, 106 Sur. 97–100: see evidence of Thomas Biggott (p. 100).

† Sur. let. 23 April, 87 Sur. 31. He was also suspended from his command and his place as a member of Council. [3] Bom. let. 1 May, 106 Sur. 93, 94. Cf. *B.I.*, 42.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3640, f. 1. [5] Bom. let. 18 May, 106 Sur. 106, 107.

‡ Bom. con. 14 Aug., 2 Misc. 141; Bom. let. 19 Aug., 106 Sur. 125; Bom. con. 16 Dec., 1 Bom. 6. Aungier tactfully did not make the reappointment till Shaxton had succeeded Giffard as Deputy Governor.

James Adams, Stephen Ustick, and George Wilcox.[1] The last-named was the factor who two months after his arrival had been appointed Secretary of the Council and was designated for the post of Judge.[2]

On 21 May Aungier, having at last obtained permission from the Governor to leave Surat, embarked on his ship *Loyal Oxinden*; and after a protracted and perilous voyage, in the course of which the vessel met with a violent storm, lost sails and boats, and was nearly wrecked, he reached Bombay on 7 June.[3] He was received by the Deputy Governor and Council, with two companies led by Capt. Shaxton, the Militia, the Bhandaris, and the 'Gentlemen of the Country'.[4] In accordance with the piety that characterized him, his first act, after constituting his Council under the seal of Bombay, was to order 'a public fast and humiliation for God's blessing on our endeavours', and the strict observance of the Lord's Day.[5] Other decisions of his Council on the day of his arrival concerned the appointment of Dr. Bird as surgeon, the building of a large warehouse near the custom-house and of houses for the Company's servants and strangers, the sending of *Banians* (Hindu merchants) to the Deccan to invite merchants to trade and settle at Bombay, the abolition of the Company's monopoly of coir,[6] and the building of another frigate for the defence of the place and its shipping.[7]

Steady progress was made in June and July with Aungier's many projects for the Island's amelioration. For its better security orders were passed for the guarding of the three main fords at Mahim, Sion, and Munchum,* and for the raising of a mobile force of fifty horse, all English.[8] The need for precautions against sudden surprise had been shown by a recent raid on the part of Sivaji's troops against Ghodbandar in the neighbouring island of Salsette.[9] For his town-planning he consulted 'most of the experienced men' of the place,

[1] Sur. con. 13 May, 2 Misc. 122; Sur. let. 16 May, 87 Sur. 35. [2] See p. 37 *ante*.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 14 June, O.C. 3649, f. 8. This contains a graphic account of the voyage.

[4] Bom. con. 7 June, 2 Misc. 138.

[5] Ibid. and Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, f. 1. [6] See p. 57 *post*.

[7] 2 Misc. 138, 139; Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, f. 2.

* This was probably in the neighbourhood of Matunga, cf. my note on it in *JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 13, 14.

[8] Bom. con. 22 June & 15 & 23 July, 2 Misc. 139, 140; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 46.

[9] Bom. con. 15 July, 2 Misc. 139; Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, ff. 3, 4; Bom. let. 18 June, PS., 106 Sur. 113. Cf. Grant Duff, i. 197.

and settled on defensible ground near the Fort measuring 'nearly three miles in circuit'.[1] Round part of it he proposed building an 8 ft. high wall—a project that was not carried out till 1716 in Governor Boone's time.[2] He also designed to have a small dock in the bay between the custom-house and the Fort, for the protection of some twenty sail by its guns.[3]

Other orders included the compulsory fencing of wells under penalty of fine;[4] the regulation of punch-houses or taverns against drunkenness or breach of the laws for Sunday observance, &c.;[5] and settlement of the duties of the Bhandaris in guarding the Fort, attending on the Governor or Deputy Governor, and distilling arrack. In consideration of their services being enhanced, they were freed from the customary payment of one lari for every *coito** used, and were to be allowed a uniform of 100 new perpetuano coats a year.†

Effective arrangements were also made for the new Court of Judicature and the abrogation of Portuguese laws. Wilcox was appointed Judge on a salary of Rs. 2,000 a year and debarred from private trade. He had already submitted proposals for officers of the Court, its fees, its procedure, and other details. These were approved, with the exception that the Island was divided into four 'hundreds', or sub-divisions, instead of the three proposed by Wilcox, with an English Justice of the Peace‡ and an elected Constable in each. A court-room was provided and a prison was ordered to be built. The opening ceremony had been fixed for 1 August, but owing to heavy rain on that day it was postponed to 8 August, when an imposing procession accompanied the Governor, the members of his Council, the Judge and Justices of the Peace from the Fort to the Court-house. There the Judge and various officers (including the Notary Public and the Coroner) were duly sworn into office, and the proceedings concluded with an eloquent speech by Aungier, in which he dwelt on the significance of the change from Portuguese to English

[1] Bom. con. 1 July, 2 Misc. 140; Bom. let. 13 & 18 June, 106 Sur. 111, 113; Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, f. 2. [2] Bom. con. 23 July, 2 Misc. 140; *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 91.
[3] Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, f. 2. [4] Bom. con. 1 July, 2 Misc. 140.
[5] Bom. con. 19 July, 2 Misc. 140.

* Knife used in tapping trees for toddy: cf. the 1665–7 volume, p. 49.

† Bom. con. 15 & 19 July, 2 Misc. 140; commission to Bhandaris 9 Aug., 106 Sur. 147; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 47. They were formed into three companies of thirty men each, one of which had to attend on the Governor (or Deputy Governor) successively.

‡ An extra Justice was assigned to Bombay, so that there were five altogether. The other 'hundreds' were Mahim, Mazagaon, and Sion.

laws that was being initiated, and exhorted Wilcox to dispense impartial justice, without fear, favour, or respect of person.*

Trial by a jury composed of 12 Englishmen, or (in cases where one or both of the parties were not English) 6 Englishmen and 6 Portuguese Indians, under English laws, as modified by those sent out by the Company in 1669, thus superseded the Benches of Justices administering Portuguese law that had been established in 1670.[1] Besides its ordinary civil and criminal jurisdiction, the Court granted probates and letters of administration and exercised supervisionary jurisdiction over public-houses, 'the mending and making' of public highways, and the regulation of prices.[2] In addition, a 'Court of Conscience' was established, 'where the poore may have justice done them gratis' in all causes under Xs. 20 in value.† The Judge was also Registrar for the registration of sales, mortgages, and other transfers of land, as well as wills.[3]

Care was taken to protect the Company's interests in litigation before the Court. James Adams was appointed Attorney-General, Luis Casada (a former J.P.) Solicitor, and Henry Day Counsel for the Company 'to find out frauds, cheates and abuses that have been put on the Company and prepare them for the Court'.[4] Aungier, who came of a legal stock,[5] evidently had some knowledge of law and personally investigated the titles to some of the 'seized lands', which he suspected to have been unduly restored. This action had important results. He discovered that most of the estates had been given back by the first Commissioners owing to false information supplied by Simon Serron, the Council's legal adviser.‡ In an effort to save

* Wilcox's Report of 30 Dec., P.R.O., C.O. 77, vol. xii, f. 136, printed by Khan, 490–500; Bom. con. 22, 26, & 28 June & 2 Aug., 2 Misc. 139, 140; Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, ff. 1, 2. For further information see *B.J.* 48–52. Besides the copy of Aungier's speech contained in Wilcox's Report, there is one in 106 Sur. 121–3.

[1] See pp. 2, 3 *ante*. Cf. *B.J.* 33, 34, 60, 69.

[2] Wilcox's Report already cited, and cf. *B.J.* 51, 78–80.

† Bom. con. 16 Aug., 2 Misc. 141. The name was derived from the similar Courts in England at that time for the recovery of small debts.

[3] Wilcox's Report; Bom. con. 22 June, 2 Misc. 139.

[4] Bom. con. 12 Aug., 2 Misc. 141; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 33.

[5] See p. vi *ante*.

‡ See p. 24 *ante*. Besides being unreliable, there were other drawbacks to his employment. Thus Giffard complained that, when consulted in litigation (which, it must be remembered, was then under Portuguese law), he had too preponderating a voice, 'for on all occations he quotes so many authors and spins out his advice into so many hard words, that the Justices of the Peace are so startled at the perusall of it, that being not able to contradict what

himself, the latter counselled Aungier to reseize the lands and force the inhabitants to prove their titles by law, a course which he reckoned would result in three-fourths of them falling to the Company. Aungier availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded for securing the first of his 'Proposals touching Bombay Island', in which he foreshadowed a reasonable levy from the landholders towards the growing expenses of administration.[1] The *povo*, or people, of Bombay and Mahim, 'finding that our chiefe aime was to raise a revenue for the bearing of the publique charges, observing the justice and moderation of our proceedings with them, and commiserating the sad condition of their friends and relations which were like to suffer', voluntarily offered a proportion of the yearly value of the lands, on condition that the existing incumbents were secured in their possession by new titles received from the Company and 'never hereafter to be molested'. First they proposed one-tenth, next an eighth, then one-sixth, and finally Aungier got them to agree to pay Xs. 20,000 a year, which was reckoned to be more than one-fourth of the annual crop-yield. In addition he obtained for the Company all royal privileges, even though granted away by the Portuguese, all foreshores and the island of Colio (Old Woman's Island), which was reserved to the Company under an arrangement allocating the first of the three annual instalments of 1673 towards buying out estate-holders on the island.[2]

The acceptance of the *povo*'s offer was made by the Council on 13 September, and the Convention was signed by both parties to it on 12 November.* This satisfactory settlement of a long dispute was thus almost entirely due to Aungier's intervention, but he acknowledged the great assistance he had received from the Jesuit procurator, Padre Reginaldo Burguez, whom he describes as 'a wise and public-spiritied man' and who was the first to offer one-fourth of the annual yield of the Jesuits' lands.[3] Another result of Aungier's

therein contained they agree with his opinion though never so unjust, to the no small detriment of the contrary party' (Bom. let. 18 May, 106 Sur. 106).

[1] See p. 37 *ante*.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, 7 Oct., & 21 Dec., O.C. 3649, f. 3, 3683, ff. 3, 4, & 3722, ff. 17–20; the Convention, O.C. 3698.

* Bom. con. 13 Sept. & 4 Nov., 2 Misc. 143, 145; the recitation at the end of the Convention. The latter is printed by Forrest, ii, App. C, and Campbell, iii. 258–62, and in *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 311–18. Though the Convention was not confirmed by the Company in a document under their hands and seal, as contemplated by it, they generally approved of it, and Aungier dropped the proposal for a formal document of that kind (desp. 15 March 1674, 5 L.B. 101, and Bom. let. 16 Dec. 1674, O.C. 4051).

[3] O.C. 3722, f. 20.

inquiries was that Simon Serron fled from Bombay; and on his non-appearance in response to a proclamation, his estate was confiscated.[1]

In August the Council also imposed a customs-duty on imported liquor, viz. wines from France or the Rhine, Spain, Portugal, and the Canary Islands, beer or mum,* and brandy.[2] This endeavour to increase the revenues led to a complaint by the tavern-keepers, which was referred to Judge Wilcox and the rest of the Justices for report.[3] A readiness to listen to reasonable objections was similarly shown in regard to the duty on tobacco. When the Banians complained against its increase, their headmen were consulted and it was resolved to lay a more moderate tax on commodities.[4] The keeping of statistics of imports and exports was also instituted.[5]

To promote trade the maximum rate of interest on loans was limited to 12 per cent. a year.[6] The supply of fish for the inhabitants was encouraged by a loan of Rs. 350 to the fishermen.[7]

In fact the consultations bear testimony to Aungier's reforming hand in almost all departments of the administration. Thus the fidelity of the garrison was seen to in an order prohibiting the enlistment of any soldier, unless he took the oath of allegiance to His Majesty and the Company and bound himself to serve for three or five years.[8] The roll was revised so as to ensure that only soldiers actually performing military duties should appear on it, and that the cost of others who were in civil employ should be debited to the appropriate head.[9] To save expense, coats made of the red perpetuano cloth sent out by the Company were prescribed for the soldiers' 'constant habit'.† This had the advantage of using up cloth that it was difficult to sell; and the importation of competitive broadcloth by merchants from Mokha, Basra, and other foreign parts was also prohibited.[10] The reduction of the ex-

[1] Bom. con. 9 & 23 Oct., 2 Misc. 144, 145.

* Mum was a special kind of beer brewed in Brunswick, a large stock of which used to be sent out by the Company. The Surat factors objected to it as being 'a sleepy, bitter, phisicall drink, not agreeing with our constitutions in this country' (Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691, f. 6).

[2] Bom. con. 16 Aug., 2 Misc. 141.

[3] Bom. con. 7 Oct., 2 Misc. 144.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Bom. con. 4 Dec., 2 Misc. 146.

[6] Bom. con. 12 Aug., 2 Misc. 141.

[7] Bom. con. 19 Aug., 2 Misc. 142.

[8] Bom. con. 23 Aug., 2 Misc. 142.

[9] Bom. con. 9 Oct., 2 Misc. 144.

† Bom. con. 4 Sept. & 11 Oct., 2 Misc. 142, 144; cf. Aungier's Proposal No. 10 (see p. 37 *ante*). Four hundred pieces of cloth were so utilized in 1672 (O.C. 3733).

[10] Bom. con. 15 Nov., 2 Misc. 146; cf. Aungier's Proposal No. 9.

penses of the Island was debated;[1] arrangements were made for the better supervision of the garrison stores and ordnance;[2] and even the Council itself came under a disciplinary order that a member absenting himself from any of the usual meetings should be fined.*

The Bombay accounts needed special attention. Owing mainly to the long illness of Cotes prior to his death in November 1671, they were then in a state of great disorder and could not be sent home by the ships that left in January 1672.[3] Capt. Shaxton, who had taken them over, apparently found himself unable to cope with them, and in February they were put in charge of Chown.[4] He, however, failed to have the books ready for submission to Surat in proper time, and only a statement of the balance was forwarded at the end of October.[5] John Child, who had been transferred from Persia and who was given a seat on the Council in October,† took them over in November;[6] and Aungier managed to send the books for the two years 1671 and 1672 (as balanced on 30 June) to Surat in the middle of December.[7] In apologizing to the Company for this delay, Aungier said: 'We blush at such unmercantile proceedings.' He could, however, reasonably expect an improvement from Child's 'ability, experience and pains'.[8] A prospect of better financial management was also afforded by his intention to budget regularly for public expenditure during the next few years.[9] Irregularities in the matter of making Treasury payments were at the same time checked.[10]

In September the main event was the arrival of the four ships that had been sent out by the Company. These were the *Golden Fleece* and the *Loyal Merchant*, each of 500 tons, and the *Rainbow* and the *Mediterranean* of 300 and 200 tons respectively. Two of them arrived on the 14th and the other two on the 17th.[11] They brought news of the war which had broken out with Holland in March, and in anticipa-

[1] Bom. con. 4 Sept., 2 Misc. 142. [2] Bom. con. 13 Sept., 2 Misc. 143.

* Bom. con. 6 Sept., 2 Misc. 143. The meetings were usually held on the mornings of Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: ibid. & O.C. 3910, f. 16 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 36).

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 18 Jan., 106 Sur. 65, & 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 42.

[4] Sur. let. 5 Feb., 87 Sur. 20; Bom. let. 16 Feb., 106 Sur. 70.

[5] Bom. let. 31 Oct. & 26 Nov., 106 Sur. 12, 17.

† Bom. let. 3 Sept., PS., 106 Sur. 130; Bom. con. 11 Oct., 2 Misc. 144; O.C. 3722, f. 42. He succeeded Chown, who was sent to the Surat Council.

[6] Bom. let. 26 Nov., 106 Sur. 17. [7] Bom. let. 13 Dec., 106 Sur. 26, 27.

[8] O.C. 3722, f. 42. [9] Ibid., f. 27. [10] Bom. con. 30 Sept., 2 Misc. 143.

[11] Bom. let. 28 Sept., 106 Sur. 132; Bom. let. to Co. 7 Oct., O.C. 3683, f. 1; Sw. let. to Persia, 22 Oct., O.C. 3691, f. 1.

tion of which the Company had given strict orders for the ships to keep together in all their voyages.* After disembarking all the goods that were not wanted for Surat, they left for Swally on 28 September and returned on 18 October for their voyage down the Malabar coast.[1] Meanwhile Aungier made an important administrative change by carrying out the Company's recommendation in favour of Capt. Shaxton becoming Deputy Governor.[2] He had by then had a year's experience on the Council, and his substitution for Giffard was facilitated by the latter's illness, which had seriously debilitated him for some time. Aungier proposed to put him in charge of the ships' trip down the coast and back, but at the beginning of September he was afraid that Giffard would not recover his strength in time for this expedition.[3] However, he and Henry Oxinden† were appointed supercargoes for the purpose and went up to Swally with the ships. There Giffard became so weak that the Surat Council thought him to be on the verge of death, but he insisted on sailing to Karwar, where he wished to consult a 'country physician', in whom he had great faith.[4] On 3 October Shaxton was appointed Deputy Governor, but did not actually take his oath and seat as such till 16 December.[5] Another change that has been already mentioned was the appointment of John Child to the Council on 11 October.[6]

The war with the Dutch necessitated various measures, mainly of a defensive kind. No danger was likely on the voyage to Swally, so the ships went unattended save by the ketch *Phoenix*, which was to help them in unloading goods and then to return to Bombay with provisions.[7] But arrangements were made for the frigate *Hunter* to accompany them on their way down the coast from Bombay and back again, and for seventy soldiers to be dispersed among the fleet

* Desp. 15 March, 4 L.B. 536–7. An ultimatum had been sent to Holland in Jan. 1672 and war actually broke out on 23 March, although it was not formally declared by the King till the 29th.

[1] Bom. let. 28 Sept. & 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 132, 145.

[2] See p. 32 *ante*.

[3] Bom. let. 3 Sept., 106 Sur. 129, 130.

† He was the second son of Sir Henry Oxinden, elder brother of Sir George Oxinden. His father was created a baronet in 1678, and he succeeded to the title, on the death of his brother James, in 1708 (G.E.C., *Complete Baronetage*, iv. 99). I have altered the previous spelling of his surname in this series, as it is clear that the family then spelt it with an 'i' and not an 'e': cf. Dorothy Gardiner, *The Oxinden Letters*, xxxvi, and Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, ii. 302.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 7 Oct., O.C. 3683, f. 2; Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3685, f. 5 and its PS.; O.C. 3687, PS.; Bom. con. 16 Sept., 2 Misc. 143; Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 145.

[5] Bom. con. 3 Oct. & 16 Dec., 2 Misc. 144, 149; 1 Bom. 5.

[6] 2 Misc. 144.

[7] Bom. let. 28 Sept. & 4 Oct., 106 Sur. 136, 139.

for its defence.[1] The commanders of the ships were empowered to take any Dutch vessels they might come across.[2] Hostile action by the Dutch was not anticipated, as it was thought that the fleet under Rickloffe van Goens, which had been watching the French men-of-war off Ceylon, had dispersed.[3] But Aungier advised the Surat Council not to send more treasure on the ships to Baliapatam and the lower factories than was necessary to pay for the goods to be loaded.[4] For the same reason, though the militia was 'settled' and put under Capts. Langford and Adderton,[5] no special measures were taken for the defence of Bombay till about the middle of December, when news arrived of a Dutch fleet of twenty-two sail bent upon its attack.[6]

Thus in October it was not considered necessary to stop the annual gathering at the Pir's tomb at Mahim, but Adderton was told off with ten files of musketeers to keep guard there and disarm all Mohammedan visitors.[7] A proposal to levy a poll-tax of one lari a head on pilgrims was relinquished on the petition of the 'Chiefe Moore upon the Island'.[8] In the same month the long history of reclamation of 'overflown' lands in Bombay began with a decision to encourage private enterprise in the matter, and the Company was invited to spend money on it when financial conditions improved.[9]

About this time the difficult question of the Portuguese interference with trade, by their exacting customs on goods passing Thana and Karanja,[10] was seriously taken in hand by Aungier and his colleagues. He had sent a letter on the subject to the Viceroy of Goa towards the close of 1671 and had received an unsatisfactory reply.[11] The Viceroy having declined 'all manner of treaty' about it, the Council on 14 October decided to draw up a declaration requiring the inhabitants of Bombay not to pay any customs at Thana; but this was cancelled on the 23rd on the receipt of a letter from the Viceroy offering friendship and an 'amicable corespondency' on the

[1] Ibid. 135, 136; Bom. let. 18 Oct., 106 Sur. 144; Bom. let. to Co. 22 Oct., O.C. 3649, f. 6.
[2] Bom. con. 25 Sept., 2 Misc. 143.
[3] Bom. let. 4 & 18 Oct., 106 Sur. 138, 145.
[4] Bom. let. 28 Sept., 106 Sur. 133.
[5] Bom. con. 11 Oct., 2 Misc. 144; Shaxton's narrative, O.C. 3732.
[6] Bom. con. 16 & 18 Oct., 1 Bom. 5, 8.
[7] Bom. con. 3 Oct., 2 Misc. 144.
[8] Ibid. & Bom. con. 9 Oct., 2 Misc. 144.
[9] Bom. con. 14 Oct., 2 Misc. 145; O.C. 3722, f. 41.
[10] Cf. *E.F.*, 1667–9, 48–50, 101.
[11] Sur. con. 4 Sept. 1671, 2 Misc. 116; Sur. let. to Karwar, 15 Nov. 1671, O.C. 3603; Sur. let. to Co. 6 April & 14 June, O.C. 3633, f. 1, & 3649, ff. 1, 2.

point.[1] Instead it was settled to send Adams and Samuel Walker (the Secretary of the Council) to Goa to enter into negotiations with the Viceroy.[2] They accordingly left on 30 November in the *Phoenix*, accompanied by the *Revenge* and the *Loyal Oxinden* as a protection against Malabar pirates, a strong force of whom was reported to be in the vicinity.[3] The instructions to Adams laid down the lines of a suggested agreement; provision was made for presents to the Viceroy; and Aungier, while recognizing the difficulties, hoped for success, especially as the dispute about the 'seized' lands had been settled and he had since his arrival 'expressed many kindnesses to the Chief of the Portuguese nation and particularly to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus'.[4]

The negotiations with Sivaji still hung fire. Recent successes that had led to his even demanding tribute from the Portuguese, and the possibility of his attacking Surat, naturally tended to prevent any settlement; and Aungier designedly held off from treating with him in order to bring him to better terms.[5] Sivaji, however, remained friendly to Bombay, as was shown by the presence of his agent there in October and of six small vessels of his in December.[6] But, as Aungier pointed out, they had 'a ticklish game to play' in keeping on good terms both with him and the Mughal Emperor.[7]

The Company had given orders in February 1671 for the coinage of money of their own at Bombay,[8] but no steps to carry them out were taken before Aungier's arrival. The Company's ships had brought out no gold, but some silver and copper, and with this Aungier and his Council decided to make a start.[9] In November John Child was appointed overseer of 'the Mint which is to be erected in the East India House for coining pice and buzerooks until a convenient room in the Fort can be fitted for the coining silver'.* The Surat factory's extreme need of money[10] made Aungier send it

[1] 2 Misc. 145. [2] Bom. con. 23 Oct. & 26 Nov., 2 Misc. 145, 146. [3] O.C. 3722, f. 25.
[4] Commn. to Adams, 25 Nov., 2 Misc. 147; O.C. 3722, ff. 20–5.
[5] Bom. let. to Co. 12 July & 21 Dec., O.C. 3649, ff. 3, 4, & 3722, ff. 39, 40; Bom. let. 18 June, PS., 106 Sur. 113.
[6] Bom. let. 18 Oct. & 2 Dec., 106 Sur. 145, (pt. 2) 24; O.C. 3722, f. 40.
[7] O.C. 3722, f. 40. [8] 4 L.B. 428, 429.
[9] Bom. let. 28 Sept., 106 Sur. 133, 136; Bom. con. 9 Oct., 2 Misc. 144.
* Bom. con. 13 Nov., 2 Misc. 145. A buzerook was the Portuguese *bazarucco* (Yule, 121). It was of low value: thus in 1671 sixteen went to one pice (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 52 n.), and in 1710, according to Burnell (112, 113), fourteen went to a pice. As to the East India House, see p. 106 *post*. [10] See p. 226 *post*.

the silver, except 'just soe much as should begin the mint'.[1] A consultation of 29 November fixed the names of the coins as follows:

the	gold coin	Carolina
,,	silver ,,	Anglina
,,	copper ,,	Coperoon
,,	tin ,,	Tinny*

Silver, copper, and tin coins were struck accordingly by the end of December, and specimens were sent to the Company in the ships leaving Swally in January 1673.[2]

On the night of 18 October the four ships arrived from Swally on their way down the coast and left the next afternoon with the *Hunter*, the *Loyal Oxinden*, and seventy soldiers, as already mentioned. The Council added some red earth (ochre) and Rs. 11,000 for Karwar to the stocks on board them.[3] They all returned by 11 December, bringing with them the Dutch ship *Mayboom* (*Meijboom*), which had been captured off Karwar on 23 October.[4] They were dispatched to Swally on 14 December, leaving their prize and the attendant guard at Bombay, as there was no fear of a Dutch fleet being in the vicinity.[5] During the intervening three days the Council was kept busy with 'many serious debates' on matters connected with the ships and the Dutch war. It was decided to hold proper proceedings for the condemnation of the *Mayboom*: the commanders of the ships gave their account of the capture, and the Dutch commander and two other officers were examined by a sub-committee of the Council. A declaration was then made as to the legality of its seizure and the indemnification of the ship commanders. Their claim to prize-money was referred to the Company with a recommendation in its support.[6] The Dutch prisoners were kept at Bombay,† except a woman, who was sent to Surat on the *Golden Fleece*, with instruc-

[1] O.C. 3722, ff. 35, 36.

* 2 Misc. 146. The *Anglina* or *Angliana* corresponded to a Surat rupee, the *coperoon* to a Surat pice, and the *tinny* to a Portuguese buzerook (O.C. 3722, f. 36). For further information see Sir William Foster's *Note on the First English Coinage at Bombay*, reprinted in 1906 from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. vi. A specimen of Aungier's silver Angliana of 1672 is in the British Museum and is depicted on the illustration facing p. 182.

[2] O.C. 3722, f. 38; Bom. let. 1 Jan. 1673, 106 Sur. 54.

[3] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 145, 147; Bom. let. to Co. 22 Oct., O.C. 3649, f. 6.

[4] Bom. let. 13 Dec., 106 Sur. 26, 27; Kar. let. 4 Nov., 106 Sur. 7. See p. 310 *post*.

[5] Bom. con. 13 Dec., 1 Bom. 4 & O.C. 3711; Bom. let. 13 Dec., 106 Sur. 26, 27.

[6] Bom. con. 11, 12, & 13 Dec., 1 Bom. 2–5; O.C. 3711, 3712, 3715, 3716; 106 Sur. 42–4; O.C. 3722, ff. 47, 48.

† They were subsequently freed: see p. 74 *post*.

tions that she should be 'taken decently' in the coach to the Dutch House and delivered to the Commandore with a civil message from the President.*

At the request of the commanders they were relieved from the necessity of having the pepper on their ships weighed, so as to expedite their dispatch from Swally. This was deemed requisite in view of the increasing danger from a Dutch fleet.† For the same reason it was decided that they should not call at Bombay on their way from Swally to England.[1]

After the departure of the ships, the Council took up military matters, with a view to put the place in the best posture of defence possible. On 16 December the order of 1670 to reduce the two companies to one,[2] which had never been put into operation, was formally cancelled; the officers of the two companies (the 'elder' being Aungier's and the other Capt. Shaxton's) were settled, and they were to be raised to their full strength of 150 men each by recruitment; orders were given for maintaining out-guards of a specified strength at Old Woman's Island, Mahim, Warli, and Sion; and Alvaro Pires de Tavora, the big landholder, who professed great loyalty, was put in charge of the militia at Mazagaon.[3] On the 18th, news having arrived of a Dutch fleet being on its way to attack Bombay, it was resolved to start work immediately on an outwork to the Fort designed to enclose the tank of fresh water that lay about 200 yards outside it.‡ For this purpose 1,000 toddy trees were to be cut down and their owners compensated. Orders were also passed for laying in a stock of provisions and for the constant exercising of the Militia. They and all other available people were to be ready to assist in erecting the outwork, and work on the new frigate was temporarily stopped.§

* Bom. con. 12 Dec., 1 Bom. 3; Bom. let. 13 Dec., 106 Sur. 27 & O.C. 3717; Shaxton's narrative, O.C. 3732. She was the widow of the late Dutch chief of Persia (Giffard's let. 4 Nov., 106 Sur. 7).

† Bom. con. 13 Dec., 1 Bom. 4; O.C. 3713, 3714. It was stated that this would save 10 to 12 days in lading the ships. It led, however, to trouble over short-weight in pepper: see pp. 243, 355 *post.*

[1] Bom. con. 6 Dec., 1 Bom. 5.

[2] See p. 3 *ante.*

[3] Bom. con. 16 Dec., 1 Bom. 5, 6; Shaxton's narrative, O.C. 3732.

‡ As to the mistake in not having made the Fort big enough to include the tank, see Aungier's report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 11 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 29, 30) and O.C. 3722, ff. 51, 52. See also Fryer, i. 171.

§ Bom. con. 18 Dec., 1 Bom. 8. Aungier afterwards reported that the country people on the Island worked cheerfully on this outwork, realizing that it was designed for the common good, and that he, his Council, the commissioned officers, and the soldiers set them a good example by working at it with their own hands (Bom. let. to Co. 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 65).

Thus prompt preparations were made for the expected attack, but Aungier pointed out to the Company that the garrison lacked enough English soldiers for the proper defence of the Island.* Spies were also employed down the coast to give speedy information of any approaching fleet.[1]

The 'noise' of this danger led to a scare among the inhabitants, large numbers of whom ran away from the Island, and on 21 December the Council issued a proclamation prohibiting this and declaring that all such deserters would be treated as guilty of misprision of treason and their estates confiscated.[2] At the same time Aungier did his best to enhearten the people, and on news arriving of a great English victory over the Dutch it was decided to celebrate it by a public thanksgiving, which took place on 26 December.† The Governor and Council marched in procession through the town with two companies of the garrison and two of the militia and others making about 600 men in arms, with colours flying and to the strains of drums and trumpets. At night there was a bonfire, a spark from which set fire to a house belonging to the Company, owing to its roof being a thatched one.[3]

Another cause for anxiety towards the end of December was the arrival of some thirty-five vessels under the command of Sidi Sambal, the Admiral of the Mughal fleet. With an eye to his goodwill, it was decided to send Thomas Niccolls, who was then chief Customs-officer at Bombay, to compliment him and make him the customary small present.[4] Most of the fleet consisted of vessels that had been built at Surat by the orders of Aurangzeb to assist the Sidi against Sivaji and had anchored off Bombay towards the end of October on their way to Danda Rajpuri. A proposal that they should be allowed 'freedom to enter the harbour and from our shores infest Savagees country' had previously been turned down by

* O.C. 3722, f. 61. According to Shaxton (O.C. 3732) the English soldiers numbered only about 180.

[1] Bom. let. 13 Dec., 106 Sur. 28.

[2] O.C. 3724. Misprision of treason ordinarily meant concealment of treason.

† Bom. con. 22 Dec., 1 Bom. 8, 9; proclamation of 22 Dec., O.C. 3726. The news was contained in the Company's despatch of 5 July (4 L.B. 1, 2), which arrived in December on the *Blessing* from Persia (Bom. let. 23 Dec., 106 Sur. 51). The 'victory' was that at the battle of Southwold Bay, or Solebay, on 28 May (O.C. 3726); but its results were indecisive, and the Dutch, rather than the English, gained by the engagement (Capt. A. T. Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 147).

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 6 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 57, 58, & O.C. 3724, reproduced in *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 62, 63.

[4] Bom. con. 23 Dec., 1 Bom. 9; Bom. let. to Co. 5 & 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 59, 63.

Aungier.[1] Since then the fleet had done great damage down the coast by burning and plundering Sivaji's seaports and destroying over 500 of his vessels.[2] If permission to enter the harbour was requested on this occasion, it is clear that it was considered politic to grant it; and this inaugurated the annual unwelcome visits of the Sidi's fleet to Bombay that lasted, with interludes, till Capt. Keigwin, during his rebellion, forbade their continuance.[3]

In spite of the many hindrances to trade, it now began to show signs of improvement. Portuguese opposition and the war with Holland of course discouraged it;[4] but in December Aungier reported that, though small, it was rising from its stagnation in Giffard's time.[5] The number of weavers was also increasing;[6] but many of them may have run away in the panic at the end of December, for on 5 January 1673 Ustick stated that the war had hampered weaving, so that little could then be expected from them.* Before that some forty-two bales of Bombay baftas† had been sent up to Surat for shipping to England, and the Surat Council reported it to be equal in quality to the corresponding cloth of Navsari, though not so cheap, in view of the expense of accommodating weavers at Bombay.[7] On the other hand, there were difficulties in its manufacture due to the constant need of cotton-yarn and tanna (warp), which had to be imported; thus some from Surat was found to be so coarse that the weavers refused to work it.[8] It is not surprising, therefore, that the Surat Council lent a favourable ear to a proposal made by several Parsi merchants to undertake a regular supply of the cloth required, as cheaply as it was made under the existing arrangements, and with the advantage that this would save the Company the trouble of getting warp and yarn.[9] The war, however, naturally interfered with this innovation.[10]

[1] Bom. let. 31 Oct., 106 Sur. 12.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 40; Sw. let. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691 (4), f. 4. Cf. Orme, 33, 38, 39.

[3] Cf. Campbell's account of the Sidis in Bombay, App. I, ii. 509–12, and *K.R.* 17, 18, 97, 98.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 7 Oct., O.C. 3683, ff. 4, 6.

[5] O.C. 3722, f. 43; Bom. let. 6 May, 106 Sur. 104.

[6] Bom. let. to Co. 14 June, O.C. 3644, f. 4.

* Ustick's narrative, O.C. 3733. The chief weaver was a Parsi, by name Manna (? Manak): Bom. let. 6 Nov., 106 Sur. 8.

† Pers. *bafta*, woven: a kind of cotton cloth.

[7] O.C. 3733 & 3722, f. 50; Sw. let. 87 Sur. 92.

[8] Bom. let. 14 & 18 May, 106 Sur. 105, 107; Bom. con. 14 Aug., 2 Misc. 141; Bom. let. 14 Aug., 106 Sur. 120.

[9] Bom. con. 14 Aug., 2 Misc. 141.

[10] O.C. 3733.

The Council's profitable sale of coir at Surat had ceased owing to severe competition by merchants who imported vast quantities from other places. This resulted in such a lowering of its market price that the monopoly of the disposal of this product was given up in June, as already stated.[1]

The Company's ships had brought out a good supply of ammunition and stores for the Island,[2] but saltpetre remained a requisite that had to be supplied from Surat.[3] Another urgent need in the latter part of the year was timber. Its export from the Portuguese main was prohibited by the Captain of Bassein,[4] nor was any sent up from the Malabar coast.[5] In June Aungier asked the Surat Council to send Rs. 10,000 for its purchase, and they sent him Rs. 7,000 with some difficulty.[6] It was still badly wanted in November and December; and though the Council at Surat had some ready to send to Bombay, they could not obtain boats for its transport.[7] Fortunately, the *Malabar Coaster* then became available for this work.[8]

Aungier had provisions sent from Surat at frequent intervals. These included live sheep, oil, wheat, horse-fodder, and limes.[9] He also obtained garden-seeds and sprigs of orange and lemon trees to sow and plant at Bombay,[10] and asked the Company to send out seeds.[11]

But, besides attending to the material needs of the Island, Aungier exerted his great influence in promoting religion and morality among its European inhabitants. He no doubt initiated his project for the building of a church,[12] though the action taken is not mentioned in the available records; in this he would be helped by the Chaplain (Rev. John France), who arrived on the shipping in September.[13] Aungier's fight against immorality began on the day of his arrival,[14]

[1] Bom. con. 7 June, 2 Misc. 139; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 17.
[2] Bom. let. to Co. 7 Oct., O.C. 3683, ff. 1, 3.
[3] Bom. let. 16 & 23 Dec., 106 Sur. 48, 52. [4] Bom. let. to Co. 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 64.
[5] Cf. Bal. let. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 74; Kar. let. 29 Nov., 106 Sur. 31.
[6] Bom. let. 18 June, 106 Sur. 113; Sur. let. 4, 8, & 9 July, 87 Sur. 51–3.
[7] Bom. let. 2 Dec., 106 Sur. 23; Sur. let. 23 Nov., 10 & 13 Dec., 87 Sur. 94, 96, 97.
[8] Bom. let. to Co. 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 63.
[9] e.g. Bom. let. 6 Aug., 9 Sept., 23 Oct., 6 Nov., 23 Dec., 106 Sur. 118, 128, 132, 136, 147, (pt. 2) 15, 50; Burgess's let. 23 Nov., 106 Sur. (pt. 2) 13; Sur. let. 13 Dec., 87 Sur. 97.
[10] Bom. let. 6 Aug., 106 Sur. 117, 118; Sur. let. 4 July, 87 Sur. 51.
[11] Bom. let. 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 60.
[12] Bom. let. to Co. 14 June, O.C. 3649, f. 4. See p. 42 *ante*.
[13] Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 7.
[14] Bom. con. 7 June, 2 Misc. 138; Bom. let. to Co. 12 July, O.C. 3649, f. 1. Cf. p. 44 *ante*.

and was assisted by the Company's Laws on this subject* and the Courts of Judicature, before which offenders could be brought. Judge Wilcox reported in December that 'all kind of vice is discouraged, swearing and profaning the Lords Day punished and all uncleanness severely chastised'.[1] In the same month Aungier assured the Company that 'there is a most happy change on the Island, all enormous vices being severely punished'.[2]

Immigration to Bombay was encouraged not only by special measures taken to protect settlers,† but probably more by the security afforded by his firm, just, and able government, and actions like the establishment of the Court of Judicature and the Convention settling the dispute about the 'seized' lands.‡ In the welter of disturbances that prevailed in the neighbouring country, Bombay, now that it was in a more defensive condition, naturally attracted settlers. This is confirmed by a report of the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal, which appears to have been written about this time. He says:[3]

> The Governor and the Ministers of His Majesty the King of England, who are in Bombay . . . are making a large and opulent city of the island, and as those who go there are those with open consciences, our places and towns are being deserted. If your Highness does not take steps to remedy these evils, all the revenues and commerce of these inhabitants will be extinct, and they will be reduced to the utmost poverty as is the case now in Chaul.

But this was only a beginning, and the war with Holland clearly enhanced the need for the continuance of Aungier's presence in Bombay. His original intention to return to Surat on the Company's ships in September was first of all postponed till their return from the Malabar coast in December;[4] and with the threat of a Dutch attack

* Clauses 1 to 4 of section V of the Laws, see *B.J.* 24, 25.

[1] Wilcox's Report, 30 Dec., P.R.O., C.O., 77, vol. 12, reproduced by Khan, 499, 500.

[2] O.C. 3722, f. 47.

† e.g. Bom. con. 23 Oct., 2 Misc. 145, securing them from 'Portuguese arrests' for some time.

‡ Cf. Aungier's remark in Bom. let. 7 Oct., O.C. 3683, f. 3, 'the inhabitants are happy at the peace and security they get here'. Capt. Shaxton in December also testified to Aungier's 'moderation, discretion and resolution . . . in all things he takes in hand', having so largely tended to the satisfaction of the inhabitants and encouragement to 'our neighbours to come and live with us . . . when before His Honours coming hither we were altogether in confusion and disorder' (O.C. 3732).

[3] Danvers, ii. 358.

[4] Bom. let. 22 Sept., 106 Sur. 136.

maturing in the latter month, it was almost inevitable that he should further postpone his return (as he did) until the arrival of the next fleet from Europe.*

Though he must have been overburdened with his heavy work and responsibility, which included supervision of the Company's affairs at Surat and its subordinate factories as well as the government of Bombay, Aungier managed to find time to send home in December a very long letter containing 'a large Account of your Island Bombay', in which he introduced the novelty of attaching separate reports by each member of the Council as to his particular 'imployment' or portfolio.† This was in marked contrast to the 'very brief and unsatisfactory' reports of Giffard and his colleagues, of which the Company had complained;[1] and his energy and thoroughness are equally reflected in the fuller and more regular records of the administration that he inaugurated. It is satisfactory to find that his outstanding merits were becoming recognized by the Company. In their despatch of 13 December 1672 they wrote that they were 'so fully sattisfied in the prudent and faithful actings of our President' that they allowed him the same annual salary that they gave to Sir George Oxinden, viz. £300 *plus* a gratuity of £200, from the date of his entry into office.‡ They also sent him by the ships leaving in March a gold medal struck in commemoration of his defence of the Surat factory during Sivaji's incursion of 1670, which Aungier acknowledged 'with grateful humility'.§

BOMBAY, 1673

THE war with Holland dominated the situation in Bombay throughout the year; but its real danger to the Island mainly centred

* Bom. let. 2 Dec., 106 Sur. 28. His stay was the more justified by the admonition of the Company in their despatch of 15 March (4 L.B. 526) 'to take care that Bombay be constantly supplied with an able person fitt for government, because wee now look on it as a place of importance and easie to be improved, if well managed'.

† Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722 and its appendices, O.C. 3730–3. The original letter runs to ff. 54.

[1] Co.'s despatch of 15 March, 4 L.B. 525.

‡ 5 L.B. 29. The additional £200 a year was a special allowance granted to Oxinden in consideration of his experience and the extra trouble he had in organizing matters at Surat (*Ct. Min.*, 1660–3, 142, and *E.F.*, 1661–4, 92).

§ 4 L.B. 526; O.C. 3722, f. 3. This followed the precedent of the medal given to Oxinden in 1668. Streynsham Master, on whom the brunt of the task had fallen, was also given a medal, which he received personally in Dec. 1673 (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 295). As to its probable design, see *E.F.*, 1667–9, 20 n.

round the two months of January and February. The news that a hostile Dutch fleet of some twenty-two sail under Rickloffe van Goens was on its way up the Malabar coast soon developed from rumour into certainty.* The information that the Dutch Admiral commanded it in person and that a considerable number of soldiers had been taken on board from Ceylon and Cochin lent strong support to the belief that an attack on Bombay was intended, for (according to Aungier) van Goens 'never goes but upon a land design' and 'had received a severe check for not having taken Bombay in the last war'.[1] There was also a possibility of Sivaji assisting the Dutch, for Aungier had 'certain intelligence that Reickloff, taking advantage of our difference with Sevagee, had made an agreement with him to assist them with 3,000 men for the taking Bombay, they engaging to assist him with their whole fleete for the retaking Danda Rajapore [Janjira] from the Sidye'.[2] Fortunately, if this proposition were made, it was not acted on; but there was room for apprehension as to Sivaji's intentions. Though he had sent an envoy to Bombay in January to continue the negotiations for a treaty, Aungier and his colleagues suspected this to be a move to take advantage of them in their time of trouble and had accordingly suspended them 'until this noyse of the Dutch fleet is over'.[3] All Aungier could do was to send letters to Sivaji with arguments against his helping or trusting the Dutch.[4]

In the circumstances the Council had, as Aungier put it to the Company, 'sufficient arguments to provide for a storm',[5] and strenuous efforts were made to place the Island in the best defensive condition possible in the short time available. These included preparations against a siege by raising money and storing provisions and ammunition.† The completion of the outwork to the Fort that had been begun in the previous year was hurried on.‡ This was

* It was, for instance, seen by Adams, on his way back from Goa at the beginning of February (Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, 6 Bom. 98); and by 10 Feb. it was thought to be within a day's sail of Bombay (6 Bom. 66).

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, 6 Bom. 98, 99; Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 83.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 100, 101.

[3] Bom. con. 4 Jan. & 13 Feb., 1 Bom. 10, 11, 23, 24.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 101. [5] Ibid. 99.

† Ibid.; Bom. con. 4 Jan. & 21 March, 1 Bom. 11, 30. Provisions imported were exempted from customs-duty (Bom. con. 16 Feb., 1 Bom. 24).

‡ See p. 54 *ante*. The soldiers and country people employed on it were encouraged by a free allowance of arrack (Bom. con. 4 Jan., 1 Bom. 11).

intended to afford a refuge for the inhabitants in case of a siege or sudden surprise, and resident merchants showed their appreciation by offering to contribute to its cost by a tribute of 1 per cent. on all goods imported or exported.[1] But when definite news arrived on 10 February of the near approach of the Dutch fleet, it was decided to demolish it, as it might give shelter to a Dutch attack by land.[2] Instead, the outer defences of the Fort were confined to a smaller and nearer outwork that would enclose the important tank of water about 100 paces from the Fort wall.[3] To give a clear field to the guns of the Fort, houses in the line of fire were removed.[4] The guards on the frigates *Revenge* and *Hunter* were strengthened; more soldiers were recruited for the garrison; and the Militia was mobilized under English officers.[5] In addition the Governor's guard of Bhandaris was kept on constant duty, and it was decided to raise a force of 500 Mohammedans and Rajputs, who had already proved themselves to be fighting and serviceable men.* Their recruitment did not, however, begin until about four days before the Dutch ships appeared, and it was not till 7 March that the 500 men were mustered.[6] About 10 February all English women on the Island were sent away to Portuguese territory, so that they might not be a source of 'disturbance' to its defence. John Child, who had lately married Capt. Shaxton's daughter, accompanied the gentlewomen to Bassein, not only to look after them, but also to furnish intelligence to the Council.[7] Adams, who had arrived back from Goa, appears to have also gone to Bassein.[8] In spite of the proclamations against desertion, most of the Portuguese Christians had run off the Island; and their example had been followed by the 'poor people' generally, with the consent of the Council, who did not wish them to suffer from a Dutch attack.[9] Consequently, the arrival of four French ships, with

[1] Bom. con. 8 Jan., 1 Bom. 12.

[2] Bom. con. 10 Feb. & 22 March, 1 Bom. 21, 22, 30, 31; Bom. let. 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 69.

[3] Ibid.; cf. Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 12 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 31).

[4] Bom. con. 11 Feb. & 28 April, 1 Bom. 22, 44.

[5] Bom. con. 15 & 17 Jan. & 10 Feb., 1 Bom. 14, 22.

* Bom. con. 11 Feb., 1 Bom. 22, 23; Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 100. In January Shaxton said there were 100 'Moormen' employed, and described them as 'lusty stout fellows'. The Bhandaris also furnished 100 men armed with clubs and bill-hooks (O.C. 3732).

[6] Bom. con. 16 Feb. & 7 March, 1 Bom. 24, 25, 26.

[7] Bom. con. 10 Feb., 1 Bom. 22; O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 99.

[8] Bom. con. 10 Feb. & 4 March, 1 Bom. 26; O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 98.

[9] Bom. con. 16 Feb., 1 Bom. 25; Bom. let. 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 69; O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 99, 100.

Mons. Baron, one of the French Directors, from Surat about 12 February was a welcome reinforcement.* They were hauled up alongside the two frigates, *Revenge* and *Hunter*, so as to be under the command of the seaward guns of the Fort, whose number was increased.[1] Thus by the middle of February, when the arrival of the Dutch fleet was daily expected, Aungier was prepared to receive it with good courage and to offer a stout resistance to any attempt at landing.[2]

It was not, however, until 20 February that seven Dutch sail were discovered to be at anchor, not far from the mouth of the Bay. These came up within sight of the Fort that night, and early next morning 'stood in for this place so near as they could lie, and observing ours and the French ships were laid in a line to receive them and our Fort clear to give them the first salute, they tacked and stood out again'. Towards noon they weathered Kolaba Point and then 'played up and down' in Back Bay till about 3 o'clock, when they came to anchor.

Whereupon the Governor sent one of the [garrison] companies, together with a considerable number of Bandarees to the island of Kolaba and Back Bay to assault them in case they should attempt to land: the Governor being there in his own person with resolutions to fight them, which encouraged the people very much. About 5 this afternoon the Governor sent up his Deputy Governor Capt. John Shaxton with both the companies of militia, viz. of Bombay and Mahim, under his command to Mahim† to prevent their landing there, having likewise strong guards on Malabar Hill, Warli and other places to secure them from the enemy's attempt. On Saturday the 22nd instant in the morning the Governor went in person again to the Bay to visit the outguards and observe the enemys motion in case they should land, for that their boats had been often sounding the Bay and point of Kolaba, but about sunrise they weighed and stood to the northward, and about nine weathered the point of Malabar Hill and stood off so near as they could to the shore. In the afternoon the Governor went to Malabar Hill to observe the motion

* Bom. let. 12 & 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 68, 69. They were on their way to assist de la Haye's fleet at St. Thomé and put into Bombay for shelter from the approaching Dutch fleet. Orme, 40, 41, says they were part of the five French ships that had come from Persia and had stayed at Bombay from 28 Dec. 1672 to 19 Jan. 1673; but according to Kaeppelin, 87, 88, the principal vessel was a man-of-war that had been left behind at Surat by de la Haye.

[1] Bom. let. 12 & 17 Feb., 106 Sur. 68, 69; Bom. let. 1 March, 6 Bom. 81.

[2] Bom. let. 12 Feb., 106 Sur. 68; O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 100.

† Some horse and a party of the Bhandari guard were ordered to march with them: see Bom. con. 21 Feb., 1 Bom. 25.

of the enemy, where he saw them at an anchor, off from the mouth of Mahim river, having before tyded it to the northward so far as they could, and we suppose weighed for that place, so soon as the tyde was made, intending for Surat, and the next day were out of sight.*

Thus an attack was threatened in a very half-hearted manner, and the Dutch evidently gave up all idea of landing, when they saw that this would be resisted. Though, according to the information received, there were twenty-two sail at Vengurla with about 6,000 men on them,[1] only seven of them were sent to reconnoitre the Island, and the rest never came up the coast. Probably knowledge of Aungier's preparations and the failure to enlist Sivaji's co-operation discouraged Rickloffe van Goens from a serious attempt to capture Bombay.†

Though the fact that the seven ships did 'not dare in the least to attempt any part of' the Island[2] was a tremendous relief, there was for some time a fear that the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which was reported to be still at Vengurla, would make an attack. It was not till 4 March, after these ships had been seen to sail away for Surat, that the situation was deemed sufficiently safe to send the *Hunter* to Bassein to bring back Child, Adams, and the gentlewomen who had gone there.‡ The 11th of that month was appointed a day of thanksgiving for the Island's preservation from Dutch violence, and on the 13th there was a general muster of all its forces, so that 'the people might understand in what posture of defence we are in, in case of a siege'.[3] The 500 auxiliaries of Mohammedan and Rajput recruits no doubt took part in this parade, as they had been raised by 7 March and remained in pay till the second week of April, when 300 of them were disbanded to reduce expenditure.[4]

Meanwhile, steps were taken to hasten the return of the large number of inhabitants that had been scared off the Island by fear

* Bom. let. 23 Feb., 106 Sur. 71, 72. The names of places have been modernized, and the last eight words are from Bom. let. 1 March, 6 Bom. 80.

[1] Bom. let. 1 March, 6 Bom. 82.

† Thus Aungier wrote to the Co. that the latter consideration 'wee suppose was one chiefe argument joyned with others that the remaining part of the fleete never came to disturb us' (O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 101).

[2] Bom. con. 4 March, 1 Bom. 26.

‡ Bom. con. 1 & 4 March, 1 Bom. 26. There was, however, 'an alarm for one night' at the end of March, when the Dutch ships returned from Surat and passed Bombay (O.C. 3760, PS. of 28 March).

[3] Bom. con. 4 March, 1 Bom. 26.

[4] Bom. con. 7 March & 4 & 11 April, 1 Bom. 26, 37, 39.

of a Dutch attack. On 1 March it was ordered that 'the houses of all those that fled should be sealed up, whereby notice may be taken of these deserters'; and on 21 March a list of them was called for, with details of their estates. At the same time their return was encouraged by an exemption of the goods they brought with them from payment of customs. The result was that people of property hurried back to save their estates, while others did so 'with much cheerfulness, finding that we were so well prepared that the Dutch did not attempt us'.[1] Wilcox and Adams were deputed to inquire into cases where 'desertion' was disputed, and the Council ultimately decided to restore all attached estates and to restrict any punishment for breaches of the proclamations to fines.[2] An exception was made in the case of the big Mazagaon landowner and Militia-Captain, Alvaro Pires de Tavora, who had left his post without leave and (instead of returning to the Island in obedience to a summons) had resorted to the Viceroy of Goa and other foreign dignitaries for redress of his alleged grievances. His estates were kept under attachment, and full particulars were placed before the Company so that this step could be justified.*

Aungier also took vigorous action to check others from following his example. The Viceroy of Goa, in interceding for him, used expressions implying that the Portuguese inhabitants on the Island were still subjects of the Crown of Portugal, and stated that he had received several complaints from them. These being considered to be both 'matters of very evil consequence', a proclamation was issued, requiring all persons to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain and of fidelity to the Company, and prohibiting them from making addresses by way of complaint to any foreign power or state, under pain of being proceeded against for disaffection.[3]

There was the more reason for this, as the Viceroy of Goa had broken off negotiations with Adams on the plea of want of orders from Portugal, and he was so far from admitting a good correspondence with the English that he had forbidden any of them settling at

[1] Bom. con. 16 Feb., 1 & 21 March, 1 Bom. 24, 26, 29; Bom. let. 6 & 10 March, 6 Bom. 82, 94.

[2] Bom. con. 2 & 16 March, 4 & 28 April, & 5 May, 1 Bom. 36, 37, 40, 45.

* Bom. con. 14 March, 2 April, 16 & 23 May, & 27 June, 1 Bom. 27, 32–6, 48, 49, 50, 57, 104, 114; Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, O.C. 3760 & 6 Bom. 101; Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, ff. 20, 21 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 41–4). For further details, see *B.J.* 83–6.

[3] Bom. con. 28 April & 29 July, 1 Bom. 44, 65.

Bassein or Daman and had determined, so far as could be judged, to hinder all trade between Bombay and the main, or the transport of any timber or provisions to the Island.[1] And though the gentlewomen had been treated civilly at Bassein, other English refugees had met with cruelty and oppression.[2] The desertion and other failures of the Portuguese inhabitants of Bombay to help the English against the danger of attack by the Dutch was an additional reason for drawing attention to the fact that they were subjects of the Crown of Great Britain.

Dutch and Portuguese hostility was not, however, the only danger threatening the peace and security of the Island. Another one was the renewal of the Sidi's desire to have the freedom of the harbour for his fleet. Its stay there that began on 24 December 1672 lasted only about a month,[3] but even in that short time his men made themselves a nuisance by outrages, such as burning houses at Mazagaon and violent assaults on inhabitants.* On their way back to Surat they also plundered several boats belonging to the Island, and confined the occupants, who had to be redeemed by money.[4] Yet the Sidi had to be civilly treated to avoid offending the Mughal Emperor, and on 15 January he was ceremonially received by Aungier and regaled with a banquet of sweetmeats.[5] Hearing that he intended to return and 'winter' his fleet at Bombay during the monsoon, Aungier asked the Surat Council to tell him that he positively prohibited it.[6] But this was of no avail, and early in May Sidi Sambal arrived with a fleet of six frigates and four small *grabs*.† To smooth matters he brought a 'sirpaw' (dress of honour) from 'the Great Moghul' for the President, in acknowledgement of the kindness received when the fleet was last there, and a letter from the Governor of Surat asking for a continuation of the same treatment. After weighing the various considerations, the Council decided to receive the 'sirpaw' with due ceremony, but to refuse the Sidi's request that his fleet and men should be allowed to stay there during the whole rains. A few

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, 6 Bom. 98.

[2] Ibid. 108.

[3] Ibid. 97.

* Bom. let. 1 March & 14 May, 6 Bom. 81, 117. According to the former letter, the houses that were burnt were 'neighbouring houses towards the sea-side', and not those allotted to the Sidi's men, as stated by Orme, 40.

[4] Bom. let. 24 May, 6 Bom. 120.

[5] Bom. let. 1 March, 6 Bom. 81; Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, 6 Bom. 97.

[6] Bom. let. 26 April, 6 Bom. 113.

† Big twin-masted vessels.

days later, however, they were prevailed on to permit the Emperor's vessels to be hauled ashore at Mazagaon, and to allow a few lascars to look after them, while the Sidi and his other men, they insisted, should leave for Janjira.[1] The Sidi and his people had been very rude and abusive, and some hot words passed between Aungier and Sambal, who left 'in some discontent'.[2] He complained to the Governor of Surat about his treatment, and Aungier instructed the Council as to the reply they should give him.[3]

The stay of the ships and lascars at Mazagaon entailed some defensive measures. A detachment of six files of soldiers and four pieces of ordnance were sent there to guard the place and the Company's vessels.[4] When news came that Sivaji's people on the mainland opposite intended to make a raid and burn the Sidi's frigates, the *Revenge* was detailed to keep a look-out off Mazagaon.[5] But a more dangerous consequence was the resentment that this favour to the Sidi caused Sivaji to entertain and manifest. He complained of it as equivalent to Aungier's siding with the Sidi against him, and there was good authority for the report that, when he heard of the matter, he mentioned the Dutch overtures to him for his co-operation in an attack on Bombay, and declared that he would act differently if they came again.[6] This naturally interfered with the progress of the negotiations with Sivaji's envoy in June; but Aungier was equal to the occasion and managed by persuasive arguments to satisfy Sivaji as to the propriety of his dealings with the Sidi.[7]

Developments that occurred later in the year may have helped to reassure him. The fleet left Bombay for Janjira about the end of August, but returned in a month or so. About 10 October Sidi Sambal, disregarding the kindness that had been shown him and a promise he had made on oath to the President, took his whole fleet by night over to the opposite mainland and burnt and plundered several towns such as Pen and Nagotna. He then blocked up the sea passages from the mainland and prevented provisions coming to Bombay. He also gave out his intention to stay in the Nagotna creek for most of the year and to build a fort on a small island near

[1] Bom. con. 10 & 16 May, 1 Bom. 47, 50; Bom. let. 14 May, 6 Bom. 116, 117; Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 176.
[2] Bom. let. 14 & 26 May, 6 Bom. 117, 130.
[3] Bom. let. 7 June, 6 Bom. 136.
[4] Bom. con. 26 May, 1 Bom. 50.
[5] Bom. con. 3 June, 1 Bom. 55.
[6] Bom. con. 23 & 25 June, 1 Bom. 57, 59; Aungier's let. 20 Sept., 6 Bom. 196; Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 83.
[7] Bom. con. 25 June, 1 Bom. 59; Bom. let. 3 Sept., 6 Bom. 185.

Karanja.[1] This stoppage resulted in a scarcity of provisions, and Aungier retaliated by prohibiting the entry of the fleet into the harbour, or its obtaining any supplies there.[2] Extra men were engaged to keep a watch at the Fort and assist the Gunner; and the *Revenge* was recalled from Karwar, if she could be spared.[3] Aungier was most indignant and even contemplated taking violent action against the Sidi;[4] but the tension was relieved in November. Two junks arriving from Surat to join the fleet brought a civil message from the Governor of Surat and were allowed provisions.[5] It was also reported from Surat that the Governor did not credit the Sidi's calumny against Aungier that he was siding with Sivaji, and the President took steps to answer a similar complaint made to Aurangzeb.[6] Moreover, the Sidi's malevolent aims received a check from Sivaji, who sent 3,000 men to defend his country, with the result that the Sidi thought of leaving Nagotna and wanted to be friends with Bombay again.[7] His men had, however, committed 'great insolencies' by stealing cattle and robbing poor people at or near Bombay; and Aungier was firm in his intention to discourage him from using the port.* On 28 November the hoy *Dispatch* was sent out with two files of soldiers to cruise about the Bay for the defence of merchant vessels, as some had been chased by small boats belonging to the fleet.[8] There was, in fact, a fear among local Indian merchants that the Sidi would turn pirate.[9]

They suffered also from the continuance of Malabar piracy during the year. In January the ketch *Phoenix* had a skirmish with five Malabar vessels off Dabhol; and as their depredations on Bombay boats continued, the Council decided to attack every Malabar vessel.[10]

[1] Bom. con. 13 Oct., 1 Bom. 101; Bom. let. 12 & 17 Oct., 6 Bom. 216, 220; Bom. let. to Co. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 223; Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 7 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 23).

[2] Bom. con. 13 Oct., 1 Bom. 101. [3] Bom. con. 13 Oct. & 5 Nov., 1 Bom. 101, 103.

[4] Bom. let. 17 Oct., 6 Bom. 220, 221. [5] Bom. con. 7 Nov., 1 Bom. 104.

[6] Bom. let. 13 Nov., 6 Bom. 260; Aungier's let. to Roach at Agra, 7 Nov., 6 Bom. 250–3.

[7] Bom. let. 31 Oct., 6 Bom. 241, 242.

* Bom. let. 23 & 31 Oct., 6 Bom. 235, 244. One of the sufferers was 'Robbin the butcher', whose cattle on Butchers Island were stolen. This shows that there was a real butcher of that name, after whom the island was subsequently called 'Robin the Butcher's Island', and supports the view as to the origin of the name 'Butchers Island' taken by S. T. Sheppard, *Bombay in the Days of Queen Anne*, 87, as against that favoured by Campbell, i. 438–9, that 'Butchers' is a corruption of *Puteças*, the Portuguese name for the island. Both of these things may, however, have contributed to the present name.

[8] Bom. con. 28 Nov., 1 Bom. 115. [9] Bom. let. 31 Oct., 6 Bom. 242.

[10] Bom. con. 27 Jan., 1 Bom. 17; Bom. let. 2 March, 6 Bom. 86, 87.

The frigates *Revenge* and *Hunter* were useful for this purpose, and in February the former seized a Calicut boat, with 200 tons of goods and 6 guns, which was supposed to be a pirate vessel.[1] She turned out, however, to belong to the chief merchant of that place, who was on friendly terms with the factory there; and it was duly restored to him, on the fact being ascertained and his giving a discharge to the Council.[2] On the Malabar coast this piracy was considerable, and the commanders of the Company's ships were authorized to seize any pirate vessel they came across, if time permitted.[3] But it also took place between Bombay and Surat, and a salt-fleet bound for Broach was attacked, even though it had the *Hunter* for its convoy.* Again a boat sent by the Council to Calicut suffered from an attack by pirates on her return voyage, and had to take refuge at a port not far from Janjira.[4]

In May a ship belonging to a merchant of Rajapur was driven by stress of weather into the harbour, and it and its goods were attached by Aungier and his Council. This forcible action was the result of news from Karwar that Sivaji's army had invaded the upper part of Kanara and plundered Hubli, where the Company had considerable estate, and was intended to put pressure on Sivaji to make restitution for consequent losses to the Company or its factors.[5] At the same time Thomas Niccolls was sent to see Sivaji, explain the attachment, press for restitution for the Hubli losses, and continue the former negotiations regarding the Rajapur question, &c.† He left Bombay on 19 May and succeeded in having an interview with Sivaji at Rairi on 3 June. The result was inconclusive: Sivaji disowned responsibility for any looting at Hubli, and said he must await his officers' reports and details of the alleged losses before he could make any answer to this demand. On the other hand, he passed orders for the removal of two minor complaints relating to salt and

[1] Bom. con. 14 March, 1 Bom. 28; Bom. let. 13 Feb., 106 Sur. 68.

[2] Bal. let. 9 April, 106 Sur. 130, 131; Bom. let. 5 & 16 Aug., 6 Bom. 152, 163; Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 176; Bom. con. 10 Oct., 1 Bom. 92; Bom. let. 8 Oct., 6 Bom. 214.

[3] Aungier's instrns. 26 May & 18 Aug., 6 Bom. 129, 166.

* Bom. let. 23 & 31 Oct., 6 Bom. 234, 250. Complaint was made against Capt. Minchin that the *Hunter* deserted the salt-fleet in time of peril (ibid. 241).

[4] Bom. con. 10 Dec., 1 Bom. 4; Bom. let. 13 & 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 51, 54.

[5] Bom. con. 14 May, 1 Bom. 47; Bom. let. 24 May, 6 Bom. 120, 121.

† Bom. con. 16 May, 1 Bom. 47, 48; instrns. to Niccolls, 17 May, O.C. 3786. The former envoy Pillaji had not come to Bombay, though invited by Aungier after the departure of the Dutch ships: see the preamble to the instructions, which are printed by Bal Krishna, i. 414–17.

firewood, and sent Bhimaji Pundit as an envoy to continue the negotiations at Bombay.[1] He was received by Aungier and, as a result of their discussions, the Council deputed Narayan Shenvi (a brother of Ramchandra, Ustick's assistant in the negotiations of 1671–2) to go back with Bhimaji and endeavour to settle terms.* They did not return until 24 September,[2] and meanwhile news had arrived that the factory at Karwar was being besieged by a party of rebels against the King of Bijapur.[3] Aungier foresaw that this might result in preventing any supplies of cloth and pepper by that factory to the Company's ships, which were to take in their ladings on their way up the Malabar coast to Swally. The question of the embargo that had been placed on the Rajapur vessel also seemed to him to need reconsideration. Its goods had already been restored to the merchants, who owned them, as they had no concern with Sivaji and did not live in his territories;[4] while its owner forcibly represented that he was quite innocent of any wrong done to the Company by Sivaji's troops at Hubli. Sivaji had also written, interceding for him and promising to come to a fair understanding with Aungier about the claim for losses there. In these circumstances Aungier proposed to forgo making the receipt of compensation a condition precedent to the settlement of a factory at Rajapur, and to obtain extra supplies of cloth, pepper, &c., for the ships from the latter place. For this purpose it would be necessary to surrender the seized vessel, which was not worth more than Rs. 10,000, to its owner.[5] The Surat Council was consulted on these proposals, but disapproved of them.[6] The reasons it gave for this opinion were fully considered and answered by Aungier, with whom his Council unanimously agreed that the opening up of trade with Rajapur would be advantageous and that the confiscation of the vessel would be an imprudent act of open hostility that might provoke Sivaji to retaliation, such as joining

[1] Diary of Niccolls, O.C. 3787, printed by Bal Krishna, 417–25; Bom. let. 28 June, 6 Bom. 139, 140, 141.

* Bom. con. 23, 25, & 27 June, 1 Bom. 57, 59, 60, 61; instrns. to Narayan, O.C. 3807, printed by Bal Krishna, 430–2. Niccolls was not sent again, as it was considered advisable to save the extra expense that the sending of an Englishman would entail at this intermediate stage (1 Bom. 60). The Surat Council was consulted and approved of an effort being made to settle terms with Sivaji (Sur. con. 10 July, 3 Sur. 21).

[2] Bom. con. 6 Oct., 1 Bom. 96.

[3] Bom. let. 14 Aug., 6 Bom. 157; and see p. 318 *post*.

[4] Bom. con. 30 May & 2 June, 1 Bom. 53.

[5] Bom. con. 21 Aug., 1 Bom. 73–5.

[6] Ibid. and Bom. let. 26 Aug., 6 Bom. 171–3; Sur. con. 30 Aug., 3 Sur. 33.

with the Dutch in a siege of Bombay.[1] Accordingly, it was restored to its owner.[2] Thus a grave potential danger to the security of the Island was avoided.

This danger did not lie merely in imagination. In June information came that spies had been sent by Sivaji to discover the fords by which access to the Island could be had, and orders were given by the Council to stop the ferries running at Sion and Munchum, except for the passage of provisions, and to fortify Sion.[3] As Aungier pointed out, Sivaji, who was buoyed up by recent successes, such as the capture of Satara Fort, and who managed to evade his enemies, was not likely to refrain from doing mischief to the Island, if he wanted to.[4] A harsh appropriation of the merchant boat of Rajapur might also have alienated traders of that place and prejudiced business relations with the main, which Aungier was seeking to encourage.* Instead he enlisted the owner of the vessel on his side in the negotiations with Sivaji.†

These took a favourable turn about the end of September, when Narayan Shenvi arrived back with the envoy Bhimaji. They brought Aungier a friendly letter and present from Sivaji, who was represented to be desirous of concluding an agreement about Rajapur.[5] At the same time he had raised various objections to the claim for damages, and the Council promptly took the matter up. Two of its members, Child and Ustick, and its Secretary, Francis Day, were appointed to meet and discuss it with Bhimaji. After much time spent in argument, they and Aungier got him to raise the amount offered as compensation for the Rajapur losses from 4,000 to 10,000 pagodas, to be paid from the customs at Rajapur and by a supply of goods within a limited time. The Council endorsed this as an honourable settlement, and Narayan Shenvi was sent back to Sivaji

[1] Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 82–6; Aungier's let. 20 Sept., 6 Bom. 195–9, printed by Bal Krishna, 438–42. See also Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 19 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, p. 41). [2] Bom. con. 15 Sept. & 10 Nov., 1 Bom. 86, 106.

[3] Bom. con. 23 & 25 June & 4 Aug., 1 Bom. 57, 58, 59, 60, 67. The con. of 23 June is printed by Bal Krishna, 427.

[4] Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 83, 84; Aungier's let. 20 Sept., 6 Bom. 195, 196 (Bal Krishna, 439, 440).

* Thus animosity of this kind was aroused by the seizure of the Calicut boat: see p. 322 *post*.

† He was sent to Sivaji with further proposals: Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 86; Aungier's let. 20 Sept., 6 Bom. 199 (Bal Krishna, 442).

[5] Bom. con. 1 & 6 Oct., 1 Bom. 91, 92, 96, 97; Sivaji's let., P.C. 3952; Aungier's reply, 6 Oct., O.C. 3951 (Bal Krishna, 443, 444).

with a letter accordingly from Aungier and some presents.[1] Thus he could rightly report to the Company in October that the negotiations were nearing a conclusion;[2] and at the same time it had not been necessary for him to go as far in concessions as he had contemplated in August. The controversy as to the recent losses at Hubli was reserved for another time, Sivaji having made fair promises of giving satisfaction also in that matter.[3] The advantages of the prospective treaty with Sivaji were fully put by Aungier in his Report on Bombay at the end of the year.[4]

This progress towards friendly relations with Sivaji was accompanied by a gradual diminution of the fear of an attack by the Dutch. Their fleet on the Malabar coast had dispersed in March, and the part of it that remained under van Goens was for the rest of the year mainly occupied in blockading De la Haye's ships at St. Thomé.* Its whereabouts were, however, unknown in Bombay and Surat for some time,[5] and in August there was a report that the Dutch intended to send a fleet to the northward to surprise the Company's ships that were expected to arrive shortly on the Malabar coast. The Council, therefore, sent instructions for delivery, if possible, to the commanders on their way up as to the action they should take if a Dutch fleet were in their vicinity; it also arranged to get early intelligence of the movements of Dutch ships on the coast both above and below Bombay.[6] The receipt of news in September that the Company's ships had safely reached the Coromandel coast removed apprehension regarding them; and in October Aungier told the Company that the garrison was in a good posture of defence, and that they did not feel much concern at van Goens's great fleet and his reported intention to come northward.[7] The position was, however, altered for the worse, when news arrived of the Dutch success in the fight between the Company's ten ships and fourteen Dutch warships off Masulipatam on 22 August, which resulted in the

[1] Bom. con. 6 Oct., 1 Bom. 95–100, most of which is printed by Bal Krishna, 448–55; Aungier's let. to Sivaji, O.C. 3951.

[2] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 232 (Bal Krishna, 444).

[3] Ibid. [4] O.C. 3910, ff. 18–20 (Bal Krishna, 445–7, and *JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 39–41).

* According to the Madras Council, in June 1673 van Goens had 13 ships off St. Thomé and 10 or 12 more were expected; cf. C. R. Boxer, in *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 16, No. 4, p. 352.

[5] Cf. Sur. let. PS., 6 March, O.C. 3741, f. 5; Bom. let. to Co. 18 March, 6 Bom. 102.

[6] Bom. con. 29 July & 15 Aug., 1 Bom. 65, 66, 72; Bom. let. 2, 5, & 9 Aug., 6 Bom. 151, 153, 155, 156. [7] Bom. con. 4 Sept., 1 Bom. 80; Bom. let. 4 Oct., 6 Bom. 203.

loss of the *President*, the *Sampson*, and the *Antelope*.* Aungier anticipated that the Dutch might follow this up by trying to disable the remaining ships on their way up from Madras and then make another attempt to capture Bombay. Accordingly, he and his Council decided to make preparations against a possible siege, though he hoped this would not eventuate.[1] The Fort was 'sufficiently strong', three of its four bastions, as well as two seaward curtains, or platforms, having been completed and furnished with fifty pieces of ordnance.[2] The Island was well provided with provisions, ammunition, and other stores, but needed money to pay the auxiliary soldiers that would have to be raised; and the Surat Council was asked to remit Rs. 30,000 to be banked for this purpose.[3] The recruitment of a considerable extra force and other precautionary steps of a military nature were settled by the Council;[4] but on 3 December the situation was relieved by the arrival of the *Revenge* from Karwar, with the news that the seven ships had arrived there safely and had been unmolested by the Dutch during their voyage from Madras.[5] On the 6th the ships were in sight, and they reached the harbour the next day.[6] Consequently, the apprehension of a Dutch attack disappeared for a time; and though money for the purpose was obtained from Surat, the enlistment of auxiliary troops was suspended.[7]

The strength of each of the two garrison companies, which had been reduced in June to 100 men was, however, raised again to 200.[8] Of these, 150 were ordinarily to be 'white men';[9] but there were difficulties about this, and in May Aungier stated that there were not '150 sound Englishmen on the Island'.† The recruits sent out by the

* Mad. let. 20 Sept., O.C. 3848; Bom. let. 6 Nov., 6 Bom. 247. For an account of the action, see C. R. Boxer, 354–6, 367–80, and Fryer, i. 121–3.

[1] Bom. let. 13, 20, & 24 Nov., 6 Bom. 262, 264, 267.

[2] Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 11 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 28).

[3] Bom. con. 12 Nov., 1 Bom. 108, 109; Bom. let. 13 Nov., 6 Bom. 262, 263.

[4] Bom. con. 17 & 28 Nov., 1 Bom. 111, 114, 115.

[5] Bom. let. 4 Dec., 6 Bom. 48.

[6] Bom. con. 6 Dec., 1 Bom. 1; Bom. let. 8 Dec., 6 Bom. 50.

[7] Marginal note to Bom. con. 17 Nov., 1 Bom. 112; Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 21; Bom. let. 10 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 57.

[8] Bom. let. 7 June, 6 Bom. 135; Bom. con. 21 Aug. & 17 Nov., 1 Bom. 75, 112; Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 17 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 37).

[9] Bom. con. 4 April, 1 Bom. 37.

† Bom. let. 14 May, 6 Bom. 116; cf. Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 180, where he says, 'our chief want is Englishmen, of whom we have very few'.

Company in 1672 and 1673 were not many; and in December he said there were scarcely enough English to make under-officers for the garrison and militia companies.* Consequently, his reduction of the ranks after the imminence of a Dutch attack had passed away was confined to inefficient Portuguese 'topasses';[1] and he strongly urged the Company to allow more Englishmen and other Protestants, such as Germans, Danes, and Swedes, to come out as planters, traders, and soldiers.† He also suggested that they should send out English women 'of the meaner sort, but of honest reputation, for the soldiers do frequently converse with the country women, whom we force them to marry for the preventing sin and God's judgement thereon'.‡

About 100 of the soldiers were constantly employed as marines on the *Revenge* and *Hunter*.[2] These two frigates had a busy time during most of the year. They acted sometimes as convoys to boats belonging to the Company, and occasionally to merchant vessels, such as the fleet taking salt from Bombay to Sivaji's ports.[3] Other defensive duties were entailed by dangers from the Dutch, the Sidi's fleet, and Sivaji's forces. Thus in February the *Revenge* was ordered to cruise up and down outside the harbour on the look-out for the expected Dutch fleet, and at the beginning of June she was on similar duty to prevent a possible attack on the Sidi's vessels at Mazagaon.[4] Expense was saved by hauling the frigates ashore during the first part of the monsoon; but in August they were refloated—the *Revenge* to go to the relief of the Karwar factory and the *Hunter* to guard the Bay against another apprehended Dutch attempt.[5] In October the *Hunter* kept watch at Mahim during the annual Mohammedan pilgrimage to the Pir's tomb, and was then sent up to Surat with six files of soldiers for the defence of the factory against an apprehended attack by Sivaji's army.[6] She went up again in November to convoy

* Thus only thirty-six of those sailing for Bombay in 1673 had survived when the ships reached Madras (O.C. 3854). There was also an inconsiderable number sent out in 1672 (Sur. let. 6 Aug., O.C. 3825, f. 2).

† Aungier's let. to Co. 15 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3929, ff. 4, 5. The proposal was approved to a limited extent (desp. 5 March 1675, 5 L.B. 168, 181).

‡ Ibid., f. 7. A previous experiment of this kind had not been altogether successful: see *E.F.*, 1668–9, 240, 241, & p. 19 *ante*.

[1] Bom. let. 7 June, 6 Bom. 135.

[2] Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3010, f. 17 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 37).

[3] Bom. con. 25 Jan., 4 & 18 April, 8 & 19 Dec., 1 Bom. 17, 37, 43 (sec. 4), 2, 4.

[4] Bom. con. 16 Feb. & 3 June, 1 Bom. 24, 55. See p. 66 *ante*.

[5] Bom. con. 18 April, 4, 15, & 29 Aug., 1 Bom. 41, 68, 71, 72, 77, 78.

[6] Bom. con. 3 & 20 Oct., 1 Bom. 92, 93, 102; Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 234.

a quantity of old guns that could not be sold in Bombay without this being misrepresented by the Sidi; while in December both of the frigates were on convoy duty.[1] The consequence was that very little use could be made of them for freight purposes, as an off-set to their heavy cost. The hoy *Dispatch* and the *Malabar Coaster*, however, did useful service in this respect.[2] The ketch *Phoenix* also made occasional trips to Surat, but the war hindered her employment.[3] In view of this and Aungier's desire to reduce expenses, two new vessels built at Bombay were taken over by himself at a loss, instead of being placed to the Company's account.[4]

The Dutch prize *Mayboom*, which was 'a stout warlike ship, fit for war or merchandise', also helped in the defence of the harbour as a guard-ship.[5] The prisoners taken on her were all released in April and dispatched to Surat with money for their journey.[6] The hope expressed by Aungier that this courtesy would be requited by similar treatment of English prisoners was fulfilled in the case of the crew of the *George*, which had the misfortune to be captured by the Dutch off Ceylon on 12 January, while on her way back to Surat from Queda, and subsequently to sink through striking a reef near Tuticorin.*

Turning to matters of trade and civil administration, Aungier's activities continued in most directions, though expenditure was restricted by the need for retrenchment that the Dutch war entailed. His desire that the revenues should cover at any rate the garrison charges, and that trade profits should meet all other necessary disbursements, was one that necessarily had to be postponed so long as the proper defence of the Island in war-time involved a large increase of expenditure and a diminution of profits.[7] Efforts at

[1] Bom. con. 12 Nov. & 8 & 10 Dec., 1 Bom. 109 & (sec. 4) 2, 4; Bom. let. 13 Nov., 6 Bom. 263. [2] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 13, 14.

[3] Bom. let. 29 Jan., 6 Bom. 65; Bom. con. 3 Oct., 1 Bom. 92; Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 14.

[4] Bom. let. 26 Aug., 6 Bom. 173; Bom. con. 10 Nov., 1 Bom. 106; Bom. let. to Co. in Nov., 6 Bom. 233.

[5] Bom. con. 4 March & 29 Aug., 1 Bom. 9, 26; Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 13.

[6] Bom. con. 16 April, 1 Bom. 40; Sur. con. 29 April, 3 Sur. 13.

* Bal. let. 9 April, 106 Sur. 129; Sur. con. 24 May, 3 Sur. 17; Sur. let. 2 Dec., 87 Sur. 45; see also C. R. Boxer, 358, as to the similar release of English prisoners at Batavia, and Dutch Records, Series 3, vol. 7, E–12, pp. 4, 5, as to the issue of orders from Batavia for such release elsewhere.

[7] O.C. 3929, ff. 2, 3; O.C. 3907 & 6 Bom. 4; O.C. 3910, ff. 17, 18 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 38, 39).

retrenchment were made by reducing the expenses of the Company's house and of the garrison shop and store-room, disbanding unnecessary soldiers, laying up vessels, and suspending fortification work that was not urgent; while Aungier set a good example by foregoing immediate payment to him of expenses he had incurred in entertaining Portuguese 'fidalgos', &c.[1] The revenues of the Island showed some increase; thus the customs, tobacco, and arrack farms fetched about £1,000 more than before;[2] but the expenditure from June 1672 to June 1673 was more than double, not only that of the corresponding previous period, but also the total income.[3] Aungier gave full reasons for Bombay proving so 'chargeable' to the Company, and pointed out the various advantages that had resulted, or would accrue, from its being turned into a secure port and centre of commerce.[4] The policy he adopted carried out the Company's own direction that he should 'take care to preserve Bombay and our shipping from our enemies';[5] but, as he foresaw, the extra expense entailed was distasteful to his masters.[6]

There was a consequent scarcity of money during the year. In January Aungier found 'not Xs. 1,000 in cash in the Treasury', and Xs. 30,000 were borrowed at interest.[7] The coral taken from the Company's ships, being very bad, could only be sold at a loss, and the Surat Council was consulted whether this should be done or a loan of money taken.[8] In August Aungier expressed the hope that, in spite of the war, Bombay would not be chargeable to Surat, as they were well provided and he did not expect the Dutch would molest them ashore.[9] The fears aroused by the Dutch success off Masulipatam, however, altered this view, and in November the Bombay Council asked for Rs. 30,000 to be sent from there, as already mentioned.[10] Of this amount Rs. 20,000 were remitted in December, but there was a difficulty about sending the balance in tin for minting, as

[1] Bom. con. 27 Jan., 21 & 22 Aug., 5 & 22 Sept., & 12 Nov., 1 Bom. 17, 75, 76, 77, 81, 88, 89; Bom. let. 26 Aug., 6 Bom. 173; O.C. 3907 & 6 Bom. 11; O.C. 3929, ff. 3, 7, 8; O.C. 3910, f. 23 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 45, 46).

[2] Bom. let. 19 March, 106 Sur. 88; Bom. let to Co. 18 March, 6 Bom. 103, 104; O.C. 3910, ff. 17 18 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 38).

[3] O.C. 3933; O.C. 3010, f. 18 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 39).

[4] O.C. 3997 & 6 Bom. 4, 10; O.C. 3929, ff. 2, 3.

[5] Desp. 7 July, 5 L.B. 50.

[6] Desp. 5 March 1675, 5 L.B. 165.

[7] Bom. con. 4 Jan., 1 Bom. 11.

[8] Bom. let. 29 Jan., 6 Bom. 63, 64.

[9] Bom. let. 26 Aug., 6 Bom. 173; Sw. let. to Co., O.C. 3291, f. 6.

[10] See p. 72 *ante*.

desired by Aungier. The amount required was not available and the price of tin had risen.[1]

The Mint, in fact, was a source of profit from its copper and tin coinage, which supplied a distinct want and gave satisfaction to the inhabitants and their neighbours.[2] As in previous years, there was often a scarcity of pice on the Island, and in March the Council imposed a 5 per cent. duty on all pice exported.[3] But 'tinnys' were also in demand and were indeed more profitable.[4] By the end of November all the tin on the Island had been minted, but fortunately in December the Company's ships brought out a good supply.[5] The Mint thus continued to operate for the coining of copper and tin under the superintendence of Richard Adams, but the silver ingots formerly reserved for the Mint were disposed of, as there was 'no conveniency' yet for this expansion of its work.* Steps were also taken against the coin-clipping that was prevalent.[6]

During the year the Council considered proposals for special taxation, such as a general excise on consumable commodities and shops and an additional tax on landed estates, but none were brought into actual operation except the voluntary contribution towards Fort-outworks, which raised Xs. 4,760.[7]

The enforcement of the Convention for payment of Xs. 20,000 as land-revenue gave some trouble. It was found that the *povo*, or representatives of the people, had not complied with the provision requiring them to pay the first quarterly instalment of 1673 to proprietors in Old Woman's Island as compensation for its acquisition.[8] The instalment was accordingly ordered to be credited to the Treasury, and it was arranged to give in exchange lands of equal value belonging to the Company.[9] The demands for contributions to the instalments led to a petition by the English landholders to be

[1] Bom. con. 26 Nov., 1 Bom. 114; Sw. let. 19 Dec., O.C. 3912; Bom. let. 2 & 24 Dec., 6 Bom. 46, 55.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 224, 225; O.C. 3799, f. 3; O.C. 3910, f. 18 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 39).

[3] Sur. con. 8 Feb., 3 Sur. 8; Bom. con. 7 March, 1 Bom. 26.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 225.

[5] Bom. con. 26 Nov. & 6 Dec., 1 Bom. 114 & (next sec.) 1.

* Bom. con. 22 Jan. & 4 Feb., 1 Bom. 16, 21. Richard Adams was a witness in the case against Capt. Young in 1670 (3 Sur. 23, where he is described as 'sonne to Richard Addames of Hartfordshire') and seems then to have been the steward at the Fort (Toldervy's let. 28 June 1669, 1 Bom. 28).

[6] Bom. con. 1 & 10 Dec., 1 Bom. 116 & (next sec.) 3.

[7] Bom. con. 15 Jan., 11, 16, 18, & 28 April, & 18 July, 1 Bom. 13, 38, 40, 41, 42, 45, 63; O.C. 3983.

[8] See p. 47 *ante*.

[9] Bom. con. 8 Jan. & 8 Aug., 1 Bom. 13, 69.

exempted on the ground that they were not parties to the Convention. After consultation with the *povo*, it was decided to refer the petition to the Company, and meanwhile the collection of the tax from them was suspended.[1] As provided in the Convention, a petition of the *povo* to the Company to be allowed to continue the practice of *buckshaw*, or dunging their trees and rice-fields with dried fish, was supported except in regard to the town or its vicinity.*

During the year the Surveyor-General, Col. Bake, was engaged in preparing a large and detailed map of Bombay, but its completion was prevented by his illness.† Orders were also given for a survey of lands sold since the Convention and the maintenance of a register regarding them.[2] The difficult question of reclaiming the lands 'overflown' from the 'Great Breach' came up for consideration. The Council was at first in favour of letting out the work to private individuals on easy conditions for the lease of any land reclaimed; and to encourage them Aungier, Gray, and Shaxton proposed to start work on their own account.[3] The project had, however, to be deferred for want of labourers, who were prevented from coming from the mainland by the Sidi's occupation of Nagotna Bay, and on the advice of the Surat Council, the question whether reclamation should be undertaken, and if so in what manner, was referred to the Company.[4]

The promotion of trade and the increase of population on the Island continued in spite of the war. As already mentioned, most of those who had been scared away by alarm at the approach of a Dutch fleet soon returned. By the beginning of April merchants 'began to think of trade again', and a fleet of forty vessels was convoyed by the frigates *Hunter* and *Revenge* to ports on the mainland.[5] New

[1] Bom. con. 26 Sept., 6 Oct., & 7 Nov., 1 Bom. 90, 95, 104, 105. Cf. *B.J.* 87.

* O.C. 3910, ff. 28, 29; O.C. 3931, f. 1. Art. 6 of Aungier's Convention provided that, subject to the Co.'s approval, the practice should be allowed outside 'the line of the city which by God's assistance is intended to be built' (*Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 316). The Co. left the matter to the Governor and Council, but said it thought the fish should be buried and not exposed above ground (desp. 5 March 1675, 5 L.B. 169).

† O.C. 3910, ff. 5, 25 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 21). Art. 12 of Aungier's Convention provided for a survey of the lands and estates of each person at small charges (*Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 318).

[2] Bom. con. 3 June, 1 Bom. 54.

[3] Bom. con. 19 Sept. & 3 Oct., 1 Bom. 87, 88, 93, 94. Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 78.

[4] Bom. let. 31 Oct., 6 Bom. 241; Sur. con. 24 Oct., 3 Sur. 40; Sur. let. 25 Oct., O.C. 3874; O.C. 3910, ff. 5–7 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 21–4).

[5] Bom. con. 4 April, 1 Bom. 37; O.C. 3779 for 11 April; Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 175.

settlers also came, 'the Island growing daily more populous';[1] but a great impediment was the lack of accommodation for them. Aungier described this as 'the greatest want at present in Bombay', and the Council ordered that houses should be built as soon as the urgent part of fortification work was over.[2] He also submitted proposals to the Company to encourage its servants to build houses and warehouses out of their salaries.* A more immediate measure in favour of settlers was one giving them protection for five years from liability to be arrested or sued in Bombay for debts contracted elsewhere before their arrival.[3]

In his long Report on Bombay, Aungier gave a comprehensive account of the existing trade of Bombay and his plans for improving it.[4] These included the 'endeavouring all wayes possible to open a secure way of trade to the Island' from Deccan towns such as Junnar, Aurangabad, Hubli, and Bijapur.[5] For this purpose the Council in April deputed Niccolls to travel in the neighbouring country of Sivaji in the guise of a private merchant and to inquire and report as to the feasibility of this aim; but in May he returned, as the proximity of two opposing armies made his journey too dangerous.† Inquiries, however, by the broker Voggee (Vaghji), who had been sent to Aurangabad and other places in the preceding year, had proved satisfactory; so Sidi Jauhar, who had been taken into the Company's service, was sent to Aurangabad with letters to Bahadur Khan and Diler Khan to treat with them about this and other weighty matters.[6] In August and December Aungier reported that, on account of the continued 'fierce war' between the Mughal and Sivaji, his efforts had not met with the success he desired.[7] But this was, he thought, a temporary impediment; and in his personal letter to the Company he pointed out, with true prophetic instinct,

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 180; Bom. let. 3 Sept., 6 Bom. 185.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 17 Feb. 1674, 6 Bom. 71; Bom. con. 22 Aug., 1 Bom. 77; O.C. 3929, f. 5.

* O.C. 3929, ff. 5–7. The proposals were in the main approved by the Co. in its despatch of 5 March 1675, 5 L.B. 168. See p. 141 *post.*

[3] Bom. con. 19 Sept., 1 Oct., & 10 Nov., 1 Bom. 88, 92, 107. Cf. *B.J.* 66.

[4] O.C. 3910, ff. 7–9 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 24–6).

[5] O.C. 3910, f. 8 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 25).

† Bom. con. 18 April & 10 May, 1 Bom. 42, 46. The two armies were probably in the neighbourhood of Junnar: see Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, 198.

[6] Bom. let. 14 May, 6 Bom. 118; Bom. con. 23 & 30 May, 1 Bom. 51, 52, 53, & O.C. 3793.

[7] Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug, 6 Bom. 175; O.C. 3910, f. 8 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 25).

the firmer foundations of justice and non-aggression on which the Company's trade rested, compared with that of any other European nation.[1]

The weaving of Bombay cloth was much reduced by the war. Most of the weavers had fled 'at the noise of the Dutch fleet coming', and their return was discouraged by a rise in the cost of provisions due to warfare between the Sidi and Sivaji, and to the want of accommodation for themselves and their families. The result was that only some 6,000 pieces of cloth were produced during the year, in addition to a small quantity of cotton-yarn, the local manufacture of which was started.[2]

An important decision of the Council was to discontinue the direct collection of the customs of the Island and to farm them instead. This was, however, limited to the two years for which the Company's concession of free customs had still to run. The farm's auction fetched Xs. 14,000.[3] Another item of interest that indicates the increase of Parsi settlers from Gujarat was the grant of a site on Malabar Hill, on which the well-known Towers of Silence were subsequently erected.[4]

The sale of the Company's broadcloth was encouraged by a reduction of price, but most of the stock sent out on the Company's ships was sent up to Surat while the coast was clear.[5] An ingenious effort to increase the sale of perpetuanos and other English woollen manufactures was an order in September that all military officers and soldiers, as well as all other Company's servants, should take one-sixth of their wages in this cloth, which (Aungier told the Company) 'though [it] at first gave some disgust, yet by the sober reasons which we gave, by the moderate price which we set on the goods and by our own example, we have in the main prevailed to make it pass'.[6] This order was made before the receipt of a suggestion by the Company that the garrison soldiers should be provided with uniforms gratis; but the Council held that, in view of the need for

[1] O.C. 3929, ff. 1, 2.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 11.

[3] Bom. con. 4 Feb. & 14 March, 1 Bom. 20, 28; Bom. let. 19 March, 106 Sur. 88.

[4] Bom. con. 3 Oct., 1 Bom. 94; O.C. 3910, f. 4 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 20). Cf. *Bom. City Gaz.* iii. 319.

[5] Bom. con. 8 Jan. & 4 Aug., 1 Bom. 11, 12, 67; Bom. let. to Co. 28 March, 6 Bom. 97; Sur. let. 8 Feb., 3 Sur. 7, 8.

[6] Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 82; Bom. let. 29 Sept., 6 Bom. 207; Bom. let. to Co. 23 Oct. 6 Bom. 225; O.C. 3910, f. 22 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 45).

economy, this 'donative' should be reserved as a reward for special services, such as the repulse of a Dutch attempt to land on the Island.*

The Court of Judicature continued to be presided over by George Wilcox, who sent the Company a report about its work during the year.[1] 'The noise of it' (he writes) 'has filled our neighbours with admiration, being amazed to see that our justice outruns their expectation, and great reason for it, when our Courts are neither dilatory nor partial.' He further says: 'The peoples satisfaction to our proceedings are very great, justice being done them for a little, which in other places costs much'; and this was helped by Aungier's revision of the Court fees, so as to avoid hardship to the poorer inhabitants.[2] Wilcox refers appreciatively to the support given by the Governor in combating opposition to the Court on the part of some of the English residents: thus the Council imposed a fine of Xs. 100 on a freeman called Anthony Roby for abusing the Judge in open court, but remitted it on his publicly asking Wilcox's forgiveness and expressing his contrition.[3] Efforts were made to stop the prevalence of robbery on the Island. The militia was employed on keeping a watch at night, and as a deterrent to others an old offender was sentenced to death.† The constant endeavour to suppress profanity, licentiousness, and crime among the Europeans is stated both by Aungier and Wilcox to have had good results, except among some of the meaner sort, who were so 'besotted that no exhortation, no reproofs, no punishment how rigorous soever, will reclaim them'.[4] The severity used, in fact, caused some seamen and soldiers to leave the Island and take service under the Portuguese or 'Moors'.[5]

Towards the end of the year Aungier took up the question of establishing *Panchayats* for the three principal communities, viz. Portuguese Christians, Hindus, and Mohammedans. He referred it

* Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 36; O.C. 3910, ff. 22, 23 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 45). The order was approved by the Company (desp. 5 March 1675, 5 L.B. 168).

[1] Let. 15 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3930.

[2] Bom. let. 27 Oct., 6 Bom. 238.

[3] Bom. con. 17 Sept. & 3 Oct., 1 Bom. 87, 94. Cf. *B.J.* 80.

† Bom. con. 29 Aug., 4 Sept. & 6 Oct., 1 Bom. 78, 79, 95; Sur. con. 20 Sept., 3 Sur. 36; Bom. let. 9 Sept., 6 Bom. 187, 188. He was, however, reprieved on the gallows (Bom. let. 10 Oct., 106 Sur. 199) For further information, see *B.J.* 71, 72.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 12; Wilcox's Report, O.C. 3930.

[5] Bom. let. to Co., 6 Bom. 12.

to the Surat Council, pointing out the desirability of having such representatives,

for now they seeme a mixed confused body, a garden planted with severall sortes of flowers promiscuously groing up one among another without order or decorum, and having no head nor cheife among themselves; they often receive injurys from some violent persons here and dare not make their complaint, or when they doe it is in a tumultuous and disorderly way, coming in a greate body together to make the greater noise, both which are very inconvenient and of evill consequence.

He also suggested that they should be empowered to decide 'small differences and quarrells that may happen among them'. The Surat Council concurred, but the proposal was not carried out in this year.[1]

Aungier's personal letter to the Company dealt with some 'wants' affecting the English population. The first of these was a church, which he said he hoped to be able to build from voluntary contributions and wanted only the Company's order and peace to begin.[2] The next was a hospital, to be erected partly at the Company's cost and partly out of voluntary contributions. He explained that the house formerly built for this purpose was not conveniently situated and was more suited for a warehouse. He proposed, therefore, to build another one nearer the Fort.[3] The need for this had been stressed by Dr. Bird, the Surgeon at Bombay, in his report of 1 January to the Company.[4] Aungier commended him, saying he had a very heavy task, because of the constant sickness in Bombay, especially in the months of May, June, September, and October.[5] He therefore welcomed the addition of another surgeon in the person of Dr. John Fryer, whom the Company sent out on the *Unity*, one of the seven ships that arrived in December,[6] and whose published letters on India and Persia have made him famous. In the second half of the year an illness suggestive of influenza had 'swept away a great many people by violent fevers and pains in the head'.[7] Aungier was among the victims, but he had recovered by the end of July.[8] In October and November he was again on the sick list with 'colleck'

[1] Bom. let. 27 Oct. & 13 Nov., 6 Bom. 237, 238, 261, 262; Bom. con. 10 Nov., 1 Bom. 108. See also *B.J.* 81, 82.
[2] O.C. 3929, f. 3.
[3] Ibid., ff. 3, 4.
[4] O.C. 3730.
[5] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 13.
[6] Fryer, i. 30; desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 34.
[7] O.C. 3779, f. 2; Bom. let. to Co. 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 178.
[8] Ibid.; Sur. let. 23 July, 6 Bom. 148.

(colic); and a consultation of 5 November records that the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and some others had been 'of late much indisposed as to health, so that for some time the Council could not all meet'.[1] On the 24th, however, Aungier was 'somewhat recovered from his violent distemper'.[2]

That this handicap made little difference to his enormous energy is clear from three long letters to the Company, which were sent home by the ships and the contents of which show that he must have penned most of them himself.* The first was the ordinary 'General Letter', which is of considerable length, though it did not deal with Bombay matters.[3] These were reserved for a separate letter,[4] which certainly satisfied the Company's requirement of 'a full and large accompt' of all affairs on the Island.[5] In fact, it was in the nature of an Administration Report, containing (as it did) a general description of the place and its inhabitants, its garrison, its fortifications, system of government, trade resources, &c.† This was followed up by a personal letter or 'memoriall' to the Company, in which *inter alia* he explained at length the need for 'soe vast a summe of money expended in the publick charges of this Island' during his stay there, and made some petitions in regard to his heavy expenses at Bombay and the loss he incurred by being there instead of at Surat.‡

He intended to pay a short visit to Surat on one of the ships, which reached Bombay on 7 December and left on the 12th; but on wind of this getting abroad all communities joined in sending a deputation to the President to entreat him 'not to leave them in this time of war and danger'. His assurance that he would return on the ships in January was of no avail: they would not be comforted and expressed a fear that the Governor of Surat would not allow him to

[1] Bom. let. 31 Oct., 6 Bom. 243; Bom. con. 5 Nov., 1 Bom. 103.

[2] Bom. let. 24 Nov., 6 Bom. 266.

* Cf. Bom. con. 12 Nov., 1 Bom. 110: 'The President being wholly taken up in forwarding his dispatches &c. to the Company by their shipping.'

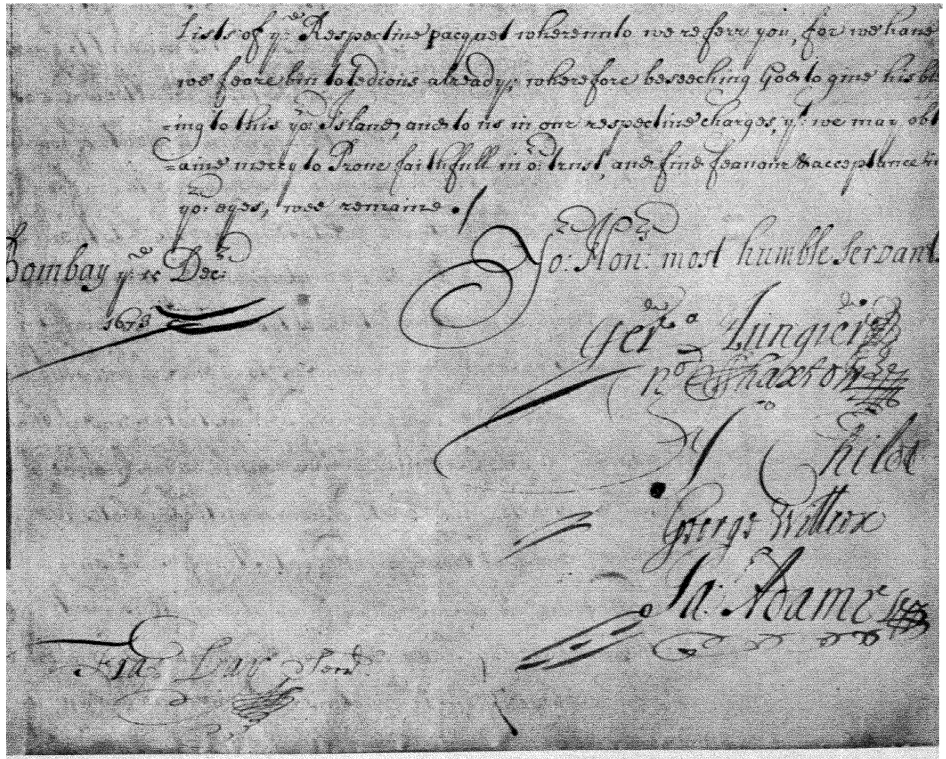
[3] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 1–23.

[4] See ibid. 14.

[5] 4 L.B. 380.

† O.C. 3910 & 3931; 6 Bom. 24–46. The first of these three copies has been transcribed by Miss E. Sainsbury in 50 H.M. 207–48 and is printed in *JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 12–47 (with the exception of a postscript). The signatures appended to the Report are reproduced on the illustration opposite.

‡ Let. 15 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3929. Aungier had extra expense in entertaining Portuguese 'Fidalgoes', &c., and suffered from non-payment of his salary for four years. In addition, he could not properly attend to his private trade, and he estimated his loss on this account at Rs. 10,000 (Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 233).



Last portion of Aungier's *Report on Bombay* in 1673 with appended signatures,
[*reduced from the original*]

come back: so Aungier, 'not wanting to give any cause of general disgust or censure by his departure', yielded to their importunity, and the ships left without him.[1]

The members of his Council remained unaltered during the year, viz. Capt. Shaxton (Deputy Governor), Child (Accountant), Adams (Attorney-at-Law and Collector of Revenues), Lieut. Ustick (Warehouse-keeper), and Wilcox (Judge of the Court of Judicature).[2] During May they were assisted by Grigby and Oxinden, who had come down from Surat.[3]

Two items of minor interest may be noticed in conclusion. Advantage was taken of defensive clearing of ground near the Fort to make a garden on part of it and thus add to the amenities of life at Bombay.[4] A drawback to it for the Governor was that his house in the Fort was 'miserably afflicted with rats so great that a mongoose or our cats will not meddle with them', and the Surat Council was asked to get a large Kabuli or Persian cat in the hope that it might frighten them away.*

BOMBAY, 1674

THIS is an important year in the early history of Bombay, revealing how Aungier's sound judgement and administrative ability surmounted more than one crisis and resulting in a remarkable expansion of the population. It opened quietly. There was little or no expectation of a Dutch fleet coming up the coast, and Aungier thanked God that all was well at Bombay.[5] The Company's seven ships returned from Swally, fully laden, for their homeward voyage on 17 January and left on the 20th.[6] Things were so calm that on the 21st the Council contemplated laying up the *Mayboom* and the *Hunter* for the winter, with a view to save expense, and employing the *Phoenix* and

[1] Bom. con. 10 Dec., 1 Bom. 2, 3; Bom. let. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 20, 21.

[2] Bom. let. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 18; O.C. 3910, ff. 15, 16 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 35–7).

[3] Bom. con. 5, 10, 14, 16, & 23 May, 1 Bom. 45, 46, 47, 50.

[4] Bom. con. 6 June & 4 Sept., 1 Bom. 56, 78; O.C. 3910, f. 2 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 15).

* Bom. let. 29 Sept., 6 Bom. 206. The big rats were perhaps bandicoots. Fryer, i. 291, speaks of them as 'the strongest huge rats, as big as our pigs, which burrow under the houses'.

[5] Bom. let. 5 Jan., 6 Bom. 56, 57; Bom. occurrences, 14 Feb., O.C. 3906, f. 2.

[6] Bom. let. 28 Jan., 6 Bom. 61, 63.

the *Malabar Coaster* on freight voyages.[1] The next day there was an explosion in the Fort powder-house, resulting in the destruction of the 'ingine' and the loss of six lives, as well as of gunpowder and saltpetre.* This symbolized the grave disturbance in the garrison that was later on to threaten the very existence of Aungier's government.

At the beginning of February a good deal of alarm was caused by an Arab fleet of ten sail that attacked the Portuguese country near Bassein, where they landed about 500 men, who plundered and burnt towns and churches 'even to the very walls of the city, . . . the Portuguese though considerably strong not daring to face them, to their great dishonour'.† It was feared that the Arabs might possibly land at Bandra and even attempt to plunder Mahim, so on 4 February Aungier sent the *Hunter* and sixty soldiers to Mahim, and went there himself to supervise its defence and calm the agitation caused by the vicinity of the Arab fleet.[2] It stayed, however, for only five days and had sailed away by the 9th.[3] One result of this attack on Portuguese territory was that a large number of people fled from it to Bombay.[4] Another was that musters of all the forces on the Island were ordered: at the one for Mahim the great number of absentees led to inquiries and the framing of detailed rules for the composition and work of the three companies of militia. These provided for the grant of allowances to men taking part in night-watches.‡

About the middle of February the two frigates *Revenge* and *Hunter* were sent on a week's cruise to reconnoitre the coast for any enemy ships and protect Bombay trading vessels from Malabar pirates;[5] but that there was no real anxiety is shown by Aungier's contempora-

[1] Bom. con. 21 Jan., 1 Bom. 8.

* Bom. let. 26 Jan., 6 Bom. 59; Bom. con. 13 Feb., 1 Bom. 13, 14. There was room for 2,000 barrels of gunpowder in the Fort (Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 11; *JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 29), but only thirty barrels were lost in the explosion.

† Bom. let. 7 & 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 64, 70; Bom. occurrences, O.C. 3906, f. 1. A Portuguese Armada had similarly ravaged the country round Muskat, and the ten Arab ships followed it to take revenge (6 Bom. 70, cf. Orme, 57, 58).

[2] Bom. con. 4 Feb., 1 Bom. 12; Bom. let. 7 Feb., 6 Bom. 64.

[3] Bom. let. 9 & 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 65, 66, 67, 70.

[4] Bom. let. 9 & 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 66, 71.

‡ Bom. con. 4 & 25 Feb., 1 Bom. 12, 15–17; cf. Bom. con. 9 Jan., 1 Bom. 6. One company was at Bombay, one at Mahim, and one at Mazagaon, 'consisting of Portuguese black christians' and making in all about 400 lances, but serving mainly 'to make a shew': Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 17 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 38).

[5] Bom. con. 23 Feb., 1 Bom. 14.

neous remarks: 'we are all well and under a quiet government, the Island increasing yearly in trade and revenues, the Castle well fortified and in a reasonable posture of defence', and that they had not much fear of the Dutch, who were too busy to molest them.[1] At the beginning of March, however, news came of the arrival of eighteen Dutch ships on the Malabar coast, bound northwards, and steps were at once taken to strengthen the garrison by raising auxiliary Indian troops and filling up the two companies to 200 men each.[2]

On 7 March seven big ships were seen sailing to the northwards at a great distance from the port, and it was thought these were part of the Dutch fleet on its way to Surat.[3] On the 10th Aungier wrote that, though they still stood on their guard, they did not in the least fear any disturbance from them.[4] On the 13th, on hearing that there were twelve Dutch ships at Vengurla, the Council sent some English spies there to report about it.[5] On the 19th news from Goa that four of the ships were on their way to Surat was confirmed by the sight of them passing Bombay, though at a long distance.[6] This dispelled all fear, and on the 23rd the Council stopped recruiting any more Moors and Rajputs beyond the 100 men that had been raised.[7] The four ships reached Swally on 27 March, and a few days later a letter from the Surat Council reported the release of some of the English prisoners, who had been captured in the fight off Masulipatam and brought to Swally on the ships.[8] This was an indication of pacific intentions, and it soon became clear that the Dutch fleet had dispersed at Vengurla and that Bombay was in no danger.[9] On 27 April the four Dutch ships left Swally for Ceylon;[10] and on the 30th the Council ordered that 'the two garrison companies having been made up to 200 each and the danger of the enemy this season being over and the rains approaching', six files of topasses should be disbanded.[11]

Meanwhile Sidi Sambal had begun to give trouble by his persistent

[1] Bom. occurrences, 14 Feb., O.C. 3906, f. 2.
[2] Bom. con. 6 March, 1 Bom. 18; Kar. let. 14 Feb., 88 Sur. 55; Cal. let. 29 Jan., 88 Sur. 62, 63.
[3] Bom. let. 10 March, 6 Bom. 81.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Bom. con. 13 March, 1 Bom. 19.
[6] Bom. let. 19 March, 6 Bom. 100.
[7] Bom. con. 23 March, 1 Bom. 20.
[8] Sur. con. 30 March, 3 Sur. 12; see p. 236.
[9] Sur. let. to Co. 1 April, 87 Sur. 140; Bom. let. 4 May, 6 Bom. 109.
[10] Sur. let. 11 & 29 April, 87 Sur. 145, 156.
[11] Bom. con. 30 April, 1 Bom. 27.

desire to winter his fleet again at Bombay. The request was considered by the Council on 23 March and negatived in view of the bad experience of it in the previous year and the dread that the fleet caused to the inhabitants and their neighbours. Sidi Sambal having paid a personal visit to Butchers Island, it was feared he might occupy it, and a file of musketeers was sent there to prevent any landing from his or other boats.[1] A further strong reason for this decision was the fear of displeasing Sivaji and so interrupting the negotiations with him, which had reached a favourable point. He was reported to have threatened to make war on the port and burn the Sidi's fleet in it, if it was given shelter there, as also to supply the Dutch with 10,000 men to take the Island.[2] On the other hand, to refuse the Sidi's request meant offending the Governor of Surat and the Mughal Emperor, with a probability of consequent injury to the Company's trade at Surat. Gray and his colleagues fully realized this, but supported the Bombay Council in their refusal, recognizing that it was a case where their interests should yield to those of Bombay.[3]

Aungier did his best by well-put arguments to persuade the Governor of Surat that it would be to the Emperor's disadvantage for the fleet to stay in the port, and sent him a present of two mermaid's teeth and two petrified crabs, which he described as 'rarities procured with much trouble'.* But his hand was forced by the course of events at Bombay. On 24 April the whole fleet, consisting of 2 men-of-war, 5 frigates, and some 15 *grabs*, appeared at the mouth of the Bay. The Council decided that none of the vessels should be allowed to enter, and gave orders to the commanders of the English frigates accordingly. The weather then intervened on the side of the Sidi, and a violent storm next day forced the fleet into the harbour for shelter. Out of common civility, Aungier thought fit to supply it with provisions, and on the 27th Sidi Sambal sent one of his *nakhudas* (captains) to negotiate for permission to winter his

[1] Bom. con. 23 March, 1 Bom. 20; Bom. let. 24 March, 6 Bom. 96.

[2] Bom. let. 9 & 18 April, 6 Bom. 99, 102; Narayan Shenvi's let. 4 April, 88 Sur. 81.

[3] Sur. let. 18 April, 7 & 12 May, 87 Sur. 154, 162, 164.

* Bom. let. 18 & 25 April, 6 Bom. 102–6. Aungier thought that the Sidi was afraid to go to Surat, lest he might be called to account for his want of success against Sivaji and the great expense to which he had put the Mughal Emperor (6 Bom. 106, 132). The 'mermaid's teeth' may have been those of the American or African aquatic mammal, manatee, which is said to be the origin of many legends of mermaids: cf. p. 118n. *post*.

five frigates there. The Council confirmed its former refusal; but the Sidi had now obtained a firm footing. He stayed on with his fleet, though by the 30th the sea had calmed down, and by blocking the port he prevented any supply of provisions from the main. The Council therefore sent Capt. Shaxton and three others of its members aboard the Sidi's ship to urge him to leave, with the addition of a threat that, if he refused, the port would be closed and his men and vessels cut off from communication with the shore. The interview resulted in 'a very rude and uncivil answer that the ships must winter here, whether we would or not'.[1]

Meanwhile his men had created a disturbance by landing near Sewri and Sion, and plundering the poor people there.* There was also a rumour that they intended to burn Mazagaon, and on the 30th orders were passed prohibiting their stay ashore at night.[2] At the beginning of May relations became bellicose. The Sidi, without any notice to Aungier or those under him, sent off about 500 of his soldiers, with arms and ammunition, in boats, 'pretending they ran away from the ships and left the King's service'. Their attempt to land was resisted by the guards at the custom-house, and some two or three shots were fired, which struck some of the boats and made them desist. The Sidi also, in saluting, 'slung several shotts on shore'; some were brought to the President, who thereupon sent Capt. Niccolls† and another commander with a second message to the Sidi, desiring him to leave the harbour and informing him that none of his men would be allowed ashore.[3] Thus both sides 'stood at bay', Aungier's intention being to weary the Sidi and at any rate discourage him from coming to the port again.[4] At the same time he did not stop furnishing him with water and provisions; and Sidi Sambal, who had previously 'written proudly and imperiously as if he was the commander of the port', adopted a more conciliatory attitude. On 8 May he sent one Mirza Muhammad Hasan to make his request 'in

[1] Bom. con. 24, 27, & 30 April & 4 May, 1 Bom. 25, 26, 27, 28; Bom. let. 25 April, 6 Bom. 104.

* Adams's let. 30 April, 88 Sur. 122; Bom. let. 30 April, 6 Bom. 108. Orme, 53, says the Sidi's men drove the inhabitants out of part of the town of Sion 'and took possession of their houses, intending to establish their quarters there during the monsoon'; but this goes beyond the above record of the occurrence.

[2] Bom. con. 30 April, 1 Bom. 28.

† Niccolls, who had been 'bread as a seaman', owed his title of 'captain' to his having become commander of the *Revenge* in Aug. 1673 (Bom. con. 18 Aug., 1 Bom. 72).

[3] Bom. con. 4 May, 1 Bom. 28, 29; Bom. let. 6 May, 6 Bom. 110, 111.

[4] Bom. let. 6 May, 6 Bom. 111.

a modest and civil manner' to be allowed to stay. Aungier, in view of its then being too late for the fleet to sail to Surat, and recognizing the need for making some concession, agreed to its wintering in the harbour, provided the Sidi and his captains signed a paper acceding to certain conditions on which the permission was granted. These were (1) that the English would not be responsible for any damage caused to the Sidi's ships during their stay by burning, &c., (2) that the Sidi and his captains would be responsible for any mischief done by their men, such as setting fire to houses, plundering, &c., (3) that none of his fleet should rob merchant vessels trading to and from the port, and (4) that there should be no depredations on the opposite main. This paper was presented to the Sidi on 15 May by Francis Day, the Secretary of the Council, and Capt. Niccolls, and on its being signed permission was given to the fleet to winter at Mazagaon, conditionally on good behaviour. The mansion of Alvaro Perez de Tavora was also put at the disposal of the Sidi and his family.[1]

As already stated, Sivaji was at first inclined to take offence at the Sidi's obtaining any such permit; but Aungier succeeded in removing his resentment.* There were cogent reasons for the view that it was better to keep in with both sides than to defy the Mughal by refusing his fleet the same shelter at the port as was accorded to Sivaji's vessels and all other strangers.[2] He pointed out to the Company that the Island was not without some compensation, as the Sidi and his men spent money there.[3]

Negotiations with Sivaji for a treaty recommenced in March. Advice having been received of Sivaji's return to Rairi and his willingness to confirm the preliminary agreement of 1673, it was decided on the 6th that Henry Oxinden, who had been sent down from Surat for the purpose and who was then admitted to the Bombay Council, should proceed to Rairi as an envoy to conclude the

[1] Bom. con. 4, 9, 15, & 22 May, 1 Bom. 28, 37, 39, 40; Bom. let. to Sidi Sambal, 9 May, 6 Bom. 112, 113.

* O.C. 3918, f. 3. Orme (p. 54) says Sivaji's agent was at this time on the Island negotiating a treaty and represented what he had seen to Sivaji; but I have not traced any authority for this statement. The negotiations then were, in fact, being conducted by Narayan Shenvi at Rairi (cf. his letter of 4 April, 88 Sur. 78, & Bom. con. 4 May, 1 Bom. 29). Henry Oxinden, who witnessed the occurrences, received instructions to represent the effort that had been made to keep the Sidi out (O.C. 3963 and Bal Krishna, 469) and did so successfully (88 Sur. 140, 141).

[2] Bom. let. 24 June, 6 Bom. 144.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 168.

business. Narayan Shenvi was, however, sent ahead to verify the information and sound Sivaji's advisers as to a proposal made by the Sidi that Aungier should mediate a peace between him and Sivaji.* Early in April Narayan reported that Sivaji agreed to the main proposition as to compensation for losses at Rajapur and was making preparations for his coronation in June. He asked that Oxinden should be sent up at once, with a handsome present of jewels that might be worth Sivaji's wearing at his enthronement.[1] Accordingly, Oxinden was instructed on 16 April to get ready for his journey to Rairi, and ornaments costing over Rs. 3,000 were obtained from Surat.[2] The trouble about the Sidi's fleet then delayed matters; but on receipt of a further letter from Narayan pressing for Oxinden's departure, he was sent off on 13 May, accompanied by George Robinson and Thomas Mitchell. Full instructions were given him for the conduct of the negotiations, and he took with him jewels to be presented to Sivaji, his son Sambhaji, and his ministers and under-officers.[3]

Oxinden and his party reached the foot of Rairi Fort on 19 May, and they were accommodated in the Fort on the 22nd. But Sivaji was so taken up with the preparations for his coronation that it was not till the 26th that he gave Oxinden an audience; and the main business had to wait for some days after the coronation, which took place on 6 June. The articles that had been drafted at Bombay were, however, accepted in full by Sivaji, except for an immaterial reservation that the Company's money coined at Bombay would be current in his dominions according to its intrinsic value without special orders from him. They were signed by Sivaji on 11 June, and after being signed also by his ministers were delivered the next day to Oxinden, who left Rairi on the 13th and reached Bombay on the 16th.† The project of arranging peace between the Sidi and Sivaji

* Bom. con. 6 March, 1 Bom. 17, 18 (Bal Krishna, 455). Oxinden was selected in March to go to Persia as 'second' to Rolt, but it was decided not to send him there for some time, on account of the danger from the Dutch ships in the Gulf (Sur. let. 6 March, 87 Sur. 125; Aungier's let. 17 March, 6 Bom. 84).

[1] Translation of Narayan's let. 4 April, 88 Sur. 78–83 (Bal Krishna, 456–7).

[2] Bom. con. 10 April, 1 Bom. 24; Sur. con. 16 April, 3 Sur. 21; Bom. let. 9 & 25 April, 6 Bom. 98, 99, 103; Sur. let. 18 April, 87 Sur. 153.

[3] Bom. con. 27 April, 4 & 8 May, 1 Bom. 26, 27, 29, 30–7; instrns. to Oxinden, 11 May, O.C. 3963 (Bal Krishna, 465–71); Oxinden's narrative, 88 Sur. 147.

† Oxinden's narrative, 88 Sur. 148–52; articles of peace, 6 Bom. 124–8. Oxinden and his companions had a trying time owing to the intense heat at Rairi, followed by the breaking

was dropped on the advice of Naroji Pundit that it had no prospect of being well received by Sivaji.[1]

The amicable settlement of the dispute with the Sidi on 15 May, and the news of Oxinden's 'kind reception and assurance of a happy success' in his business with Sivaji, naturally led Aungier to draw a contented picture of the peaceful condition of the Island that month.[2] Its quiet was, however, rudely disturbed on 29 and 30 May by the mutiny of a part of the garrison, mainly consisting of the men that had come out with Capt. Shaxton in 1672. The story can best be given in Aungier's own words:

Yesterday [the 29th] several of the English souldiers to the number of 60 or 80 persons did in a mutinous manner gather themselves together with their armes and refused to do their duty on the guard, denying obedience to lawfull authority, and afterwards marched in a body to Mallabar Hill, from whence they sent in a petitionary way two papers of greviances complayning of the dearness of provisions and the high price of money now at present on Bombay, soe that they could not live on their pay, together with some other small complaints. Whereupon the President imeadiately sent Capt. Ustick, Capt. Langford and Capt. Aderton unto them to require and comand them in his Majesties name and [that of] the Hon. Company, as also in his owne name as their Governour and Commander in cheife to repaire to their quarters imeadiately without any delay and to acquaint them if they did not and continued refractory, rebellious and disobedient, that they must expect the utmost severitie that the law hath provided in such mutinous cases, but if they would returne and bee hereafter more obedient to order and observe their duty as they ought to do, to promise them in the name of the Governour that they would interceed with him for their pardon and that all their reasonable grievances should bee considered. But when the Captains in the Governour's name had commanded them to obedience, they all imeadiately returned and repaired to their quarters without giving the least disturbance to any of the inhabitants and continued still in peace and quietness with due submission to the authority and government.

When wee had wrote thus farr . . . wee were againe surprized and alarumd with a second mutiny of the souldiers even while the

of the monsoon (88 Sur. 146, 150, 152). For an account of the coronation, see Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 265–82. Oxinden's narrative is reproduced to a large extent by Dr. Fryer in chap. iv of his second letter (i. 198–210).

[1] Oxinden's let. 21 May, 88 Sur. 139, 140; his narrative, 88 Sur. 149.

[2] Bom. let. 26 May to Madras, 6 Bom. 132, 133.

Governour was takeing care to provide and satisfie them in all their greivances, and had settled an order for their provisions; for on the 30th May about 4 of the clock in the afternoone the same number of Englishmen, though not all the same persons, marched in a body led on by Richard Speary from Bombay to Mazagaon and imeadiately after 4 serjants with their corporalls followed after them: whereupon the Governour imeadiately summoned his Counsell and the commission officers, as also all the remayning serjeants, which were onely those belonging to his owne company, and haveing discovered from some of the officers that which greived his heart to take notice of, but could not remedie it, he thought it high time by moderation and mildness to endeavor to reduce the souldiers to obedience, whereupon that night though it rained exceedingly the President sent Mr. Loyd [one of the Ministers] and Capt. Aderton together with a paper under his hand and sealed, therein useing all the obleiging tearmes which he could imagine to reduce them, whom they found settled at the little bullwarke at Mazagaon, where 3 guns were planted for the defence of the Sidys fleete last yeare, where the said souldiers had placed a very strong garde and haveing seized upon the ammunition and laden the guns and forced some powder from the Sidy, resolved there to stand upon their defence, expecting more to joyne with them. They received the Governours paper, which though it gave them some satisfaction, yet they being soe bent on their villany (as being too much backed by some who ought to have been more faithfull) they obstinatly refused to returne till they had some articles signed, which they sent by Mr. Loyd and Capt. Aderton, threatning withall what mischeife they would doe if they were not graunted; whereupon the Governour considering what a streight he was put unto and reasonably mistrusting that they would in their mad heate and fury comit some violence to the disturbance of our peace, and fatall discouragement of our new settled inhabitants, he summoned his Counsel early in the morning, who with mutuall consent agreed with him to condiscend to all their articles, and haveing drawne out the said paper under his hand and seale he sent it up unto them by Mr. France [the other Minister] and Mr. John Child; which haveing received and being fully for the present satisfyed therewith they imeadiately returned about eight of the clock in the morning being Sunday, though with some grumbling and hight of spirit, to their respective dutyes. On Munday morning wee thought good the better to please them and keepe them in obedience to order their pay to bee paid them in rupees, which at this time wee very hardly procured at the deare rate of the *vertau* [discount in exchange]

being 14½ per cent. difference with our money on Bombay. This contented them very much and the Governour haveing since taken care for their provisions and also to satisfye them in all their perticulars they are all now, blessed be God, in very good quiet and order.

The account goes on to describe a minor disturbance created on Monday night by Richard Speary and some matrosses (gunners), which was, however, suppressed and ended in the prisoners being released on 'the souldiers in a petitionary way intercedeing for them and promiseing a generall and faithfull obedience hereafter'.[1]

The paper that the mutineers sent from Mazagaon is set forth in the consultation entry of 30 May as follows:[2]

Our desire is this, That wee be nothing concerned with the Civill Law; nor fined for Sabbaoth breaking, nor receiving our pay (if in dollars) but at 4s. 9d. a dollar, and nothing for shroffage. As for provisions, as beife, porke, henns, ducks, fish and mutton, [they to be] as formerly it was in the Kings time; wood for a perdoe [pardao or zerafin] a thousand; and that we have no cloth nor red coats hereafter for our pay; and that those which came out with the Deputy Governour have their months pay which was graunted gratis by the Hon. Company at our first arrival in Bombay. This is our full resolution, therefore wee request a speedy answere.

This agrees partly with the grievances of the mutineers who went to Malabar Hill, which are described as mainly complaining of 'the dearness of provisions and the high price of money . . . so that they could not live on their pay'. The dearness of provisions* was a matter that affected all the inhabitants of Bombay, and steps were promptly taken to regulate prices and to increase the supply of provisions (pp. 106–8). The other grievance about their being paid in dollars or other currency that entailed a loss to them on exchange was a substantial one that figured also in Keigwin's rebellion of 1683–4.† For the time being it was met by paying the men in rupees,

[1] PS. to Bom. let. 28 May, 6 Bom. 136–8. A similar account is given in Bom. con. 29, 30, & 31 May, & 1 & 2 June, 1 Bom. 41–5, and in Bom. let. to Co. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 168 & O.C. 3990.

[2] 1 Bom. 43

* Aungier admitted there had been such dearness (Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 13).

† Though Aungier considered the complaint was exaggerated, he did not deny that some of the shroffs had 'abused them in the exchange' (Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 12; and see *K.R.* 23, 32–4).

and a sum of Rs. 10,000 was obtained from Surat for this purpose.[1] The Council also contemplated the calling in of all the dollars on the Island and coining them into rupees; but this was not carried out.[2] Another demand was that the men who came out with Capt. Shaxton should be given a month's pay gratis, on the ground that it had been promised by the Company at the time of their recruitment; and this was conceded, although the Company had made no mention of any such promise and Capt. Shaxton declared he knew nothing about it.* The grievance about having to bear the cost of their red coats was apparently withdrawn; but Aungier said he had found their supply uneconomical owing to 'the frequent mortality among the soldiers and the long time before they pay for them'.† The grievance about being fined by the Court of Judicature for Sabbath-breaking, debauchery, &c., was a natural one; and though Aungier said it was unjust, the fines being exceedingly moderate and remitted whenever Judge Wilcox 'saw the least hope or promise of amendment',‡ this probably had little effect in reducing their objection to the attempt to reform them by prosecution under 'the Civill Law'.

During the next two months the mutinous spirit appeared to have died down. On 24 June Aungier said that the soldiers 'are now very quiet and in due obedience', and on 9 July that they were 'in happier order and quiet obedience'.[3] By the latter date he had also countered similar danger from an unexpected source. On 5 June Capt. Gary was suspended from his office as a Justice of the Peace, and on 6 July he was tried in the Court of the Governor and Council. The Jury convicted him of seditious conduct by

[1] Bom. con. 1 June, 1 Bom. 44; PS. to Bom. let. 28 May, & Bom. let. 23 June, 6 Bom. 138, 143, 157; Sur. con. 11 June, 3 Sur. 25; Sur. let. 12 June & 14 July, 87 Sur. 178, 182.

[2] Ibid.; Bom. con. 5 June, 1 Bom. 49. See also p. 109 *post*.

* Bom. con. 5 June, 1 Bom. 48, 49; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 13, 14. Capt. Shaxton was afterwards held by the Council to be blameworthy for not taking care to satisfy the men as to the unreasonableness of this demand (Bom. con. 30 Oct., 1 Bom. 111).

† Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 13. It must be borne in mind that the idea of supplying uniforms free of cost had not then its present familiarity. Uniforms of 'red coats' only came in with Cromwell's army, and their cost was deducted from the men's pay (C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 233–5); and Sir Robert Peel's London policemen, who wore blue tail-coats and beaver top-hats from 29 Sept. 1829 (Sir John Moylan, *Scotland Yard*, 2nd edn., 31), had to pay for their clothes up to April 1830 (the *Evening Standard* of 16 April 1930, citing a passage from the issue of 16 April 1830). Capt. Shaxton was held to have instigated the soldiers to object to this payment (Bom. con. 30 Oct., 1 Bom. 110).

‡ Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 13. Cf. the similar complaint in 1670 about being fined under the Company's Laws (p. 11 *ante*).

[3] 6 Bom. 146, 150.

(1) throwing contempt on the Company's government as inferior to his own in 1667–8;
(2) telling the soldiers that the Company had no martial law except what it had from him, and so inciting them to mutiny; and
(3) denouncing Aungier's Convention of 1672 as unjust, and inviting people to disregard it.

He was sentenced to three months imprisonment, but on his submission the punishment was remitted. The doubt thrown on the validity of the Convention was also removed by the *povo* willingly ratifying it on 16 July.[1]

It was not long, however, before the intermediate calm was broken. On 5 August Aungier received information that the officers and men implicated in the previous mutiny were engaged in a new plot and that Capt. Shaxton was abetting them. The details of the information, as recounted in a letter of 15 August to Surat,[2] were

that there was to be a feast on the 24th August to be held by all those that came out with Capt. John Shaxton, to the charge whereof all of them was to contribute according to their degrees, and that Capt. Shaxton was to allow towards it 40 Xerapheens, that they did intend to invite myselfe and most of the Counsell and that there they did intend to laye down their armes, except I would consent to give each man ten pounds advance money; that Capt. Shaxton was to deliver me the petition and demaund the said money in their names; that they bragged among themselves they were about 60 men in number; that Serj. Cross and other inferior officers were the broachers and fomenters of it. On the 5th current they had a meeting at Thomas Bigotts howse to consult and resolve on the conditions, but being disappointed by the absence of Bigot, who that day was imployed in the execution of one of the theeves,* a generall meeting was appointed by them the next day by two of the clock in the afternoone, where they were all to resolve on their demaunds, and subscribe thereunto.

This meeting was, however, frustrated by prompt action taken by Aungier, after consulting some of his Council, on the morning of the

[1] Bom. con. 5, 27, & 29 June, 6 & 17 July, 1 Bom. 49, 54–7, 59, 62, 63; Bom. let. 9 July & 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 150, 151, 161; Sur. let. 1 Aug., 87 Sur. 187. See also *B.J.* 10, 87, 88.

[2] 6 Bom. 163.

* The execution of two thieves in order to deter prevalent thefts had been ordered by the Council (Bom. con. 6 Aug., 1 Bom. 74): cf. *B.J.* 71–3. Bigott kept a punch-house (1 Bom. 76, 82).

6th. He called in Capt. Shaxton's commissions as Deputy Governor and commander of one of the garrison companies, and confined him to his chamber; he similarly suspended the rest of the commissioned officers of his company, and secured its sergeants and corporals. New officers were substituted, Capt. Reynold Langford taking Shaxton's place, and the staff of the Governor's company was also altered, with a view to 'a thorough reformation' of the two companies.[1] A few days later a Council of War was held, when Aungier and his Council (except Shaxton, his son-in-law Child, and Wilcox, who had died on 3 August) sat with six commissioned officers and heard the evidence of several witnesses as to the alleged plot. In view of their testimony it was held that Shaxton's residence in the Fort was undesirable and he should be removed to Mahim, while his two officers, Lieut. Adderton and Ensign Kennedy, were also put under arrest.[2] The next day Shaxton accordingly went with his family to Mahim, where he was allowed to be 'free and unconfined until further order'.[3]

Aungier was doubtful whether it would be better to bring the accused men to trial or to send them to England by the next ships, and asked the Surat Council for their advice. Its recommendation in favour of the former alternative was accepted, but urgent business in connexion with the arrival and dispatch of the *Falcon* at the end of August delayed the trials.[4] A question arose whether the men should be tried by a jury under the military section of the Company's Laws or by court martial under the Articles of War. The Surat Council advised the former, but Aungier accepted the contrary view of all the members of his Council of War that the men, having by their former mutiny renounced the Company's Laws, deserved the rigour of martial law.[5] The 30th September was fixed for their trial, but in consequence of the arrival of the young Prince of Bantam on the 29th it was adjourned to 7 October.[6]

Meanwhile illicit communication between the prisoners and other members of the garrison had been discovered, and on 28 September

[1] Bom. con. 6 Aug., 1 Bom. 73; Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 163.

[2] Bom. con. 11 Aug., 1 Bom. 74, 75; Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 163, 164.

[3] Bom. let. 15 & 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 164, 168.

[4] Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 164; Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 31; Sur. let. 1 Sept., 87 Sur. 196; Bom. let. 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 186.

[5] Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 31; Bom. con. 24 Sept., 1 Bom. 94, 95; Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 210.

[6] Bom. con. 29 Sept., 1 Bom. 99; Bom. let. 30 Sept., 6 Bom. 204.

the Council ordered the arrest and trial of James Forke (a corporal in Capt. Shaxton's company, who had been promoted as a sergeant in the other company on 6 August) as an abettor of the mutinous plot.[1] The court martial on the other four prisoners (serg. Thomas Cross, serg. Henry Sands, corporal John Powell, and private John Powell junior) was presided over by Capt. Langford, as the Governor was ill and 'wholly taken up with other weighty affaires'.[2] They were tried on several charges that had been drawn up by the Council of War, and were all convicted on the testimony of several witnesses and condemned to die.[3] Forke was apparently tried separately and sentenced to death for attempting to corrupt Ensign Kennedy and making him swear to be true to their party in its intended second mutiny.[4] On 17 October the proceedings of the court martial were reviewed by a General Court, consisting of Aungier, his Council, and the commissioned officers. In the case of Henry Sands and John Powell junior, who had not been found guilty of the later plot, but only of taking part in the mutiny at Mazagaon, the sentences were commuted to banishment, but those passed on Forke, Cross, and corporal Powell were confirmed. Forke was ordered to be hanged on the 19th, and the two others were to throw dice on a drum-head under the gallows to decide which of them should suffer death.* The next day, on a petition from the condemned men, a respite was granted until the 21st, and a request by Forke that he had not had a fair trial and should be tried again was granted.[5] Aungier himself presided at this retrial, which took place on the 19th, and 'his dangerous designe being proved against him by Capt. Adderton and Peter Cannedy', Forke was 'againe condemned to dye without mercie'.[6] On 20 October Aungier granted the request of the condemned prisoners that they might be shot by fellow soldiers instead of being hanged. Accordingly, the next day Forke was 'executed souldier like' by a file of musketeers of his own choosing. As to the other two, Cross and Powell, the lot by throw of dice went against

[1] Bom. con. 6 Aug. & 28 Sept., 1 Bom. 73, 95. As to Forke having been a corporal in Shaxton's company, see the reference to him in 6 Bom. 211.

[2] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 210. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid. 211.

* Ibid.; Bom. con. 17 Oct., 1 Bom. 103. This was in those days a customary expedient when several persons were sentenced to death by a court martial and it was desired to inflict the extreme penalty on only one or two of them: cf. C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 287, and Col. C. Walton, *History of the British Army*, 556.

[5] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 212; Bom. con. 18 Oct., 1 Bom. 104.

[6] 6 Bom. 212; Bom. con. 19 Oct., 1 Bom. 104, 105.

the latter, but his life was spared by Aungier on the intercession of the two Ministers (Rev. France and Calton) backed by all the commissioned officers, who promised to reduce the soldiery to better obedience and fidelity to the Company. They and others involved in the plot acknowledged their offences at the head of the two companies and were banished from the Island.[1]

In reply to the full and lucid account of the proceedings that Aungier gave the Surat Council, the latter remarked that 'therein we observe both your mercy and justice'.[2] This appears fully justified. Aungier had satisfied himself as to the justice of Forke's conviction by the retrial, over which he presided, and at which Forke's guilt was proved by evidence that he was not only 'one of the chiefest instruments and actors' of the mutiny in May, but also that he had 'a new design for a rising intended among the soldiers again', and had attempted to seduce Ensign Kennedy, as already mentioned.[3] Though Forke was not tried by a jury, as he would have been had he been proceeded against under the Company's Laws, yet Aungier's high standard of justice[4] affords a sufficient guarantee that he had a fair trial. The sentence of death was considered necessary 'to terrify others from committing the like heynous crime and disloyaltie and to vindicate the Hon. Company's authority and government on the Island'.[5] It was one that could also have been passed under the Company's Laws.[6] Discipline had been seriously undermined, and not only the Council, but also the loyal commissioned officers, considered a deterrent sentence was called for. The concessions wrung by the mutiny in May had enhanced, rather than stilled, the mutinous spirit, which towards the end of September Aungier said was still 'very prevalent in all those of the old turbulent faction'.[7] And, although steps had been taken to segregate the soldiers that came out with Capt. Shaxton from the new soldiers that had arrived on the *Falcon* in August, yet some of the latter had been corrupted by the late mutineers and had demanded one month's pay gratis, instead of by way of an advance, as had been allowed them.[8] Forke's 'dangerous design', by its definite intention of a second rising, went

[1] 6 Bom. 212, 213; Bom. con. 21 Oct., 1 Bom. 105, 106.
[2] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 210–13; Sur. let. 3 Nov., 88 Sur. 233.
[3] Bom. con. 18 & 19 Oct., 1 Bom. 104, 105; Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 211.
[4] Cf. *B.J.* 54, 55. [5] Bom. con. 17 Oct., 1 Bom. 103; Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 211.
[6] Clause 3 of section VI of the Laws: cf. *B.J.* 27. [7] Bom. let. 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 203.
[8] Ibid.; Bom. con. 1 & 4 Sept., 1 Bom. 83, 85.

further than the plot of which the two other condemned men were convicted; and this was no doubt the reason why he was executed. The other two were given a loophole for escape from the gallows by the sentence that they should cast lots for their lives, thereby making the result of both escaping almost inevitable, though the plot was one that Aungier clearly saw might have been the occasion 'to turne our swords into one another's bowells', might have cost him his 'life or liberty', and (as in Keigwin's rebellion) might have ended in the soldiers seizing the Fort and destroying the Company's rule in Bombay.[1] The intended demand that each soldier continuing in the Company's service after his original term of three years had expired should receive a bonus of ten or eleven pounds was one that would naturally appeal to other soldiers besides the plotters, so that the Council had reason to fear the whole garrison might join in it.[2] It was not a claim that the Company had ever allowed or agreed to; it was based on the view that it ought to be allowed, because it saved the Company that amount in the cost of sending out each soldier.[3]

The above account of this episode in Bombay history has been given in some detail because serious mis-statements have been made about it. The summary of it given in Bruce's *Annals* (ii. 367, 368) is inadequate, inaccurate, and consequently misleading.* His main statement is that

> the soldiers . . . resolved to lay down their arms, unless their demand for a month's pay (which they affirmed had been promised to them by the Court) should be paid, and unless their discharge (as their term of three years had expired) should be granted to them. President Aungier acted with equal prudence and firmness: prudence, in consenting to grant the demands; and firmness, in bringing the principal ringleaders to trial before a court martial preferably to trial by civil law.

He then mentions the sentencing of three of the ringleaders to death and the shooting of Corporal Fake [*sic*]; and he ends by remarking that 'This event, looking at the Company's Charter, which authorised them to levy, entertain, and discipline forces, furnished the first

[1] Bom. let. 7 & 20 Aug., 8 & 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 158, 169, 180, 186.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 14. [3] Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 31.

* He was not, however, purporting to write a full history, and he cited the letters, &c., which gave a full account of the mutiny. The misunderstanding is also due to historians not taking the trouble to look at the original records about the mutiny.

example of their exercising martial law'. The last statement is absurd: martial law had been used for maintaining discipline in the garrison from the very beginning of the Company's rule in Bombay.[1] Nor was Forke's execution the first one under martial law, as has been erroneously stated.[2] The defects in Bruce's account of the mutiny are, however, more important. There was much more in it than a mere resolution to lay down arms, if certain demands were not granted. The mutineers twice marched away *with* their arms *before* their demands were even presented. Again, though the demands were granted, the ringleaders plotted to put forward another demand in a manner that would put Aungier and his Council at a great disadvantage and (if they refused it) might have led to bloodshed and possibly a successful rebellion. The demands also are not properly stated. That for a month's pay gratis was only one of several, and not the sole cause of the mutiny in May. The important facts that the Company had not specified it as a term of the enlistment and that Capt. Shaxton said he knew nothing about it are omitted. The other demand that Bruce mentions is mis-stated. It reads as if the men affected were being kept on beyond their proper term against their wills, whereas they were not objecting to continue their service, but were making a novel demand of a bonus for doing so.

As a result of consequent misunderstanding, Aungier has been unjustly blamed for undue severity, on the ground that the men's demands were proper, that there was nothing in their conduct to justify sentences of death, and that in any case justice should have been tempered with mercy. 'Nothing of this', it has been said,[3] 'is seen in President Aungier's proceedings.' Another historian,[4] who dismisses all the events of this time in the history of the Company as 'common and unimportant', describes the mutiny as one 'not of a serious magnitude' and contrasts the execution of 'the ringleaders' under 'the formidable powers of martial law'. A fairer verdict is that of Col. Meadows Taylor,[5] who says that 'Aungier . . . blamed by some authorities for an undue exercise of power in the

[1] Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 75, 90, 225–9, &c., and *B.J.* 8–11, 17.

[2] James Douglas, *Bombay and Western India*, i. 74; Edwardes, *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 208, n. 3; Cf. *B.J.* 73 n.

[3] Henry Beveridge, *A Comprehensive History of India*, i. 329.

[4] James Stuart Mill, *History of British India*, 4th edn., i. 113.

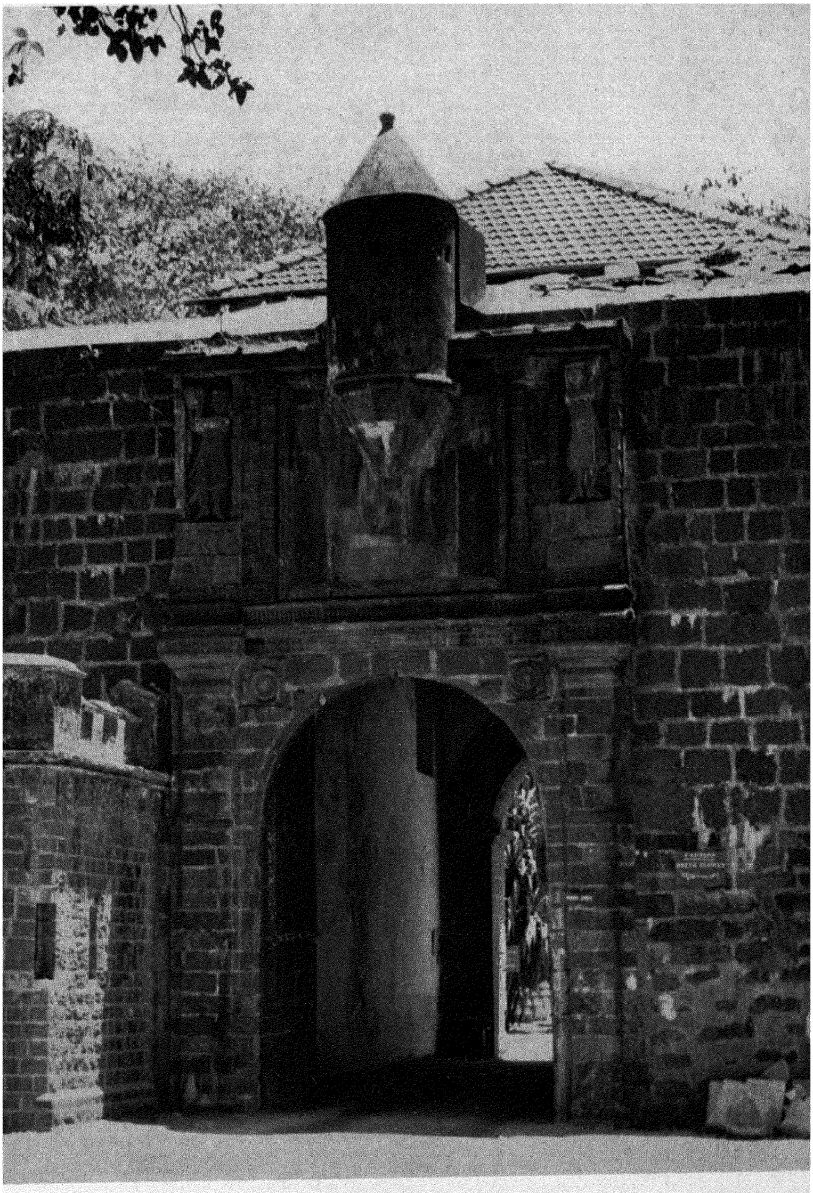
[5] *Students' Manual of the History of India*, 392.

execution of one of the soldiers condemned to death, yet appears justified by the necessity of the case and the importance of enforcing military discipline'.*

The proceedings against the sergeants and corporals of Capt. Shaxton's company having concluded, action was taken against its commissioned officers. On 23 October the Council decided to try them under the Company's Laws, as they were not concerned in their renunciation by the soldiers.[1] Ensign Kennedy was accordingly tried by a jury before the President and Council on the 28th, and on his conviction of one of three charges against him was cashiered.[2] Afterwards 'the poore man in remarkable penitence for his fault died of greife'.[3] Lieut. Adderton, who was less implicated, was not brought to trial by a jury, but was heard in his defence by the Council, with the result that he was found 'tardy in several things whereof he was accused' and his commission was suspended.[4] Capt. Shaxton's arrest and suspension had been based on his alleged complicity in the dinner-plot of August.[5] Out of regard for his position, Aungier at first did not desire to subject him to a public trial.[6] As, however, he pressed for a trial, on 27 October he was sent a charge-sheet that the Council had had drawn up, and told that he might fix the date for his trial.[7] He then asked that he might be given a private hearing before the President and Council. This was granted and took place the following day. Aungier entertained the hope that it might end the matter, but this was frustrated by Shaxton's behaviour. The consultation entry[8] records that he pleaded Not

* It need scarcely be said that mutiny has always been regarded in England as a most serious offence and one ordinarily entailing a death penalty on at any rate one or more of the ringleaders. As one of many instances that might be cited, the mutiny of the English garrison at New York in 1700 affords a fair comparison. It mainly arose from a somewhat similar grievance about a cut in pay, owing to the rate of exchange there, though the cost of living at New York was higher than in England. The soldiers, when on parade outside the Fort walls, clamoured for their full pay and made a move to seize the Fort. They were, however, overawed by burghers, who had been hurriedly collected and armed within the Fort, and they submitted at discretion, without using any violence. The ringleaders were court-martialled, and two of the four men, who were convicted, were shot, in spite of the mutiny having been so short and abortive (*Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial series, America and West Indies, 1700, xxv–vii, 667).

[1] Bom. con. 23 Oct., 1 Bom. 106.
[2] Bom. let. 19 Nov., 6 Bom. 223.
[3] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 15.
[4] Bom. con. 11 Nov., 1 Bom. 116; Bom. let. 19 Nov., 6 Bom. 223.
[5] Bom. con. and Aungier's let. 11 Aug., 1 Bom. 76; Aungier's let. 8 Sept., 6 Bom. 179, 180.
[6] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 15.
[7] Day's let. 27 Oct., 6 Bom. 215.
[8] Bom. con. 30 Oct., 1 Bom. 108–12; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 15, 16.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE BOMBAY FORT,
with figures of soldiers in uniform (apparently grenadiers in the act of throwing grenades) over the gateway

Guilty to all the charges except one of neglecting to visit night-guards,

which he confessed, endeavouring to justify his innocency of all the others and positively denying the rest—carrying himself arrogantly and indiscreetly before the President and Councell, so that the Councell broke up with a resolution not to give him any further hearing, but fully agreed to send the charge to the Company with attestations to each article, to whom he should give his defence, they being the best judges.

This did not satisfy Shaxton, who gave out that the Council was afraid to bring him to a public trial. In view of this challenge it was fixed for 11 November.[1] It resulted in the jury convicting him of 5 out of 16 articles, though (according to the consultation entry about it) 'most of the rest were proved by sufficient evidence and some confessed by himself'. He appears to have been found guilty of (1) neglecting to settle the militia of Bombay and Mahim properly, (2) trying to alienate the soldiers in general, and especially those of his own company, from loyalty and obedience to the Council, (3) encouraging officers and soldiers against receiving red coats on payment as ordered by the Council, and (4) and (5) affronting the Judge and officers of the Court of Judicature, and encouraging the soldiers in general, and the officers and men of his own company, to do likewise.* Upon this he would presumably have been convicted of 'raising sedition' under the third clause of the military section of the Company's Laws; but, as he objected that all the Council (except his son-in-law John Child) were parties to the dispute, no judgement was passed and he was referred to the Company. He accepted the proposal that he should go to England on the *Falcon*, and meanwhile he was given free liberty.[2]

Though Shaxton could not properly claim to have been 'cleared' by the jury, as he did in a letter to Aungier,† yet that body seems

[1] Bom. con. 6 Nov., 1 Bom. 112, 113; Day's let. 6 Nov., 6 Bom. 228.

* Bom. con. 11 Nov., 1 Bom. 116, read with the charges, 1 Bom. 108–12. There is no doubt that the arts. 2, 4, 5, and 6 of which he was convicted correspond with the same nos. in the charge-sheet. Art. 10, of which he was also convicted, I take to be the penultimate sub-head of those relating to art. 7; and the 5 sub-heads about the dinner-plot bring up the total charges to 16, as mentioned in the consultation entry of 11 Nov.

[2] Bom. con. 11 Nov., 1 Bom. 116; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 17; Aungier's let. 28 Nov., 6 Bom. 226.

† His let. 27 Nov., 6 Bom. 247. Dr. Fryer also wrongly says he 'cleared himself handsomely of all objections' (i. 304).

to have acquitted him of being a direct abettor of the mutiny in May. The charge-sheet only alleged suspicious circumstances against him, and he was ill at the time.[1] Also he was not convicted of abetting the subsequent plot. On the other hand, the jury's verdict justifies Aungier's report to the Company that 'he countenanced the soldiers against your established laws [and] the orders of your government'.[2] The charge-sheet added that the soldiers had become so bold 'that they frequently committed insolency in the streets against the members of the Council', and even used 'to offer insolent and injurious language to the Governor himself'.[3] Shaxton's conduct seems to have justified his removal from the Company's service, a step that was taken towards the end of the year, on the advice of the Surat Council.[4] At the same time he was treated with the consideration due to his past position, and was allotted the 'great cabin' on the *Falcon* for his passage home.*

It is no wonder that Aungier complained that 'this mutinous humour of the soldiery renders his sleepe unquiet and his cares vexatious'.[5] Mental worry no doubt contributed to the illness of 'stone and colic and concomitant diseases' that attacked him during the last three months of the year.[6]

In spite of what had happened in Capt. Shaxton's case, Aungier stuck to the principle of having a military representative on the Council. With the somewhat grudging concurrence of the Surat Council, he admitted Capt. Reynold Langford, who had taken Shaxton's place as commander of the junior company and was described by Aungier as 'an honest man always faithfull to the Company's interest and never concerned in any mutiny'. This, he hoped, would 'unite and cause a greater concord between the military and civil authorities, and produce greater love among us then hitherto hath been'.†

[1] 1 Bom. 110; PS. of 3 June, 6 Bom. 139; cf. Fryer's statement as to his illness (i. 304).

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 15. [3] 1 Bom. 109.

[4] Bom. let. 5 Dec., 6 Bom. 229; Sur. con. 9 Dec., 3 Sur. 51; Bom. con. 22 Dec., 2 Bom. 7.

* Sur. let. 14 Dec., 88 Sur. 256 *b*. The correspondence between Aungier and Shaxton clearly shows how considerate the former was, and he even proposed that Shaxton might occasionally be sent for from Mahim to take part in Council proceedings (Bom. con. 1 Sept., 1 Bom. 83). Aungier told the Company he had all along treated Shaxton with particular favour and acts of kindness, to enhance his position, entrusting him with a great part of the government (7 Bom. 15).

[5] Bom. let. 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 195.

[6] Bom. let. 23 Oct. & 19 & 23 Nov., 6 Bom. 210, 222, 225; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 23.

† Bom. con. 15 Aug. & 8 Sept., 1 Bom. 73, 86; Aungier's let. 15 Aug. & 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 165, 185; Sur. let. 29 Aug., 87 Sur. 195. The Company disapproved of military members of

The work of completing the Fort proceeded during the first part of the year, and by the end of May the north-east bastion towards the sea had been finished and provided with a stone platform for guns and a large rain-water tank.[1] In March and July the Council sanctioned Aungier's proposals for improving accommodation inside the Fort, but afterwards from want of money it 'totally laid aside the thought' of going on with the work of fortification.[2]

This decision was, no doubt, also influenced by the news of peace with Holland, which was brought by the *Falcon* on 29 August.[3] Under the terms of the Treaty of Westminster, concluded on 17 February 1674, the peace did not become operative in India until 24 October, but ships of the Dutch and English Companies were given *interim* protection.[4] The *Falcon* brought out a welcome freight, valued at £18,228, and forty-eight recruits for the garrison.[5] In view of the great want of stock at Surat, Aungier confined himself to taking out only two chests of dollars, as well as garrison stores and ammunition and some broadcloth.[6] Bad weather delayed the unlading and dispatch of the ship. The Council had intended her to leave for Swally on 12 September, but she did not sail till the 25th.[7] She took Henry Oxinden, Lloyd the Minister, and Dr. Fryer as passengers to Surat.* Oxinden was sent up at the request of the Surat Council, so that he might proceed to take up his appointment in Persia by the first junk (big flat-bottomed vessel) for Gombroon.[8]

Aungier's Council had been further depleted by the death of George Wilcox, Judge of the Court of Judicature, on 9 August. Both

Council, saying 'for the future take notice that we desire our Councell may be composed of our Factors, for should you admitt soldiers into it, 'twould probably occasion contests, and we desire to keepe the military power in subordination to the civill' (Co.'s desp. 8 March 1676, 5 L.B. 274).

[1] Bom. let. 28 May, 6 Bom. 135.

[2] Bom. con. 27 March & 30 July, 1 Bom. 22, 23, 70; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 7.

[3] Bom. con. 30 Aug., 1 Bom. 80, 81; Bom. occurrences, O.C. 3918, f. 4.

[4] Bom. let. 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 193; desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 101, 102.

[5] Bom. let. 30 Aug. & 5 Sept., 6 Bom. 175, 179.

[6] Bom. con. 1 & 4 Sept., 1 Bom. 81, 82, 85; Bom. let. 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 195.

[7] Bom. let. 5, 15, 16, & 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 178, 188, 193, 196; Bom. let. to Capt. Stafford, 6 Bom. 184, 185; Commanders' let. 12 Sept., 87 Sur. 199; Bom. con. 14 Sept., 1 Bom. 90, 91.

* Bom. let. 12 & 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 184, 188. They had tried to make an earlier passage to Surat, but had been forced back to Bombay by stormy weather (Bom. let. 7 Aug. & 5 Sept., 6 Bom. 157, 178). Fryer (i. 210) mentions his going to Surat.

[8] Sur. let. 6 Aug., 87 Sur. 188; Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 157.

Aungier and the Surat Council deplored the loss of a judge who was 'well versed in that office' and administered it 'to the great satisfaction of all the good people of the Island'.[1] The vacant judgeship was conferred on Adams, who had had Court experience as a Justice of the Peace and Attorney-General.[2]

A commission to assist him was also given to Niccolls, as a person 'conversant with such proceedings'.[3] Though Aungier described his Council as 'very thin',[4] the vacancies caused by Oxinden's absence at Surat and Wilcox's death remained unfilled during the rest of the year; and (in view of the war with the Dutch having ended) Aungier agreed with the Surat Council that it was unnecessary to have a Deputy Governor on the Island while the President was there.[5]

The news of peace with Holland naturally stimulated efforts to improve trade at Bombay. The ketch and the *Malabar Coaster* had already been sent to Rajapur and Cambay with goods consigned by merchants,[6] but the three frigates were unemployed. Aungier at once took steps to send them on freight voyages, and towards the end of September they left laden with salt for Dabhol and Rajapur.[7] On account of her larger draught, the *Mayboom* was ordered, instead of taking in her cargo at Sewri, to do so at Trombay. The Portuguese chief official there refused to allow this, and Aungier contemplated taking vigorous retaliatory measures; but on the objection being soon withdrawn, she went direct to Rajapur, where the *Revenge* and *Hunter* were to join her, after unlading their salt at Dabhol.[8] This was to enable the *Falcon* to pick up the three vessels at Rajapur on her way to the Malabar coast, so that they could help in bringing up pepper, &c., as it was realized that the other three ships sent out by the Company were so belated that they would not arrive in time to make a voyage down the coast.[9]

[1] Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 162; Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 31. See *B.J.* 83.

[2] Bom. con. 14 Aug., 1 Bom. 97, 98; Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 31; Bom. let. 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 188. See *B.J.* 90, 91. [3] Ibid. [4] Bom. let. 15 Aug., 6 Bom. 165.

[5] Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 32; Bom. let. 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 186.

[6] Bom. con. 28 Aug., 1 Bom. 79; Bom. let. 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 202.

[7] Bom. let. 30 Aug., 15 & 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 176, 187, 195; Bom. con. 1, 11, & 19 Sept., 1 Bom. 82, 89, 94.

[8] Bom. con. 11 & 19 Sept., 1 Bom. 88, 89, 90, 94; Bom. let. 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 195; Sur. let. 3 Nov., 88 Sur. 233.

[9] Bom. con. 4 & 16 Sept., 1 Bom. 85, 91; Bom. let. 16 & 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 193, 202; Sur. let. 26 Sept., 67 Sur. 212.

The *Mayboom* took Charles Ward and George Robinson to Rajapur, to make a start in resettling a factory there, as arranged in the treaty with Sivaji. Its chief was to be John Child, but he was busy with finishing the Bombay accounts to be sent home, so the others were sent ahead with some broadcloth and a chest of dollars to defray expenses.[1] The Surat Council were not enthusiastic about the venture, pointing out restrictions in the treaty that might hinder trade and fearing interference from Bijapur forces that threatened the town; but Aungier thought it unsound to draw back from the undertaking contained in the treaty and also expected it would help to supply extra goods ordered by the Company in their despatch by the *Falcon*.[2] Gray was sceptical on the latter point;[3] and there were certainly difficulties in the way. The *Malabar Coaster* returned from her freight voyage to Rajapur only half-laden, because of obstruction by the French factors there, who endeavoured to 'hinder all English vessels trading to that port'.[4] When Ward arrived there in October he found trade practically at a standstill, owing to the long absence of the English and to the French having ceased to trade for want of stock and shipping. Not a single merchant offered to buy the goods he had brought. There were also difficulties about sending goods for sale up-country and getting goods that were wanted for Bombay without undue delay. Some were ordered from Raibag* and other places, but when the *Malabar Coaster* returned in December, only a small amount—'not near the quantity ordered'—was ready for her. Another trouble was that the old factory-house, which the treaty authorized the Company to repair, was in private occupation and its owner refused to give possession. All that Ward was offered was an inconvenient site, half a mile from the mooring-place for laden boats, and he could only 'run up a small habitation by the river-side' against the arrival of Child, who was still at Bombay at the close of the year, but was about to leave on the *Revenge*.[5]

[1] Bom. con. 4 & 16 Sept., 1 Bom. 84, 92; Bom. let. 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 197; instrns. to Ward, 6 Bom. 197–201.

[2] Sur. let. 6 Aug. & 1 Sept., 87 Sur. 188, 196; Sur. con. 6 & 22 Aug., 3 Sur. 28, 29, 30; Bom. let. 15 & 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 186, 187, 193.

[3] Sur. let. 26 Sept. & 14 Oct., 87 Sur. 211 & 88 Sur. 230. [4] Bom. con. 5 Oct., 1 Bom. 100.

* A village now in the Kolhapur State. It was formerly a trade-centre for pepper (cf. *E.F.*, 1655–60, 234, 246).

[5] Raj. let. 24 Oct., 30 Nov., & 22 Dec., 88 Sur. 224, 253 & (next sec.) 3; art. 10 of treaty, 6 Bom. 127; Bom. con. 16 Sept. & 22 Dec., 1 Bom. 93, 94, & 2 Bom. 6, 7; Bom. let. 30 Dec., 7 Bom. 24.

The opening up of trade with Aurangabad and other places in the Deccan continued to engage Aungier's attention, but little or no progress was made during the year. In September it was decided to send Richard Adams and Narayan Shenvi to Junnar to obtain passes for the safe conveyance of the goods they took with them through Sivaji's and the Mughal armies. These included low-priced perpetuanos and other cloth, as well as lead and iron, which it was hoped to sell for cash or barter for timber, batty, or other merchandise needed in Bombay.[1] Unfortunately their departure was delayed by Narayan falling ill, and in December two other Indians were chosen to accompany Adams.*

Towards the end of the year Aungier reported to the Company that 'the thoughts of your people are now wholly taken up in trade, planting and building of houses, whom we encourage as much as we can'.[2] The want of houses was enhanced by the rapid increase of population that took place during the year. Thus it was computed that between the months of March and June above 6,000 settlers came from Chaul (where a big fire had destroyed over 3,000 houses) and other parts, 'and more would come daily, had we houses for them'.[3] Steps to encourage the building of houses by the water-side were taken in August, but owing to various difficulties they had not matured by the end of the year.[4] Buildings for the Company were, however, proceeded with: thus a granary and 'the East India House' were nearing completion in November.†

The influx of population was naturally accompanied by a scarcity and consequent dearness of provisions. In February the ketch was sent to bring timber and provisions from the opposite main.[5] In March the high cost of living necessitated raising the daily wage of an ordinary cooly or labourer from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 pice.[6] Allowances were also granted to poor English widows and young orphans to enable them

[1] Bom. con. 16 & 28 Sept., 1 Bom. 91, 92, 96; Bom. let. 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 195; instrns. to Adams, O.C. 4056.

* Bom. con. 18 Dec., 2 Bom. 5. In view of his good services, Narayan's pay was fixed at Xs. 300 a year, the same as that of the Portuguese Secretary and Luis Casada (Bom. con. 9 Oct., 1 Bom. 102).

[2] Bom. let. 12 Nov., 6 Bom. 217.

[3] Bom. occurrences, 20 March, O.C. 3918; Bom. let. to Co. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 170.

[4] Bom. con. 28 Aug. & 4 Sept., 1 Bom. 80, 85.

† Bom. con. 6 Nov., 1 Bom. 114. The 'East India House' appears to have been used subsequently for residential purposes: cf. p. 172 *post*. The custom-house is also said to have formed part of it later on (*Bom. City Gaz.* iii. 253).

[5] Bom. con. 4 Feb., 1 Bom. 13.

[6] Bom. con. 7 March, 1 Bom. 18, 19.

to be maintained.[1] In June, in consequence of the 'great complaint made to the President, as well by the natives as the English soldiers, of the dearness and over-rating of provisions', Aungier presided over a meeting of his Council with the principal shopkeepers and provision-merchants, at which prices were settled for that month, and a Committee consisting of Child, Wilcox, Ustick, Langford, and Adderton was appointed to meet at the Judge's house every Saturday morning and 'hear and determine all abuses and breaches of the fixed prices'. They had also to settle the prices each month 'according to the plenty and scarcity of the various commodities'; to publish the prices so settled in the English, Portuguese, and Banian tongues; to consider all prudent means of getting provisions at the cheapest rates, 'for which end they are to encourage, assist, and protect the shopkeepers and corn-merchants' and to punish severely any persons, English as well as others, 'who shall offer them any violence or disturbance by forcing any goods from them without money or to make them sell at under-rates of what is settled'; and to make periodical reports to the Governor as to the plenty or scarcity of provisions, so that due measures might be taken for a timely supply.[2] Among other steps they were asked to take was one for the establishment of English weights and measures all over the Island, which probably attained no better success than similar proposals in more modern times.[3] The Committee also had to check the 'wicked practices' of soldiers and seamen in stealing hens, thus discouraging their breeding.[4] Other duties were to prevent conspiracies to 'forestall or engross' provisions, to control their transport from the Island, and to improve the supply of fish.[5] The importation of adequate supplies was impeded by the Captain-General of Bassein prohibiting the export of provisions from Portuguese territory.[6] Thus in November, as grain consequently could not be procured from Salsette, a boat had to be sent down the Malabar coast for rice.[7] Pressure was, however, put on traders at Bandra by an order prohibiting their taking coco-nuts and other produce from Bombay in foreign-owned boats, with the result that, in return for its cancella-

[1] Bom. con. 25 Feb. & 23 March, 1 Bom. 17, 21; Sur. con. 7 April, 3 Sur. 16; Sur. let. 7 April, 87 Sur. 143, 144; Bom. let. 18 April, 6 Bom. 101.

[2] Bom. con. 3 June, 1 Bom. 45–8. [3] Ibid. 48; Bom. con. 4 April, 1 Bom. 43, 44.

[4] Bom. con. 12 June & 17 July, 1 Bom. 51, 64; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 13.

[5] Bom. con. 3 & 10 July, 1 Bom. 58, 61, 62.

[6] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 23. [7] Bom. con. 6 Nov., 1 Bom. 115.

tion, they agreed to bring back provisions in their vessels.[1] But, as the Portuguese charged 'unreasonable rates when they spare us any provisions', it was decided to send two Englishmen to Nagotna, to live there and procure regular supplies of provisions, timber, and firewood for the Island from that part of Sivaji's territories.[2] Boats from Thana and other neighbouring Portuguese places were also forbidden to fish in any of the bays or creeks belonging to Bombay, under pain of forfeiture of the vessels and any fish caught.[3] At the same time steps to encourage the building of boats at Bombay for trade and passenger-traffic were considered.[4]

The cost of living was also raised by exchange difficulties. These affected not only the English soldiers in the garrison, as already mentioned, but led to a general complaint of undue exactions by the shroffs and other money-changers. In January Aungier, with Shaxton and Wilcox, met the principal shroffs and Hindu and Mohammedan merchants to discuss the matter. It was decided that every shroff should be bound to change a full-weight dollar at not less than a specified rate, under penalty of forfeiting 10 dollars for each dollar he refused to change at that rate, and Aungier set aside Saturday mornings for investigating complaints against the shroffs and others.[5] When, however, the price of a dollar was reduced to 3 zerafins, they were all exported from the Island to its great prejudice, and little or no silver was to be procured.[6] In July the leading shroffs were called before the Council for this and similar abuses that enhanced the price of money. They endeavoured to excuse themselves, but at length promised never to offend again and to obey all the Council's orders. And, as false rupees had been discovered, a proclamation was issued, strictly forbidding the importation of any false coin or the counterfeiting of the Company's coin, on pain of death.[7]

The Mint continued to coin copper pice and thus supply the Island with small change, but tin was not available during the year for the coinage of tinnys.[8] The pice passed current not only in Sivaji's territory, but also in the Portuguese country.[9] The minting of gold

[1] Bom. con. 31 July, 11 Sept., & 22 Dec., 1 Bom. 70, 71, 89, & 2 Bom. 5, 6; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 24.
[2] Bom. con. 6 Nov., 1 Bom. 115.
[3] Bom. con. 31 July & 11 Sept., 1 Bom. 71, 89; Sur. con. 22 Aug., 3 Sur. 30.
[4] Bom. con. 24 July, 1 Bom. 66.
[5] Bom. con. 10 Jan., 1 Bom. 6, 7.
[6] Bom. con. 12 June, 1 Bom. 51; Bom. let. 24 June & 30 July, 6 Bom. 146, 156.
[7] Bom. con. 24 July, 1 Bom. 65, 66.
[8] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 11, 12.
[9] Bom. let. 23 Dec., 7 Bom. 27.

and silver remained in suspense, and Aungier expressed disappointment at the Company's sending no 'positive directions' to start it.[1] He wished to alter the inscriptions on the coinage, as the Portuguese disliked their containing no reference to the King or Queen of England and hindered their circulation for trade and the purchase of provisions. He proposed that one side of the coin should bear the Company's arms and title, and the other should have two 'C's, representing the two first letters of their Majesties' names, with a crown and a cross over them. He also suggested that the *Angelinas* should be renamed *Ingreses* [English], as the latter was 'more common with all sorts of people'.[2] He further designed a new coin of the same fineness and weight as a Surat rupee, with Persian inscriptions on it, which he considered would increase its currency in other parts. He felt doubts, however, whether the Mughal Emperor would not object to this and consulted the Surat Council on the point. It expressed the opinion that the Company had just as much right to borrow Persian for this purpose as the Emperor, and that, as his coinage would not be counterfeited, he would have no good cause for taking offence.[3] It suggested, however, that the proposed inscription of 'Charles the Second, King of England' might subject the Company to a writ of *praemunire*, as being too close a resemblance to King's coin. Aungier shared this doubt and, in accordance with the Surat Council's advice, referred his proposal to the Company for orders.[4]

On account of the Dutch war, Bombay had continued to be a heavy charge to the Company, and Gray estimated that it had absorbed a total stock of £33,980 during the two years from 1 August 1672 to 31 July 1674.[5] Nor was there any material rise in revenue. The auction of the tobacco and other farms fetched Xs. 4,498 more than in the previous year, and by the end of March the total revenues had increased by Xs. 9,000.[6] But stock receipts were small; the sale of English broadcloth was disappointing, and the demand fell off so badly at Surat and Bombay that Aungier advised the Company to send out no more.[7] After the news of peace, expenditure was reduced

[1] Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 11. [2] Bom. con. 12 June, 1 Bom. 49, 50.
[3] Bom. con. 17 July, 1 Bom. 64, 65; Sw. con. 6 Aug., 3 Sur. 28.
[4] Sur. let. 12 Aug., 87 Sur. 190; Bom. let. 22 Aug., 6 Bom. 173; Bom. con. 28 Sept., 1 Bom. 97; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 11. [5] Sur. con. 12 Sept., 3 Sur. 37.
[6] Bom. let. 17 Feb., 6 Bom. 71; Sur. let. 6 March, 87 Sur. 124.
[7] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 8, 22; Bom. let. 24 June & 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 145, 195.

by disbanding all supernumerary troops and displacing Portuguese soldiers by the English recruits sent out by the Company.[1] On the other hand, it was increased by the Company's requisitioning a larger supply of goods than it had previously asked for; and though two chests of dollars were taken from the *Falcon* for Bombay expenses, it is not surprising that the Council was hard put to it to find money for the general charges, while in November it was not able to pay for even a small quantity of provisions ordered from Surat.[2]

The local weaving of cloth for the Company was affected by its preference for broad baftas. Aungier explained that there might be difficulties about carrying out this order, as most of the looms in use were for making narrow baftas and it was difficult to alter this.[3] A remarkable offer was made by some Broach merchants to bring whitened cloth to Bombay at their own risk and supply it to the Company as cheap as, if not cheaper than, what was paid for it at Broach, and of the same quality and dimensions as those of the cloth got there and elsewhere. The Surat Council described the offer as a paradox that could only be true if its Broach brokers were knaves and its factors there were fools. It also pointed out that a trial of this offer would entail unseasonable competition with the Broach factory. Aungier agreed that it was a strange proposition and used as a stimulus to put the Broach factors 'to a blush that any person should pretend to buy goods cheaper for the Company than they'. At the same time he scouted their suggestion that, as most of the cotton yarn used came from Broach, the manufacture of cloth on the Island should be discontinued.[4] Bombay and the adjacent country were, in fact, now supplying a good deal of yarn for the Company.[5]

The question of reclaiming the over-flown lands was not lost sight of during the year. In March commissioners were ordered to view the breaches and calculate the cost of stopping them;[6] and Col. Bake at length completed his large map of the Island, which had been delayed by his illness. His proposal to go to England on the *Falcon*

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 23; Bom. con. 9 Oct. & 9 Dec., 1 Bom. 102 & 2 Bom. 4.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 170; Bom. let. 2 Nov., 7 Bom. 2.

[3] Desp. 29 Sept. 1673, 5 L.B. 67; Bom. let. 28 May, 6 Bom. 134, 135; Bom. con. 22 June, 1 Bom. 53; Sur. con. 15 May, 3 Sur. 23.

[4] Bom. con. 24 July, 1 Bom. 66; Sur. con. 22 Aug., 3 Sur. 30; Sur. let. 24 Aug., 87 Sur. 193; Bom. let. 5 & 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 177, 202.

[5] Sur. con. 15 May, 3 Sur. 23, 24; Bom. con. 22 June, 1 Bom. 53; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 21.

[6] Bom. con. 23 March, 1 Bom. 21, 22.

and personally discuss the question with the Company was agreed to.[1] At the same time Aungier remarked that 'nothing doth possesse our thoughts more then the vastness of the work and charge, which certainely in soe wise and excellent a Councell will require time and serious deliberation before you resolve to engage thereon'.[2]

The ratification of Aungier's Convention by the *povo* (p. 94) led to their putting forward some grievances, most of which were satisfactorily dealt with; and the Council authorized the annual election of *panchayats* consisting of five representatives of each of the Indian communities at Bombay and Mahim.[3] Representatives of the Portuguese native Christians were approved accordingly, and detailed instructions issued for their guidance.[4]

The moral reformation of the English inhabitants continued to occupy Aungier's attention. Regulations against excessive gaming were prescribed;[5] punch-houses were strictly controlled;[6] and steps were taken to check brothels and prevent soldiers keeping 'wenches or loose women' in their houses.[7]

The welfare of the seamen employed on the Company's shipping was also advanced by framing regulations for their better feeding. Flesh was ordered to be served to the English seamen, whenever procurable; wages and stores were put on a more organized basis; and the practice of sailors overstaying their leave ashore and then finding employment in the garrison was checked.[8] Several seamen, who had been captured by the Dutch and after being released had arrived in a destitute condition, were charitably provided for or employed.[9]

Malabar pirates gave little trouble during the year, and Aungier reported that the two extra frigates sanctioned by the Company were unnecessary.[10] In November the pirates were reported to be hindering trade on the coast, and two armed *shibars** were sent out against

[1] Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 12; Bake's petition 9 Oct., 3 Sur. 43, 44; Sur. con. 27 Oct., 3 Sur. 44; Bom. let. 14 Oct. & 23 Nov., 6 Bom. 209, 226; Sur. let. 28 Oct., 87 Sur. 245.

[2] 7 Bom. 12.

[3] Bom. con. 17 July, 1 Bom. 63, 64.

[4] Bom. con. 24 & 30 July, 1 Bom. 66–9, 70. Cf. *B.J.* 81, 82.

[5] Bom. con. 10 April, 1 Bom. 24, 25.

[6] Bom. con. 6 March, 28 Aug., & 1 Sept., 1 Bom. 18, 79, 82, 83.

[7] Bom. con. 12 June, 1 Bom. 50, 51, 52.

[8] Bom. con. 12 June & 3 July, 1 Bom. 51, 57, 58.

[9] Bom. con. 4 & 14 May & 5 June, 1 Bom. 29, 38, 39, 48; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 7; Bom. con. 29 Dec., 2 Bom. 9.

[10] Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 6.

* Coasting vessels.

them, as the frigates were away on the Malabar coast.[1] The *Hunter* was similarly employed in December.[2]

On 5 December the Company's ship *Mary* arrived, having been delayed by calms and strong currents and having taken three months over her voyage from Johanna. She had lost her consorts, the *Golden Fleece* and the *Rainbow*, on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope.[3] The *Falcon* had returned from the Malabar coast on 23 November and been sent on to Swally the same day. She was so full of pepper that she could not take any of the Bombay goods that were waiting for her, ready embaled.[4] Aungier had hoped to be able to go on her to Surat, and even contemplated leaving the Island for good.[5] The Governor of Surat was pressing him to return, and now that peace had come his own inclinations also called him there.[6] But he finally decided, in consonance with the Surat Council's opinion, that he could not leave the Island in its present condition, without manifest prejudice to the Company's affairs, especially as his illness had put him behindhand in his work for the amelioration of Bombay.[7]

An interesting event in September was the arrival of the young Prince of Bantam on board the *Blessing* on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was treated with great honour during his three days' stay on the Island and expressed himself as highly satisfied with his reception.* Aungier seems to have had more than the usual number of visitors during the year, as the supply of rose-water twice ran out.[8] Bahadur Khan, the Mughal General in the Deccan, showed particular favour to the President. Not only did he send him a *sirpao* to manifest his kindness and respect towards the English nation, but he also made him a nominal present of part of Sivaji's territory round Nagotna, appointing him *Mansabdar* or General of 1,000 horse.[9]

[1] Bom. con. 13 Nov., 1 Bom. 117.

[2] Bom. con. 29 Dec., 2 Bom. 9.

[3] Bom. occurrences, 5 Dec., O.C. 3918; Bom. con. 7 Dec., 2 Bom. 1.

[4] Bom. con. 23 Nov., 1 Bom. 117, 118; Bom. let. 23 Nov., 6 Bom. 226.

[5] Bom. let. 16 Sept., 6 Bom. 195.

[6] Bom. let. 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 202; Sur. let. 14 Oct., 87 Sur. 232; Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 22.

[7] Sur. let. 26 Sept., 87 Sur. 213; Bom. con. 23 Nov. 1 Bom. 117; Bom. let. 23 Nov. & 30 Dec., 6 Bom. 225 & 7 Bom. 30.

* Bom. occurrences, 29 Sept., O.C. 3918; Bom. con. 29 Sept., 1 Bom. 98, 99. Fryer (i. 128) mentions this visit, and describes the Prince as 'a giddyhead', who had been disobedient to the King, his father, and who rather sided with the Dutch.

[8] Bom. let. 5 March & 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 79, 187.

[9] Bom. con. 17 July & 5 Oct., 1 Bom. 63, 64, 100, 101.

The *Mayboom* and the *Hunter* arrived from the Malabar coast on 6 December and were sent on at once to Swally with their cargoes of pepper.[1] The *Revenge* did not return till 29 December, bringing Petit and a *grab* that he had hired to help in carrying the pepper from the coast. As there was enough lading for the *Falcon* and *Mary* at Swally, it was decided to keep the goods brought by the *Revenge* and the *grab* at Bombay, in readiness for the other two expected ships.[2] Petit was designated to succeed Child as the member of Council in charge of the accounts; but as he had to go on to Surat (p. 324), Francis Day, the Secretary of the Council, took over the books from Child, pending Petit's return.[3]

The year closed on a bellicose note. On 30 December an incident took place that illustrated Portuguese hostility and arrogance in India. The consultation entry about it[4] runs as follows:

This day came into Bombay Harbour the Cardais, Vice Admirall of the Portuguese Armado from Goa, commanded by [*blank*], with his flagg flying upon the foretopmasthead; who, when he came up abrest with the flagg of his Majesty of Great Brittain flying on one of the bastions of Bombay Castle, fired 11 gunns, and his owne flagg flying. Whereupon the Governor, haveing summoned all his Councill and took their advice, ORDERED the gunner not to answere him, in regard he did not strike to our Kings flagg; in the meanetime the Vice Admirall sent his lieutenant on shore to the Governor to acquaint him that the Vice Admirall of the Portuguese Armado was passing by our port to go to their owne port Torumbay [Trombay]; to whom the Governor, having first offered all civillity on our part, with liberty of haleing his shipp on shore in this port if he pleased, declared by Capt. Thomas Niccolls that the Vice Admirall ought to have struck his flagg, being in the King of Englands port, and that he did expect it as a custome and curtesy practised by all nations. Whereupon the lieutenant imediately tooke leave and went on board. But the Vice Admirall not takeing notice thereof, nor striking his flagg, the Governor ordered a shott to be slung thwart his forefoote, which made him come to an anchor, but continued his flagg flying. Then the Governor thought good to send the aforesaid Capt. Thomas Niccolls on board to advise him to strike his flagg, and not affront his Majesty of Great Brittain in his owne port, which might prove of more evill consequence to the two nations then he was aware of.

[1] Bom. let. 5 & 8 Dec., 6 Bom. 231, 232; Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 16; Bom. con. 7 Dec., 2 Bom. 3. [2] Bom. con. 29 Dec., 2 Bom. 8; Bom. let. 30 Dec., 7 Bom. 30.
[3] Ibid.; Bom. let. 5 Sept., 6 Bom. 178. [4] 2 Bom. 10–12.

But the said Vice Admirall still refused to strike his flagg, declareing he could not doe it without order from the Generall [Admiral], and that he now rode in the King of Portugals chanell; whereupon it being late, the Governor suspended further proceeding till the next morning, when the Governor called all his Councill again, the Vice Admirall haveing still his flagg flying, to advise with him what was best to be done. And it appeareing plainely to us that the Portuguese did by this publique affront designe to deprive his Majesty of Great Britain of the royalty of this port, and also of the port Torumbay, which of right belongs to him, it being a thing never before practised by them, wee esteemed ourselves bound in duty to declare our resentment thereof: whereupon the result was that the Gunner should fire some shott at his flagg, which was accordingly done, but being out of the reach of any of our gunns, could effect nothing. So that about 10 of the clock this morning the Vice Admirall weighed and sett saile for Torumbay, never strikeing nor lowering his flagg all this time in contempt of his Majestys flagg and the dishonour of the English nation. Upon which the Governor, with advise of his Councill, thought fitting to send away imediately by Capt. Ustick and Capt. Niccolls, with some others, the following letter to the Captain Generall [Admiral] of said fleete, called Joa Carea de Saa, to demand satisfaction. . . .

The rest of the story belongs to the next year.

BOMBAY, 1675

THE refusal of the Portuguese Vice-Admiral to strike his flag and the English riposte of firing at it naturally led to a 'hot dispute' that threatened to embroil the governments of the two nations in India in open hostility and to lead to serious trouble. The Viceroy of Goa and his subordinates had shown a constant enmity to the Company's possession of Bombay that needed little to inflame it; and a long 'narrative' of the dispute, which Aungier drew up, begins by mentioning the 'continuall affronts, abuses, and injuries' which the English had received at the hands of the Portuguese.[1] Among the instances it gives was the 'insolence' of their shooting at the *Revenge* to make her 'strike' to their fleet when she was on her way to Bombay from the Malabar coast in 1673 (p. 318);[2] and the Portuguese similarly resented the firing at their flag. Both sides took immediate

[1] 7 Bom. 34, 35, 36.

[2] Ibid. 35.

steps to expostulate and demand satisfaction for insults to their respective flags. On 31 December Aungier dispatched Capts. Ustick and Niccolls with a letter to the Portuguese Admiral, John Correa de Sa, who was supposed to be at Bassein. The next day they met the Captain of the North, Manoel Saldanha, who was on his way to Bombay to demand satisfaction for the firing at the Portuguese flag. He wanted them to hand over the letter to the Admiral, but they refused, saying that though he had a superior position, the Governor might well consider that the matter 'more concerned the General at sea'. On the other hand, on learning that the Admiral had left for Bombay by sea, they obeyed his command to follow him to Thana.[1] There they were received by the *Ovidore* (Judge) and paid a visit to the Captain of the North, who received them 'with less passion' than he had shown before. They then returned to Bombay. The next morning (2 January) the Admiral appeared off the Port with three ships and about ten galleys. Meanwhile Capt. Adderton, who had been sent to Bassein to negotiate with the Admiral about another matter, had returned to Bombay with a letter from him, asking for an explanation of the firing, and making a friendly suggestion that it was meant merely as a warning to the Vice-Admiral to avoid rocks near which he was anchoring. Aungier sent a reply enclosing the letter he had already written to him.[2] The Admiral received its bearers courteously, but said he could not strike his flag without special orders from his superiors. A further letter from Aungier, stating that former Admirals had paid this civility to His Majesty's flag and asking him to accommodate the dispute, produced a reply that the Viceroy of Goa had ordered them not to strike the Portuguese flag, 'because we strike the flag to none'.[3] Correspondence that took place between Aungier and the Captain of the North was equally infructuous. The latter stated that the Admiral had saluted the Fort in the customary way, and that its not answering the salute and then firing at their flag was an insult, for which he expected satisfaction from Aungier, instead of which he was trying to put the Portuguese in the wrong.[4]

As Aungier's narrative says, these letters plainly showed that the Portuguese insisted on the propriety of the Admiral's action, and that they 'would have passed without striking to His Majesty . . .

[1] Ibid. 38.
[2] Ibid. 39.
[3] Ibid. 39, 40–2.
[4] Ibid. 42–4.

had it not been hotly contested by us'.[1] On the evening of the 2nd the Admiral anchored in the Bay, and next morning he sent representatives ashore with a letter demanding the punishment of the person who had affronted their flag by firing at it. A 'hot dispute' ensued on the subject. They contradicted Aungier's statement that Don Jeronimo Manoel, a former Admiral,[2] had struck his flag when saluting the Fort; and though Capt. Gary and other witnesses 'proved it to their faces', they 'continued obstinate in their demands' and made a formal 'protest' in the name of the Admiral as to the evil consequences that might ensue. This Aungier answered by a similar protest against the Admiral, and thereupon the latter's representatives 'desired to take their leaves'.[3]

An impasse seemed inevitable and might even have resulted in some fighting, for the Captain of the North was in a bellicose mood, having come 'with his land forces' to Trombay and given out that the Portuguese fleet would join them at Bombay to constrain the Council to submit.[4] Fortunately the tact of Aungier and the more friendly attitude of the Admiral saved the situation. Before the conference broke up, Aungier, in order to let the Portuguese officers see that what had been done was not actuated by any contempt of the King of Portugal, but merely to vindicate the right of the King of England, 'called for a glass of wine' and proposed the Portuguese King's health, which the Fort saluted with twenty-one guns. The Admiral's representatives, 'takeing it in high respect', responded by a similar toast to the British King, which was also saluted with twenty-one guns. Meanwhile the Portuguese fleet had weighed anchor and stood for Trombay. A critical time had arrived: would the Admiral strike his flag when passing the Fort, or not? Aungier sent orders to the *Revenge* and the *Hunter* that, if he saluted the Fort with his flag flying, they alone should return the salute, but if he struck his flag, the Fort should reply to it first and the salute of the two frigates should follow. About 10 a.m. the Admiral came abreast of the Fort, and striking his flag saluted it with thirteen guns. All the other Portuguese ships and galleys also saluted the Fort, which answered with the same civility. Then the two frigates fired another salute, to which the Admiral replied with eleven guns, which was again answered both by the Fort and the frigates. It was not till the

[1] 7 Bom. 45.
[2] Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 41, 257, 269.
[3] 7 Bom. 44, 45.
[4] Bom. let. 23 Jan. & 8 Feb., 7 Bom. 57, 78.

Fort hoisted its flag that the Admiral spread his also. So, amid this cannonade, 'the punctillios of honour being duly performed, this hot contest ended in amity and friendship'. Aungier's firmness thus triumphed; and he concluded the affair, which had been so near a bad ending, by writing to thank the Admiral and the Captain of the North for the removal of the misunderstanding between them, saying, 'if this was the fault of either side, wee ought to forgive one another, and God forgive us all'.[1]

Amicable relations were thus established between Aungier and the Admiral. Not only did the latter again strike his flag in returning from Trombay, but he also paid a visit to the President on shore, when friendly civilities passed between them. Aungier describes him as 'a worthy discreet gentleman' and 'a friend to the English', contrasting him with the Viceroy of Goa, who was 'a resolved ill-wisher to' the Company and the nation.*

But this did little towards procuring any respite of Portuguese hindrances to the trade and well-being of Bombay. In letters sent home in January Aungier makes this quite plain. He sums up the situation by saying: 'We enjoy here a happy quiet and a faire correspondence with all our neighbours; only the malevolent Portuguese . . . do frequently disturbe us by hindering provisions etc.'[2] An instance of the Viceroy's intervention was his prohibiting dealers at Goa from dispatching or selling any diamonds to the English, and he had stopped some money that the President had sent for investment in them.[3] Aungier added, however, that the diamond-dealers offered to bring annually to Bombay the quantity required by the English and to settle on the Island, as soon as they were eased of the Viceroy's bad government, 'soe that wee need little concerne ourselves for the Portuguese impertinent spleen against us, seeing we find the blessing of good fame does attend your Honours in all these parts of India, even amongst those who wish you not well'.[4] Another alleged instance of Portuguese hostility was the condemnation of goods belonging to English merchants in the Bantam ship *Swallow*, which had been seized and taken to Goa (p. 325): the English testimony, being that of heretics, had been discredited, and Aungier commented

[1] 7 Bom. 45, 46.

* Bom. con. 15 Jan., 2 Bom. 18; Bom. let. 23 Jan. & 8 Feb., 7 Bom. 50, 64, 79. The Viceroy was Luiz de Mendoza Furtado de Albuquerque, who had arrived at Goa in 1671 (Danvers, ii. 364).

[2] Bom. let. 23 Jan., 7 Bom. 50.

[3] Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 57.

[4] Ibid. 61.

that, as both the Viceroy and the Judges had shares in all prize goods, it was no doubt inconvenient to believe it.*

The dispute about the levy of customs on boats passing Thana and Karanja continued. In January a file of soldiers was sent to protect some Bombay boats that were bringing salt to the Island from a threatened imposition of this kind at Karanja; and in April the *Hunter* convoyed a fleet of vessels taking salt from Karanja to Broach and Surat, 'in case the Portuguese should demand customs or use any violence to them, as they have of late done'.[1] No justice or equity, much less favour, was (in Aungier's opinion) to be expected from the Portuguese, who let slip no occasion to manifest their 'malevolent regard to' the Company's settlement at Bombay.[2]

Another dispute arose out of a claim by Aungier and his Council to levy customs at the ports of Mahar and Vesava on the west coast of Salsette, on the ground that this right had been exercised in the time of the King's government in Bombay.[3] The right of the Council to levy customs at Trombay was also disputed by the Portuguese.† The Captain of the North, however, adopted a 'civil, modest,' and 'obliging' attitude in writing to Aungier on this subject, and the Council sent him a present worth Rs. 250 on the occasion of his marriage.[4]

The five years' exemption from customs granted in 1670 (pp. 3, 4) was due to expire in March, and the fixing of new duties called for an early decision. Aungier, whose Council was reduced to four members on Child's departure to Rajapur at the end of January, deferred taking it up till he could have the assistance of three of the Surat Council, who were asked to come to Bombay, as soon as the ships had been dispatched to England.[5] The *Falcon* reached Bombay on 11 January and the *Mary* on the 14th, and they left together for England on the 19th.‡ The possibility of the other two overdue ships

* 7 Bom. 35. The vessel had apparently been recovered at an expenditure of Rs. 1,505 (Bom. let. 8 Feb., 7 Bom. 80, 81).

[1] Bom. con. 15 Jan. & 12 April, 2 Bom. 19, 20, 56, 57.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 56.

[3] Bom. con. 22 Feb. & 5 March, 2 Bom. 35, 39, 40; Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 56.

† 7 Bom. 56, 57. The customs at Trombay were farmed for Xs. 370 in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 219)

[4] Bom. con. 9 April, 2 Bom. 52.

[5] Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 53, 55.

‡ Bom. let. 20 Jan., 7 Bom. 47. The *Falcon* took home, as curiosities that His Majesty might accept, not only the usual 'spotted deer', but also a cassowary and the skeleton of a 'mermaid fish' (manatee) that Aungier had obtained from Mombasa (7 Bom. 58, 63: cf. Sir William Foster, *John Company*, 93–4). The skeleton was duly presented to H.M. (5 L.B. 276).

arriving shortly led, however, to a postponement of their visit; and as the five years' period expired on 23 March, Aungier consulted the Surat Council by correspondence on the two questions (*a*) to what rate between 3 and 5 per cent. the existing rate of 2 per cent. (including the 1 per cent. donative towards the cost of fortification) should be raised, and (*b*) whether the levy of the customs should be kept in the Company's hands or be farmed. No reply having been received by the beginning of March, Aungier, after several meetings and debates with his Council, and on the advice of the principal merchants on the Island, decided that the general rate should be fixed at 3½ per cent. including the 1 per cent. voluntary contribution, and that the balance of advantage lay in farming the customs, as had been done during the previous two years. The Council accordingly ordered them to be auctioned during March.[1] Meanwhile the Surat Council had fixed on 4 per cent. as a proper rate, and favoured the levy being kept in the Company's hands.[2] Aungier and his Council, however, stuck to their previous decision, and the farm was sold in March to Joseph Burgess for Xs. 31,050 a year.* After a few months he petitioned to be released from his contract, on the ground that the 1½ per cent. increase would produce so small a sum that he would be a great loser. The Surat Council, on being consulted, advised that his request should be granted and the collection of the customs kept in the Company's hands, having regard to the uncertainty of the amount that would be raised in the first year of the new rates.[3] Aungier and his Council, after a discussion, 'at length' agreed to this course, and Day and Oxinden were respectively put in charge of the Bombay and Mahim custom-houses.[4] Detailed rules for their regulation, the customs to be levied, the rebates or exemptions to be allowed, the powers and duties of the customs-officers, &c., were also drawn up.[5] These show that a higher rate than 3½ per cent. was payable in respect of certain commodities, viz. 9 per cent. (including the 1 per cent. for fortification) on Indian tobacco or iron imported, and on the produce of the Island (coco-nuts, salt, fish, &c.) exported.

[1] Aungier's let. 6 Feb., 7 Bom. 76; Bom. con. 12 Feb. & 4 March, 2 Bom. 29, 38, 39; Bom. let. 15 Feb. & 13 March, 7 Bom. 89, 90, 99.

[2] Sur. let. 25 Feb., 88 Sur. 25; Bom. con. 10 March, 2 Bom. 43, 44.

* Bom. let. 29 March, 7 Bom. 107; Sur. let. 1 April, 88 Sur. 31; O.C. 4115. Burgess had been appointed a 'waiter' at the Mahim custom-house in Oct. 1672 (2 Misc. 144).

[3] Bom. con. 14 May, 2 Bom. 65; Bom. let. 17 May, 7 Bom. 114; Sur. let. 26 May, 88 Sur. 56.

[4] Bom. con. 14 June, 2 Bom. 84; Bom. let. 19 June, 7 Bom. 128. [5] O.C. 4088.

A letter to the Company explains that 'the native commodities etc. . . . are still continued at 9 per cent. as before';* and it was probably with a view to discourage these particular imports and exports that such a high rate was imposed. The tobacco monopoly at Bombay had to be protected; so also had iron that the Company imported from Europe, which could not compete with Indian iron;† and the great scarcity of provisions in Bombay was an obvious reason for putting an almost prohibitive duty on their export.‡

The difficulties in the way of getting provisions continued. Not only did the Portuguese hinder supplies, but their transport from Broach and other Gujarat ports was prohibited by Bahadur Khan, lest they should be taken into Sivaji's country.[1] The latter was the main source of supply, and, in accordance with a previous decision (p. 108), Francis Mauleverer and George Goodier were sent in February to Nagotna, for the purpose of developing trade and obtaining provisions.§ Their dearness is illustrated by the fact that the coolies, whose daily wage had been raised from 2½ to 3 pice in 1674 (p. 106) and who now got 4 pice a day, complained that they could not live on that wage; and since more labourers were wanted for merchants, who said the Company employed so many that there were not enough for their business requirements, the rate was raised to 6 pice a day.[2]

An even more pressing problem was the financial one of making both ends meet. Early in January Aungier asked the Surat Council to send at least Rs. 8,000, as they were in great straits for want of cash to defray the public charges, owing to the long delay in the

* Bom. let. 20 March, 7 Bom. 105. Previous to 1670 the export duty on the produce of the Island was 6½ per cent. (2 Misc. 92). This was retained when the five years' exemption was introduced (pp. 3, 4). The 1 per cent. 'donative' raised it to 7½, which became 9 per cent. with the extra 1½ now imposed.

† Cf. S. A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the XVIIth Century*, 14. Aungier also had hopes of extracting iron-ore from the soil of Bombay (Bom. let. to Co. 5 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 59).

‡ H. Beveridge, *A Comprehensive History of India*, i. 329, overlooks these considerations in observing that 'the only justification [for this high rate] must be sought in the eager desire of the governor to show that the original estimate of the revenue from the island was not overrated'. The fact that the increase made by Aungier was less than that proposed by the Surat Council also goes against such criticism. The Company approved of the 9 per cent., but suggested that a moderate tax on provisions might be substituted (5 L.B. 273).

[1] Broach let. 21 Feb., 88 Sur. 25; Sw. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 14.

§ Bom. con. 12 Feb., 2 Bom. 30, 31. Mauleverer, who had come out as a writer in 1668, had returned from Persia (cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 16, 212 n.).

[2] Bom. con. 19 July, 2 Bom. 101, 103.

arrival of the other two ships. He added that no silver was procurable on the Island since the proclamation reducing the rate of exchange for a dollar to 3 Xs. (p. 108).[1] Consequently the Modi (house-steward), who was owed Rs. 16,000, could only be paid Rs. 7,000 in pice to buy provisions for the Island. Similarly the soldiers and other employees had had for the past three months to receive their pay in pice, which fortunately passed current in the neighbouring parts.[2] The Surat Council accordingly sent Rs. 8,000 on the hoy, but Aungier said they were so hard up that he did not expect that sum would last a fortnight.[3] The stringency naturally increased as time went on and the expected ships did not appear. In March money was as scarce in Bombay as in Surat, and at the beginning of May the stock of copper had been exhausted and money was unprocurable.[4] The debt to the Modi had risen to Rs. 20,000.[5] The consequent tension was not relieved until the middle of May, when the *Golden Fleece* reached Bombay and the *Rainbow* appeared off Surat.[6] They had wintered for two months at Mombasa on the way out and had parted company off St. John's.* Part of the *Fleece*'s gold and silver was sold in Bombay, and some of her copper was sent to the Mint to be coined into pice.[7] But, realizing the urgent need of the Surat factory, Aungier arranged to send it a large proportion of her treasure and stock. On account of the near approach of the monsoon it was deemed unsafe to send up the *Golden Fleece*, so most of this was sent up on the Modi's ketch, 'a strong serviceable vessel', which was partly manned with Englishmen for the occasion; while twelve ingots of gold were taken overland under the charge of Capt. Langford and an armed guard.[8] As the weather was fair, Aungier also sent to Rajapur two *shibars* partly manned with Englishmen, and taking treasure and stock worth Xs. 56,475, to help that factory in its investment.[9] The *Rainbow*, after discharging most of her goods

[1] Bom. let. 5 Jan., 7 Bom. 32, 33.

[2] Bom. con. 20 Jan., 2 Bom. 21; Bom. let. 25 Jan., 7 Bom. 49.

[3] Sur. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 13; Bom. let. 25 Jan., 7 Bom. 49.

[4] Bom. let. 13 March & 5 May, 88 Sur. 100, 110.

[5] Bom. con. 24 May, 2 Bom. 74.

[6] Bom. con. 16 May, 2 Bom. 67; Sur. let. 15 May, 88 Sur. 49.

* Bom. let. 16 May, 7 Bom. 113. 'St. John's' was a corruption of Sanjan in the Thana district. The *Rainbow* went to Swally instead of Bombay because of bad weather (p. 248).

[7] Bom. con. 23, 24, & 28 May, 2 Bom. 73, 74, 75, 77.

[8] Bom. con. 18 & 21 May, 2 Bom. 68, 69, 70, 71; Bom. let. 19 & 22 May, 7 Bom. 115, 116, 117.

[9] Bom. con. 18, 21, & 23 May, 2 Bom. 29, 71, 72, 74; Bom. let. 23 May, 88 Sur. 117.

at Surat, arrived on 26 May.[1] She brought some financial help, as the Surat Council did not delay the ship to 'rummage for' all the chests of Japan copper on board; and 300 chests of this were ordered to be sold at the end of May towards the cost of providing goods for the next shipping.[2] Both of the ships wintered at Bombay for the monsoon, and early in September they had been laden with the pepper that had been kept in Bombay (p. 113) and were ready to sail.[3]

The Sidi's fleet visited Bombay for a few weeks towards the end of February and during March, but had returned to Surat by the middle of April; and the Port had a welcome respite from its presence in the rains.[4] It appears to have wintered at Janjira, which Sivaji's men continued to besiege closely.[5] In August Sidi Sambal sent word to the Governor of Surat that, unless assistance was sent, the place could not long hold out;[6] and at Aurangzeb's orders a fleet of two men-of-war and several frigates was fitted out at Surat and left in October with 2,000 recruits, as well as provisions and ammunition, under the command of Kasim Sidi. After putting some men ashore at Bombay, it sailed down the coast against Sivaji's fleet and burned Vengurla and other towns.[7] The Sidi apparently proposed to bring his fleet to the vicinity of Bombay, for (with reference to a letter he wrote in October) the Council said he would prove 'a troublesome neighbour', unless he was prohibited from hostilities in Bay waters from Chaul and Henery Kenery upwards.* But beyond having to guard against the usual acts of violence committed by his men on shore, and the general interference with trade due to the war between him and Sivaji,[8] Bombay did not suffer from the Sidi during the year. Aungier's policy continued to be one of giving his fleet 'all neighbourly assistance' on visits to the Port, provided it abstained from unfriendly acts of hostility or violence.[9]

[1] Bom. con. 28 May, 2 Bom. 76; Bom. let. 9 June, 7 Bom. 118.

[2] Gray's let. 19 May, 88 Sur. 53; Bom. con. 28 May, 2 Bom. 77.

[3] Bom. let. 7 Sept., 7 Bom. 143.

[4] Bom. let. 27 Feb., 7 Bom. 92; Bom. con. 15 March, 2 Bom. 45; Sur. let. 17 April & 22 July, 88 Sur. 35, 78.

[5] Bom. let. 27 Feb., 7 Bom. 92.

[6] Sur. let. 20 Aug., 88 Sur. 93.

[7] Ibid.; Sur. let. 4 Sept. & 8 Oct., 88 Sur. 106, 113; Bom. let. to Co. 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 165.

* Bom. let. 14 Oct., 7 Bom. 152; Aungier's instrns. 28 Sept., O.C. 4115, f. 4; Sw. let. 25 Oct., 88 Sur. 120. Henery Kenery (Mahr. *Vondari*, mouse-like, and *Khandari*, sacred to the demi-god Khanderav) are two islands about seven miles south of the entrance to Bombay Harbour.

[8] Bom. con. 15 March, 2 Bom. 45; Bom. let. 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 165.

[9] O.C. 4115, f. 4; Sw. let. 25 Oct., 88 Sur. 120.

A greater nuisance was the continuance of Malabar piracy along the coast. It was particularly bad in the first months of the year, and the two frigates *Revenge* and *Hunter* were employed in cruising against them and convoying a salt-fleet to Gujarat.[1] To help in the campaign, as well as for mercantile use, the Council bought four fast *shibars*, each able to carry three or four guns, for Xs. 5,000.[2] The coast was indeed so pestered with pirates throughout the year that Bombay merchants would hardly venture to send a boat to sea, unless two or three soldiers were lent from the garrison to protect it.[3]

A minor source of annoyance was an unwelcome incursion of French visitors. At the end of January, Mons. Boureau, chief of the French factory at Rajapur, arrived on his way to Surat, and was paid the usual civilities, including troublesome visits that took up a good deal of the President's time.[4] In April the French pink *St. Robert* came to the Port, and her captain borrowed money from the Council.[5] In July the French Director-General, Mons. Baron, on his way to Surat from the Coromandel coast, spent about a fortnight in Bombay, with a retinue of a padre and ten other Frenchmen.[6] During his stay a man-of-war, the *Rubis*, which had left France in February 1674, and the *Heureuse*, a flute belonging to the French Company, turned up unexpectedly on 25 July. The *Rubis* was so leaky that she had to be hauled ashore for repairs, and both vessels passed the rest of the monsoon at Bombay.[7] Some apprehension was evidently felt at the stay of their crews ashore; the Council ordered treasure, fire-arms, and ammunition to be handed over for safe custody, and the men were prohibited from walking about in groups of over five. The garrison guards were also strengthened, as a precautionary measure.[8] Aungier was displeased at their frequenting the place so much, holding that they abused the kindness shown them and were not to be trusted, being 'an ill, inconstant people to deal with, of a proud ungrateful temper'.[9] The two ships remained

[1] Bom. con. 15 Jan. & 12 Feb., 2 Bom. 17, 28, 29; Bom. let. 1, 6, & 13 Feb., 7 Bom. 69, 74, 84; Sur. let. 27 Jan., 88 Sur. 14; Raj. let. 17 Feb., 88 Sur. 22.

[2] Bom. con. 8 Jan. & 12 Feb., 2 Bom. 13, 14, 33.

[3] Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 1.

[4] Bom. let. 1, 2, & 6 Feb., 7 Bom. 70, 71, 75. Cf. Kaeppelin, 172.

[5] Bom. let. 19 April, 7 Bom. 108.

[6] Fort St. George let. 30 Dec. 1674, 88 Sur. 26; Raj. let. 27 & 29 June, 88 Sur. 72, 74; Bom. let. 29 July & 4 Aug., 7 Bom. 137, 139.

[7] Bom. con. 26, 28, & 29 July, 2 Bom. 114, 115; Bom. let. 25 July, 7 Bom. 138; Sur. let. to Co. 10 Oct., O.C. 4118, ff. 1, 2; cf. Kaeppelin, 172, 654.

[8] Bom. con. 29 July, 2 Bom. 115, 116, 117.

[9] Sur. let. 8 Oct., 88 Sur. 113.

at Bombay for four months and thus 'helped to make provisions dear'.[1] The cargo brought by the *Heureuse* also added to the difficulties of the Surat investment for Europe by competing with the Company's stock and lowering its prices.[2] It was not unnatural that the Bombay Council adopted a policy towards these visitors of 'being no civiller than Christianity and the peace between the two nations obliges us'.[3]

Much the same applied to the Portuguese, who continued to hamper the trade of Bombay as much as possible.[4] In addition to the instances of this that have already been given, their frigates stopped boats of the Island, though flying English colours, and if they had not Portuguese passes, forced money from them or seized their goods.[5] On the other hand, the dispute about the claim of inhabitants of Thana, Bandra, &c., to fishing rights in waters appurtenant to the Island was in a fair way to settlement, as a result of seizure of some of the trespassing boats and their crews, who were released on their promise to keep in future to their own limits.[6] As to the dispute about the levy of exorbitant customs at Thana, Aungier considered it not worth while pursuing the Company's objections, so long as the war between Aurangzeb and Sivaji continued to hamper trade between Bombay and the mainland.[7] At the beginning of the year, peace negotiations between Sivaji and Bahadur Khan led to hopes of its termination, which were not fulfilled.*

The ill effects of this war were enhanced by an incursion into Khandesh made by Sivaji towards the end of 1674, when, among other places that suffered, the factory at Dharangaon was burnt and pillaged by one of his generals on 1 January 1675.[8] Aungier wrote to Sivaji demanding full satisfaction for the loss suffered, and followed this up by sending Samuel Austen to interview him at Raigarh in August. But Sivaji repudiated responsibility for acts which he said were committed by 'vagabonds and scouts' without the orders or

[1] Bom. let. 24 & 29 Nov., 7 Bom. 163, 165, 166.
[2] Sur. let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 80; Sur. let. 10 Oct. & 6 Dec., O.C. 4118, f. 2, & 4143, f. 2.
[3] Bom. let. 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 166; Sur. let. 8 Oct., 88 Sur. 113.
[4] Bom. let. 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 164.
[5] Sur. let. 9 March, 88 Sur. 30.
[6] Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 5, 6.
[7] Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 4.
* Bom. let. 20 Jan. & 27 Feb., 7 Bom. 50, 91; Sur. let. to Co. 13 Feb., O.C. 4077, f. 2; Bom. let. 20 March, 7 Bom. 104. Sivaji is said to have delusively opened the negotiations to gain time: Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 222, 223.
[8] Sur. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 13. For further details, see p. 254 *post*.

knowledge of his general; and the only concession obtained was the issue of *kauls* (written orders) for the protection of the English factories from similar disturbance by his soldiers in future.[1] Their efficacy was doubtful, for Aungier recognized that 'it is ill trusting a plundering army who hath no regard to friend or foe'.[2] But, apart from this grievance and the delay in compliance with the agreement to give compensation for the old losses at Rajapur (p. 256), Aungier had no serious complaints to make against Sivaji, whom he regarded as the only one among his 'odd neighbours' that he could call a friend, though a self-interested one.* Nor did the English provoke him to hostilities, as the Portuguese did during the year by forcing Hindu orphans to become Christians.[3]

Bombay's 'foreign relations' could, therefore, be described as generally quiet. This covers its relations with the Mughal authorities at Surat, for although its Governor Ghiyas-uddin had (Aungier said)[4] not been wanting on occasion 'to use his policy to undermine us', he was, at the beginning of the year, particularly well disposed towards the English (see p. 250). It was, therefore, an appropriate time for Aungier to respond to the Governor's persistent urging that he should return to Surat. His letter to the Company of 18 January shows that he had then formed the intention to stay on the Island till the arrival of the next ships from home, as his illness, from which he had not yet altogether recovered, had 'put him behind-hand in finishing several matters of importance', and he thought the intervening time could be better spent there than at Surat.[5] Ghiyas-uddin not only sent several letters, but also *chobdars*† to Aungier, importunately desiring his immediate return, 'with obliging friendly expressions to the Company and our nation above all others'.[6] He consulted his Council whether he should go up on one of the two belated ships, whose arrival was shortly expected, or stay until the next ships due in September. The latter alternative was decided on, in view of the weighty affairs still requiring his attention.[7] The Surat Council were

[1] Bom. con. 19 Feb., 10 March, 7 July, & 9 Aug., 2 Bom. 33, 44, 45, 95, 110; Bom. let. to Co. 20 March, 7 Bom. 104; narrative of Austen's journey, O.C. 4106; Bom. let. 4 Oct., 107 Sur. 131, 132. [2] 7 Bom. 104.

* Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 4. One of the things Sivaji desired was armaments, and Austen brought him a brass gun as a present, in addition to five great guns that Sivaji was allowed to purchase (Bom. con. 20 Jan., 7 & 9 July, & 20 Aug., 2 Bom. 19, 94, 95, 97).

[3] Bom. let. 24 Nov. & 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 164 & (next sec.) 3. [4] O.C. 4115, f. 4.

[5] 7 Bom. 53. † Lit. 'stick-bearers', the usual attendants of high officials.

[6] Bom. let. 4 Feb., 7 Bom. 72. [7] Bom. con. 5 Feb., 2 Bom. 26, 27.

also in favour of his longer stay on the Island.[1] Ghiyas-uddin was accordingly given an assurance that the President would at any rate return in the latter part of the year.[2] This anticipated the direction in the Company's despatch of 5 March that the President should in future reside at Surat, unless there was some extraordinary occasion for his visiting Bombay.[3]

Aungier was thus able to set to work on completing his well-devised measures for the good government of Bombay. In accordance with his request (p. 118), four members of the Surat Council, viz. Giffard, Chamberlain,* Petit, and Oxinden, arrived on 4 April to assist him, but Chamberlain returned to Surat on 5 May.[4] On 14 June Samuel Austen and Francis Day were admitted to Council, the former being appointed to a new office of Purser Marine, to take charge (as at Surat) of the Bandar (harbour and quay) and all ships' stores, and to keep the shipping accounts. Petit became the Accountant in charge of the general books, and John Hornigold succeeded Day as Secretary of the Council.† Its number was thus increased to nine (including the President) until 24 August, when Austen left on his visit to Raigarh. In July Aungier, with the concurrence of the Surat Council, reappointed Giffard to the post of Deputy Governor.‡ This was a step that was no doubt mainly due to Aungier's impending departure, though he had come round to the view that there should always be a Deputy Governor, even when the President resided at Bombay.§

The internal situation and atmosphere favoured calm consideration by the President and Council and respect for and obedience to their decisions. Thus the Bhandaris, who had had their commission (see p. 45) revoked owing to non-performance of the duties it enjoined on them, humbly petitioned for its regrant on the same

[1] Sur. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 12.

[2] Bom. let. 4 Feb., 7 Bom. 72, 73; Sur. let. 2 March, 88 Sur. 31. [3] 5 L.B. 168, 169.

* He was the son of Sir Thomas Chambrelan, the Governor of the East India Company in 1662–3, and always spelt his surname in the same way, but I have retained the modern spelling of it given in the previous volumes.

[4] Sw. let. 1 April, 88 Sur. 33; Bom. con. 9 April, 2 Bom. 51; Bom. let. 5 & 16 May, 7 Bom. 110, 113; cf. Fryer, i. 303.

† Bom. con. 7 & 14 June, 2 Bom. 83, 84, 85; Bom. let. 19 June, 7 Bom. 128. Day and Oxinden had been put in charge of the customs at Bombay and Mahim (p. 119).

‡ Bom. let. 19 June, 7 Bom. 128, 129; Sur. let. 3 July, 88 Sur. 69. The first consultation, at which Giffard is styled Deputy Governor, is dated 27 July (2 Bom. 112).

§ 7 Bom. 129. A similar rule prevailed for many years after the President's head-quarters became Bombay in 1687.

terms, which was done, as they were 'stout fighting men and had always showed themselves in the time of war more affectionate to the English than any other of the inhabitants'.[1] The disciplinary measures of the previous year had reduced the garrison to 'due order and obedience to the laws, civil and military'.[2] In July the Council renewed the former order that soldiers should receive part of their pay in cloth for their uniforms (p. 48) without any trouble arising over it.* Aungier was anxious to promote their health and comfort;[3] and he supported a complaint of the corporals that their legitimate prospects of promotion were unduly prejudiced by the Company's practice of sending out new sergeants from England.† The Court of Judicature, which moved into better and more convenient quarters in March, was working smoothly, and Niccolls, who succeeded Adams as its Judge in July, was qualified for the post by some legal knowledge and his previous experience as an assistant to his two predecessors.[4] Trade and the good fame of Bombay were increasing.[5] Nor were there any alarms or serious worry (apart from the financial one that ended with the arrival of the *Rainbow* and the *Golden Fleece* in May) to distract the Council in its deliberations.

Its record of consultations during the year covers 120 foolscap pages, of which all but six relate to the period before Aungier left Bombay.[6] Their scope is a very wide one, and only the main acts and decisions can be dealt with here; but the following survey will help to indicate how much the Island in those days owed to his work and inspiration.

Want of money and the need for retrenchment after the Dutch war was over prevented any material expansion of fortification, the strength of the garrison, and other defensive measures. A deficiency of English soldiers and seamen, due to mortality and the late arrival of the *Rainbow* and *Fleece* with recruits, was fortunately met by a 'supply of countrymen', who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch and, on their release, flocked to the Island from all quarters; while

[1] Bom. con. 16 April, 2 Bom. 57, 58. [2] Cf. Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 2.

* Bom. con. 18 July, 2 Bom. 193. The Company approved of cloth being taken in part payment of salaries by all its servants in its despatch of 5 March, 5 L.B. 167.

[3] O.C. 4115, f. 2.

† Bom. let. 6 Oct. & 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 152, 157; Bom. let. to Co. 8 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 8. The Company agreed to avoid the practice complained of (desp. 7 March 1677, 5 L.B. 409).

[4] Bom. con. 5 March & 2 July, 2 Bom. 40, 92; cf. *B.J.* 91.

[5] Bom. let. to Co. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 55, 56, 61. [6] 2 Bom. 13–126 & (next sec.) 1–6.

in May those two ships brought an addition to the garrison of two sergeants and thirty-nine privates. This enabled the number of Portuguese *topasses* to be reduced.* A consultation entry about the engagement of a Dutch trumpeter for three years 'to serve in the Horse' reveals that Aungier still maintained the troop of 'small light horse' that he had raised in 1672 (p. 44), in spite of the Company's continual objections to its cost.[1] But they were probably few in number, as there was a great want of horses in Bombay.† The militia had its English officers reduced, and the regulations as to night duties (p. 84) had not apparently been enforced by Capt. Shaxton and other commandants;[2] but otherwise this force, and the Bhandaris, remained available. The three frigates were repaired and altered during the monsoon to make them more serviceable—the *Revenge* at Bombay, the *Hunter* at Surat, and the *Mayboom* at Rajapur.[3] Entries of payments show that some work was proceeding onthe Fort and outworks; and a certain John Grantham was allowed to experiment in the use of explosives to excavate a ditch round the Fort wall.[4] But, speaking generally, building operations were hampered by want of money.[5]

That, in spite of this, some progress was made is apparent from the mention of a house having been built for a Mohammedan soap-boiler, as well as convenient warehouses for storing cloth.[6] An English bricklayer was being employed;[7] and labourers and tiles frequently appear among the items of expenditure.[8] A new and safer landing-place for the Fort was built of rough stone, sea-mud, and sand, thus saving the expense of *chunam* and bricklayers, but the

* Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 53, 54; Bom. con. 31 May, 14 & 23 June, 2 Bom. 81, 86, 88. The strength of the English garrison on 30 Aug. 1675 was 4 commd. officers, 20 non-commd. officers, 6 drummers, and 168 privates (O.C. 4111).

[1] Bom. con. 15 July 1672, 2 Misc. 140; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec. 1672, O.C. 3722, f. 46; Bom. let. 16 Dec. 1674, 7 Bom. 7; Bom. con. 14 May, 2 Bom. 67.

† Bom. con. 19 March, 2 Bom. 48; Bom. let. 13 May, 7 Bom. 111. Importations from Persia were also small, e.g. only five arrived this year (Sw. let. 17 April, 88 Sur. 35, 36).

[2] Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 54; Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 2.

[3] Bom. con. 16 April, 7 & 18 June, 2 Bom. 55, 56, 82, 87; Bom. let. 13 March, 19 April, 5 May, 24 June, & 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 99, 108, 109, 129, 157; Sw. let. 16 Sept., 88 Sur. 112; Raj. let. 13 & 27 Aug., 88 Sur. 99, 105; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4157, f. 9.

[4] Bom. con. 23 April, 20 Aug., & 3 Sept., 2 Bom. 59, 121, 124.

[5] Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 54, 55.

[6] Bom. con. 31 March & 31 May, 2 Bom. 49, 81; Bom. let. 4 June, 7 Bom. 122.

[7] Bom. con. 22 Feb., 2 Bom. 35.

[8] e.g. Bom. con. 15 & 19 March, 16 April, & 18 June, 2 Bom. 45, 48, 58, 88.

Surat Council naturally questioned its solidity.[1] Inhabitants were also encouraged to build, and stone or brick houses, with tiled roofs, were now purchasable within the town limits.[2]

Aungier had long been wanting to have a church and a hospital built (pp. 16, 42, 81), but he was awaiting the Company's reply to the proposals in his letter of 15 January 1674, where he specified them among the four principal 'wants' of Bombay.[3] Consequently no further action was taken till after his departure (see p. 141).*

A mint-house had been built, and the coinage of copper and tin continued.[4] Aungier estimated the profits from the mint at Xs. 10,000 a year, but this probably depended largely on getting a good supply of Japanese copper from the Company.[5] Two shroffs employed in the mint were detected in the manufacture of light pice and were ordered to be prosecuted.[6] The coinage of gold and silver was still held up for 'positive orders' of the Company authorizing it,[7] but towards the end of the year a start was made in the coinage of rupees (p. 139).

Aungier was intent on raising sufficient revenues to cover the full charges of the Island.[8] There was a considerable increase this year: the auction of the arrack and tobacco farms fetched more than in any previous year,[9] and but for the failure of Joseph Burgess to carry out his contract (p. 119), the revenue from customs would have been much enhanced. On the basis of the position as it stood in April, Aungier estimated the total revenue of Bombay, Mazagaon, and Mahim at Xs. 107,807, as compared with about Xs. 40,000 before he came to Bombay in 1672.†

An important part of this income was the annual contribution of Xs. 20,000 payable under Aungier's Convention. Now that the war

[1] Bom. let. 7 April, 7 Bom. 108; Sur. let. 3 May, 88 Sur. 38.

[2] Bom. con. 5 March, 2 Bom. 40; Bom. let. 24 Nov. & 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 166, 171.

[3] O.C. 3929, f. 3.

* It was, however, probably at this time that Aungier presented the silver chalice for use in Holy Communion, which now lies in the Cathedral, as the inscription on it is dated A.D. 1675. See illustration facing p. 130.

[4] Sur. let. to Co. 17 Jan., O.C. 4163, f. 3; Bom. con. 24 May, 2 Bom. 75; Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 54.

[5] Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 3; Bom. let. 18 Jan. & 20 March, 7 Bom. 54, 105.

[6] Bom. con. 19 July, 2 Bom. 103, 104.

[7] Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 54.

[8] Bom. let. 20 March, 7 Bom. 105.

[9] Bom. con. 26 Feb., 2 Bom. 38; Bom. let. 15 Feb., 7 Bom. 89.

† Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 3; Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 3. The total of Xs. 107,807 appears to include Xs. 5,950 for arrack licence, omitted in the details by oversight.

with the Dutch was over, Aungier took steps to recover the share due from English owners of lands, the levy of which had been suspended in 1673 (p. 77). The Attorney-General was instructed to demand it and, if they refused to pay, their estates were to be attached.[1] It was pointed out to the Company that their exemption from payment would give them an unfair and inconvenient privilege.[2]

The value of land in Bombay and of its products, coco-nuts, rice, and coir, had risen considerably, owing to the increase of population, and Aungier raised the question whether the contribution should not be taken in kind, instead of in cash, so as to give the Company some benefit from the rise in prices; but the debates in Council did not result in any definite decision on the point. The President recognized the difficulties in the way, and that 'at present things must not be too much hastened, nor any occasion given to [the Company's] subjects to apprehend the least grievance'.[3] Thus he stopped one arising through the tax-collectors demanding payment for the houses of inhabitants—'a thing that was never heard of [before] and doth much discourage building'.[4]

He was disappointed at the progress made in establishing *panchayats*. The Chamber of the Indo-Portuguese Roman Catholics of Bombay was appointed in February, and in September he praised it as the only one that had been fully settled, 'who have behaved themselves to our content'.[5] The institution of a Chamber for the Roman Catholics of Mahim had (he said) been obstructed by disagreement among themselves and the 'evil practises of the Popish Padrees'. Probably for similar reasons the Mohammedans, the Hindus, and the Parsis had also not settled on their representatives.* The failure may have been partly due to a preference for having disputes decided by the Court of Judicature rather than by the arbitration of *panchayats*.[6]

The Council's appointment of a new Coroner and its requirement that all bonds should be drawn up, or at least authenticated, by the

[1] Bom. con. 14 May, 2 Bom. 64. Cf. *B.J.* 87.

[2] Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 8, 9. Cf. *B.J.* 87.

[3] Bom. con. 27 Aug., 2 Bom. 122, 123; Bom. let. to Co. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 60; Aungier's instrns., O.C. 4115, f. 2.

[4] Bom. con. 27 Aug., 2 Bom. 123.

[5] Bom. con. 25 Feb., 2 Bom. 36; O.C. 4115, f. 2.

* O.C. 4115, f. 2. The Mohammedans had, however, chosen five representatives in April (Bom. con. 23 April, 2 Bom. 60).

[6] Cf. *B.J.* 81.



Silver chalice, with Latin inscription, presented by Aungier for use at Holy Communion in 1675 and now in the treasury of the Cathedral at Bombay. The inscription reads:

Hunc calicem / Eucharistæ sacrum esse / voluit, / Honorabilis GERALDUS / AUNGIERUS, Insulæ BOMBAIÆ / Gubernator, ac pro Rebus Honora-/bilis Anglorum Societatis Indijs / Orientalibus Mercatorum / Agentium Præses Illustrii / Ærae Christianæ / Anno / 1675.

Notary Public show the continuance of these officers of the Court.[1] An interesting addition to the Council's employees was a printer, by name Henry Hills, who had been sent out by the Company with a printing-press, at the instance and expense of the Surat factory's chief broker, Bhimji Parak.[2]

A clear instance of Aungier's desire to improve the conditions for Europeans at Bombay was his request to the Company to send more medicines to that place than to Surat. He pointed out that the former had nearly 300 Englishmen on shore and ships as against some 30 at Surat.[3] In February he engaged two surgeon's mates, in view of the large amount of sickness in the garrison.[4] The principal surgeons at this period were Dr. John Bird and Dr. John Fryer.[5]

The latter, who had returned from Surat on 4 April, was sent at the end of that month to Junnar, at the request of its Governor, Mukhlis Khan, to treat one of his wives. This gave Aungier an opportunity of pressing on his scheme for opening out trade to the Deccan by way of Junnar; and Dr. Fryer had a talk with Mukhlis Khan about it.* The interview did not apparently help much; but one, Runchund, broker, is mentioned as having opened up some trade in that direction, and Aungier had thoughts of settling a factory at Junnar.[6] An exchange of perpetuanos and other European commodities for rice was also arranged with the Subadar of Kalyan-Bhiwandi.[7]

This, however, did little to diminish the large stock of broadcloth on hand; and neighbouring markets were so glutted with it that a reduction in its price at Bombay, making it 3 per cent. cheaper than at Surat, had little effect.[8] Aungier did his best to search for new markets and encouraged Bombay merchants to begin a trade with adjacent ports and Mokha in small vessels laden with broadcloth, lead, red lead, iron guns, ivory, coco-nuts, coir, and rice. For this purpose he not only lent them money of his own on bottomry bonds

[1] Bom. con. 29 Jan. & 9 Aug., 2 Bom. 24, 25, 119; cf. *B.J.* 51, 53, 68.

[2] Bom. con. 30 June, 2 Bom. 91; desp. 3 April 1674, 5 L.B. 116.

[3] Bom. let. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 59.

[4] Bom. con. 12 Feb., 2 Bom. 30, 31.

[5] List of English, O.C. 4111; Sw. let. 13 Oct., 88 Sur. 115; Bom. let. 19 Oct., 7 Bom. 155.

* Bom. con. 23 April, 2 Bom. 59; Fryer, i. 303, 321, 328–30. Mukhlis Khan, meaning 'loyal lord', was a title given to the Governor by Aurangzeb: cf. Fryer, i. 321, n. 2.

[6] Bom. let. 20 March, 8 & 29 July, 7 Bom. 104, 137, 138; Bom. con. 14 July, 2 Bom. 99.

[7] Bom. con. 20 Jan. & 12 Feb., 2 Bom. 20, 32.

[8] Bom. con. 28 May, 2 Bom. 77; Bom. let. 18 Jan. & 24 June, 7 Bom. 58, 130.

—following (he says) the example of 'the late Duke of Florence* in settlement of the trade of Leghorn'—but was himself concerned in some of the ventures, advising the return cargoes to be made in aloes, coffee, olibanum, oil, corn, and other provisions necessary for the Island. On the European goods there was, he says, little or no profit, 'yet the adventure in the main made an honest advance, considering the shortness of the voyage'. It also resulted in merchants of Surat and elsewhere trading with and visiting Bombay.[1]

This trade was assisted by customs regulations enabling Bombay-owned boats to touch at the Island without paying customs on goods designed for foreign ports, and prohibiting the export of coco-nuts and coir except on vessels belonging to the Island.[2] Boat-building was further encouraged by a Portuguese order forbidding their merchants to let out vessels to any one belonging to Bombay.[3]

Local industries also received attention. Cloth-weaving of course continued, but unfortunately had a set-back on account of the scarcity and dearness of cotton and cotton yarn.[4] Fishing was assisted by loans for repairing and getting boats[5] and the prevention of Portuguese trespassing in Bombay waters (p. 124). Soap was being made not only for local consumption, but also for export.[6] Bakers were requisitioned from Surat to make biscuits for the garrison.[7] Steps were taken to prevent goldsmiths and silversmiths from abasing their work by regulations framed on the model of those of the corresponding guilds in London. All gold or silver plate had to be of a specified degree of fineness; the makers had to put their own mark on each article, which had to be inspected by a Christian goldsmith, who was appointed Warden for the purpose; if he found it to be up to standard, he was to put the Company's mark—a ship—upon it; he was also to keep an exact list of all the goldsmiths on the Island.[8] The quality of coir locally manufactured was standardized by rules as to the length of skeins and their immersion in salt water.[9]

* Presumably this was Ferdinand II, who died in 1670.

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 18 Jan., 7 Bom. 56.

[2] O.C. 4088, arts. 11 & 14.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 164.

[4] Bom. let. 9 June, 7 Bom. 125; Sur. let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 79 (2); O.C. 4115, f. 4.

[5] Bom. con. 6 & 13 Sept. & 13 Oct., 2 Bom. 125, 126, & (next sec.) 2.

[6] Bom. let. 16 Nov. & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 162, 173.

[7] Bom. let. 4 Aug., 7 Bom. 139; Sur. let. 20 Aug., 88 Sur. 92.

[8] Bom. con. 2 & 9 July, 2 Bom. 91, 92, 96, 97.

[9] Bom. con. 25 Feb., 2 Bom. 37.

Cajans (palm-leaves used for building sheds, &c.) were scarce, so their export was prohibited except under a licence.[1]

The manufacture of good quality paper was an industry that might have been started with advantage, judging from the complaints as to the want of it this year. In March Aungier said it was so scarce that they were forced to write all ordinary business on banian paper.* There was a similar scarcity in most of the factories; and Surat had to get its supply from the French at excessive rates.[2] On the other hand, wafers, which had superseded sealing-wax in Europe, were made at Mazagaon.[3]

On examining the books of account Aungier found a great many debts to the Company outstanding, and several accounts 'in a distracted condition'. He asked Giffard and the rest of the Council to summon the debtors and get the accounts properly adjusted.[4] The Company's order that all bills for money should be passed at a Council meeting before payment was given effect to during the year.[5] The accounts, however, suffered from want of proper keeping, and when Petit took them over in April, he found not an item entered in the Journal and everything in a confused state.[6]

Proposals for reclaiming the 'over-flown' lands appear to have been put forward by the Desai of Nagotna, but 'multiplicity of business' prevented Aungier from taking any action on them before his departure.[7] Not only was there the Bombay administration and trade work to attend to, but also difficult and important questions relating to the factories. Thus the July consultation entries contain several pages discussing the proposed establishment of a factory at Carnopoly;[8] and correspondence must also have taken up a large amount of his time.† It was not till 9 September that we are told

[1] Ibid. 37, 38.

* Bom. let. 20 March, 7 Bom. 102. Banian paper means the inferior sort made in the East and used by Indian merchants.

[2] Bal. let. 12 Jan., 88 Sur. 12; Broach let. 4 Feb., 107 Sur. 53; Sur. let. 25 Feb. & Cal. let. 13 July, 88 Sur. 26, 86; Child's let. 25 Sept., 107 Sur. 136; Rolt's let. 22 Nov., O.C. 4136, f. 4.

[3] Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 171; Bom. let. 20 Nov., 88 Sur. 124.

[4] Bom. con. 19 March & 7 May, 2 Bom. 45, 46, 63.

[5] Bom. con. 20 Jan., 2 Bom. 21.

[6] Bom. con. 8 Jan. & 12 April, 2 Bom. 14, 55; Bom. let. 16 Oct., 7 Bom. 154.

[7] Sw. let. 8 Dec., 88 Sur. 128; Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 3; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 5.

[8] Bom. con. 23 & 28 July, 2 Bom. 104–12, 113, 114.

† The copies of Bombay letters issued during his stay in Bombay this year take up about 120 foolscap pages (7 Bom. 31–150).

'the President having settled all affairs of concerne thought it a convenient time for himself and some of his Council to take a view of the [neighbouring] country and to see what places there be that are fitt to settle in'.[1] Evidently he was then ready to go to Surat, but was awaiting the arrival of the Company's ships, which were due early in September. Ten days, however, elapsed before the *East India Merchant* came in, bringing no news of the other four ships, except that she had left them at St. Jago in May and had not seen any of them since.*

The *New London* followed her on the 24th; and Aungier sailed for Swally the next day on the *Golden Fleece*. He was accompanied by the three Company ships *East India Merchant*, *New London*, and *Rainbow*, as well as by the *Revenge* and a Bantam ship, the *Bombay Merchant*, which had arrived from Mokha with the young Prince of Bantam on board.[2] Aungier gave full written instructions to Giffard and his Council for the carrying on of the administration,[3] which show his keen desire for the future prosperity of Bombay and the wise principles he laid down for securing it.

His departure must have been attended by mixed feelings on his part. He would have more leisure at Surat, so that 'his own concern, ease and health' invited him there, and he cheerfully received the Company's commands to stay there ordinarily.[4] On the other hand, he was giving up the direct control of the government of Bombay and work in which his genius for administration and his tact had full play. He had well earned the esteem and affection of his colleagues and its other inhabitants, which was no doubt given full expression to in the customary Indian manner, though no mention is made of it.† But any gratification thus afforded is likely to have been overshadowed by bitterness caused by the Company's censure of himself

[1] 2 Bom. 126.

* Bom. let. 20 Sept., 7 Bom. 147. St. Jago is an island (Sao Thiago) in the Cape Verde group.

[2] Bom. let. 25 Sept., 7 Bom. 149; Sur. let. to Co. 10 Oct., O.C. 4118, f. 2; Fryer, ii. 2.

[3] O.C. 4115, dated 28 Sept.; as to the instrns. about the Court of Judicature, see *B.J.* 81.

[4] Bom. let. 30 Dec. 1674, 7 Bom. 30; Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 8.

† Possibly this is due to the consultation book being closed at Aungier's departure, in consequence of Secretary Hornigold having fought a duel with Capt. Minchin, commander of the *Revenge*, in which he received a wound to his arm that prevented him from writing it (Bom. let. 10 Jan. 1676, 7 Bom. 8; cf. Sw. let. 24 Jan. 1676, reproduced by Forrest, 78). There is, however, a subsequent reference to pamorins (Mahr. *pāmarī*, piece of silk cloth) given by the President to the brokers and the Company's servants on his leaving Bombay, as agreed to in Council (Sur. let. 18 May 1676, 89 Sur. 40).

for extravagance and 'grandeur' in the despatch brought out by the *East India Merchant*. It is fair to both sides to state the accusation and the reply in full. The Company wrote:[1]

We cannot but blame you [the Surat Council] that having so often given directions for the government of our Island Bombay and management of our affairs there with frugallity, that yet soe great sums should be therein expended, and though we have and doe take notice of many good services that our President Aungier hath done us in the maine of our business, yet we cannot but in particular blame him for this extraordinary expense, whome we find by his advices to us (as well as by our great expense) by reason of our having government there to be too apt to be led into a way of grandeur, answerable to those Princes who have a great rule and government and have nothing else to doe but to mainteyne themselves and their owne greatness thereby, or as some traders whoe are too apt to spend their estates in making a great show that signifies nothing, whereas our business is to advantage ourselves by trade and what government we have is but the better to carry on and support that, and our grandure must be in a considerable trade, dealing fairly and performeing punctually with all persons and where our government is to doe it with justice and righteousness; wherefore we require that noe more be expended in fortifications than is necessary for safety, nor noe more expended in civil or military affaires than may be absolutely necessary for the carrying on a good government in the Island.

To this Aungier gave the following effective reply:*

The earnest desire wee have to please your Honours in all things made us to grieve at the perusall of your first clause, wherein you are pleased to blame us for dispeircing your estate, keeping your goods unsold, not clearing our debt at interest, and in particular you blame your President for the great charges expended and the grandure he used on your Island Bombay. [After dealing with the first three matters] As to the last wee well hoped that you would have received satisfaction from our large advices sent you from Surat and Bombay, but to our trouble wee find you doe not think good to be well pleased with our proceedings; wee receive your prudent check with all humble thankfullness, for wee know it is designed for our good as well as your owne. Wee understand our duties better then

[1] Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 165, 166.

* Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 1–3. As to the injustice of the Company's charge against Aungier, see Arnold Wright, 55–8.

to expostulate with our superiours, yett wee beseech you to accept acoording to your wonted candour the following memorialls touching that affaire:

That you would please to call to mind the wise mans saying, that there is a time and season for all thyngs under the sunn; a time to plant, to build, to fortifie, to defend in warr, to be liberall, to show the solemnity of government, to give God thanks for mercys received and for their contrarys; and as there is a time, soe there are proper meanes to be used, according to number, weight, measure and place, the due application or misapplication whereof are the surest marks (if anything can be sure) to judge of actions by.

That your President during his three yeares and a halfe service to you on Bombay hath by an unforeseen Providence been exercised in most of these facultys, not drawne thereto by fond humour, selfe seeking or exotic zeale, but by the necessity or contingency of your affaires, wherein he hath observed the rule of time, measure and place to the best of his judgment; in the management whereof he hath by Gods blessing much improved your interest and secured his Majestie, the nations, and your right in this Island during the warr, to the hazard of his life and fortunes. Nor can he accuse himselfe to have wronged you in your estate or broke your orders by vaine expence, or used more grandure then his predecessors on this side or equalls on the other side of India have done. If he hath erred through want of experience, it will appeare noe wonder, when it is considered that his calling is a merchant, that he never professed himselfe a souldier, lawyer, philosopher, statesman, and much less a Governor. The times he acted in were perillous, subject to frequent chargeable overtures, which neither you nor he could [fore]see or prevent, and therefore he doth chearefully expect your more candid aspect upon his labours, when you are pleased to take on due cognizance of the whole affaire. That as it becomes your wisdomes to think the worst of and keep a jealous eye over a servant whom few of you doe know and on actions which you did not expect, soe it will not misbecome your name now written on his forehead, to make his case in some respect your owne, and consider how farr ill grounded information or misprision [misapprehension] ought to prevaile against him, under which notion he hopes that accusation of grandure will fall. When you have fully examined his manner of life, for (however now odly represented) he trusts in God to appeare noe such inconsiderate Sanca Panca [Sancho Panza] as to play with that dangerous serpent Vanity at your charge, since he knows well that besides his accounts with God he must answere conscientiously

to you alsoe for what moneys shall be found soe vainly expended. (*Précis*) That he never acted except with the joint consent of the Council and had strict regard to the Company's orders. That fame hath aggrandized the expence of Bombay more then really it is. The grosse summe at first may appeare heavy, whereas considered in parts with the reasons for them, it will appeare otherwise, which will be seene in the following heads, to omitt others of lesser note.

1. (*Précis*) Charges caused by the war were inevitable.

2. The money expended in publique appearance were made by serious debate in Council, sutable to the decencys and advantages of your affaires; free from vanity or superfluity, and ended with the reason that produced them.

3. (*Précis*) The Fort building expenses were no more than security required.

4. (*Précis*) The building of outworks to the Fort was defrayed by the voluntary 1 per cent. contribution of the merchants.

5. The outbuildings for houses, warehouses, granary, mint-house and Court of Judicature, were alsoe judged absolutely necessary by your Council and such as you cannot be without. (*Précis*) I offer to take them on my own account, if I am allowed reasonable rent for the time they were employed in the Company's service, and am permitted to improve them to the best advantage.

6. (*Précis*) The extra charges involved in my stay at Bombay are more than covered by the increase of revenue due to my intervention.

Other paragraphs of the same despatch conveyed censure or displeasure. Thus, while the Company granted Aungier's request to be allowed a captain's pay for commanding one of the garrison companies during his stay in Bombay, and to be reimbursed some 'extraordinary charges' in entertaining Portuguese and other high personages in 1673, it added a direction that the consultation entry about the latter expense should be erased, so as not to form a precedent for the future.[1] Again, it found fault with him for writing discursively and for making repetitions, ordering him to deal with each factory in separate paragraphs and to keep 'breviates' of all directions given in its despatches.[2] Nor did the Company appreciate Aungier's long report on Bombay (see p. 82), for the only reference to it is very like a snub:

We take notice that you write concerning Bombay and the descriptions thereof and other particulars relating to our said Island, and

[1] 5 L.B. 169; Aungier's let. 15 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3929, ff. 7, 8. [2] 5 L.B. 165, 175.

doe find that we have given you full directions unto most of the particulars you mention by last years shipping, which we hope you have taken notice of. . . .[1]

On Aungier's departure the government was carried on by Giffard with a reduced Council of three, viz. Petit, Ustick, and Day. Adams, who had been designated for Persia, no longer took part in the Council's business.* Oxinden returned to Surat, apparently with Aungier, before going to Karwar as chief of its factory.† Austen also had gone to Surat on his way to Dharangaon to ascertain the Company's loss and adjust accounts with the brokers and weavers there.‡ Capt. Langford, who was very ill when Aungier left, died on 4 October.[2]

Two more ships, the *Massingberd* and the *Ann*, arrived on 15 and 17 October respectively. The former had most of her crew down with scurvy, and men had to be sent from ashore to help in working the ship into harbour.[3] The *Ann* had been deflected from her true course by unfavourable winds and calms, and arrived at Goa on 21 September. She stayed there some ten days to let her crew recover from scurvy, and then had a slow voyage up the coast.[4] She left for Swally on 19 October, and the *Massingberd* on the 25th.[5] The remaining ship, the *Unicorn*, did not reach Bombay till 13 November. Her course had been still more erratic, for she sailed from the Maldives to a point below Ceylon, at which island she refreshed before coming up the coast.[6] She was dispatched to Swally on the 16th of the same month.[7]

Her late arrival was particularly irksome to the Bombay Council, as its empty treasury was to be replenished from her stock.[8] Considerable debts were due when Aungier left, and as there was no cash available in October, the Council drew bills on Surat for

[1] 5 L.B. 166.

* Aungier's let. 27 Feb., 7 Bom. 93; Sw. let. 2 March, 88 Sur. 30. His name is not mentioned as attending any consultation after 13 Sept. He probably went to Surat with Aungier, as he was there in Feb. 1676 (For. 84).

† Bom. con. 6 Sept., 2 Bom. 125. He signed letters at Surat between 8 & 16 Oct. (88 Sur. 114–16).

‡ Sur. let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 79 (1). The last consultation he attended was on 27 Aug.

[2] Bom. let. 4 Oct., 107 Sur. 132.

[3] Bom. let. 16 Oct., 7 Bom. 153, 154; Sw. let. to Co. 26 Oct., O.C. 4123+1, f. 1.

[4] Bom. let. 19 Oct., 7 Bom. 155; Sw. let. 26 Oct., O.C. 4123+1, f. 1; O.C. 4125, f. 1.

[5] Bom. let. 19 & 25 Oct., 7 Bom. 156.

[6] Bom. let. 14 Nov., 7 Bom. 160.

[7] Bom. let. 17 Nov., 7 Bom. 162.

[8] Bom. let. 10 Nov., 7 Bom. 160.

Rs. 16,500.[1] On the arrival of the *Unicorn*, four chests of silver, worth Rs. 40,000, were taken off her, but the bullion could not at once be converted into money and further bills for Rs. 6,000 had to be drawn on Surat. Giffard explained that they were so indebted to the Modi that, without this help, he could not supply provisions for the Island, and that they were in great straits for money to pay the soldiers.[2] Aungier asked him to avoid drawing any more bills, in view of the need for husbanding resources at Surat and of the arrival of a stock of silver.[3] Financial exigencies thus forced the Council, with the approval of Aungier, to coin the bullion into rupees. A stamp made by the Modi in the previous year was first of all used for this;[4] but at the end of the year Giffard submitted two other patterns, saying he proposed to use one with PAX A DEO on it, pending the orders of the Surat Council, for the purpose of coining Rs. 2,000 for the next garrison pay-day.[5] Developments in the matter belong to the next year.

While the arrival of the ships gave financial relief, one of their importations brought some worry to Giffard and his colleagues. In response to Aungier's suggestion, the Company had sent out a considerable number of 'sober young women of the meaner sort that may be fit for soldiers wives'.[6] Some of them declared that they had been promised lodging and diet at the Company's cost for a year and a day, or till they were married; but there was no mention of this in its despatch. Giffard proposed they should be given this, as had been done in 1668 (preceding volume, p. 247), saying they had nothing with them and must either starve or do worse, unless this was done. Also he thought they would not be chargeable long, 'as they goe pretty fast, some married, some sure [and] some in a fair way [to matrimony]'.[7] Aungier and his Council, however, held that the allowance they asked for could not be granted without the Company's order for it, and only sanctioned a charitable pittance of 8 zerafins a month for those who could not subsist without it.* Giffard said he

[1] Bom. let. 6 & 16 Oct., 7 Bom. 152, 153.
[2] Bom. let. 16 & 17 Nov., 7 Bom. 162, 163; Sw. let. 25 Nov., 88 Sur. 120.
[3] Sw. let. 26 Nov., 88 Sur. 127.
[4] Bom. let. 14 Oct. & 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 152, 158; Sw. let. 25 Oct., 88 Sur. 120.
[5] Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 4. [6] Co.'s desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 168, 170, 181.
[7] Bom. let. 24 Nov. & 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 166, 170, 171.
* Sur. let. 18 Dec., O.C. 4149, f. 2; Bom. let. to Co. 8 Jan. 1676, 7 Bom. 7. Anderson (217) calls this a 'base and cruel economy', and blames Aungier for it. The fault, however, seems

could get no one to diet them at that rate and feared they would be turned out of their lodgings, 'which will be a new trouble'.[1] This refers to another source of worry: a few of the women by scandalous behaviour 'not only daily dishonour the nation and their own sex, but declare they will use their utmost endeavour to make their impudence more notorious'.[2] The President and Council ordered such women to be warned that, unless they reformed, they would be confined and put on bread and water, pending deportation to England.* Another difficulty was that the women who 'come out yearly, be they what they will, at their arrival all pretend to be gentlewomen, high-born, [of] great parentage and relations, and scorn to marry under a factor or commissioned officer, though ready to starve'.[3] He wanted 'poor country girls or Hospital girls' to be sent out instead, after a strict inquiry into their lives and conversation.[4]

An echo of the war between Sivaji and the Sidi was the latter's complaint that the Council had allowed Sivaji's vessels to seize his boats within the limits of the Port. It replied that it knew of no such seizure and that it would continue its friendly offices to the Sidi, so long as he observed the conditions agreed on with the President.[5]

As already mentioned (p. 123), Malabar pirates continued to give trouble, and in October the *Hunter* was sent out against them with two files of soldiers. She rescued two vessels with goods, some of which belonged to the Captain of Chaul, and brought them to Bombay.[6] A useful addition to the Bombay flotilla was a 'balloon' [barge], which arrived from Calicut in December.[7]

to rest mainly with the Company, which had approved of the women being allowed 'victuals at the Company's charge' for one year after their arrival (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 76, 77), but omitted to say anything about it in their despatch of 5 March (5 L.B. 168, 170), though they had given orders on the subject on the previous occasion (cf. *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 59 n.). Also in this despatch they blamed Aungier for extravagance and strictly charged him not to launch into any new charges 'without our particular directions' (5 L.B. 165, 167).

[1] Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 2.

[2] Bom. let. 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 171; cf. Bom. let. to Co. 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 167.

* O.C. 4129, f. 2. Anderson (217, 218) criticizes Aungier for showing in this matter 'much Protestant zeal, but little Christian love'. His remarks, however, assume that most of the women were driven to 'sell their charms'. Against this is Giffard's statement that they were going 'pretty fast' towards matrimony, and he would probably have reported the matter if Aungier's orders had the ill effects suggested by Anderson. The extant correspondence contains no further reference to the subject.

[3] Bom. let. 24 Nov. & 8 Jan. 1676, 7 Bom. 167 & (next sec.) 6.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Bom. con. 8 Oct., 2 Bom. 1, 2; Bom. let. 14 Oct., 7 Bom. 152; Sw. let. 25 Oct., 88 Sur. 120.

[6] Bom. con. 13 Oct. & 9 Dec., 2 Bom. 2, 5; Bom. let. 13 & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 172, 173, 175.

[7] Bom. let. 13 Dec., 7 Bom. 173. See p. 344 *post.*



BOMBAY FORT FROM THE SEA

Giffard showed his keenness to complete the Fort by preparing to start work on its fourth bastion. There were difficulties about it. The first was that the foundations had to be laid in the sea, so that work on it could only be carried on at low water. Then labourers were not coming to Bombay as they did formerly, and all the available workmen had to be employed on it. Thirdly, there was lack of *chunam* (lime) at Bombay, and 2,000 candies had to be indented for from Surat.[1] Little, if any, progress appears to have been made, and the foundations had not reached high-water mark over a year later.[2]

Other building was, however, encouraged by the receipt of the Company's approval of Aungier's proposal that its factors and other servants might receive payment of their full salaries in India for five years, to the extent of the money expended by them in building houses or warehouses at Bombay, instead of receiving only one-third of them in India, as was the ordinary rule.[3] Aungier not only gave orders for the *chunam* wanted for the bastion to be sent to Bombay, but also ordered a large quantity of bricks, tiles, timber, and *chunam* to be sent on his own account for building houses in the town.[4]

Steps were taken to comply with the Company's requisition for specifications of the proposed church and hospital. Giffard sent up two alternative plans for a hospital, the building of which was, he urged, absolutely necessary for the saving of English lives lost by bad diet and intemperance in illness.* Aungier and his Council concurred and said they had determined to erect one with all speed, without waiting for further orders from England. Giffard was to prepare materials for it at once, but his plans were considered too small and a larger one was sent from Surat, which the Bombay Council thought would make its building too difficult and expensive, in view of the scarcity of labourers and *chunam*.[5]

A plan for a church, large enough to hold 1,000 people, but plain and free from superfluous ornament, was also sent home. Aungier favoured a site for it near the town, or between it and the part

[1] Bom. con. 13 Oct., 2 Bom. 2; Bom. let. 14 Oct., 24 Nov., & 13 & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 152, 166, 172, 174. [2] See p. 157 *post.*

[3] Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 168; Aungier's let. 15 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3929, ff. 6, 7.

[4] Sw. let. 23 Nov., 88 Sur. 127.

* Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 166; Sw. let. 8 Dec., 88 Sur. 128; Bom. let. 24 Nov. & 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 167. A similar view as to the need of a proper hospital had been expressed by Dr. Bird in 1673 (O.C. 3730; cf. *K.R.* 16).

[5] Aungier's let. 18 Dec., O.C. 4149, ff. 1, 2 (For. 74); Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 2.

designed for European habitation, adjoining the high road. One of the reasons for this was his own and the Company's desire that natives of Bombay might have the opportunity of visiting it out of curiosity and might eventually be led to embrace the Christian religion. There was no scope for this, he said, in the existing arrangements for public worship, as the Fort hall, where it was performed, was scarcely big enough to hold the few people that the Company had in Bombay. He proposed starting to raise money for its building by voluntary contributions, which he invited the Company to supplement, but deferred commencing work on it till he had the Company's express orders as to its place, form, and dimensions.*

The Company's garden (p. 83) still continued. Some seeds for it had, in accordance with Aungier's request, been sent out from England; but Giffard feared they were spoilt, as few or none of those tried had come up.[1]

Aungier, at his departure, had left over the question of the levy of the annual land-tax in kind instead of in cash for further consideration.[2] Inquiries made by Giffard were unfavourable to the proposed alteration. Narayan Shenvi, who had started the idea, had now gone back on it; while Francisco Baretto of Mahim said it would be regarded as a breach of a solemn promise given by the Bombay Council in the Convention. This put a stop to the Council's intention of pressing the project.[3] An alternative suggestion that Aungier made in his instructions as to increasing the revenues was to monopolize the sale of certain commodities, as the Portuguese did, or to put a moderate excise duty on them.[4] This also was opposed by the *povo* and other representatives consulted, but Giffard and his Council, being resolute 'to do something' in the matter, ordered oil, mhowra, bhang, and opium to be monopolized, and the right to sell them under restrictions to be put up to auction.†

In October and November there was considerable activity in connexion with the shipping sent to the Malabar coast. The four ships sent from Swally did not touch at Bombay, but its frigates, *Mayboom*

* Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 4, 5. The site proposed by Aungier seems to be that of St. Thomas's Church (the Cathedral). The need for its proximity to the Fort for protection is also mentioned. For the further history of the Church, see *K.R.* 168–70, and p. 185 *post.*

[1] Bom. let. 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 171.
[2] O.C. 4115, f. 3.
[3] Bom. let. 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 161.
[4] O.C. 4115, f. 3.

† Bom. let. 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 161, 162; cf. Sw. let. 7 April, 1676, 89 Sur. 28 (For. 92) and *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 464. Mhowra (*mahuda*) is a distilled spirit, and bhang an intoxicating drug.

and *Revenge*, and its ketch *Phoenix*, joined in the expedition. The two latter left Swally about the middle of October for this purpose.[1] The *Mayboom* went later. Her launching after repairs at Rajapur was attended with difficulties, and it was 7 November before she reached Bombay. She was dispatched down the coast some four days later. About the same time the *Hunter* was sent to try and overtake the *Ann*, which had passed Bombay, and tell her she need not go lower than Karwar.[2] The *Hunter* missed the *Ann*, but met the *Mayboom*, whose commander insisted on continuing his voyage down the coast in spite of contrary instructions.[3]

On 25 November the *Rainbow* and the *Golden Fleece* arrived on their way to England from Swally and left on the 29th. They had suffered severely by loss of men, and Giffard supplied them with eight seamen for the voyage.[4] On 18 December they were followed by the *Unicorn*, which had been laden at Swally with a cargo for Bantam (p. 253). She was, in fact, so fully laden that her captain refused to take on board eight candies of soap that the Bombay Council had got ready for dispatch to Bantam.[5]

The English at Bombay had a sickly time after the monsoon, which continued longer than usual, and upwards of fifty men were buried between 1 October and 24 November; while Giffard himself became very ill at the beginning of November and two more of his Council were sick in December.[6] This was unfortunate, as it was a busy time, especially for completing the investment for the Company's shipping. In June the Surat Council wanted 10,000 baftas and 100 bales of cotton yarn to be provided.[7] The actual supply, however, fell far short of this. Weaving was hampered by scarcity of cotton yarn and its consequent high price.[8] The continuance of the monsoon beyond the usual period was also a hindrance. In November the Company's broker was ordered to enlarge the investment as much as possible, as directed by the Surat Council; but the most he

[1] Sw. let. 13 & 21 Oct., 88 Sur. 116, 117; Bom. let. 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 157, 158.

[2] Bom. con. 8 Nov., 2 Bom. 4; Bom. let. 13 Nov. & Raj. let. 20 Oct., 107 Sur. 169, 175; Bom. let. 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 160.

[3] Bom. let. 17 Nov. & 13 Dec., 7 Bom. 162, 172.

[4] Sw. let. 17 Nov., O.C. 4129, f. 8, & 88 Sur. 123; Bom. let. 24 Nov. & 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 168.

[5] Bom. let. 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 173; Bom. con. 19 Jan. 1676, 2 Bom. 7.

[6] Bom. let. 4 & 24 Nov. & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 158, 167, 174; Hornigold's let. 13 Nov., 107 Sur. 169; Bom. let. 8 Jan. 1676, 7 Bom. 6.

[7] Sur. let. 2 June, 88 Sur. 59.

[8] Bom. let. 9 June, 7 Bom. 125; Sur. let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 79 (2); Bom. let. to Co. 8 Jan 1676, 7 Bom. 5.

could promise were 2,000 baftas and 80 bales of cotton yarn.[1] The goods that were ready were sent to Surat on a *shibar* in company with the *Hunter* on 31 December; but the consignment was much less than had been expected.[2] Another disturbing element was the complaint in the Company's despatch of 5 March that the calicoes from Bombay were much worse and dearer than those from other places.*

The usual difficulty about the sale of the broadcloth sent out by the Company continued. Giffard said he and his colleagues would put themselves 'into the livery' of the coloured cloth received by the ships for the sake of example, but evidently did not feel confident it would be followed.[3] He told the Company that they turned out stuffs like it at Thana, so cheap that people would be more inclined to wear it than the imported cloth.[4] However, he sold some of it and other European commodities 'at prices current at Surat'—a form of contract that was naturally disapproved by the Surat Council as likely to lead to disputes.[5]

During most of the year the Rajapur factory was more closely concerned with Bombay than with Surat, but as Child's arrival there in January completed its establishment, events relating to it are dealt with in the section about the Presidency of Surat (pp. 255–63).†

BOMBAY, 1676

DURING this year the Council suffered severely from illness, resulting in the death of two of its members—Giffard, the Deputy Governor, and Capt. Ustick. Petit also was ill for several months. Towards the end of January he went for a week's change of air to the mainland, but it did not do him much good, as at the beginning of February he was still ill and unfit for work, being 'very weak and much spent'.[6] Later on in that month we hear that he and Giffard

[1] Bom. con. 2 Nov., 2 Bom. 3; Bom. let. 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 157, 159.

[2] Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 1.

* 5 L.B. 169. The Company had contemplated (in their instructions to start the making of calicoes in Bombay) that they might be coarse (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 236).

[3] Bom. let. 4 Dec., 7 Bom. 170.

[4] Bom. let. to Co. 8 Jan. 1676, 7 Bom. 6.

[5] Bom. let. 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 159; Sw. let. 20 Nov., 88 Sur. 124; Sur. let. 18 Dec., O.C. 4149, f. 1.

† These, for instance, cover the Company's request to Aungier to report on alleged dishonesty of John Child and Capt. Shaxton in the management of the Mint in 1673 (p. 262).

[6] Bom. let. 27 Jan. & 4 Feb., 7 Bom. 15, 18.

'still linger under a tedious flux, and are both now very weak and reduced to that extremity that, if they recover, they will not be capable of performing their duties for some considerable time'.[1] At the beginning of March Giffard became much worse and in such pain from an internal ulcer that he could not 'stir off his cot'. Even when the pain abated, he had to stay in bed and was so weak that he could transact no official business, not even by dictating a letter.[2] This continued to 8 September, when at his request he was allowed to go to Surat, in the hope that the change might save his life;[3] but it ended there on 22 November (p. 272). Meanwhile Capt. Ustick died on 30 July after about a month's illness.[4] The brunt of the work, therefore, fell on Petit, the 'second' of Council, though he was himself 'under a violent distemper for 8 or 9 months, which brought him to the point of death'.[5]

However, in spite of this, Petit was fully equal to the occasion, early in March, when another broil occurred with the Portuguese. The realistic account of it given by Aungier in a letter to the Company[6] brings out its main features:

The last letters we received from Bombay advice of a bold bravado made by the Portuguez against us and a breach of the peace like to fall out thereupon. The occasion was thus: A vessel belonging to the coast Mallabarr, laden with coconutts and coire, bound to Broach, off Diu incountred a Portugall man of warr, with whom she fought foure days, and having a passport from your Cheife and Factors at Calecutt she run into the Port of Bombay for protection, the Portugall vessel still chasing of her into the very porte. The Deputie Governour having sent out boates to know what ships they were, and understanding the Mallabarr vessel had an English passe, and was a merchant vessel and noe pirate, ordered her to come under the Fort, for the tide had hauled her over towards Caranjee side. The captain of the Portuguez frigatt imediately posts to Basseen and acquaints Emanoell de Saldanha, Captain of the North, of what happened, who in a fury, without examining further, summons all the fidalgoes and force under his jurisdiction, and having sent about

[1] Bom. let. 23 Feb., 7 Bom. 25.

[2] Bom. let. 13, 16, & 25 March, 3 & 28 April, & 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 27, 31, 35, 38, 41, 69. 70; Bom. let. 24 Jan. 1677, O.C. 4263, ff. 9, 10 (For. 122).

[3] Sur. let. 5 & 21 Aug., 89 Sur. 55, 58; Bom. let. 7 & 9 Sept., 7 Bom. 56, 57.

[4] Bom. let. 30 July, 7 Bom. 50, 52; Sur. let. 14 Aug., 89 Sur. 54; Sw. let. to Co. 22 Sept., O.C. 4224, f. 3.

[5] Bom. let. 16 Nov. 7 Bom. 69.

[6] Sw. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 4202, ff. 4, 5 (For. 92).

1200 men by land and about 300 men by sea, comes in person to Bandora, publikely declaring his resolution to take Mahim and burne and destroy the rest of your Island Bombay, if the said Mallabarr vessel were not immediately delivered up into his possession. It happened at his coming to Bandora, 3 English being there by accident, not knowing what had passed, one was inhumanly murthered by them in cold blood. The Captain Generall after some letters sends over 3 fidalgoes, who publikely made severall demands, whereof the 2 materiall were the surrender of the said vessel and the surrender of Mahim up to the Portuguez, otherwise hee must expect what would follow. It happened that your Deputie Governour, Mr. Philip Gyffard, was then very ill, confined to his bed; but he immediately sent Mr. John Petit with the rest of his Councell, one of the garrison companyes, and all the militia that could be raised to the number of 5 or 600 men with 5 feild peeces and necessary ammunition, who marched in good order to Mahim to oppose what violence the Captain Generall should attempt. Five days passed in hot expostulation on both sides; at length the Captain Generall and the fidalgoes being convinced of the justice and honor of our proceedings and seeing our resolution, they let fall their demand, with this salvo only, that the matters should be referred to the Vice Roy and the President; that the Portugall vessell might have lycence to anchor under the Fort of Bombay till order should come from the Vice Roy. Whereupon both parties retired for the present, but the Portuguez Captain Generall and the fidalgoes generally did give out such haughty and bloody speeches against us with such rancour and contempt of your Honours and the nation that it seemes to us they have some very evill designe and want only an opportunity to doe us mischeife; but wee doe little feare them. . . .

Further details are forthcoming in the very full records of the dispute. It was thought at first at Bombay that the escaping vessel was a pirate ship, so three boats with about 100 men on them were sent out to her, but finding she had an English pass from Calicut, they brought her into the harbour. This was on 7 March. On the 9th, Ustick, who was at Mahim, wrote that two Portuguese navies had come and anchored close to the custom-house, full of men shouting and making a great noise. At the same time some English soldiers, who had been put on board an Arab vessel to protect her on her voyage to Surat, 'put some affront on the Arabs' and levanted to Bandra. On hearing of it, Giffard ordered their arrest, so Sergt. Sutherland and a corporal were sent to Bandra after them. This

resulted in an affray between the Englishmen and some Portuguese troops trying to prevent their return on the ferry-boat, in the course of which Sutherland was stabbed by a Portuguese and died that night. Giffard had meanwhile sent Petit, with twelve files of soldiers and the same number of militia, to Mahim, where he and Ustick inquired into the circumstances of Sergt. Sutherland's death. Next morning (10 March) they were joined by Day and Niccolls, whom Giffard had sent to their assistance. They drew up a full reply to the Captain-General of the North, refusing to deliver up the Calicut vessel and claiming satisfaction for the sergeant's murder. That night the Captain-General came himself to Bandra, with all the fidalgos of Bassein and Thana and a great retinue of soldiers, whom he had collected from the various places under him. The same evening Petit returned to Mahim with five field-pieces and some 500 men, made up of garrison soldiers, the troop of horse, militiamen, Bhandaris, and Moors. Steps were also taken to guard Mazagaon, in case the Portuguese should attempt to land there. On the 13th the Captain-General sent three fidalgos as commissioners to treat with Petit, Ustick, Day, and Niccolls. The discussion ranged over a number of Portuguese grievances, beginning with Cooke's taking possession of Mahim; but in the end the commissioners only insisted on their demand that the vessel should be given up, which was again refused, on the ground that this would be a breach of the Company's peaceful relations with the Zamorin of Calicut and contrary to international usage in a free port like Bombay. The compromise mentioned by Aungier was eventually arranged,[1] to the amusement of Petit and his colleagues, who said they 'could not forbear smiling at' such a come-down on the part of the Captain-General after his great display of force and fiery speeches.[2]

The latter retired to Bassein, with a considerable loss of prestige.[3] The only further action taken by the Portuguese was that about the end of March the Viceroy of Goa sent an officer to Bombay to protest against the refusal to deliver up the vessel, whereupon Giffard and his Council wrote a forcible reply.[4] The Portuguese frigate, which had pursued it, also left for Trombay.[5] This rendered it unnecessary

[1] Bom. let. 13 & 16 March, 7 Bom. 25–31; Mahim let. 10, 12, & 13 March, 7 Bom. 32–5; O.C. 4181–92; Bom. con. 28 March, 2 Bom. 10, 11; Bom. let. to Co. 24 Jan. 1677, O.C. 4263, ff. 9–11 (For. 122, 123).

[2] 7 Bom. 31.

[3] Bom. let. 3 April, 7 Bom. 38; cf. Sur. let. 23 March (For. 85).

[4] Bom. let. 3 April, 7 Bom. 36; O.C. 4200 & 4201.

[5] 7 Bom. 37.

to carry out Aungier's instructions that her captain should be told to leave the harbour, as her lying there to spy on the Malabar vessel was 'an affront' to His Majesty's port.[1]

Before, however, news of the departure of the Portuguese had reached Surat, Aungier and his Council were alarmed by false reports of continued hostilities, and Matthew Gray volunteered to go to Bombay in response to a wish that had been expressed for the presence of Aungier or his deputy in this emergency. The further idea of sending assistance to Bombay was entertained, till the receipt of later Bombay letters put an end to the alarm.[2]

Sivaji also gave some trouble during the year. In January the Council granted his request that four of his vessels, lying at Pen, might be brought to Bombay and hauled ashore, so as to avoid the danger of their being burnt by the Sidi's fleet. It was held that the Sidi could not rightly object to this, in view of his having been given similar protection in the past; and the permission was subject to the express condition that Sivaji should take the whole responsibility in the event of an attack on the boats, without the English being concerned on either side.[3] In May his prime minister, Moro Trimbak, demanded the return of several nautch-girls, subjects of his, who had run away to Bombay, and orders were given for their arrest and delivery, as this was reciprocal action to that provided for by article 17 of the treaty in the case of runaway servants of the Company.[4] There was a good deal more difficulty about a third matter. Sivaji had drawn a bill of exchange on his correspondent at Golconda for payment of money due to some merchants at Bombay for corn supplied to his subadars under his own orders. The bill was sent through the President to Golconda for acceptance and payment, but was returned, as the drawee had left Golconda before its arrival. Aungier held that the Company should aid the merchants in obtaining payment, and ordered Giffard to send a mission to Sivaji to recover the debt in the Company's name.[5] Narayan Shenvi and Cowas Modi were accordingly sent up, but they got only 'fair promises' of payment, for which Narayan stayed behind.* Aungier doubted his

[1] Sur. let. 27 March, 89 Sur. 25 (For. 86).

[2] Bom. let. 23 Feb. & 13 March, 7 Bom. 25, 27; Sur. let. 28 March & 7 April, 89 Sur. 26, 28 (For. 86, 94); Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 4202, ff. 5, 6. [3] Bom. con. 13 Jan., 2 Bom. 6.

[4] Bom. con. 4 May, 2 Bom. 12. [5] Sur. let. 24 Jan., 89 Sur. 13 (For. 80).

* Bom. con. 19 Feb., 2 Bom. 9; Bom. let. 24 Feb., 7 Bom. 19; Bom. let. 30 May, 7 Bom. 42. The name Cowas[ji] suggests that the Modi was a Parsi.

fitness for such a mission, as being too dilatory and uninfluential, and suggested that an able Englishman should be substituted and perhaps stay on as a permanent envoy at Sivaji's court.[1] Francis Mauleverer was then sent in August, but he returned from Rairi at the end of September without having got any money or even hopes of ready coin.[2] Sivaji offered only payment in batty or in *varaits* or *brauts** (i.e. bills on his subadars, which Giffard described as 'uncertain money' taking at least two or three years to recover), or in wrought plates obtained by plunder, to be accepted at an over-valuation that would involve the Company in considerable loss.[3] After some discussion Aungier agreed with Petit that it would be better to recover something rather than prolong the uncertainty; and in November Narayan was authorized to take plates or any other goods he could get.[4]

The hitherto infructuous efforts to recover Sivaji's debt for losses at Rajapur had repercussions in Bombay. In February Aungier asked Giffard to send some vessels to Rajapur to help in bringing up a large quantity of coco-nuts to be provided by the Subadar in part-payment of the debt. Accordingly the Council arranged for five *grabs*, belonging to the Port and bound for Rajapur, to undertake the freighting of the nuts to Surat at rates mentioned in a contract, which Child had made with the Subadar.[5] Incidentally one of them took Mrs. Shaxton and her family to Rajapur, her request to be allowed to pay a visit to her son-in-law, John Child, having been granted by Aungier.[6] The *grabs*, however, were detained at Rajapur for nearly two months without getting any coco-nuts from the Subadar. Four of them fortunately managed to get other freight, but one returned empty to Bombay, and her owner claimed compensation, which the Council considered to be justified. It accordingly

[1] Sur. let. 14 June & 19 July, 89 Sur. 41, 52; Bom. let. 3 July, 7 Bom. 46, 47.

[2] Bom. let. 9 & 21 Aug. & 2 Oct., 7 Bom. 53, 55, 61.

* Mahr. *varat*, an assignment on the revenues, from Pers. *barāt*, an order for payment of money corresponding to the modern cheque: cf. *Bernier's Travels* (2nd edn., by V. A. Smith), 216. It is also clear from Giffard's remarks about them that they were not gold pagodas, as stated by Forrest, 105.

[3] Bom. let. 6 Oct., 7 Bom. 63; Sw. let. 16 & 18 Oct., 89 Sur. 67, 69 (For. 105, 106).

[4] Sur. let. 25 Oct., 89 Sur. 72; Bom. let. 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 66.

[5] Sur. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 16 (For. 83); Bom. con. 21 Feb., 7 Bom. 19.

[6] Bom. let. 17 Jan. & 24 Feb., 7 Bom. 12, 19; Sur. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 14 (For. 82); Bom. con. 21 Feb., 2 Bom. 10.

gave him a bill for Rs. 1,225 drawn on the Rajapur factory.[1] Child objected, mainly on the ground that the boats were destitute of any defence against Malabar pirates and were therefore incapable of properly performing their contract to carry the goods, saying that the Subadar had refused to lade them for that reason.[2] Petit retorted that there was no necessity to send any English guards on the boats, as by 20 March all Malabar pirates disappeared from the sea between Bombay and Goa.[3] Aungier and his Council, however, held both Child and the Bombay Council to blame, and referred the 'final discussion' of the matter to the Company.[4]

Sidi Sambal's fleet came into Bombay harbour early in April, with the firm intention of wintering there. This prospect naturally disturbed the Councils at Bombay and Surat, but, 'to the great satisfaction of the whole Island', the fleet left for Surat by the middle of the month on receipt of a letter from Surat, presumably ordering it to go there.[5] Consequently Bombay had no further trouble from this source; but in June Sidi Kasim, who had been appointed to command the fleet in place of Sambal,* arrived at Bombay with a retinue of some 200 men, to stay there till he could leave for Janjira in August or September. Aungier was very reluctant to admit 'so many troublesome people on the Island', but acceded to the importunity of the Governor of Surat, who promised to report this good service to Aurangzeb.[6]

This influx of strangers added, as usual, to the difficulties of provisioning Bombay. In April Giffard said that, owing to the extraordinary strictness of the governments in Gujarat, they had been able to get so little corn that provisions had grown excessively dear; this had been enhanced by the supply already given to the Sidi, and should he winter at Bombay, many of the inhabitants would be forced to leave the Island.[7] In view of this rise of prices, Day and Ustick in July petitioned for an increase of the monthly diet allow-

[1] Raj. let. 13 March, 89 Sur. 22; Bom. con. 4 May, 2 Bom. 11, 12; Bom. let. 30 May, 7 Bom. 42.

[2] Sur. let. 14 June, 89 Sur. 41.

[3] Bom. let. 3 July, 7 Bom. 49.

[4] Sw. let. 19 July & 10 Oct., 89 Sur. 53, 67 (For. 98, 105).

[5] Bom. let. 3 & 13 April, 7 Bom. 37, 38, 39; Sur. let. 14 & 21 April, 89 Sur. 30, 32 (For. 94, 95, 96).

* Sidi Sambal had quarrelled with other Sidi leaders, who then deposed him: cf. Orme, 69, 70; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 270; Banaji, *Bombay and the Sidis*, 23, 24.

[6] Sur. let. 9 June, 89 Sur. 44, 45; Bom. let. 3 July & 9 Aug., 7 Bom. 46, 54.

[7] Bom. let. 3 April, 7 Bom. 37.

ance of Rs. 25 given to married Members of Council, saying it had become a pittance that was insufficient to maintain their table by any frugality.[1] In October these conditions had become worse, owing to the Portuguese having set up four new custom-houses at Bandra, Trombay, and over against Sion, where they levied such heavy rates that people were frightened from importing any provisions. They also prohibited the transport of corn or other provisions from Salsette to the Island. Consequently the bazaar was in great want of batty, on which the poor mainly subsisted, as this mostly came from Salsette.[2]

To meet this want the Surat Council authorized Giffard to buy 2,000 *mudas* of batty on the Company's account and to store it for all emergencies, including the supply of the market, when necessary.[3] There was, however, difficulty in obtaining this quantity, as most of the rice usually came from Portuguese territory, which was now barred as a source of supply, while Sivaji had all the surplus rice in his country sent to his castles.[4] Aungier urged the Bombay Council to meet the Portuguese 'malitious practices' by resorting to other places, such as Mangalore and Bhatkal, where it was usually cheap.[5] Petit reported in December that the Council was buying batty by degrees and 'without any noise', so as not to raise its price, though its dearness did not promise the Council much profit, while there was also some danger of embezzlement by its going through such hands as the Modi's.[6]

In March, when Giffard had become too ill to take any effective part in the administration, Aungier enjoined Petit and the rest of the Council to take care of the government.[7] Their efficiency was weakened by Petit's illness; while Ustick, who was recalled from Mahim in March owing to official misconduct, did not attend any consultations for over a month prior to his death at the end of July.[8] On Giffard's departure to Surat in September, only Petit and Day remained to form a Council. Giffard left them a commission to act

[1] Bom. let. 3 July, 7 Bom. 47; Sur. let. 19 July, 89 Sur. 53.

[2] Bom. let. 2 & 26 Oct. & 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 62, 65, 66.

[3] Sw. let. 17 Oct., 89 Sur. 70 (For. 106, 107); Sw. let. to Co. 22 Jan. 1677, O.C. 4258, f. 28.

[4] Bom. let. 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 66.

[5] Sur. let. 4 & 21 Nov., 89 Sur. 76, 82 (For. 109, 110, 111); O.C. 4258, f. 28; O.C. 4263, f. 4 (For. 120).

[6] Bom. let. 1 & 7 Dec., 7 Bom. 73, 75.

[7] Sur. let. 22 March, 89 Sur. 23.

[8] Sur. let. 11 March, 89 Sur. 26; Bom. con. 21 & 24 June, 2 Bom. 15, 16; Bom. let. 30 July, 7 Bom. 52.

in his absence, but they doubted its validity and requested the Surat Council to give them a commission and indemnify them for past acts.[1] Heavy business at Surat and a desire not to be hasty, so long as Giffard was alive, deferred the issue of such a commission; but John Hornigold was appointed a member of the Council in October, in addition to his duties as Secretary and Treasurer.* It was not till the beginning of November that Petit was formally appointed Deputy Governor, with the reservation that Giffard, if he recovered and wished to do so, could return to his charge at Bombay.[2] At the same time Child and Ward, who were set free by the dissolution of the Rajapur factory (p. 271), were appointed to be members of the Bombay Council on their arrival.[3]

This did not, however, result in Petit getting any help from them during the year. Ward arrived at the beginning of December, but awaited orders from Surat as to the exact duties he should perform, and, on being told to take over the accounts pending Child's arrival, asked to be excused from doing so on the ground of failing eyesight.† Child's detention at Rajapur (p. 271) prevented him from reaching Bombay till towards the end of December, when he went on to Surat.[4]

The Bombay accounts were in a bad state. In November Aungier drew attention to them, saying that the Surat Council had neither received nor adjusted any during the last three or four years, and suggesting that a Banian accountant might be appointed to help in bringing them up to date.[5] In reply Petit explained the reasons for their 'sad state', such as the constant change of accountants, in some cases their want of skill, his and Giffard's illness, the dilatoriness of the Modi and the broker Girdhar in submitting their accounts, and the neglect of Ustick, who had not given in his accounts as Warehouse-keeper for four years: he agreed with the proposal and suggested that the Banian should have two or three assistants to keep the whole accounts and instruct each new accountant in the method

[1] Bom. let. 19 Sept., 7 Bom. 58.

* Sur. let. 10 Oct. & 4 Nov., 89 Sur. 66, 67, 74 (For. 105, 108); Bom. let. 26 Oct., 7 Bom. 64. Hornigold's heavy duties probably account for the absence of any consultation entries between 24 June and 26 October, and their meagreness after that date (2 Bom. 16–19).

[2] Sur. let. 4 Nov., 89 Sur. 73 (2). [3] Ibid. 74.

† Bom. let. 1, 7, & 26 Dec., 7 Bom. 74, 75, 77; Sur. let. 5 Dec., 89 Sur. 91. Nor did Ward attend the only consultation that is recorded as taking place in December (2 Bom. 18).

[4] Bom. let. 26 Dec., 7 Bom. 78.

[5] Sur. let. 4 Nov., 89 Sur. 73, 74 (For. 108).

of keeping them.[1] This was approved, with the instruction that one of the native clerks should be a Hindu and one a Portuguese, so as to be a check on each other; and the matter was brought to the notice of the Company.* A further proposal made by Petit foreshadowed the appointment in later years of a Collector of Bombay: he recommended that a separate officer should supervise all the Company's lands and rents, and keep proper accounts relating to them.[2] He also asked for more factors or writers to be sent for this and other purposes, but the Surat Council said they could spare none till the next ships arrived.[3]

The garrison next calls for notice. This was strengthened during the threat of a Portuguese attack in March by engaging 185 Mohammedan soldiers for a month at a cost of Rs. 1,044.[4] The Company also sent out fifty recruits.[5] 'In regard mortality reigns most amongst the new souldiers the first two or three months of their arrivall on the Island, occasioned cheifly by their immoderate drinking of punch and toddy', Aungier had five files of them sent up to Surat on the ships in September, hoping this would 'preserve and inure them to the climate'.[6] The recruits included several artificers and some Germans, such as Aungier had asked for (p. 73), and the Company called for a report about the behaviour of the foreigners in the corps. Petit said there were but few Germans, who were all civil, quiet persons, as were also (so far as he could learn) the other foreign soldiers. Aungier gave a similar reply, saying the German and other foreign men sent out behaved themselves very well and equalled the English in the performance of their duties. They were, moreover, in general more frugal and hardy, and less given to drink than the English, 'who cant live without flesh and strong drink'.[7]

Aungier had, however, some qualms about promoting Lieut. Beck, a foreigner, to the command of one of the companies, though he was the senior officer on the Island and otherwise well qualified for the

[1] Bom. let. 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 69, 70.

* Sur. let. 25 Nov. & 2 Dec., 89 Sur. 81, 87; O.C. 4258, ff. 25, 26, & 4263, f. 9. The Company disapproved of Banians being so employed (desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 547).

[2] Bom. let. 7 & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 75, 79.

[3] Bom. let. 26 Oct. & 7 Dec., 7 Bom. 64, 75; Sur. let. 5 Dec., 89 Sur. 92.

[4] Bom. con. 28 March, 2 Bom. 11; Bom. let. 26 April, 7 Bom. 39, 40.

[5] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 277; Bom. let. 14 Aug., 7 Bom. 54.

[6] Sur. let. 14 Aug., 89 Sur. 54 (For. 99); Bom. let. 21 Aug. & 7 Sept., 7 Bom. 55, 56.

[7] *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 76, 255; desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 277; Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 78; O.C. 4258, f. 32.

post. He eventually decided to do so, with the proviso that he should receive only the pay and allowances of a lieutenant. The other company also remained in charge of a lieutenant.[1]

This measure of economy was not the only one taken by Aungier. In February he forwarded a memorandum based on proposals for retrenchment in the expenses of the garrison that had been approved by him and his Council on 4 September 1672, but not carried out on account of the war with the Dutch.[2] The main requirement was that, though the existing two companies should not be reduced to one, as formerly ordered, the strength of each should be reduced to sixteen files or ninety-six men, consisting only of English or European Protestants and Portuguese or topasses, who were natives of the Island and of known fidelity and experience. This was strongly objected to by Giffard and his colleagues as a startling proposal. They said that from 80 to 100 men had to be employed at sea for months together, not only on the Company's vessels, but also on those of merchants to protect them from Malabar piracy, which was increasing in strength and shipping. If this practice were abandoned, the trade of the Port would inevitably suffer, nor could the merchants be legitimately called on to bear the cost of such protection, for it would 'eat out so much profit as to make them desist from trade'. They considered that the minimum number of men for each company should be 150, and gave other reasons for this view. These included the statement that there were seldom less than forty or fifty of the English soldiers sick and totally incapable of doing any duty.[3]

Aungier and his Council, while conceding that sixteen files would be too little, decided that the number of each company should be reduced to 150 men, officers included, or 300 in all. The men were to be mainly English and topasses, and the 'white Portuguese' were to be disbanded, except for those that had served the Company for five years. The objections raised by Giffard were answered and held insufficient, except the argument that, until the fourth bastion of the Fort and the proposed outworks were finished, it would be unsafe to keep less than 300 men in pay. In particular the practice of lending soldiers to merchants' vessels for protection against Malabar pirates was prohibited, unless the owners would bear the whole charge of

[1] Sw. let. 24 Jan. & 14 March, 89 Sur. 10 (For. 79), 12, 27.
[2] 2 Misc. 142; Sur. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 17, 18, 19.
[3] Bom. let. 23 Feb., 7 Bom. 22–4.

doing this; 'and if the merchants doe complaine and cease from trade wee know noe remedy, for it is a thing never practised in any nation or port whatsoever'.[1] Petit and his two councillors still protested. They pointed out the difficulty of keeping the ranks at 300, in view of sickness and mortality, as well as the inconvenience of disbanding old soldiers, one of whom was worth ten raw men. This objection was, however, met by allowing the Council to keep two or three extra files, while recruits sent out by the Company were to supplement the full complement of 300 men.[2] Petit again urged that it would be impolitic to discontinue the practice of lending soldiers for the protection of private vessels, but failed to get the prohibition withdrawn.*

Another proposal was that, instead of part of a company mounting guard each day, one whole company should do so for a week together, then to be relieved by the other one, as was done in the Tower of London and elsewhere. This was objected to as unsuitable for the Fort, where there were not the same conveniences as the Tower enjoyed, and was not pressed.[3] It was also suggested that quarters should be built on each bastion for officers and men.[4] This was dropped with the proposal just mentioned; but provision was made for partitions in rebuilding a curtain-wall to the Fort, so as to make forty chambers available for stores or lodging in an emergency.[5]

Aungier could, therefore, justly claim that he had laboured to reduce the military charges as low as possible.[6] On the other hand, he sanctioned a proposal made by Petit towards the close of the year for improving the troop of horse, though it involved some increase of expenditure. The existing troop of about twenty-five horse had ceased to contribute to the benefit or defence of the Island, Petit saying that they were 'now only used for persons to take the aire with and for pastime'. It was agreed that their number should be increased to forty; country-bred horses were to be bought at Rs. 50 to 100 each; freemen and gentlemen in the Company's service were to be invited to serve in it 'for honour and repute' without pay as officers, &c., alongside of the 'common troopers' from the garrison; and

[1] Sur. let. 4 July, 89 Sur. 47–9 (For. 96–8).

[2] Bom. let. 30 July, 7 Bom. 51, 52; Sw. let. 14 Aug., 89 Sur. 54 (For. 99).

* Ibid. The Company disapproved of the practice in its despatch of 15 March 1678. 5 L.B. 546.

[3] Sw. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 19; Bom. let. 23 Feb., 7 Bom. 24

[4] Sw. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 19.

[5] Bom. con. 6 & 21 June, 2 Bom. 12, 15, 16

[6] O.C. 4258, f. 26.

the troop was to be well disciplined under a paid commander.* Capt. Richard Keigwin, who had just come out as a freeman, was appointed to the latter post.† The reorganized troop gave a suitable opening for carrying out the Company's direction that its factors, &c., should be encouraged to 'practise themselves in the military art'.‡

The militia also received attention. Aungier's military proposals included one that it should be modelled on the trainbands of London,§ with officers chosen from English freemen and staff-officers, who should be under severe penalties to exercise their companies monthly or at any rate every two months.[1] In March Aungier appointed Capt. Adderton to command the militia at Bombay and Mahim on the pay of a garrison Lieutenant;‖ and Richard Adams was made a Lieutenant in it on the pay of an Ensign.¶ By the end of the year it had been increased to a body of nearly 600 landholders. There were over 100 Brahmin and Banian landowners, who were unaccustomed to bear arms, and Petit proposed that they (as well as merchants, traders, and householders, who had no lands) should contribute to the cost of the militia. The *povo* objected and the question was still under consideration at the end of the year.[2]

The incomplete state of the Fort prevented any further reduction of the garrison, and Aungier pressed the Bombay Council to finish the work quickly.[3] This was, however, more easily said than done. The fourth bastion went so far into the sea that work on its foundations

* Bom. let. 22 Nov. & 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 71, 80; Sur. let. 20 Dec., 89 Sur. 94, 95; O.C. 4258, f. 32, & 4263, f. 2 (For. 119). In March 1677, John Hornigold was appointed Lieutenant of the troop, and Thomas Petit (who was the senior covenanted servant at Bombay below the rank of a member of Council) its Cornet (Bom. let. 16 Jan. 1677, 8 Bom. 3; Sw. let. 26 Jan. & 12 March 1677, 89 Sur. 8, 16, 17).

† Sur. let. 20 Dec., 89 Sur. 95; Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 80; O.C. 4258, f. 30. For Keigwin's previous career in the Navy, see *Dictionary of National Biography* & *K.R.* 29.

‡ Desp. 8 March 1677, 5 L.B. 410. The Company (desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 545) approved of the troop as an experiment, which may be said to have been the prototype of the well-known 'Bombay Light Horse'.

§ i.e. trained bands, or bands for training, into which all persons liable for service were mustered in the early part of the seventeenth century. The London trainbands were of superior efficiency to those elsewhere in England and, escaping the abolition that befell the others in 1662, survived till 1794.

[1] Sw. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 19.

‖ Sur. let. 14 March, 89 Sur. 27. This appointment was severely disapproved by the Company in its despatch of 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 646.

¶ Bom. let. 28 April, 7 Bom. 41; Sur. let. 27 May, 89 Sur. 39. He died on 24 June 1677: Bom. let. 27 June, 8 Bom. 41 (For. 133).

[2] Bom. con. 14 & 21 June, 2 Bom. 13, 15; O.C. 4263, f. 1 (For. 119).

[3] Sur. let. 4 July & 4 Nov., 89 Sur. 49, 73 (2) (For. 97, 198).

could only proceed at new moon spring-tides, and then for not above two or three hours a day during four or five days, as several spring-tides did not so much as leave the ground dry.[1] The work also had to stop during the rains.[2] For most of the year little more was done than to collect *chunam* and stones for laying the foundations;[3] but by the end of it the work was getting on to high-water mark.[4] The third bastion was also paved with stones in March.[5]

At the earnest request of Aungier and his Council,[6] steps were taken to lessen the cost of the Company's vessels by freighting them to merchants. In February the *Hunter* and the *Malabar Coaster* left on voyages to Muskat and Goa respectively.[7] Again, after the monsoon, they obtained freight for Sind and Goa.[8] The *Phoenix* was also let for a voyage to Muskat, but this fell through owing to the freighters not having their goods ready in time. Instead, she took some corn to Rajapur, but 'so miserably damaged' it through her leakiness that merchants refused to lade anything more on her, unless the Company agreed to pay all damages, contrary to the usual condition.[9] This was annoying, as she had been altered during the rains in an attempt to remedy this defect.[10]

The *Mayboom* finally went out of commission. In February the Surat Council returned her to Bombay, saying so little had been done to her at Rajapur that she was incapable of taking any freight voyage; and directing that, unless she could be made seaworthy at small expense, she should be kept in port as a guard-ship 'soe long as she can swim', and then broken up.[11] A survey at Bombay showed she was so rotten that she could never be made fit to go to sea without spending as much as would build a new ship.[12] An offer of Rs. 3,000 for her, with all her guns, anchors, and other tackle, was considered too low; and eventually the Surat Council ordered her guns, anchors, cables, masts, and rigging to be sent to Surat, where they could be

[1] Bom. let. 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 68; O.C. 4263, f. 8 (For. 122).
[2] Bom. con. 6 June, 2 Bom. 12; Bom. let. 21 Aug., 7 Bom. 55.
[3] Bom. let. 27 Jan., 29 Feb., 21 Aug., & 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 15, 22, 55, 68.
[4] O.C. 4263, f. 8 (For. 122).
[5] Bom. let. 16 March, 7 Bom. 31.
[6] Sw. let. 24 Jan., 89 Sur. 12 (For. 79, 80).
[7] Bom. let. 4 Feb., 7 Bom. 16; Bom. con. 18 Feb., 2 Bom. 8; Sw. let. 7 April, O.C. 4202, f. 4 (For. 91); Sw. let. 27 April, 89 Sur. 32.
[8] Bom. let. 19 & 26 Sept., 7 Bom. 58, 62.
[9] Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 80.
[10] Bom. let. 30 May, 3 July, & 26 Sept., 7 Bom. 43, 47, 62.
[11] Sw. let. 24 Jan. & 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 10, 15, 17 (For. 82, 83).
[12] Bom. let. 25 March, 7 Bom. 35.

more readily sold. Her hull, as well as that of the *Charles*, which was full of worms, was to be broken up, if it did not fetch a reasonable price; but she had not been sold or demolished at the end of the year.[1]

The *Revenge* was sent in February on a freight voyage to Persia from Swally (p. 265), and Bombay saw little of her during the year.* This and the *Hunter*'s freight voyages prevented their convoying ships or going on cruises against Malabar pirates. In January Giffard said the latter had grown insolent, even presuming to come under their noses in taking Bombay boats, and that owing to the absence of the two frigates they had no remedy but patience. The pirates were infesting the neighbourhood of the port and took a *shibar* bound for Sind, in whose voyage several of the English at Bombay had invested.[2] Aungier thought action should have been taken against them with the *Malabar Coaster* and the Company's *shibars*, which could be well manned to drive them away, saying it was a shame to be afraid of them and suffer them to domineer. Giffard replied that this taunt was unjustified and gave instances in which Bombay boats had fought and beaten the pirates.[3] The latter, on the other hand, captured and imprisoned two English soldiers, who had been lent to protect a merchant's vessel, and whose ransom had to be arranged.†

Trade, however, does not appear to have been appreciably affected. At any rate, no mention is made of trade diminishing, though Petit expatiated on the obstructions to its increase due to the war between the Mughal and Sivaji and to the Portuguese, 'ever exquisite seekers of all wayes imaginable to doe us mischeife, envying as we suppose the sudden prosperity this place is rose to'.[4] Besides establishing new custom-houses near Bombay (p. 151), they had increased the Thana customs from 3 per cent. to 10 per cent., thus practically putting a stop to the passage of goods to Bombay by that route.

[1] Bom. let. 26 April & 30 May, 7 Bom. 40, 43; Sw. let. 4 May & 14 June, 89 Sur. 34, 41, 42; Bom. con. 14 June, 2 Bom. 15; O.C. 4258, f. 30.

* She appears to have been at Bombay only for short stays in January and October till about 18 Dec., when she was sent down from Swally as being no longer required there: cf. 7 Bom. 8, 63 & 89 Sur. 35, 92.

[2] Bom. let. 13 & 27 Jan., 7 Bom. 11, 15.

[3] Sur. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 15; Bom. let. 29 Feb., 7 Bom. 21, 22.

† Bom. let. 21 June, 7 Bom. 45; Cal. let. 8 April, O.C. 4203, f. 4. The Company instanced this as one of the disadvantages of employing soldiers in this way (5 L.B. 546).

[4] Bom. let. 24 Jan. 1677, O.C. 4263, ff. 3–5.

The duty charged on timber was still higher, being raised to 33 per cent., in addition to over 20 per cent. required for a permit from the Captain of Bassein for its transport.[1] They also tried to attract fresh trade to Bassein by abating half the ordinary customs for vessels using that port: Giffard wanted to protest, but Aungier pointed out that this was quite legitimate and invited the Bombay Council to consider whether it would not be advantageous for it to make a similar abatement for vessels calling at Bombay without discharging any cargo.[2]

Nothing seems to have come of this suggestion, but some other measures of relief in respect of customs came up for consideration during the year. One of the complaints made by the Portuguese in March (p.147) was against the levy of anchorage dues on their vessels.[3] Aungier called for a report about this and was of opinion that it was not in the Company's interest to levy them.[4] An Armenian vessel from Surat was forced by her leaky condition to put into Bombay and stayed there from April to September. Assistance was given to her at Aungier's request. Among other things, the payment of anchorage dues by her was forgone, and it was decided to exempt all three-masted vessels belonging to the port of Surat from this charge.[5] Petit also proposed that the payment of double customs on goods in transit by a levy at their export, as well as import—which was a great grievance to merchants—should be abolished, and a small duty (say ½ per cent.) should be substituted for the outward customs. This was under the consideration of the Surat Council at the close of the year.[6] The Company in its despatch of 8 March proposed that raw materials imported for manufacture on the Island should pay little or no customs, and that goods of the growth or produce of the Island, and such as had paid customs inward, should be exported free: also that a moderate tax should be put on food and drink at Bombay in lieu of the 9 per cent. customs charged on all native commodities.[7] Aungier pointed out that such a tax was already imposed to a certain extent, and said they would levy no customs on goods imported for manufacture on the Island if it was

[1] Ibid., f. 4. [2] Bom. let. 20 Dec. 1675, 7 Bom. 174; Sw. let. 2 Jan., 89 Sur. 7.
[3] Bom. let. 16 March, 7 Bom. 29.
[4] Sur. let. 27 March & 4 May, 89 Sur. 25 (For. 86), 34; Bom. let. 13 April, 7 Bom. 39.
[5] Sur. let. 16, 17, & 27 May, 11 July, 26 Aug., & 4 Nov., 89 Sur. 35, 36, 38, 50, 59, 76 (For. 109); Bom. let. 28 April, 30 May, 3 June, 9 Aug., 9 & 26 Sept., 7 Bom. 40, 43, 44, 53, 57, 60.
[6] Bom. let. 9 Sept., 7 Bom. 57; Sur. let. 1 Sept., 89 Sur. 65. [7] 5 L.B. 273.

found that this would encourage such manufacture.[1] Meanwhile the Surat and Bombay Councils agreed that, from the next farming of the customs, none should be levied on imported cotton yarn and raw silk.[2]

Aungier and his Council early in the year decided that, in order to reduce expenditure, the customs should no longer be managed by the Company, but should be put to auction with the other farms.[3] They fetched Xs. 27,000, a reduction on the Xs. 31,500 bid in the previous year (p. 119), but more than the probable actual realizations.[4] The sale of the arrack and tobacco farms also gave some increase, while the licence for collecting the new duty on consumables (p. 142) fetched Xs. 1,610.[5] Smuggling of tobacco by soldiers and sailors, and by the Sidi's men, was not uncommon and was punishable with fine and imprisonment.[6]

The Council's other main source of revenue was its stock of European goods, but this yielded little till towards the end of the year. The only sales of cloth reported prior to November were for the small quantity of 150 pieces; till then iron and lead lay dead on the Council's hands, and over 150 bales of cloth and 90 tons of iron were sent up to Surat as unsaleable.[7] The cloth sent out, it was said, was unsuitable for sale to Indians; the iron could only be sold at about its prime cost, and almost as cheaply as country iron; while the lead was sold at the same price that it fetched at Surat.[8]

As to the Mint, Aungier approved of one of the patterns proposed for the new silver, tin, and copper coinage,[9] but its out-turn suffered from want of good coiners. In January the treasury was 'bare of money, being not able to coin it as fast as we have occasion for it'.[10] In September the chief coiner had run away, 'having stolen another man's wife', and those left were inefficient and 'most tedious', while the Surat Council was unable to send another coiner at once.[11] The supply of metal for coinage was supplemented, when the Company's

[1] O.C. 4258, f. 26.
[2] Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 73; Sur. let. 5 Dec., 89 Sur. 90.
[3] Bom. let. 11 Jan., 7 Bom. 8; Sw. let. 24 Jan., 89 Sur. 12 (For. 79).
[4] Bom. let. 24 Feb. & 25 March, 7 Bom. 20, 35.
[5] Ibid.; O.C. 4258, f. 27.
[6] Bom. con. 18 Feb., 2 Bom. 8; Bom. let. 3 April & 30 May, 7 Bom. 37, 43; Sur. let. 29 April, 89 Sur. 37.
[7] Bom. let. 21 Aug., 26 Oct., 16 Nov., & 7 & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 55, 65, 69, 74, 78.
[8] O.C. 4263, ff. 7, 8 (For. 122); Sur. let. 25 Nov. & 5 Dec., 89 Sur. 84, 91.
[9] Sur. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 17, 18 (For. 84).
[10] Bom. let. 12 Jan., 7 Bom. 9.
[11] Bom. let. 22 Sept. & 1 Nov., 7 Bom. 60, 65; Sw. let. 12 Oct., 89 Sur. 66 (For. 104).

five ships arrived in August, by ingots of silver worth Rs. 30,000 and 329 plates of Barbary copper;[1] but there was a loss of one-third in melting the latter down for coining pice, and their use was discontinued pending the expected arrival of Japan copper bars that were more suitable for the purpose.[2]

The five ships just mentioned were the *Berkeley Castle*, the *Persian Merchant*, the *Nathaniel*, the *Scipio Africanus*, and the *Society*, which arrived together on 13 August and left for Swally on 8 September.[3] They brought the Island a good supply of guns, ammunition, and stores for the Fort, as well as a stock of broadcloth, &c., which was so large that Petit said it could not be disposed of in seven years, and only a small part of which was consequently taken ashore.[4] The Council wanted to take eight chests of bullion, but the Surat factory could not spare them in view of its own needs, and limited it to the silver ingots already mentioned.[5]

These difficulties and disappointments make it not surprising that for most of the year the treasury needed replenishment. In January it was bare of money, and in February the want of provisions made the Council draw bills on Surat for Rs. 5,000, though this was contrary to orders. They were honoured, but it was told not to do so again, as money was so badly wanted at Surat.[6] After the arrival of the ships, however, it was allowed to draw bills, and got Rs. 7,000 accordingly in November.[7] The sales of cloth, iron, and lead in the latter part of the year would do little to relieve the situation, as the usual eight months' credit was allowed.[8]

The scarcity of cash and high cost of materials necessarily hampered building operations,[9] and in November the Surat Council limited these to work on the Fort bastion and the hospital.[10] The latter was urgently required, and in January the Council had orders to build one on whatever site it thought best.[11] Giffard, however,

[1] Bom. let. 21 Aug., 7 Bom. 55; Sur. let. 21 Aug. & 8 Sept., 89 Sur. 57 (For. 100), 62, 63.
[2] Bom. let. 21 Aug., 7 Bom. 55; O.C. 4258, f. 21, & 4263, f. 8 (For. 122).
[3] Bom. let. 14 Aug. & 9 Sept., 7 Bom. 54, 57.
[4] Bom. let. 14 & 21 Aug., 7 Bom. 54, 55; Sur. let. 21 Aug., 89 Sur. 56, 57 (For. 100).
[5] Bom. let. 21 Aug., 7 Bom. 55; Sur. let. 8 Sept., 89 Sur. 63.
[6] Bom. let. 12 Jan. & 29 Feb., 7 Bom. 9, 22; Sur. let. 11 March, 89 Sur. 27.
[7] Sur. let. 12 Sept., 89 Sur. 63; Bom. let. 16 & 24 Nov., 7 Bom. 70, 72.
[8] O.C. 4263, f. 7 (For. 121, 122); Bom. con. 26 Oct., 4 Nov., & 12 Dec., 2 Bom. 16, 17, 18, 19.
[9] Cf. O.C. 4263, f. 4. The passage referred to is omitted in For. 120.
[10] Sur. let. 4 & 25 Nov., 89 Sur. 73 (2), 83.
[11] Bom. let. 31 Dec. 1675, 7 Bom. 3; Sw. let. 11 Jan., 89 Sur. 5 (For. 78).

evidently wanted to get the bastion work pushed on first,[1] and the proposal languished until he and Petit suggested a feasible alternative. They had jointly built a large house and some shops at their own expense, for which they each received Rs. 1,500 as an advance of salary under the rules for the encouragement of building that had been sanctioned by the Company (p. 78).* They suggested that the house should be taken over by the Company for the use of the Court of Judicature and that the building occupied by that Court† should be taken for a hospital. This proposal found favour with Aungier and his colleagues, and the house and the ground attached to it, which were valued by a Committee at Rs. 7,400, were acquired accordingly in October.[2] The work of building a wall round the other house then proceeded, but that of fitting it up as a hospital was held over till the end of December, when Dr. Thomas Wilson arrived from Surat.[3] He was a Fellow of the London College of Physicians, who had been sent out by the Company in the hope that he would improve the health of its servants, and whom the Surat Council appointed Physician-in-Chief at Bombay.[4]

The removal of the Court of Judicature was stated by Petit to be convenient, as the new building was in the bazaar and so more accessible to most of the people repairing to it, while the prisoners for debt could better 'beg reliefe of passengers'.‡ Niccolls continued to be its Judge and was commended by Aungier as having managed its affairs 'to our satisfaction and that of your people'.[5] This praise shows that Aungier did not allow his judgement to be affected by a rebuff which Niccolls had given him by refusing to remove an

[1] Bom. let. 17 & 27 Jan., 7 Bom. 11, 15.

* Bom. let. 27 Jan., 28 April, & 3 June, 7 Bom. 15, 41, 44; Bom. con. 21 Feb., 2 Bom. 10; Sur. let. 8 Feb., 27 May, & 14 June, 89 Sur. 15, 39, 43. Aungier himself proposed to build a street of houses 'reaching from Judge Niccholls house to the waterside' (Sur. let. 4 July, 89 Sur. 50; Bom. let. 30 July, 7 Bom. 52).

† This was 'a faire large brick house tiled, built in the line of the towne in that part where the English colony is to be', which was acquired in 1675 (Bom. con. 5 March, 2 Bom. 40).

[2] Bom. let. 30 July, 9 & 21 Aug., & 26 Oct., 7 Bom. 52, 53, 55, 63; Sur. let. 19 July, 21 & 24 Aug., 8 Sept., 11 Oct., 4 Nov., & 20 Dec., 89 Sur. 53, 56, 58, 63, 68, 75, 96.

[3] Bom. let. 16 Nov. & 26 Dec., 7 Bom. 68, 77; Sur. let. 11 Oct., 14 & 25 Nov., & 18 Dec., 89 Sur. 68, 78, 85, 93.

[4] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 275; O.C. 4234; Sur. let. 18 Dec., 7 Bom. 93.

‡ O.C. 4263, f. 3 (For. 120). Petit is here referring to the house he and Giffard had built (cf. Aungier's mention of 'Giffards new house' in O.C. 4258, f. 31). Campbell and Edwardes are mistaken in supposing the house had been built 'in the Castle' (*Materials*, &c., iii. 664; *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 213).

[5] O.C. 4258, f. 26; cf. *B.J.* 92.

attachment of the lands of an orphan that he considered improper, the Judge saying that to do so would be 'contrary to his oath'.[1] Capt. May, the commander of the *Mayboom*, imputed partiality to Niccolls in a dispute before the Court, to which May was a party, and the Bombay Council proposed it should be decided at Surat; but Aungier refused to stay the course of proceedings 'upon an idle suggestion of the Judges partiality'.[2] The purser of the *Mayboom* had been drowned on one of its voyages; some people said that he had been pushed overboard by Capt. May, and others that he had run overboard in a frenzy. Aungier ordered the matter to be inquired into by the Court.[3] Presumably he was acquitted of murder, as we learn in December that the Captain wanted to marry the widow of Capt. Ustick, provided she was first cleared of her husband's debt to the Company.[4] A man and a woman condemned to death for theft were reprieved by the Bombay Council, and Aungier made a standing order that convicted thieves should be kept in chains and in constant work till they could be transported to St. Helena.[5] Among the duties of the Court was the supervision of public-houses, and Niccolls was ordered 'to make a narrow inspection into those houses that sell [punch] without licences and alsoe those that keep ill orders in their houses'.[6] There were also restrictions against the secret disposal of corpses, as Capt. Gary's son was fined at the Sessions for burying a Coffre (Kafir), who died in his house, without 'sending for the searchers according to proclamation'.[7]

Col. Bake, the Surveyor-General, arrived from England on one of the ships in August, having obtained 'abundant kindness' from the Company in respect of his salary and allowances; but at Aungier's request he went on to Surat in September and did not return till November.[8] The Company, after having heard Col. Bake, asked the Surat Council to give its opinion on the feasibility of reclaiming the over-flown lands, what time it would take, the cost of doing it, and what profit (if any) would accrue to the Company. The Bombay

[1] Bom. let. 12 Jan., 7 Bom. 10; Sw. let. 24 Jan., 89 Sur. 12.
[2] Sw. let. 25 Nov., 89 Sur. 85; Bom. let. 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 78; cf. *B.J.* 92, 93.
[3] Bom. let. 12 Jan., 7 Bom. 12; Sw. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 14; Bom. con. 21 Feb., 2 Bom. 10.
[4] Bom. let. 8 Dec., 7 Bom. 76; Sur. let. 20 Dec., 89 Sur. 95; cf. 8 Bom. 66.
[5] Bom. let. 27 Jan., 7 Bom. 14; Sur. let. 2 Jan. & 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 6, 15; cf. *B.J.* 98, 99.
[6] Bom. con. 13 Nov., 2 Bom. 17, 18; cf. *B.J.* 79. [7] Bom. con. 14 June, 2 Bom. 14.
[8] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 272; *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 262, 271; Bom. let. 14 Aug., 7 Bom. 54; Sur. let. 24 Aug., 12 Sept., & 14 Nov., 89 Sur. 58 (For. 101), 62, 78.

Council was accordingly asked to send its views, after consulting Col. Bake; but he fell 'desperately ill of a sudden', and the Council replied without the benefit of his advice.[1] The opinion expressed by Petit and his colleagues is shown to be sound by the subsequent history of reclamation in Bombay.* They said they were informed by many (including the Desai of Chaul, whom Aungier had consulted) that stopping out the sea was practicable, and they saw no reason to the contrary; but the chief question was what it would cost and whether the gain would exceed the expense. On this point they considered that Col. Bake's experience as an engineer did not enable him to give a useful opinion: his experience did not relate to the probable cost of reclaiming the lands and the probable revenue from growing batty on them afterwards. It was not the impossibility of reclamation that hindered the project, but the need for public stock to carry it out, and the uncertainty of the return. The previous tentative proposals of the Desai of Chaul were worth little, and could not be expanded now, as he was said to have got into trouble with Sivaji and anyhow was not available. In the circumstances they could do little more than suggest small experiments, such as letting *kunbis* (cultivators) take up some patches of sunk ground, while some Englishmen wanted to enclose a fairly large patch near Mahim, but would only pay a nominal royalty for it, as they objected to incurring a certain rent for an uncertain revenue.[2] The Surat Council, on account of Col. Bake's illness and pressure of business, deferred giving any opinion; and though Bake partly recovered in December and proposed working at home, he afterwards got worse and died on 13 January 1677.[3]

French naval activity was very small during the year, and the Bombay records mention only the arrival of the *Vatour* from France on 21 September on her way to Surat.[4] She was accompanied by a pink, one of whose crew wounded a lascar belonging to the *Blessing*.[5] Petit and Day were doubtful about their power, in the absence of a commission from Surat, to execute a sentence of death, if the man

[1] 5 L.B. 272; Sur. let. 21 Nov., 89 Sur. 81; Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 72.

* For a full account of this subject, see S. T. Sheppard, *Bombay*, ch. v.

[2] 7 Bom. 72, 73.

[3] Sur. let. 5 Dec., 89 Sur. 90; Bake's let. & Petit's reply, 13 Dec., 89 Sur. 88 & 7 Bom. 77; O.C. 4258, f. 31, & 4263, f. 12 (For. 124).

[4] Bom. let. 22 Sept., 7 Bom. 59; cf. Kaeppelin, 172, 173.

[5] Bom. let. 22 & 26 Sept., 7 Bom. 60.

died and his assailant were convicted of murder; but fortunately he recovered.* A Portuguese vessel made use of Bombay harbour in January, when an Arab fleet from Muskat made another attack on Portuguese territory, in which they burnt and plundered Diu.[1] This resulted in several eminent merchants of the town, both Hindu and Mohammedan, wanting to settle in Bombay, for which they were given 'all fair encouragement'.[2] On the other hand, some diamond merchants of Goa and Golconda, whom Aungier had induced to keep correspondents at Bombay, were discouraged at his departure to Surat and had withdrawn them.[3]

There were also difficulties about getting weavers to settle at Bombay. The policy of encouraging them to do so was well established and was reiterated by the Company and Aungier during the year.[4] Petit pointed out that this involved the expense of building houses for them, as weaving now afforded them only a bare livelihood, and everything was dearer at Bombay than in Sivaji's inland towns, from which they came. For these reasons he had been unable to induce a 'good parcell of' weavers living in the Coorlas, some 20 miles away, to migrate to Bombay.[5] Aungier authorized him to promise such immigrants total exemption from militia work and any other exemptions from public duties that could reasonably be allowed.[6] It was also hoped that the removal of customs on the importation of cotton yarn and raw silk would encourage them to settle.[7]

It was discovered that the broker, Girdhar, had deceived the Council in the past by passing off cloth from Broach, Cambay, and elsewhere as cloth of Bombay manufacture; and he was strictly prohibited from including such outside material in the investment for the homeward ships.[8] The Council was also told not to buy any more cotton yarn and to dispose of what it had to the best advantage.[9] Suitable Rajapur cotton yarn was promised instead for use in the

* Bom. let. 26 Sept. & 26 Oct., 7 Bom. 60, 63; Sur. let. 10 Oct., 89 Sur. 66; cf. *B.J.* 76, 77. The doubt there expressed is cleared up by the Council's request for a commission in its letter of 19 Oct. (7 Bom. 58).

[1] Bom. let. 17 Jan., 7 Bom. 12; Sw. let. to Co. 2 Feb., O.C. 4175, f. 2.

[2] O.C. 4175, f. 2. [3] O.C. 4258, f. 31.

[4] 5 L.B. 264; Sw. let. 14 Feb. & 4 Nov., 89 Sur. 21, 74, 75.

[5] Bom. let. 16 Nov., 7 Bom. 68; O.C. 4263, f. 7 (For. 121).

[6] Sur. let. 21 Nov., 89 Sur. 82. [7] Ibid.; Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 73.

[8] Bom. let. 17 Jan. & 24 Feb., 7 Bom. 11, 21; Sur. let. 14 Feb., 89 Sur. 21; O.C. 4263, f. 6 (For. 121). [9] Sur. let. 14 Feb., 89 Sur. 20; Bom. let. 24 Feb., 7 Bom. 21.

year's investment; but though some patterns were sent in June, the actual yarn (154 bales, worth Rs. 4,203) did not arrive till after the middle of November and could only be distributed among the weavers for the next year's investment.[1]

In July the Council had about 150 corge of broad and narrow baftas ready, and expected to double that quantity by the end of November.[2] In December it sent up 24 bales of cloth, representing above 2,000 pieces of baftas, all woven on the Island.[3] Its cost was enhanced by the high price of cotton and the cost of keeping weavers at Bombay, which Petit estimated at 5 per cent. of the whole.[4] He proposed to cheapen the cost by having a factor to supervise the weavers, weigh out the yarn, and see that the cloth handed in approximately corresponded.[5]

The manufacture of soap still continued. In January the soap that the *Unicorn* had not been able to take (p. 143) was sent to Surat, and in February this article was declared to be the Company's commodity, and a duty of 9 per cent. was imposed on all imported soap to discourage merchants from buying it.* It was hoped this would go to meet the expense of the house that had been built for its manufacture and of the family employed in making it.†

On the other hand, in June the export of *cairo* (coir) was restricted, as there was a great want of it on the Island, and none was to be transported without a licence from the Deputy Governor.‡ Fruit was another of its products whose export was not encouraged. In February Aungier asked for some good water-melons and the best black and white grapes to be sent to Surat, as the Governor and other eminent persons there had expressed a desire to taste the fruit of the Island. Giffard replied that they could not get any. They had a few grapes in the Company's garden, but they had not matured, while

[1] Bom. let. 24 Feb., 7 Bom. 21; Sur. let. 14 June & 14 Nov., 89 Sur. 43, 80; Bom. let. 22 Nov., 7 Bom. 70.

[2] Bom. let. 3 July, 7 Bom. 48.

[3] Bom. let. 7 & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 75, 78.

[4] Bom. let. 3 July, 7 Bom. 47; O.C. 4263, f. 6 (For. 121).

[5] O.C. 4263, f. 6 (For. 121).

* Bom. let. 27 Jan., 7 Bom. 13; Sw. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 15 (For. 82); Bom. con. 21 Feb., 2 Bom. 10. This supports the statement at p. 120 *ante* that the duty of 9 per cent. was intended to be protective.

† 7 Bom. 13. The Company disapproved of the soap-house as an unnecessary expense (desp. 7 March 1677, 5 L.B. 409).

‡ Bom. con. 6 June, 2 Bom. 14. The Company disapproved of such a prohibition, saying licences were generally oppressive (desp. 7 March 1677, 5 L.B. 411).

the water-melons were then too small. Aungier, however, pressed for some to be sent, and in March about 200 melons from Parel, which were reported to be not as good as usual, were brought up.[1] The seeds that the Company had sent out were tried in the garden, but without success.[2] It, however, benefited by some gold found by a washerman in Aungier's time, which the Council held had been wrongly credited to the Court of Judicature instead of the garden.[3]

The *Berkeley Castle* and the *Nathaniel* put into Bombay at the beginning of December on their way up the coast to Swally. The former ran aground on Kolaba point, but got off at the next high tide without any visible damage.[4] The *Scipio Africanus* was sent down from Surat to bring up unwanted stock at Bombay, and was there from 8 to 20 December.[5]

In conclusion, two small matters may be mentioned. In January the sole shroff authorized to exchange money in the bazaar declared his inability to cope with the large quantity of money brought him, so the other shroffs that formerly had done this business were allowed to resume it, on condition that they exchanged money only at the proper bazaar rates.[6] The other item is that the commander of one of the ships, which accidentally broke four of the Bombay fishing-stakes, was called on to pay for the damage.[7]

BOMBAY, 1677

As had happened in 1676, the Company's ships, owing to their late departure from Swally (p. 274), did not touch at Bombay on their homeward voyage in January. The disappointment this caused was all the greater, because it had been at first intended they should do so, and orders had been given for letters, &c., to be ready for taking aboard, so that the ships might proceed without delay on their voyage.[8] As some consolation the Surat Council arranged for the *Persia Merchant* to call at Bombay on her way to England via Bantam, but she did not arrive till March.[9] Two other ships called

[1] Sur. let. 8 Feb., 11 March, & 7 April, 89 Sur. 18 (For. 84), 27, 28 (For. 94); Bom. let. 24 Feb. & 25 March, 7 Bom. 21, 36.

[2] Bom. let. 27 Jan., 7 Bom. 14.

[3] Bom. con. 14 June, 2 Bom. 13.

[4] Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 74; cf. Fryer, ii. 88.

[5] Sur. let. 27 Nov. & 2 Dec., 89 Sur. 86, 87; Bom. let. 8 & 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 76, 78.

[6] Bom. con. 5 Feb., 2 Bom. 8.

[7] Bom. let. 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 67; Sur. let. 14 Nov., 89 Sur. 77.

[8] Sw. let. 1, 15, & 26 Jan., 89 Sur. 2, 5, 8; Bom. let. 17 Feb., 8 Bom. 16 (For. 124).

[9] Sw. let. 26 Jan. & 12 March, 89 Sur. 8, 15; Bom. let. to Co. 19 March, 8 Bom. 22.

at Bombay in February, viz. the *Formosa* from Amoy and the *Return* from Basra.[1] The latter and the *Scipio Africanus* were sent down from Swally in May to winter for the monsoon.[2]

The Council (Petit, Ward, Day, and Hornigold) received an addition at the beginning of February, when Mansell Smith was transferred from Surat and took over the accounts.* Ward, however, took only an occasional part in Council meetings between the beginning of April and the end of August, and had no settled employment till he was sent to Mahim in August.[3] Child also gave the Council some assistance while passing through Bombay on his way to Rajapur in February and March, and again on his return to Surat in August and September.[4]

Oxinden passed through in February on his way to Karwar.[5] He was commissioned to get a supply of 300 to 400 candies of rice from Karwar and Mangalore for provisioning Bombay. For this purpose the *Phoenix*, the *Malabar Coaster*, and the *Good Neighbour* were sent down the coast in February. Originally Aungier and his Council intended getting as much as 1,000 candies and sending six vessels for the rice; but Petit said they did not require so much, as they were able to obtain regular supplies of batty, in spite of the Portuguese prohibition against its export (p. 151), and he pointed out that the country people preferred batty to the boiled rice procurable from Kanara. The Surat Council, however, considered it desirable to have a store of rice available for emergencies, and Oxinden accordingly sent up the required quantity in March and April.[6]

The *Phoenix* also brought up some freight goods from Bhatkal.[7] The *Hunter* returned from a freight voyage to Sind in March, but was found to be so leaky and defective for mercantile use that she could not safely be sent to Surat with goods or seek freight again.[8]

[1] Bom. let. 17, 19, & 20 Feb., 8 Bom. 18, 19 (For. 125).

[2] Sur. let. 26 April & 3 May, 89 Sur. 32 (For. 114), 34; Bom. let. 28 May, 8 Bom. 36.

* Sw. let. 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 10; Bom. con. 5 & 23 Feb., 2 Bom. 1, 3; Bom. let. 17 Feb., 8 Bom. 17 (For. 124). For brevity, he is often called 'M. Smith' hereafter.

[3] Bom. con. 23 Feb., 6 April, 30 June, 11 July, & 20 Aug., 2 Bom. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11.

[4] Aungier's let. 3 Feb., 89 Sur. 12; Bom. let. 17 Feb. & 21 Sept., 8 Bom. 17, 54; Bom. con. 18 Sept., 2 Bom. 11.

[5] Sur. let. 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 9; Bom. let. 17 Feb., 89 Sur. 17 (For. 124).

[6] Sw. let. 4 & 26 Jan. & 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10; Bom. let. 16 Jan., 3 April, 24 & 28 May, 8 Bom. 1, 29 (For. 130), 35, 36; Oxinden's let. 22 Feb., 20 & 28 March, 89 Sur. 20, 27, 29.

[7] Bom. let. 2 May & 21 Sept., 8 Bom. 35, 54; Sur. let. 31 July, 89 Sur. 52

[8] Sur. let. 20 March, 89 Sur. 19; Bom. let. 22 April & 2 Aug., 8 Bom. 33, 46.

It was also found that the alterations to the *Revenge* had made her unsuitable as a merchantman, but she did a freight voyage to Muskat and back before the monsoon.[1]

One of the first questions taken up by Petit was the farming of the customs. In January he renewed his proposal that the double duty on the same goods at import and export should be abolished. This, he said, made the goods so dear that it discouraged trade. The Island was so small that goods generally had to be transported from it, and commerce with the neighbouring country was so obstructed by the Portuguese and Sivaji that 'all ways of inviting merchants and getting a trade must be sought'. He was in favour of following the practice of other countries in allowing a rebate of half the customs paid on import, on the owner exporting the goods, either to the southward of Chaul or northward of Bassein.* This, however, was not approved by the Surat Council, on the ground that it would prejudice the revenues and cause continual disputes. Instead, they sanctioned an alternative suggestion by Petit that (subject to the usual exemption in favour of the Company's goods and the recent one for the free importation of cotton yarn and raw silk) all goods should pay the prescribed duty of 3½ per cent. at importation, but no outward duty, however often the goods were sold. They also agreed to his proposal that the anchorage duty of one rupee a ton on boats driven into the harbour by stress of weather should be abolished.[2]

The customs were put up to auction in February, subject to these alterations, and to the surprise of the Council fetched Xs. 3,250 more than in the previous year, or Xs. 30,250 in all. This, however, included the ferry rights for Mahim and Sion, and the farm was put up for two years, instead of for the usual one year, so that the risk of loss might be lessened.[3] The tobacco farm, which was expected to show a fall in consequence of the price of tobacco having nearly doubled, fetched Xs. 20,600 or Xs. 450 more than in the previous year.[4]

Some minor points in connexion with the customs are worth

[1] Bom. let. 2 May & 2 Aug., 8 Bom. 35, 46; Sw. let. 12 March, 89 Sur. 16.

* The Company made a similar proposal in its despatch of 7 March (5 L.B. 411).

[2] Bom. let. 16 Jan., 8 Bom. 2, 3; Sw. con. 25 Jan., 4 Sur. 12, 13; Sw. let. 26 Jan., 89 Sur. 7; Sw. let. to Co. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28, 29.

[3] Bom. let. 16 Jan. & 17 Feb., 89 Sur. 3, 17, 18 (For. 125); Bom. let. to Co. 19 March, 89 Sur. 23 (For. 127).

[4] Ibid.

notice. Petit stated in January that the raising of the customs from 2 to 3½ per cent. had not increased the revenues in the same proportion, which tended to show that, under the existing rules, trade was decreasing.[1] And it was ascertained that the management of the customs by Oxinden and Day in 1675–6 had resulted in a net revenue of Xs. 21,479, or Xs. 9,571 less than the sum bid by Burgess (p. 119).[2] The keeping of a register of imports and exports was again ordered, and a Parbhu clerk was engaged in each custom-house to do this.* The new rule that goods that had paid import duty should be free from customs on export led to a dispute, on which the Council was divided. The farmers of the customs contended that, as the Company's goods paid no import duty, they were, if sold, liable to pay export duty. This contention depended on a literal construction of the rule, and its supporters pointed out that otherwise there would be a loss of revenue on the sale of European goods. The Surat Council rejected this 'subtle inference', saying its acceptance would only result in the Company virtually paying the export duty through its European goods fetching less than they otherwise would.†

The Company's despatch of 7 March raised two further questions. It proposed that grain and timber, which were much needed on the Island, should be allowed in free of customs. The Surat Council, however, considered there was no sufficient reason to drop this source of revenue, as the individual charge to importers was so small that it did not hinder their importation or deter persons from settling on the Island, while the poor did not suffer, as the price of their labour was always raised in proportion to the dearness of provisions.[3] On the other hand, it agreed with the Company that the duty of 6 per cent. on the value of vessels built on the Island was calculated to hinder trade and discourage such building, and it promised to consider its annulment when the customs were next farmed.[4]

The loss of revenue in 1675, when the customs were under the

[1] Bom. let. 16 Jan., 8 Bom. 2.

[2] Bom. let. 10 April, 8 Bom. 30 (For. 131); Sw. let. 26 April, 89 Sur. 32 (For. 114).

* Sw. let. 26 Jan., 89 Sur. 7; Bom. con. 28 March, 2 Bom. 3, 4. Apparently the similar order of 1672 (p. 48) had not been carried out, or the register had been discontinued.

† Bom. let. 2 May, 8 Bom. 33, 34; Sur. con. 9 May, 4 Sur. 57, 58; Sur. let. 17 May, 89 Sur. 57. This accorded with a recommendation in the Company's despatch of 7 March (5 L.B. 411) that there should be free importation and exportation of its European manufactures.

[3] 5 L.B. 411; Sw. let. to Co. 21 June 1678, 89 Sur. 29.

[4] Ibid.

management of two of the Company's servants, was probably one of the reasons for an important resolution passed by the Council at the instance of Petit. This was that members of the Council and other Englishmen should not, in future, be allowed to bid at any auction of the public revenues, either for themselves or for any other person. This, the entry about it says, discouraged the 'country inhabitants' from bidding, to the prejudice of the revenues, while the Company also suffered by inexpert management and less security for due payment.*

Petit's proposal for the levy of a poll-tax on all the inhabitants according to their abilities, as a contribution towards the cost of the militia (p. 156), was approved by the Council in March. The *povos* were given notice to appear and give their opinions as to its collection, and Judge Niccolls was directed to bring in a roll of the inhabitants;[1] but no further reference to the matter appears on the records, and the idea was presumably dropped.

Attempts to recover the debt due from Sivaji on a bill of exchange continued. In February Petit reported that Narayan Shenvi had at last succeeded in getting 100 candies of betel-nuts and some 300 candies of batty towards its repayment, together with a promise of a good quantity of coco-nuts.[2] But Sivaji figures little on the records of this year, as he was engaged on his Carnatic expedition.

The Sidi, on the other hand, played a prominent part in Bombay history at this time. First of all an incident occurred that offended both Sidi Sambal and Sidi Kasim. The Calicut *manchua*† (p. 140) had been sent out under Ensign Thorpe on a cruise against Malabar pirates, who had lately become very bold; and by the beginning of April he triumphantly returned with the report that he had taken two great prows, one of which—'a new clever, handsome boat'—he had brought to Bombay, the other having been left at Goa, while he had burnt another prow and turned a fourth one adrift.[3] Unfortunately the last one was a *galivat*,‡ belonging to the Sidi's fleet, which had chased the *manchua* off Janjira, thinking she was a Malabar pirate, or a boat of Sivaji's, as she bore no colours. When the Sidi's boat approached the *manchua*, she put out her English colours,

* Bom. con. 11 July, 2 Bom. 8. This was approved by the Surat Council in Sur. let. 4 Feb. 1679, 19 Bom. 7.

[1] Bom. con. 23 March, 2 Bom. 2. [2] Bom. let. 17 Feb., 8 Bom. 16 (For. 124).

† A single-masted vessel, much used on the Malabar coast.

[3] Bom. let. 3 April, 8 Bom. 29; Bom. instrns. to *Phoenix*, 9 Feb., 8 Bom. 16.

‡ A war-boat, generally rowed with 20 or more oars.

whereupon the other sheered off. Thorpe, however, threatened it with a musket and got its crew to come aboard. He then demanded why they had pursued him and would not accept their answer that thay had taken the *manchua* for a Malabar pirate. He had two of the crew strung up to the yard-arm and threatened them till they confessed they had heard their captain say he was resolved to take the *manchua*. On this he disarmed them all, attached everything of value in their boat, and took the captain and two others as prisoners down the coast. The two Sidis complained, demanding restitution and claiming Rs. 2,600 for clothes and money that had been lost. The Council, however, found no evidence that more than Rs. 40 had been taken by Thorpe, and a refund of this was offered but refused.[1] Thorpe was deprived of his commission, but was reinstated in June, on his submission and promise of future better behaviour.[2]

Meanwhile Sidi Sambal had come to Bombay with his fleet in March, with the evident intention to winter there. The Council repeatedly told him that he would not be allowed to do so, and about 10 April gave him a written notice to leave the Port; but he beguiled them with day-to-day promises to leave, with a view to the season becoming too late for him to do so safely.[3] The Surat Council, on the matter being reported, at first refused his request to winter at Bombay, but subsequently, on the entreaty of the Governor of Surat, deemed it prudent to yield and so avoid offending Aurangzeb. It stipulated, however, certain restrictions, to which the Governor agreed. These limited the number of men who were to stay ashore with the Sidi to fifty, and required the consent of the Deputy Governor to others coming off the ships, while the Sidi was to see that his men gave no offence to the government or the people. And, as Sidi Sambal had installed himself 'like the hedgehog' in the East India House, his place of residence was to be prescribed by the Deputy Governor and Council, who accordingly required him to go to Mazagaon.* It was not long before the presence of the fleet gave rise to trouble. The

[1] Bom. con. 6 April, 2 Bom. 4; Bom. let. 22 April, 8 Bom. 32, 33. Another account of this incident is given by Anderson, 209, 210.

[2] Bom. let. 22 April & 27 June, 8 Bom. 33, 40 (For. 133); Sur. let. 3 May & 14 July, 89 Sur. 35 (For. 114), 47.

[3] Bom. con. 10 April, 2 Bom. 5; Bom. let. 22 April & 18 May, 8 Bom. 35.

* Sur. let. 30 April & 7 May, 89 Sur. 33, 34, 35, 36; Sur. con. 7 May, 4 Sur. 52–5; Bom. let. 18 May, 8 Bom. 36. The Sidi appears, however, to have established a lien on the East India House, as in 1684 the Company complained of his using it when he stayed in Bombay (*Bom. City Gaz.* iii. 253).

Sidi abetted the kidnapping of four Brahmins—'the principal men of the place'—from Sivaji's territory and concealed them on his ship. The Subadar of Chaul complained of this 'unneighbourly abuse' and threatened to stop provisions and firewood coming from the main, unless the prisoners were restored. The Council got this done, and eleven of the kidnapping gang, who resided in Bombay, were caught and condemned to death by the Court of Judicature, but eight of them were respited and transported as slaves to St. Helena.[1]

Subsequent events connected with the Sidi's fleet are dealt with later. They fall into the period after Aungier's death at Surat on 30 June (p. 279), news of which reached Bombay about 11 July. The Bombay Council wrote to Surat that it could not rightly express the reality of its grief: 'multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depaint its greatness.' It said little, if anything, of the debt Bombay owed to Aungier, but Oxinden well expressed it, when, as Deputy Governor next year, he wrote that the deceased President's 'benigne aspect on and fatherly care of this place raised it from a dunghill to what it now is'.[2]

The Council requested the issue of fresh commissions to the Judge and commissioned officers of the Island, as those issued by Aungier had become invalid. Meanwhile it made a proclamation confirming them in their posts till the arrival of fresh commissions; requiring all the soldiers to pay the same obedience to their officers as before; and authorizing the judge and justices of the peace to officiate.[3] The remaining two members of the Surat Council, by virtue of authority conferred by a despatch of 1670 (p. 280), confirmed Petit and his Council in the management of affairs on the Island, and required all its inhabitants to obey their orders accordingly.[4] Commissions for garrison officers and commanders of the Bombay vessels were also sent in October, after the Company's orders appointing Rolt to succeed Aungier had been received.[5]

The alarm at Surat in May caused by the near approach of Sivaji's forces (p. 278) led Aungier to write letters asking Sivaji and his prime minister, Moro Trimbak, to forbid any attack on the Company's estate and servants, which he forwarded to Bombay for

[1] Bom. let. 27 June, 8 Bom. 40, 41 (For. 133).
[2] Bom. let. 29 July 1678, 8 Bom. 32, 33.
[3] Bom. con. 11 July, 2 Bom. 6–8; Bom. let. 11 July, 8 Bom. 43.
[4] Sur. let. 30 June, 89 Sur. 45, 46.
[5] Sur. let. 31 July & 18 Oct., 89 Sur. 50, 67; Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 67.

transmission. Cowas Modi was at first appointed to take them to Rairi, but stormy weather prevented his starting and Capt. Keigwin and a Shenvi were later on selected for the mission. On Aungier's death the Council raised the question whether fresh letters should not be written; and it was decided that, as news of his death must have reached the recipients, the letters should be withdrawn; and the Council was told to try to get the orders asked for in them, as it was feared that Sivaji's army would attack Surat after the rains were over. The Council wrote letters accordingly to Moro Trimbak and Annaji, whom Sivaji had left in control of his affairs while he was in the Carnatic.[1]

In July Sidi Kasim, who was in Janjira, had 150 men sent down from Surat to Bombay under one Subhan Kuli to take possession of the fleet from Sidi Sambal according to the Emperor's orders. The Surat Council, while according permission for this, warned Petit to guard against rioting or disorder. This was all the more necessary, as Sidi Sambal demurred to giving up the fleet until he had been paid all arrears of expenses and had received his wife and family, who were detained at Janjira.[2] The sequel in October is related later.

In August Petit and his Council suspended Niccolls from his appointment as Judge of the Court of Judicature, on the ground that he had 'acted and carryed himselfe very imprudently in that office by his contempt of the government, his slighting and scandalizing our authority and by his actions causeth a general dissatisfaction in all people'. They cited particular language used by him in support of this statement, but did not hear him in answer to the charge.* James and Chamberlain approved of the suspension, saying they would not 'countenance in the least any one under your government that are so far forgetful of the respects they owe their superiors'; but later on they not only recommended that he should be given some other employment, but sent him on an important mission to Goa in

[1] Sur. let. 26 May, 7, 14, & 31 July, 89 Sur. 40, 41, 46, 47, 50; Bom. con. 13 June, 2 Bom. 6, 7; Bom. let. 27 June, 11 July, & 2 & 24 Aug., 8 Bom. 37 (For. 132), 43 (For. 134), 45, 47 (For. 135).

[2] Sur. let. 6 July & 17 Aug., 89 Sur. 49, 53; Bom. let. 2 Aug. & 9 Oct., 8 Bom. 45, 56, 57.

* Bom. con. 20 Aug., 2 Bom. 10; Bom. let. 24 Aug., 8 Bom. 48, 49 (For. 135, 136). As to the surrounding circumstances, see *B.J.* 93–5. The Company reversed his removal, on the ground that he had been given no opportunity of defending himself, and in 1685 Niccolls was appointed to assist in the Court of Judicature: see *B.J.* 95, 126, 127.

October (p. 179).* The post of Judge was kept vacant during the rest of the year; and Day and Ward, with Capts. Gary and Keigwin, were authorized to do the work as joint Justices of the Peace.[1] Petit and his Council, in fact, recommended a joint commission of that kind instead of the appointment of a judge, on the ground that the latter designation unduly inflated the occupants of the post to 'think no man their superior, [and] scarcely their equall'.[2]

The next main event was the arrival of the Company's three ships, *Success*, *George*, and *Bombay Merchant*, on 1 and 2 September. The Surat Council asked Petit to send them to Swally, together with the *Scipio* and *Return*, as soon as possible.[3] The five ships did not leave till about 21 September, and a controversy ensued whether they could not have been sent up earlier.[4] In the same month the Council intervened in a dispute about some goods, laded in Bengal on Mirza Muazzam's vessel *Selimony*, which had been forced by bad weather to winter at Bombay instead of continuing her voyage to Persia. The owner of the goods had died, and they were attached for safe custody till his rightful heir was ascertained.[5]

On 7 October the friction between the two Sidis led to a serious disturbance of the peace. Sidi Sambal had received his wife and children safely and had promised to deliver the fleet to Sidi Kasim, except one of the two big ships, which he wanted to take him and his soldiers to Surat. Kasim, impatient at not getting the whole fleet, marched with all his forces to Mazagaon, where Sambal resided, before the Council were aware of it. On hearing of the incursion, Petit immediately sent Capt. Keigwin and some of his troopers to keep the peace; but the disputants had already begun a skirmish before they arrived, and were so obstinate, especially on Sidi Kasim's side, that they were parted with difficulty. In the mêlée four of the Company's horses were shot, one fatally, but fortunately none of the

* Sur. con. 10 Sept. & 27 Oct., 4 Sur. 79, 80; Sur. let. 11 Sept. & 27 Oct., 89 Sur. 57, 70. Niccolls pleaded poverty as showing his integrity as judge (his let. 12 Dec., 107 Sur. 17). Child dissented from the proposal to re-employ him (PS. to Sur. let. 27 Oct., 89 Sur. 73); and Petit said that no suitable post was vacant (Bom. let. 12 Dec., 8 Bom. 73 (For. 142)).

[1] Bom. con. 20 Aug., 2 Bom. 10, 11; Bom. let. 24 Aug., 8 Bom. 50; Sur. con. 10 Sept., 4 Sur. 80; Sur. let. 11 Sept., 89 Sur. 57, 58.

[2] Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 68 (For. 140); cf. *B.J.* 100.

[3] Sur. let. 14 & 31 July, 89 Sur. 47, 52, 59; Bom. let. 2 Sept., 8 Bom. 50.

[4] Bom. let. 21 Sept. & 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 54, 64; Sur. let. 18 & 27 Oct., 89 Sur. 64, 69.

[5] Sur. let. 4 June, 31 Aug., 21 Sept., & 18 Oct., 89 Sur. 42, 56, 59, 60, 66; Bom. let. 28 May, 3 & 27 Oct., & 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 37, 55, 56, 62, 63, 66.

troopers were hurt. The Council at once called Sidi Kasim to the Fort, and after expostulating with him for the affront he had put on the government and the bad return he had made for the civilities shown him, disarmed all his men except a few attendants and ordered him to send them off the Island in four or five days' time. It did the same in the case of Sidi Sambal's men, except those required for the defence of his ship.[1] A week or two later Petit got the two to come to terms: Sambal was to leave for Surat on one of the two big ships in a few days' time and Kasim was then to take over the fleet.[2] The dispute thus came to an end, but Petit's hopes that the annual wintering of the fleet at Bombay would cease were doomed to failure.[3]

There was also difficulty about getting compensation for disturbance and the loss of a horse. Petit suggested that complaint should be made not only to the Governor of Surat, but also to Aurangzeb. The Surat Council pointed out that this would involve great delay and expense, and thought it would be better to demand restitution from Sidi Kasim. The latter, however, though he had at first proffered satisfaction, replied that Sidi Sambal was to blame for not having delivered up the fleet; while Sambal claimed compensation from the Council for a valuable horse he had lost in the fight and other damages, on the ground that his hands were tied from taking his own satisfaction.[4] The fleet appears to have left Bombay under Sidi Kasim at the beginning of November.*

Another excitement occurred in October. During the previous month Petit had been rather perturbed by a rumour from Calicut that England was at war with Holland, and thought it was more probable she was at war with France.[5] On 19 October six ships passed Bombay towards the north, and a report came from Bassein that they were French men-of-war. In alarm, the Council at once sent the *Revenge* down the coast to warn the Company's ships and the factories there. It also started putting the Fort 'in the best posture of defence possible', getting guns, hand-grenades, and 'stink-

[1] Bom. let. 9 Oct., 8 Bom. 56, 57 (For. 136, 137).

[2] Bom. let. 21 Oct., 8 Bom. 60 (For. 138).

[3] 8 Bom. 57, 60; cf. Anderson, 171–7.

[4] Bom. let. 21 Oct. & 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 57, 60, 67; Sur. let. 18 & 27 Oct. & 6 Nov., 89 Sur. 62, 66, 70, 71.

* This is stated by Orme, 82, and Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 271, and is probable; but I have not found any direct statement in the records on the point.

[5] Bom. let. 10 Sept., 8 Bom. 51; cf. Cal. let. 13 July, O.C. 4286, f. 5.

pots' ready 'in case of any accident'.[1] The ships, however, turned out to be Dutch ones from Batavia, which had hoped to meet with French ships, but had been disappointed.[2]

The building of the new bastion to the Fort progressed, so that at the end of the year work could proceed on it at half tides, and it was hoped to finish it by the time the Company's ships arrived in 1678.[3] John Cooper, the chief gunner, who had been put in charge of fortification work on Col. Bake's death, was reported to be taking 'extraordinary pains' in supervising it.[4] A nasty accident took place in April, when thirty-five barrels of English gunpowder that had been placed on the north-east bastion to dry exploded, blowing to pieces a sentry and six coolies who were tending it. The explosion damaged the terrace of the bastion, blew open a lot of doors, and made most of the town shake. It was due to a corporal, who filled an old bandoleer with 'wild fire', intending to tie it to a dog's tail; but on the dog escaping he flung it into the air, and a strong wind carried it on to the bastion, where it fired the powder. The corporal, who had only come off the bastion a short time before, was for carelessness sentenced to run the gauntlet three times and cashiered.[5]

Forty recruits for the garrison had been put on the ships, but half of these had died by the following January. The Company also sent out twelve young women, intended as wives for soldiers, saying they had taken care to choose only 'civil' ones and they had not been able to get any 'country girls' of the kind asked for (p. 140). In view, however, of the trouble these women gave and the scarcity of English soldiers, both the Surat and Bombay Councils would have preferred fewer women and more men.[6]

The despatch of 7 March directed that the warehouse, Court of Judicature, and Registrar's office might be continued, but that no more money should be spent on any new buildings that were not essential for safety or trade.[7] In reply the Surat Council, while

[1] Bom. let. 21 Oct., 8 Bom. 58–60, 62 (For. 137, 139).

[2] Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 67; Sur. let. to Co. 30 Oct., O.C. 4287, f. 6; Gary's let. to Co. 16 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4314, f. 3.

[3] Bom. let. 15 & 22 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4312, f. 2, & 107 Sur. 40.

[4] Sw. let. 26 Jan., 89 Sur. 8; Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 67.

[5] Bom. let. 10 April, 8 Bom. 30 (For. 131); Sur. let. 26 April, 89 Sur. 31 (For. 113).

[6] Desp. 7 March, 5 L.B. 409, 410; Bom. let. to Co. 15 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4312, f. 3; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 32, 33.

[7] 5 L.B. 409.

promising compliance, reported that a mint-house, a large Justice Hall,* a hospital, a custom-house, and sufficient warehouses had been completed, besides several houses at Mazagaon, which were of little use.[1] A list of the houses was forwarded to the Company on the *Persia Merchant* in March,[2] and it is of some interest that one of them was originally a 'dog-house' which had ceased to be used for keeping dogs. No doubt, however, dogs were still kept; and four Persian greyhounds were among the imports brought from Gombroon by the *Return* in February.[3]

Horses were also imported, especially for the troop of horse. Two soldiers were sent to Aurangabad to buy country-breds and brought back twelve, but they were said to be 'very dear considering their smalnes, standing in nearest Rs. 100 a horse'; and many of the troop-horses were so small that they would never be serviceable.[4] Consequently other breeds were welcome. In April the Surat Council spared the troop three horses out of those that had come from Persia on the *Return*;[5] and in May the *Revenge* brought seventeen horses from Muskat.[6]

There was occasional difficulty in feeding the horses. Thus, in spite of the Modi having impressed 80 candies of 'garravances'† in July, a month later there was not a pound of corn on the Island, 'which puts them very much out of ease'. And, though the Surat Council ordered 75 candies to be sent to Bombay by the Broach factors, they succeeded in shipping only 30 candies, as the Governor

* This was probably the house built by Giffard and Petit, which had been taken over as a Court-house in October 1676 (p. 162). The records contain no mention of the Court being moved to another building in 1676 or 1677; and I doubt the correctness of the statement by Edwardes, *Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 213, that 'on the completion of Aungier's court-house in 1676 the courts of justice were moved into it'. It is improbable that, if that building was nearing completion in 1676 and was intended to be used for the Court of Judicature, Aungier would have agreed to the other house being purchased for the Court. Also the dimensions of the new Court of Judicature, as given in the list of houses, O.C. 4379, f. 7, do not appear to correspond with those of *Mapla Por*, as indicated in Campbell's *Materials*, iii. 661. The list of houses just mentioned was prepared in December 1676 (Sur. let. 21 Nov. 1676, 89 Sur. 82; Bom. let. 20 Dec., 8 Bom. 79). 'Justice-hall' was used to denote the Court of Judicature even before it was moved into Giffard's house (O.C. 4378, No. 3).

[1] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 27.

[2] O.C. 4379.

[3] Sw. let. 1 Jan., 89 Sur. 1, 2; Gombroon let. 25 Jan., 89 Sur. 12.

[4] Sur. let. 10 April & 7 June, 89 Sur. 28, 42; Bom. let. 27 June, 8 Bom. 32 (For. 132).

[5] Sur. con. 12 April, 4 Sur. 45; Sur. let. 26 April, 89 Sur. 32 (For. 114).

[6] Bom. let. 2 May, 8 Bom. 35.

† Gram or other horse-fodder, from Port. *gravanço*, chick-pea.

of Broach prevented any more leaving the shore.[1] This was presumably due to the Mughal prohibition against the export of provisions (p. 120).

The Portuguese also continued their 'unjust exactions' at Thana and Karanja and their embargo on the export of provisions to Bombay.[2] The Company had petitioned King Charles in February 1676 to move the Prince Regent of Portugal to pass orders for the removal of these exactions and other obstructions to freedom of trade, and he had accordingly made representations on the subject. He also wrote a letter to the Viceroy of Goa about this, which the Company sent out on the ships.[3] As no Company's servant could conveniently be spared to take it, the mission was given to Niccolls, who took the letter to Goa on the *Success*. When he arrived in November, a new Viceroy, Dom Pedro de Almeida, had taken over charge from Senhor Luiz de Mendoza, and both of them replied. Niccolls was given a courteous reception and obtained expressions of goodwill towards the English, but the reply to King Charles made no departure from the Portuguese contention that the duties charged were customary and just.[4]

The restrictions on the importation of provisions continued to raise their price, and in April Petit reported they had grown so dear that the soldiers were unable to live on their pay. On this account he ventured to put forward their complaint as to the loss they suffered by being paid in buzerooks or dugonys, instead of in zerafins, involving a loss on the former of nearly 30 per cent. and on the latter of from 16 to 18 per cent. Aungier was 'not well pleased with' this request and turned it down, on the ground that no orders had been given for altering the value of buzerooks and dugonys, which he presumed were worth the same as before: if provisions were dear, all just steps should be taken to get them as 'plenty and cheape' as possible, but he would not consent to alter the pay of the soldiers, who were 'a garrulous, ungrateful people and were never satisfied'.*

[1] Bom. let. 24 Aug., 8 Bom. 48 (For. 135); Sur. let. 10 July, 21 Sept., & 1 Oct., 89 Sur. 49, 50, 60, 61; Broach let. 29 Oct., 89 Sur. 61, 62.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4312, f. 4.

[3] Danvers, ii. 360; *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 275–8; desp. 7 March, 5 L.B. 410, 411. A copy of King Charles's letter (in Latin) is in 5 L.B. 420, 421.

[4] Sw. con. 2 Oct., 4 Sur. 92; Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 4288; Niccolls's let. 3 Dec., O.C. 4301; Viceroy's reply, O.C. 4295.

* Bom. let. 10 April, 8 Bom. 31 (For. 131); Sur. let. 26 April, 89 Sur. 31, 32 (For. 113). As to the buzerook, see p. 52 *ante*. The 'dugony' is *do-kani*, i.e. a piece of two *kani*, the

This unsympathetic reply reflected feelings embittered by the mutiny of 1674 and accorded with the rudimentary ideas then current on economics and foreign exchange; but, after Aungier's death, it was cogently criticized by Petit. He pointed out that orders that a zerafin should be worth so many buzerooks or dugonys could not be enforced on a small island, to which provisions had to be fetched from abroad, where a dugony did not pass at the prescribed ratio to a zerafin. In October he mentioned Aungier's refusal to alter the soldiers' pay and said they were extremely discontented, alleging that they did not get three-quarters of their proper pay of 21*s.* a month. He added that the existing dearness and scarcity of provisions increased their dissatisfaction, and though he did not think they would be tempted to deviate from their duty, yet should this happen, it would be due to this grievance. Petit was then asked to give his own opinion on the question, and made the criticism of Aungier's reply that has been already mentioned.[1] No orders had been passed on the matter at the end of the year.

The fall in the value of buzerooks affected the revenues, as the tobacco and cooly rents were payable in that specie.[2] Another disadvantage was that their lightness hampered their currency outside Bombay, and new ones, 10 per cent. heavier, had to be coined to replace them; whereupon the Portuguese prohibited their passing in their country, though the coins were twice as good as theirs in weight and fineness.[3] The copperoons (see p. 53), however, went off the Island as fast as they were coined, being current also in Sivaji's dominions; and the Japanese copper sent by the Company proved useful and profitable.[4] As much tin as possible was coined, but probably not in great quantities. Thus the Mint in September had enough of it left over from its previous supplies to serve till the end of March 1678, so none was taken from the ships, though this had been authorized by the Surat Council.[5] The coinage of silver rupees

kani being 1/64th of the medieval Delhi silver *tanka* (Yule, 68, s.v. Bargony). In 1710, according to Burnell (112), the dugony was worth about a pice. For a succinct explanation of the loss on exchange, see *K.R.* 32. The supposed rate of exchange was 10 buzerooks to 1 dugony, and 38 dugonys to 1 zerafin, but actually 10 buzerooks were less than 1 dugony. and 46 of the latter went to a zerafin.

[1] Bom. let. 21 Oct. & 12 Dec., 8 Bom. 60, 61, 71, 72 (For. 138, 141); Sur. let. 6 Nov., 89 Sur. 63.

[2] Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 66.

[3] Bom. con. 11 July, 2 Bom. 8; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28.

[4] Sur. let. to Co. 10 March, O.C. 4270, f. 2; Bom. let. to Co. 19 March, O.C. 4272, f. 2.

[5] Sw. let. 11 Sept., 89 Sur. 58; Bom. let. 21 Sept., 8 Bom. 53; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28.

was also restricted, and none were minted after 25 March.* The main reason for this was that the value of silver had risen so much that it did not pay to turn it into rupees, and the bullion sent out could be more advantageously sold in the Surat bazaar and thus used towards defraying the Company's debt. Consequently James and Chamberlain disapproved of a proposal of the Bombay Council to mint all the silver that the ships brought out.[1] There was also a controversy as to the purity of the Bombay rupees that had been minted early in the year. Aungier said they were coarser and lighter than the former ones, and on this account the Surat shroffs depreciated them. Petit disputed this, saying the coins were at any rate better than the Surat rupees, and suggesting 'roguery' on the part of the shroffs to debase the value of Bombay money; but the Surat Council stuck to their view and thought there was 'some abuse put on [the Bombay Council] by the coiners', which should be checked.[2] As a matter of fact, Petit did discover a fraud in the coining of silver, though of a different kind. This was that the coiners misappropriated the dross left in refining the metal to the alloy of Surat rupees, by which he calculated they made 6 to 7 Rs. a thousand.[3] The difficulty of getting a good chief coiner remained till August, when one, Govindji Madhavji, was obtained from Surat. He promised to coin rupees and buzerooks cheaper than had been done before, but desired protection from the malice of the old coiners on the Island.[4] In October John Jessop, who had been promoted to a factor's post, was put in charge of the Mint.[5]

King Charles II's charter of 5 October 1676, authorizing the Company to coin rupees, pices, and buzerooks at Bombay, was referred to in the despatch of 7 March, but the sending of detailed directions and of stamps for the coinage was deferred till 1678. Meanwhile the Bombay Council was told to go on coining as before.[6] No coins were, therefore, issued under the new charter during 1677, and (as already

* Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28, where the Surat Council says, 'this year we coined no silver'. Under the 'old style' calendar, the new year began on 25 March.

[1] Bom. let. 17 July & 21 Sept., 8 Bom. 44, 45 (For. 134), 53; Sur. con. 30 July, 4 Sur. 74; Sur. let. 31 July, 89 Sur. 51; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28.

[2] Sw. let. 20 March & 10 April, 89 Sur. 19, 28; Bom. let. 27 March, 8 Bom. 25, 26 (For. 128).

[3] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28.

[4] Bom. let. 17 July, 8 Bom. 49 (For. 134); Sur. let. 31 July & 7 Aug., 89 Sur. 51, 54.

[5] Bom. con. 19 Oct., 2 Bom. 12, 13; desp. 7 March, 5 L.B. 406.

[6] 5 L.B. 410.

stated) rupees of the old pattern were coined, if at all, during the first three months of the year.*

The Mint, therefore, made little contribution towards defraying the expenses of Bombay; and a windfall of dollars and pagodas that Child brought from Rajapur and handed over to the Council was quickly spent, 'our ships, garrison charges and our new bastion sweeping away', said Petit, 'vast sums of money'.[1] Similarly the proceeds of the European goods sold there were spent on fortifications and wages, so that the Surat Council complained that it got little out of Bombay but a few calicoes at the end of the year to send home.[2] Only some twenty-five bales of baftas were forthcoming towards the lading of the ships, and an effort to get cloth woven out of Bombay had failed.[3] The Surat Council, in its disappointment, said the Company would find little encouragement in so small an increase of local manufactures. The Company at the same time was complaining of the dearness of Bombay calicoes, which the broker Girdhar attributed to the high cost of the cotton yarn supplied to the weavers.[4]

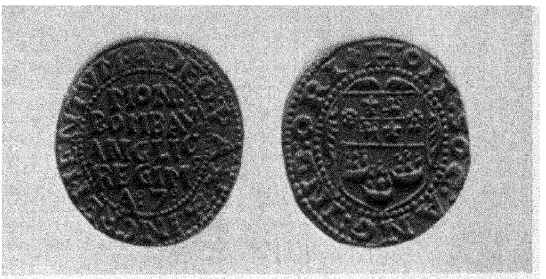
With the approval of the Surat Council, 93 bales of broadcloth were taken off the Company's ships in September. Of these 68 were of a shade known as 'aurora', and the Council (which included Child) accepted the offer of a Surat merchant to buy 40 bales of it at Rs. $3\frac{7}{8}$ a yard, to be paid in six months' time. As Petit and Child were non-resident members of the Surat Council, and the bargain had to be concluded before the ships left, it was thought that the prior consent of James and Chamberlain to this transaction might be dispensed

* The Bombay rupee of 1677 in the British Museum is obviously one issued under the charter, as it bears the royal arms and the inscription 'BY AUTHORITY OF CHARLES THE SECOND'. It cannot have been minted in Bombay in 1677, as (in addition to the statements mentioned above) the instruments sent out by the Company for minting the new coins were not received in Bombay till the latter part of 1678 (5 L.B. 549; 8 Bom. 59, 69). In December 1678 the Bombay Council reported that they could not make a clear impression with the instruments, 'whole words being imperfect and blurred, as well as part of the Royal Arms' (8 Bom. 59, 69). The impressions on the Bombay rupees of 1677 and 1678 in the British Museum are very good, and I can only surmise that these coins may have been minted in England, before the instruments were sent out in March 1678. Mr. J. Allan, the Keeper of Coins at the British Museum, tells me that the dies of 1677 and 1678 are different, and that the rupee of 1677 was probably one of a few trial strikes done in England before the larger pattern of 1678 was made. See the illustration of them opposite.

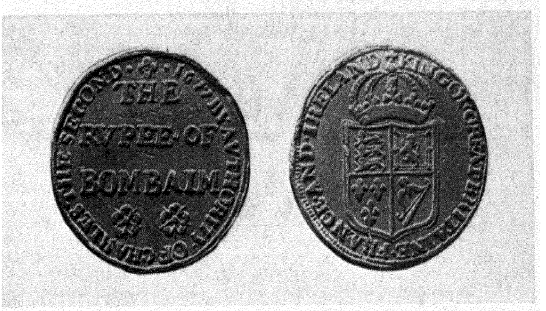
[1] Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 66. [2] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 15.

[3] Bom. let. 27 March, 3 April, 6 & 18 Dec., & 8 Jan. 1678, 8 Bom. 25, 28, 29 (For. 128, 130), 70, 74, & (next sec.) 2.

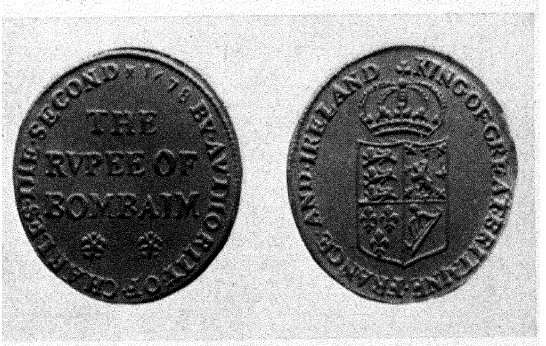
[4] Sur. let. 26 May & 18 Dec., 89 Sur. 4 (For. 115), 74; Bom. let. 27 June, 8 Bom. 38 (For. 132).



Aungier's *Angelina* of 1672



The Bombay rupee of 1677



The Bombay rupee of 1678
British Museum

with. They approved of it, but objected to not having been consulted before the contract was finally settled. They also wanted the price to be paid at once at Surat under discount, to help towards reducing the debt at interest; but the purchaser refused to do this, saying his contract was to pay at Bombay.[1] The Council derived another bit of income from iron and copper brought out by the ships, a large quantity of which was sold in October.[2]

Trade, however, showed no increase, nor could it be expected to do so, so long as the opposite main continued in the possession of 'so grand a destroyer of commerce' as Sivaji.[3] Malabar piracy also contributed to its obstruction and was particularly insolent during this year.[4] It was perhaps on this account that soldiers were still employed as guards on merchant vessels,[5] in spite of Aungier's orders to the contrary (p. 154).

The increase of customs and tobacco rents no doubt showed a 'great concourse of people', said the Council, but it confessed 'they are a miserable, poor sort of people, and the very rabble of all sects who fly from the Moores and Portuguese persecutions'. They were treated with all civility and kindness, and it was hoped that others of more repute and credit would thereby be induced to settle.[6] Among these latter was Nima Parak, 'an eminent Banian of Diu' in Portuguese territory, who proposed coming, or sending some of his sons or representatives, to settle at Bombay.[7] He was cautious, however, and wanted a patent under the Company's seal to safeguard ten privileges that he specified for the exercise of his religion and trade and the protection of his property and reputation on the Island. Petit was able to show that nearly all he asked for was already enjoyed by 'the meanest' inhabitant of Bombay, except a special exemption from payment of customs and tobacco duty that he sought.[8]

Petit took useful steps to improve the administration of the Company's lands by instituting a register of them and their produce, and

[1] Bom. con. 18 Sept., 2 Bom. 11; Bom. let. 21 Sept. & 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 53, 65; Sur. con. 16 Oct., 4 Sur. 101, 102; Sur. let. 11 Sept., 18 & 27 Oct., 89 Sur. 58, 65, 66, 71.

[2] Bom. let. 21 Sept. & 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 53, 66; Bom. con. 19 & 27 Oct., 2 Bom. 12, 13.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4312, f. 1.

[4] Cf. Sw. let. 26 Feb. & instrns. to Capt. Cooke, 2 Oct., 4 Sur. 20, 89.

[5] Bom. let. 4 Jan. & 19 June 1678, 8 Bom. 1, 24, 25.

[6] Bom. let. 15 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4312, f. 2.

[7] Sur. let. 22 March, 89 Sur. 22.

[8] 89 Sur. 23–5 (For. 111–13); Bom. let. 3 April, 8 Bom. 26–8 (For. 129, 130).

by putting up their occupancy up to sale, with a provision enabling the Council to get as much batty as it wanted for garrison stores at a fixed rate or at the market price.[1] The revenues were also helped by the Company's approval of Aungier's orders that the English landholders should contribute to the annual rental of Xs. 20,000.[2] Reclamation, however, made no progress, and the offer of some persons to start work on it, if allowed to do so without paying any rent to the Company for land reclaimed, was refused.[3]

Petit also made progress in getting the Bombay accounts put in better order. In February Day was directed to examine the unsettled accounts and 'methodise' them for incorporation in the general books.[4] In August the Deputy Governor again urged the need for an able Banian accountant, and Bhimji Parak provided one, whom the Surat Council promised to send after the rains were over.[5] At the same time it urged Petit to try and get a painstaking person to help M. Smith to put the accounts in order.[6] The Company had, out of compassion for his impoverished condition, authorized the employment of Stephen Flower, the former Agent at Gombroon, as an accountant at £30 a year; but presumably he did not accept the appointment, as he was on the *Return* when she went to Persia in November, and died on the voyage.* In March Henry Smith, who had been dismissed from his post at Bantam, but who had 'the repute of [being] a very able and knowing accomptant', was sent by the Surat Council to assist in the Account office.[7] But to put 'the distracted accounts of the Island' in order required some one well acquainted with Bombay and its inhabitants. The situation was saved by Capt. Gary, who first of all took up the examination of Ustick's current and warehouse accounts, at the request of his widow, who was anxious to get them settled, so that she might make 'an advantagious match' she was offered.[8] This he finished about 21 November, and Petit then put him on to correcting the general

[1] Bom. con. 23 Feb., 2 Bom. 2, 3; Bom. let. 19 March, O.C. 4272, f. 2.

[2] Desp. 7 March, 5 L.B. 410: cf. *B.J.* 87.

[3] Bom. let. 8 March, 8 Bom. 21, 22 (For. 126); Sw. let. 20 March, 89 Sur. 18.

[4] Bom. con. 23 Feb., 2 Bom. 3.

[5] Bom. let. 2 Aug., 8 Bom. 47; Sw. let. 1 Sept., 89 Sur. 55.

[6] 89 Sur. 55.

* 5 L.B. 406; Sw. let. 6 Nov. & 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 17. The Surat Council said he was so poor that he could hardly call the clothes he wore his own (89 Sur. 17).

[7] Sur. let. 12 Feb., 89 Sur. 16; Bom. let. 27 March, 8 Bom. 25 (For. 128); Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 30.

[8] Sw. let. 20 March, 89 Sur. 18; Bom. let. 2 July, 8 Bom. 41.

accounts, which task he completed in a month.* Gary also came to the assistance of the Council by supplying information wanted by the Company as to the instructions given by King Charles II to Sir Abraham Shipman and Sir Gervase Lucas, and whether any plot or plan of the Island, showing its limits as they were represented to be by the Portuguese in the negotiations for the treaty of 1661, had been sent out.†

It is further probable that Gary had a considerable hand in drawing up the revised scale of fees to be charged in the Court of Judicature that was issued under the authority of Petit and his Council on 20 November. It was accompanied by rules as to the regular sittings of Courts, restrictions on arrest, attachment of lands and suits on foreign bonds, and by provisions for the hearing of small causes and suits *in forma pauperis*.‡ Petit appears to have been interested in the Court, and Niccolls in a letter after his suspension states that the former 'had acted as Judge . . . in condemning persons'.[1] His successor, Oxinden, did not aspire to follow his example, 'by reason of his inexperience in all law affaires'.[2]

In addition to the Court of Judicature and other buildings, which the Company sanctioned in its despatch of 7 March, it also gave definite approval to the building of a church and a hospital, and contributed Rs. 4,000 towards the cost of the former.[3] The records contain no mention of any work on the church being started during the year; and Aungier had been awaiting orders from the Company before settling the place where it was to be built.[4] These orders did not arrive till after Aungier's death. It seems, therefore, unlikely that 'its foundation was laid by his directions', as stated by Child in

* Gary's let. 4 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4298, f. 5; Bom. let. 4 Jan. 1678, 8 Bom. 1. Gary was thanked in the following year and rewarded by his appointment to succeed Niccolls, under the designation of 'Chief Justice' and at a reduced salary of £90 a year (Sur. let. 26 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 40: cf. *B.J.* 100, 101).

† Sur. let. 18 Oct., 89 Sur. 68; Bom. let. 11 Nov., 8 Bom. 69; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 28. Cf. *E.F.*, 1661–4, 126, 134, and desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 548. The information was wanted in connexion with the petition of the Company in Feb. 1676 to His Majesty about the Portuguese obstructions to trade at Bombay (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 275–8).

‡ Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 29; O.C. 4298 (copy of the list of fees, in Gary's handwriting) & 4306 (his let. to Co., with which the list was forwarded): cf. *B.J.* 60, 62, 63, 108. Gary, as a former J.P. with Wilcox, would predominate among the officiating Justices, and his knowledge of the vernacular would help him to reduce charges.

[1] Let. 21 Jan. 1678, 107 Sur. 36, 37.

[2] Bom. let. 23 Jan. 1678, 107 Sur. 40.

[3] 5 L.B. 409.

[4] Sw. let. 11 Jan. 1676, 89 Sur. 5 (For. 78).

1683,[1] except, perhaps, in the sense that, subject to the approval of the Company, he had designed the plan, which was followed when the foundations were laid. But at any rate he initiated the project, and he showed his deep interest in it by leaving in his will a legacy of Rs. 5,000 towards its cost.[2] Payment of this was never obtained from Aungier's brother, the Earl of Longford, but (to use the words of Child) 'the expectation of that legacy made it [the building of the church] be carryed on accordingly'.*

A hospital had already been provided in 1676 (p. 162) and is reported to have been of great use to the 'poor sick soldiers', as the surgeons could give them better attention and prevent them taking 'hurtful things'.[3] The general health of the Island also appears to have been good, and 'Phisitian-General' Wilson was accordingly spared in response to Aungier's request for his services in April (p. 278).[4] Petit and a member of his Council were exceptions. Mansell Smith during the second half of the year suffered from 'a lingering distemper that has almost wasted my body to skin and bone', and thought he was not long for this world if he stayed on in Bombay.[5] Petit's case was much the same. His health had not improved. In October he asked to be allowed to come to Surat for a month or two, hoping that he would then be able to resume his charge as Deputy Governor. The Surat Council at first refused permission, on the ground that he could not conveniently be spared from Bombay till Rolt or Oxinden had arrived to supply another Member of Council at Surat.[6] Petit, however, pressed his request, and in November it was decided to grant it and to appoint Oxinden—'knowing him well qualified for that place'—to take over charge from him.[7] Oxinden accordingly remained at Bombay on his arrival from Karwar early in December, and became provisional Deputy Governor when Petit departed on the *Revenge* about the 21st.[8]

In their letter of 21 December Oxinden and his colleagues said that Petit did not require any recommendation from them, 'but this

[1] Sw. let. 26 Jan. 1683, para. 71, O.C. 4905, f. 11.

[2] Sw. let. to Co. 18 March 1678, O.C. 4370, f. 2.

* O.C. 4905, f. 11. As to the history of St. Thomas's Church, see *K.R.* 168–70.

[3] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 27.

[4] Sur. let. 10 April, 89 Sur. 28; Sur. con. 16 Oct., 4 Sur. 101.

[5] Smith's let. 21 Feb. 1678, 107 Sur. 52.

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 30 Oct., O.C. 4287, f. 7; Sur. con. 23 Nov., 4 Sur. 114.

[7] Bom. let. 12 Nov., 107 Sur. 17; Sur. con. 23 Nov., 4 Sur. 114; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 18, 27.

[8] Oxinden's let. 6 Dec., 107 Sur. 7; Bom. let. 21 Dec., 8 Bom. 74.

much we are obliged to say that the general content he hath given the inhabitants of this colony is remarkable'.[1] On the other hand, the Surat Council later on wrote, 'we are not a little troubled to find Mr. Petit hath given soe many unhappy occations (as you have advised us off) of a dislike of some of his proceedings in the time of his residing at Bombay'.[2] Mansell Smith also complained of bad treatment at the hands of Petit, saying, 'I never received so many unkindnesses nor was so hardly dealt with by your Worship as here at Bombay'.[3] But differences of opinion over the coast outstandings, which he and Petit had been asked to adjust, and about other questions, such as the re-employment of Niccolls,[4] may have led to a quarrel between them; and, on the data of the records, Petit showed high ability and sound judgement during his term of office.

[1] 8 Bom. 74. [2] Sur. let. 13 Aug. 1678, 89 Sur. 119.

[3] Smith's let. 21 Feb., 107 Sur. 52.

[4] Ibid. 49–52; Sur. let. 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 10; Smith's PS. to Bom. let. 12 Dec., 8 Bom. 73 (For. 142).

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1670

EVENTS at Surat have been carried down to 14 January 1670 in the preceding volume (pp. 208, 209). Aungier, with his two colleagues, James and Grigby, had sailed on the *Bombay Merchant* for Bombay on 12 January, leaving Streynsham Master in full charge till his return.[1] During this interval of about two months the *Charles* arrived on 15 February from Queda.* She had left the staff she had carried for the new factories at Achin and Queda, Henry Chown becoming Chief of the former on Gray's recall, and George Davis being in charge of the latter.† The ship was badly in need of repairs, being 'leaky, her stemm loose and her upper workes and decks rotten'.[2] Master, however, proposed to freight her for a voyage to Persia, from which she should return in time to winter and be repaired at Surat, while the *George* on her return from Persia would proceed on a voyage to Achin and Queda, calling at Malabar Coast ports on her way there. Arrangements were made to procure freight for the two ships accordingly,[3] and the *Charles* was able to sail 'fully laden' for Gombroon on 20 March.[4] The *George* reached Bombay on 28 February, and left on 5 March, bringing Aungier and James to Swally on the 11th.‡

When Aungier had left Surat, trade conditions were more favourable than they had been for some months, owing to the return of the Banians, or Hindu merchants, who had withdrawn to Broach as a protest against Mohammedan persecution (pp. 190–2 and 205 of the preceding volume). This state of affairs was unfortunately soon interrupted by Sivaji's rapid success in his war against the Mughal, and the alarm it occasioned among the inhabitants of Surat, with memories of his sacking of the town in 1665. On the

[1] Preceding volume, p. 205. The commission to Master is contained in 105 Sur. 131–6.

* Bom. con. 22 Feb., 3 Sur. 50. She had left Swally in April 1669 (preceding volume, p. 180).

† Cf. preceding volume, pp. 180, 193, 208. The employment of Davis in the Company's service was sanctioned in desp. 16 Feb., 4 L.B. 315.

[2] Bom. con. 22 Feb., 3 Sur. 50.

[3] Sw. con. 21 Feb., 3 Sur. 51, 52.

[4] Sw. con. 12 March & 31 Oct., 3 Sur. 53 & 102.

‡ O.C. 3415, f. 3 (49 Home Misc. 224, 225). Grigby had been left behind to assist the Deputy Governor of Bombay.

day after his return, Aungier thus described the situation as he found it:[1]

The towne of Surat is at present in a most distracted condition, occasioned by the inhabitants feares of Sevagee, whose late success and conquests, as allso his neare approaches, being sometimes within 20 leagues of this place, ... hath made all in generall provide for themselves, some by flight betraying their pusillanimity, others demonstrating a resolution to defend themselves and estates by fortifying their houses and keeping souldiers to guard them. The Dutch and French following the example of the latter by entertayning into their service severall peons,* besides their owne menn which they have taken out of their shipps, with which forces they promise the Governor and other officers to assist them on occasion against Sevagee.

It was decided to adopt the same course and to send some 20 seamen from the *George* for the protection of the factory-house, in addition to the extra peons and lascars that Master had provisionally engaged.[2] Four days later, however, finding that this would interfere with the *George*'s voyage to Achin and Queda, it was resolved to return them to the ship and ask the Deputy Governor of Bombay to spare them 35 or 40 'white Portugall souldjers who have been trayned up and are actually in service', with 6 or 7 English file-leaders.[3] Accordingly 39 white Portuguese soldiers, with a sergeant and 4 other English 'old experienced souldiers', were shipped from Bombay about the end of March;† but owing to sailing difficulties they did not reach Surat till towards the middle of April. Meanwhile the alarm at Surat had considerably diminished, owing to the arrival of Bahadur Khan, the Viceroy of Gujarat, with 3,000 horse to protect the town from attack. The soldiers were therefore returned to Bombay after a stay of about ten days.[4] In these decisions Aungier was naturally influenced by a desire to save the Company expense outside the ordinary routine; and it was fortunate that Sivaji's incursion did not take place till a time when the Company's ships were at Swally, and British seamen were available for the defence of the factory.

[1] Sw. con. 12 March, 3 Sur. 53: see also Sur. let. to Co. 30 March, O.C. 3415, f. 3 (49 Home Misc. 225).

[2] Sw. con. 12 March, 3 Sur. 53.

* Port. *peão*, orderly or messenger.

[3] Sw. con. 16 March, 3 Sur. 54.

† Bom. let. 29 March, 19 Bom. 12. The sergeant, Eversden, died at Surat from fever (Sur. let. 3 May, 19 Bom. 17).

[4] Sur. con. 25 April, 3 Sur. 63; Sur. let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515, f. 2 (49 Home Misc. 306).

The arrival of Bahadur Khan was not without its embarrassments. As Aungier expressed it in his letter to the Company,[1] it 'eased us of the present feare, but cost us, the French and Dutch and all the merchants deare for our protection in presents to him, which is a civill kinde of plunder demanded by these great Umbrawes* as a tribute due to them'. The Dutch presents were worth Rs. 3,000 or 4,000, and those of the French as much as Rs. 15,000; the Council accordingly thought it politic to add presents to the value of Rs. 1,500 to the 'few Europe toyes and rarities' with which they had hoped to content him.[2] A considerable part of the letter to the Company had to be devoted to explaining the necessity for this means of obtaining favours.[3]

The *George* had brought from Persia the Company's overland despatch of 2 August 1669,[4] which gave orders for the purchase and shipment of a large quantity of piece-goods and other commodities for England and Bantam, amounting to upwards of 1,800 tons. It also intimated the Company's intention to send some of the ships to Surat earlier than usual, so that after their unloading they might be employed on the coast.[5] The provision of the requisite goods, therefore, demanded urgent attention. The main difficulty was the need of cash for the investments, in view of the large accumulated debt and the slender stock the Company had sent out in 1669.[6] The sons of Somaji Chitta and Chhota Thakur had for some time been clamouring for repayment, and with some difficulty Master in April induced them to accept payment of the principal sums standing to their credit in the books of the Company in full discharge of the debts.† Money had to be borrowed for this payment, and in June the debt at interest amounted to Rs. 3,28,000. The Council consequently felt grave doubt whether it would be justified in borrowing more money for the investments, in view of the Company having given no express authority to do so, for 'in case of disaster (which God divert)

[1] O.C. 3515, f. 2 (49 Home Misc. 306).

[2] Sur. con. 2 May, 3 Sur. 64.

[3] O.C. 3515, ff. 2, 3 (49 Home Misc. 306–8).

[4] 4 L.B. 275 (49 Home Misc. 100): cf. Rolt's letter to the Co. 18 Feb., O.C. 3410.

[5] 4 L.B. 277 (49 Home Misc. 102).

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 26 Nov. 1669, O.C. 3373, f. 24 (49 Home Misc. 189). As to the stock sent out being insufficient, cf. pp. 32, 193, & 208 of the preceding volume.

* Nobles (*Umara*, plural of *Amir*).

† Sur. con. 31 March & 2 April, 3 Sur. 55, 56. The reason for the deprivation of interest was the Company's direction that, in dealing with the debts, due regard should be paid to their former misdemeanours: see p. 189 of the preceding volume, and Bom. con. 12 Feb., 3 Sur. 49. In spite of this, the Company was dissatisfied with the settlement (4 L.B. 534).

they could not judge themselves secure, but rather [would] expose themselves to the Company's censure, of whose severity in such cases they had given a notable example in [the case of] Sir Thomas Chamber'.* Aungier, however, managed to induce his colleagues to take their courage in both hands and borrow a further sum of Rs. 15,000.[1] In July, with more loans, the total debt incurred since 31 March came to Rs. 5,23,501.[2] Towards the end of September the Company's ships arrived at Swally, and the situation would ordinarily have been relieved by the exchange of goods and treasure into ready money. This was, however, hindered by Sivaji's invasion (as will be seen later), and Rs. 50,000 had to be borrowed at the end of October.[3] The Company in the letter that the ships brought out criticized the large sum that had been borrowed in the time of Sir George Oxinden,[4] but in spite of all difficulties the Council went steadily on with the provision of the investment ordered by the Company, 'being sensible how great a loss it would be to send your ships home dead freighted'.[5]

The Company in the same despatch had directed a quantity of pepper to be laden on the ships,[6] and money was required by the coast factories for this and cloth investments. Accordingly the *George*, which left Swally on 21 April for Achin and Queda, took with her considerable stocks of money and goods for Karwar, Baliapatam,† and Calicut. Grigby was sent on her as 'Chief of the Company's affairs on the Malabar Coast' to supervise the working of the new factory at Baliapatam, where he was put ashore for a stay of some months.[7] The factors at Achin (except Chown) were to be withdrawn, in view of the Company's orders to that effect, and whether the factory at Queda should continue was left to the discretion of Davis. The *George* was fully laden with goods consigned by local merchants to those ports, but carried none for the Company.[8]

* He had been Agent at Madras, but his private trade brought him into conflict with the Company, and he was dismissed in 1662 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 44, 162, 170, 385). The dispute was referred to arbitration and an award had been made against him (see p. 131 of the preceding volume).

[1] Sur. con. 3 June, 3 Sur. 66.
[2] Sur. con. 25 July, 3 Sur. 77.
[3] Sur. con. 31 Oct., 3 Sur. 105.
[4] Desp. 16 Feb., 4 L.B. 328.
[5] Sur. let to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515, f. 6.
[6] 4 L.B. 322.

† A small fort, locally known as Cota Cuna or Cottaconar, on the bank of the Baliapatam river. It had been granted to the Company in 1669 on negotiations by Grigby: see pp. 262–8 & 272, 273 of the preceding volume.

[7] Sur. let. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515; Sur. con. in April, 3 Sur. 58; commn. to Capt. Bass, 19 April, 3 Sur. 55, 56.
[8] Ibid.

There was considerable risk in obtaining goods from up-country, owing to the frequent robberies, 'the thieves and inland Rajahs taking the opportunity of plundering *cafilas* [caravans] and robbing merchants under the name of Sevagy'.[1] The brokers at Ahmadabad and Agra accordingly hesitated to send down goods to Surat, but Aungier did everything possible to have them dispatched. It was, however, found necessary in November to insure them for their total value, instead of for only half of it, as had been usual.[2]

The Council also made forward contracts for the sale of all the Company's broadcloth, tin, and copper expected to arrive on the ships. Khwaja Minaz, on behalf of Virji Vora, took the cloth, and Nanchand (grandson of Virji) the tin and copper.[3]

The alarm at Surat appears to have died down after the arrival of Bahadur Khan until the middle of August, when a rumour arose that Prince Mu'azzam was sending an army to take possession of the town. It was consequently decided to send letters to Syed Muhammad, the Prince's 'under-Buxe[e]' or paymaster, a former acquaintance of Aungier, and to John Trotter, the Prince's chief gunner at Aurangabad, 'a man in some esteeme with his master', soliciting their influence to prevent any attack on the factory.[4] Among the trade matters dealt with up to then, special mention may be made of the carefully reasoned proposals submitted to the Council by Streynsham Master for improving the Company's accounts, which are given at length and were adopted for future use on 3 June.[5] Among the alterations, one of the most important was the change of date for balancing the books from 30 November to 31 July.* The former was a most inconvenient date, as it took place in the busiest time of year; the latter still survives in the Bombay Presidency as the closing day of the land-revenue year.

At the beginning of September the Council received the despatch of 16 February, which had been brought out by the *Berkeley Castle* and was written in ignorance of the death of Sir George Oxinden. A matter that called for immediate attention was the Company's orders

[1] Sur. con. 31 March & 26 May, 3 Sur. 55, 65.

[2] Ibid. & Sur. con. 22 Nov., 3 Sur. 110.

[3] Sur. con. 8 & 14 June & 4 July, 3 Sur. 71, 72, 73; Sur. let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515, f. 4.

[4] Sur. con. 16 & 18 Aug., 3 Sur. 79, 80, 81. Trotter's reply is to be found in 105 Sur. 150.

[5] 3 Sur. 67–71.

* In subordinate factories the year was to close on 30 June (3 Sur. 70). The principle of the proposals was approved by the Company in desp. 22 Feb. 1671, 4 L.B. 428.

about the Surat Council. These condemned Oxinden's reputed habit of managing 'the greater part of our business in buying and selling without the knowledge or consent of Council, which may become a practize of very ill consequence to us in time', and required full compliance with their orders that 'the buying and selling of goods, admitting persons into Council, disposing of factors, and management of all our affairs, be done by the joint advice of our President and Council'. They also directed that there should be not less than five members of Council 'constantly residing at Surat', and settled its composition as follows: President, Oxinden; Members, Aungier, Gray, Rolt, Young, Master, James, Giffard, and Grigby, of whom Aungier, Gray, and James were constantly to be at Surat.[1] Accordingly Gray was recalled from Bombay and Grigby from Baliapatam —the other two members of Council, Master and James, being already on the spot. Giffard was appointed to succeed Gray as Deputy Governor of Bombay.[2] It was not, however, till 5 December that, on Grigby's return, a full Council-meeting was held.*

Another urgent matter was the intimation in the despatch that the Company had changed its intention of sending a ship to Bantam. It ordered the Council, which had meanwhile arranged to provide a cargo for that place, to send home such of the goods as were proper for England and to dispose of the rest as best they could.[3] This naturally caused trouble; but Aungier managed to sell some of the piece-goods to Capt. Anderson, who commanded the King of Bantam's ship, the *Blessing*.[4]

A disturbing event early in September was the sudden death of Roshan Zamir, the Governor of Surat, from apoplexy.[5] The temporary 'Chief' in the town bore the factory no good will, because it did not propose to 'comply with his greedy humour and unreasonable demand for a great present'.[6] A new Governor, by name Mirza Zefala (Saifullah), came in November; but, as will be seen later, this did not much improve matters. On 16 September the Council decided on sending down all the warehoused goods as speedily as possible to Swally Marine, in view of the difficulties that might arise from a new Governor disputing the Company's privileges, and the news that had

[1] 4 L.B. 313, 314. [2] Sur. con. 5 Sept., 3 Sur. 85.

* Sur. con. 5 Dec., 3 Sur. 113. Rolt, who was Chief in Persia, and Young, who had been deported home, were not available for the Council. [3] 4 L.B. 321.

[4] Sur. con. 29 Nov., 3 Sur. 112; Sur. let. to Co. O.C. 3515, f. 22: cf. the preceding volume, p. 255. [5] PS. of 10 Sept. to Sur. let. 6 Sept., 19 Bom. 54. [6] Ibid.

come from Bombay of Sivaji's raising a great army with which to invade Gujarat.[1] This was a wise anticipation of ensuing trouble that saved the Company from heavy loss.

Otherwise the main event in September was the arrival of the three ships, the *Berkeley Castle*, the *Experiment*, and the *Hannibal*, at Swally on the 23rd.* The *Loyal Subject*, which had been detained at Bombay for some days and brought up Gray, did not arrive till 2 October.[2] The question of their unloading was not an easy one. Thus on 24 September it was resolved to unload the coir that had been brought from Bombay and send it up to Surat, 'the towne at present being quiet and the fear of Sevagys coming against it being allmost blowne over and evaporated'. On the other hand, the merchants who had contracted for the cloth, tin, and copper in the ships desired the retention of those goods at Swally Marine till *Diwali* (the Hindu festival that was due in ten days' time), 'in regard the towne was not totally dispossest of the great feares of Sevagy', and it was decided to gratify them.[3] On the 28th, however, the goods were ordered to be sent up, at their desire.[4] There could, therefore, have then been little realization of the danger that threatened Surat. It is not till 2 October that we read of 'sudden and certaine news of Sevagys approach within 20 miles'. Aungier accordingly convened the Council.[5] The rest of the story can best be told in his own words:[6]

Your servant Gerald Aungier resolved the same day the news arrived to goe up to Surat with a guard of men taken out of the shipps, intending to leave Mr. Matthew Gray with the rest of your Councell at the Marine, to take care of your interest there; but as he was preparing to take horse the rest of your Councell thought good to declare their judgments against his going, advising that it would not consist with the safety of your affairs to hazard the person of your President at such a time when all the merchants of the towne and the officers themselves had diserted it; that it was impossible, though wee tooke all the men out of the shipps, to defend an open house against such an army; that, if your President were in the house, the enemy might probably assault it on purpose to seize his

[1] Sur. con. 12 Sept., 3 Sur. 88.

* Sur. con. 24 Sept., 3 Sur. 89. The picture reproduced opposite was drawn by Edward Barlow, a seaman on the *Experiment*: see *Barlow's Journal*, i. 186. Its title is extensive, but it appears to show the anchorage at the mouth of the river Tapti, between Swally and Surat.

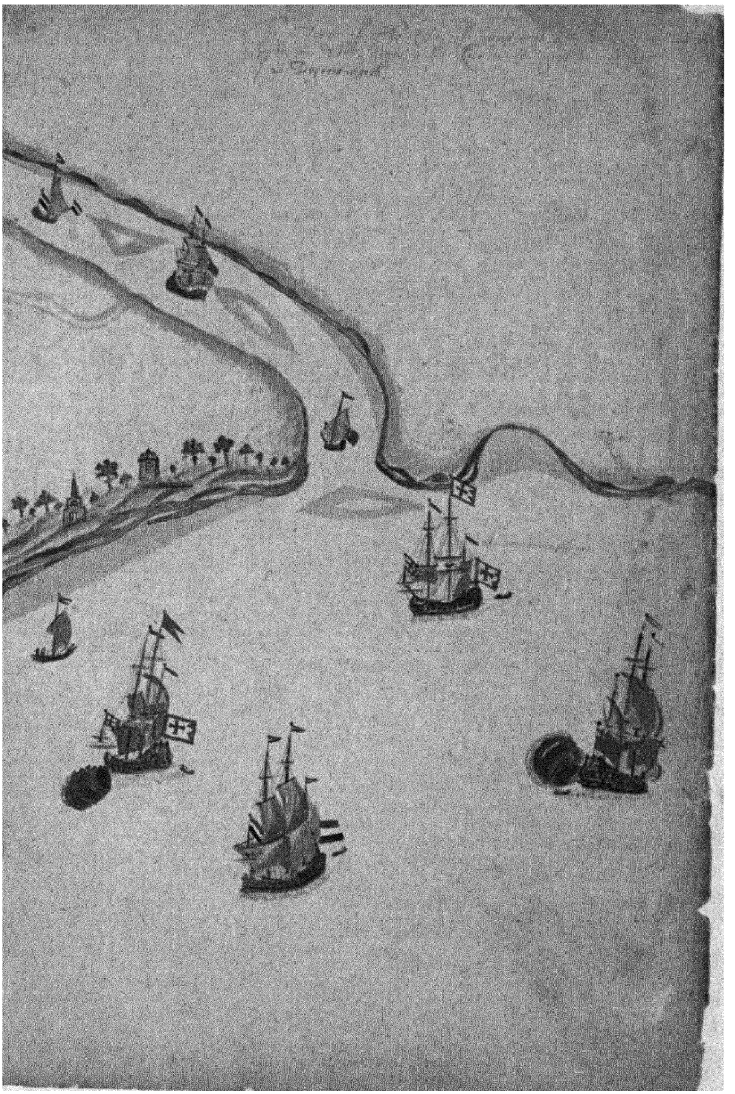
[2] O.C. 3515, f. 9 (49 Home Misc. 313).

[3] Sw. con. 24 Sept., 3 Sur. 89, 90.

[4] Sw. con. 28 Sept., 3 Sur. 92.

[5] Sw. con. 2 Oct., 3 Sur. 93.

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 3515, ff. 10–13 (49 Home Misc. 315–23).



The Maner of the Citey of Surat with Swalow (? Hole and the) factorey and the River as the(y) Liye in the East Indias (in the lattitude) of 2 degreis north.'

Reduced from the original in the Journal (1655-1703) of Edward Barlow, seaman

person, in hopes of his ransom, whereas, if he were not there, it might be less taken notice of; that the greatest parte of your estate lay at Swally, whither 'twas not improbable but the enemy might send some partys either to seize or burn your goodes in case they had not their demands, against whome it was necessary to make the best provision wee could. These with other arguments they prest soe earnestly that Gerald Aungier thought it would not become him to oppose the body of your Councell, wherefore desisting from his journey, after debate, wee resolved to send up 40 seamen taken out of your shipps with Mr. Streinsham Master, who chearfully undertooke the charge, and our advice to him was that he should keep his men close to your house and not discharge a gunn or fight with the enemy, unless they were first assaulted. So the 2nd October at night Mr. Master with parte of the menn marched up to Suratt; the rest we sent upon the hoigh, which was to lye there to secure their retreat in case they were forced to leave the house. It will be some divertisement to you to read what passt at Suratt and Swally, which was thus. The 3rd October Sevagys army approached the walls and after a slight assault the defendants fled under the shelter of the Castle gunns, and they [Sivaji's men] possesst themselves of the whole towne, some few houses excepted which stood upon their defence, to wit the English house, the Dutch and French, and the two Serays* or Seraglias, one whereof was maintayned by Persian and Turkish merchants, the other by a Tartar King called the king of Cascar† (who being of kin to the Mogull and beaten out of his countrey by his owne sonne desired leave to goe on a pilgrimage to Mecha, from whence he returned two months since). Part of the army the same day assaulted the Tartars quarter and the English house, but the French made a private peace for themselfes, on what tearmes wee cannot learne,‡ and so never shott off a gunn, though at first, being strong in men, they vapoured as if they would have fought the whole army themselves. The enemy found such hott service from our house, having lost severall menn, that they left us and fell on the Tartar quarter fiercely, which lay between the French house and ours. At first they made a stout resistance, but the French suffering the

* Pers. *sarāī*, edifice, palace. It has not the restricted meaning of 'women's apartments' implied by *serraglio* (cf. Yule, 811). The plan in *E.F.*, 1661–4, 297, shows the two sarais.

† Kashgar, a city of Chinese Turkistan, situated at an altitude of over 4,000 ft.

‡ The Dutch account of the affair corroborates this, saying that, by valuable presents, they had obtained from Sivaji's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation (translations of Dutch Records at The Hague, vol. xxix, no. 763, let. 14 Nov.). Mons. Carré in his *Voyage des Indes Orientales*, i. 96, on the other hand, attributes the French factory's freedom from attack to the bold front and confident look of its defenders.

enemy to possess some avenues next their house and, as 'tis affirmed, furnishing them with powder and shott,* the Tartars could keep their house noe longer, but in the night, having conveighed away their King to the Castle, left their house a prey to Sevagy, where he found a vast treasure in gould, silver, rich plate, a gould belt and other rich furniture. The new Seray also, defended by the Turkes, they assaulted, but were beaten off with losse, but the Dutch house lying out of the way was never attempted by them. The enemy, having taken the Tartar Seray, could from thence more safely ply their shott at our house, for which they prepared themselves, but finding our menn resolute on their defence, they held up their hands desiring a parley, and the captain of that brigade calling to speak with Mr. Master from the wall, he appeared to them. Many expostulations passt touching our good correspondence at Bombay and our enmity at Suratt. The captain told Mr. Master the Rajah or Sevagy was much enraged that wee had killed soe many of his menn and was resolved on revenge. Mr. Master answered they assaulted and wounded severall of our menn before they shott a gunn, and that, if his men did not assault the English, they would not offend him, but if they offered violence they were resolved to defend the house to the last mann and would sell their lives deare. The captain answered that he would keep his men in and desired allso that he would send some understanding person to discourse with him. This being agreed on both sides, our house was quiett for two days. In the interim the enemy ransacks the great houses at leasure and found therein vast treasure and rich goods, setts fire in severall places, destroying neare halfe the towne to the ground. They approached the Castle, threatning to storm it, but they were not, it seems, prepared for it, for they did not venture very neare. The third day they appeared againe before our house, notwithstanding the overtures of treaty before, casting out threatning speeches that they would take or burne it to the ground, but Mr. Master stood in so resolute a posture that the captain, not willing to hazard his men, with much adoe kept them back and sent a man into the house to advise Mr. Master what was fitt to be done. This person told him the Rajah was much offended for the losse of his men and therefore advised he would send some person to him, but he must not goe empty handed but with a present, though to noe great vallue. Mr. Master thought it not imprudence to secure your goods, together with soe many mens lives, at so reason-

* Similarly the Dutch account (translations of Dutch Records at The Hague, vol. xxix, no. 763, let. 14 Nov.) says that the King of Kashgar 'had put all his reliance on the French' and reproached them for not having come to his assistance.

able a rate, and therefore by advise of those with him resolved to prepare a present to Sevagy to the amount of rupees* in scarlett, sword blades, knives, etc.†. . . The present was sent by two of your servants, who were conveighed to Sevagys tent without the towne. He sent for them and received them with the piscash‡ in a very kind manner, telling them that the English and he were good freinds, and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would doe the English no wrong and that this giving his hand was better than any cowl§ to oblige him thereunto.

(*Précis*) Sivaji then called his army out of the town to the wonder of all men, but he had got plunder enough. Before he went he sent a letter to the officers and chief merchants, threatening to return next year and burn down the rest of the town, unless they paid him twelve lakhs of rupees yearly. No sooner had Sivaji gone, than the poor people of Surat fell a plundering what was left: not a house great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard, which was not ransacked. In the first day's fight one Englishman was shot through the body and is since dead of his wound: he belonged to the *Blessing*, newly arrived from Mokha. Capt. Anderson has been very assistant to us and was himself in person with 20 of his men and Javas to defend your house. He has lost about 8,000 Rs. in pepper and other goods consumed in the great fire.

(*Aungier's words resumed.*) [Meanwhile] wee at Swally were not free from danger, being kept in continuall allarums of the enemys coming down, and there was great reason to expect him in regard the Shawbunder,‖ Cozzy,¶ with most of the eminent merchants, Moores, Armenians, Cuttarees** and Banians, were fled hither under our protection, and there is no doubt but Sevagy would have sent part of his army downe, if it had not been spring tides that he could not foard over the river, and the boates were all taken up with merchants goods, for which they payd excessive deare. Wee prepared the best wee could to defend your estate, which was very great, having by the helpe of the ships carpenters built a small platforme at one end of the Marine yard and mounted thereon 8 gunns which 'tis said one of Sevagys spies that were at Swally advised him of, and

* The space for the amount is blank in the original.

† Here follows a conversation between the envoy, who was a merchant of Rajapur, and Master as to the possibility of the Company's return to that place.

‡ A present to a great man, from Pers. *pesh-cash*, first-fruits.

§ A lease or grant in writing, from Arab. *kaul*, word, promise, agreement.

‖ The chief customs-officer, from Pers. *shāh-bandar*, lit. harbour-master.

¶ *Kazi*, Mohammedan high priest.

** Guj. *kothāri*, a store-keeper or merchant: cf. *E.F.*, 1661–4, 80 n.

wee doubt not by Gods assistance to preserve your goods from plunder; but wee feared fire more then the enemy, against which wee kept a constant watch and for greater security sent your treasure, which wee had taken ashoare, together with your currall [coral] and other Europe goods, on board the *Oxinden* and *Blessing;* and your . . . goods provided for England wee were lading as fast as we could on board the *Berkeley Castle,* whome wee had appointed the first shipp for England. The goods also which wee had stowed in two great warehouses at Umbra and Rancale [Rander] wee thought good to send for, though at great charge, in regard wee much feared either the enemy or else the countrey peoples plundering or firing the warehouses.

(*Précis*) We then heard of Sivaji's departure, which we could not credit for several days, so stood on our guard; but the news being confirmed, we fell again to our business. Within a few days, however, we were again disturbed with the 'noyse' of another army coming to Surat—some said it was Sivaji's, others that it was one sent by the Prince to defend the town—but it marched away, and since then the town has been quiet.

This was written on 20 November, but both before and after that date there was much alarm, and trade conditions were, of course, very bad. We see this clearly from letters written by Streynsham Master at Surat to the Council at Swally Marine during the last three months of the year.* About 22 October he wrote that the distraction in the town was so great that there was neither governor nor government.[1] On 5 November he was still dissuading the Council from sending up goods to Surat, on account of the great confusion.[2] On the 10th he reported the town to be 'pretty quiet and the allarum of Sevagys second coming blown over at present'.[3] On the 14th he went to meet the new Governor, Mirza Zefala (Saifullah), who 'accepted it very kindly and told us we had done very well'.[4] On the 17th there were rumours of the approach of an army within sight of the town, which caused 'a very hot alarum—all the people running out of the towne with bag and baggage over one anothers backes'.[5] All the peons at the factory vanished, and Master asked for twenty more men and took steps to strengthen its defences. He also had most of the goods that remained in the factory put on boats to send them down to

* Those for October are missing, but references to them appear in some of the consultation entries. Letters for November and December are in 105 Sur. 50, 62–7, 71, &c.

[1] Sw. con. 22 Oct., 3 Sur. 97. [2] Sw. con. 5 Nov., 3 Sur. 108.
[3] Sw. con. 10 Nov., 3 Sur. 108. [4] Master's let., 105 Sur. 59. [5] 105 Sur. 62.

Swally; but the Governor refused to pass them, unless ready money were paid for the customs on them.[1] Master's letter of 21 November[2] contains a vivid account of an interview he had with the Governor on the subject.

(*Précis*) He said we must pay ready money: I replied we would pay as we used to do these 60 years, *viz.* a year after: he asked if we had a written authority for this from the King [Aurangzeb]: I said it had never been required before, and we looked on the Governor as representing the King: he said we might look upon him also in that way. I asked what order he had from the King to bring new customs upon us: he asked what we were: I told him English, who had increased the trade here: he said the King had lost a lot by trusting people: I said he had never lost anything by trusting us, and if we owed him anything we were ready to pay, for we were not running away, but desired to drive our trade as formerly, and we had a lot of goods at Swally, which we would not bring up, if he used us so badly. He made no reply and immediately rose and went to his pallenkeen, to seek Niaght Chaune [Inayet Khan],* who had arrived that day. I followed and told him, if our goods were lost, he should answer for it, and so we parted. When he was gone, I made a small noise and muttering of discontent at hard usage in these times of danger, that the people should take notice of it, and so returned here.

In spite of the unpromising finish to the interview, it resulted next day in the Governor withdrawing his objection to the goods leaving Surat.[3] But others were not so fortunate, and Master on the 22nd wrote: 'the new Governor gives no encouragement to trade, rather discourages merchants by being so very exact with them, as he and all his officers are.'[4] On 28 November the news of Sivaji's 'approaches by sea and land' was very rife in the town, 'all people securing their families and . . . sending them abroad'.[5] On the 29th there was 'certaine intelligence' that Sivaji's army was approaching, and it was thought it might reach Surat the next day.[6] Master accordingly loaded on the hoy all the treasure that had been sent up for coining; but as the hoy might be wanted for a retreat to Swally, the treasure was removed to carts and sent down by land.[7] The fears

[1] 105 Sur. 62, 65. [2] 105 Sur. 66, 67.

* He may have been the one who was Governor of Surat in 1663–4 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 203, 311).

[3] 105 Sur. 66, 67. [4] 105 Sur. 71. [5] 105 Sur. 81.

[6] Ibid. [7] Ibid. & Sw. con. 29 Nov., 3 Sur. 113.

of an attack by sea led to proposals to the French and Dutch to join in concerted action to keep Sivaji's fleet out of the port.*

All this must have been very disturbing to trade, but in spite of the difficulties the *Hannibal* and the *Experiment* were laden and sailed for the Malabar coast on 11 October, while the *Loyal Subject* followed them four days later.[1] The loading of the *Berkeley Castle* was also proceeded with, though this was impeded for twenty days by the confusion caused by Sivaji's invasion.[2] For this and other reasons the ship was not ready to sail till 10 December and, after considerable discussion as to the advisability of keeping her to go with the other ships to England, she left on the 15th of that month.[3] The three others returned from the Malabar coast on 21 November, 3 December, and 8 December respectively, bringing 600 tons of pepper, cloth, &c.; and their lading for the homeward voyage was at once taken in hand.[4]

As already mentioned, Aungier had made forward contracts for the sale of most of the goods they had brought out from England, and he claimed that this had resulted in a saving of £500, for 'trade is totally ruined at present, the whole country being under an universal deluge of ruine'.[5] Thus, in spite of every effort to sell the coral that had been sent out in the past two years, it remained undisposed of.[6]

There was also considerable difficulty in dealing with the gold and silver received, owing to the insecurity during the last quarter of the year. It was proposed to coin the treasure at Surat,[7] but the Council were forced to keep it at Swally, not daring to risk the danger of sending up such a tempting commodity.[8] The Surat *tanksall* (mint) was also constantly closed owing to the frequent alarms.[9] In these circumstances an attempt to get the Company's creditors to accept payment in bullion naturally failed.[10]

The *Charles*, which had sailed for Persia on 20 March, did not

* 105 Sur. 81, 82, & Sw. con. 29 Nov., 3 Sur. 113. The proposed 'league' of the three Christian nations led to inquiries by Aurangzeb, whose ears the news reached (Master's let. 3 Jan. 1671, 105 Sur. 100).

[1] O.C. 3515, f. 15. [2] Ibid.

[3] Sw. con. 5, 9, & 14 Dec., 3 Sur. 113, 114, 116, 117, & PS. of 15 Dec., O.C. 3515, f. 33 (49 Home Misc. 328).

[4] O.C. 3515 (49 Home Misc. 329).

[5] Sur. let. to Co. 19 Dec., O.C. 3523.

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 9 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3538, f. 11.

[7] Sw. con. 17 Oct., 3 Sur. 96. [8] O.C. 3515, f. 20.

[9] Sw. con. 28 & 31 Oct. & 21 Dec., 3 Sur. 98, 105, 119; and Master's let. 19 Nov. & 19 Dec., 105 Sur. 65, 93.

[10] Sw. con. 28 Oct., 3 Sur. 98.

return till 22 October, and was in a very bad state, being leaky, worm-eaten, and a 'rock of oysters'.[1] The Council's instructions to Rolt, the Chief in Persia, had been to return the ship with all possible dispatch, whether he succeeded in getting freight for her or not,[2] the intention being that she should winter at Bombay, where she could be repaired for a voyage down the coast in August. Her commander declared she had been unnecessarily detained by Rolt, and the Council censured him for disobedience of orders.* The *Charles* was sent to Bombay for repairs in December, after which she was to proceed down the coast and bring up the goods still remaining in the factories there;[3] but the Bombay Council reported they had not enough carpenters to repair her properly, and proposed the work should be done at Karwar.[4]

Rolt complained that the *Charles* was insufficiently manned, and insinuated that some of her crew had been improperly taken away from her. This charge was refuted,[5] and is mainly mentioned because it led to an interesting statement by the commander, illustrating the high mortality of those days.† Out of 32 English sailors on her, when she left England, 6 had died on the outward voyage, 1 at Surat, and 5 on the voyage to Queda, while 2 had been left behind at Surat, 'sick of fluxes'.[6]

A further complaint by Rolt was that he had been insufficiently supplied with presents for high officials in Persia. This was also refuted. Aungier was able to show that the value of those supplied him considerably exceeded the amount authorized by the Company.[7] The Bombay Council had added to them by sending him a tiger, on which they incurred 'great charges . . . laying in provisions of so ravenous a beast'.[8]

A more serious dispute arose out of a trading venture, in which the

[1] Sw. con. 29 Oct., & her survey on same date, 3 Sur. 100, 101; O.C. 3515, f. 28.

[2] Commn. to the commander, 19 March, 3 Sur. 154; Sw. con. 12 March, 3 Sur. 53.

* Sw. con. 31 Oct., 3 Sur. 102, 103. Rolt contended that it would have been dangerous for the ship to return in the monsoon, and that the Company had benefited by his sending her back with a cargo worth more than she could get from the Malabar coast: see his undated letter to the Surat Council, 105 Sur. 35, 36, and his letter to the Co. 21 Aug., O.C. 3462.

[3] Sur. let. to Co. 19 Dec., O.C. 3523.

[4] Bom. let. 17 Dec., 105 Sur. 96.

[5] Sw. con. 31 Oct., 3 Sur. 102; O.C. 3515, f. 30.

† Aungier suggested to the Company that they should send out supernumerary men, in view of the heavy mortality on their ships (Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611).

[6] Sw. con. 31 Oct., 3 Sur. 102.

[7] Ibid., 3 Sur. 104; Sur. let. to Rolt, 19 Dec., O.C. 3524.

[8] Bom. let. to Rolt, 30 March, O.C. 3416.

President had an interest. At the end of March four vessels left Swally on a freight voyage to Persia under a commission to Ralph Lambton.* One of them, the *Recovery*, was owned by Aungier, and he had hired two others. The fourth belonged to a Mohammedan merchant, who wanted the protection of the English flag for the voyage.[1] Aungier's main object was to encourage trade between Surat and Gombroon (the modern Bandar Abbas), and he claimed that his interest in the venture was a small one. On the other hand, the Company benefited by its half-share of the customs on the goods imported, which were of a large value.† Rolt showed very great hostility to Lambton and the four commanders, and in June he and his assistant, John Child, drew up a formal protest accusing them of hectoring the customs officials at Gombroon and forcibly taking goods past the customs.[2] He also wrote to the Company, objecting to the venture as a specious pretence of the President to secure an improper perquisite.[3] As Aungier was personally involved, the rest of the Council held an inquiry, in which some ships' officers and others collaborated. Lambton and the rest of the accused gave a total denial to the charge, and after considering all the material before it, the Board adjudged the accusation to be false and malicious, made out of pique against the President.[4]

Rolt undoubtedly resented the promotion of his junior, Aungier, to the post of President.‡ He shows this plainly in his letter to the Company in February 1670, where he says he 'might justly have pretended to the next place' to Oxinden, and speaks of 'others being more fortunate in your eyes, though his juniors in your service'.[5] A perusal of the papers leaves no doubt that his main object was to discredit Aungier, though the charge against Lambton may have been substantially true. The commission to Lambton shows, however, that any such conduct was opposed to his instructions.§

* He had formerly been in the Company's employment at Mokha, and was desirous of being readmitted to their service (*E.F.*, 1655–60, 200, & 1668–9, 201).

[1] Commn. to Lambton, 30 March, O.C. 3416.

† O.C. 3515, f. 29. The Company adjudged the sending of the four ships was 'to our service' (4 L.B. 525).

[2] 105 Sur. 45, 46.

[3] Rolt. to Co., 21 Aug., O.C. 3462.

[4] Report, 4 Nov., 3 Sur. 106, 107, & 15 Jan. 1671, O.C. 3537.

‡ Rolt had been appointed a factor in 1658, while Aungier was not appointed till 1662 (*EF.*, 1655–60, 146, and 1661–4, 95).

[5] O.C. 3410.

§ O.C. 3416. Rolt's letter of 5 June, in which he dealt with the matter, is missing, but the relevant part of it was probably similar to his subsequent letter to the Surat Council (105 Sur.

Aungier was also able to show that the Company had benefited not only by its share of the resulting customs at Gombroon, but also by his prevailing on the owners of ships, who had hitherto avoided Gombroon 'on account of the abuses they had received', to consign their ships to that place instead of to Kung or other ports in Persia.[1] There was a clear advantage in their sailing under the English flag, as stated by Rolt himself in the following passage of his letter to the Company in August:[2]

The Gulf of Persia this last year hath been wholly free both from the Portugalls and Arabs, notwithstanding their fleets set out to sea more erly then usuall and report says for the Coast of Mosumbeque. . . . The disturbance they gave the merchants of Suratt the last year* hath soe discouraged them that they durst not send their ships to sea upon their owne accounts but lett them out to the English, French and Dutch, of which four belonging to the English, three to the French and three to the Dutch imported at Gombroone and landed some goods—the rest they carried for Congo [Kung] and Bussora.

The trade between Surat and Persia thus naturally suffered. That with Sumatra had also nearly disappeared, on account of the mastery the Dutch had obtained in those parts, 'whereas'—Aungier said—'formerly there went three or four ships every year full laden to Achin, and returned here'.[3]

The difficulty that attended inland trade owing to the disturbed state of the country has already been mentioned. Aungier, in his letter of 21 November, summed up the situation as follows:[4]

The care of all men at present is not what they shall gett by trading, buying and selling, but what they cann save from fire and plunder, by hiding and running away. [*Précis.* Eminent merchants have suffered not only here but elsewhere], so that the cittys of Agra, Dilly, Brampore,† Orungabaud, and Ahmedavad, the only

35), and it is clear that there was a contradiction of evidence. The Company accordingly felt a difficulty in deciding what was the truth, though they feared Lambton had not paid due regard to their orders; they deprecated such disputes, and ordered Rolt to keep a good correspondence with Aungier and the Surat Council and to observe their directions, as being from his superiors (desp. 15 March 1672, 4 L.B. 541).

[1] O.C. 3515, ff. 5 & 29.

[2] Let. 21 Aug., O.C. 3462.

* As to this damage to the merchants of Surat, see preceding volume, p. 200.

[3] O.C. 3515, f. 22.

[4] O.C. 3515, f. 19.

† Burhānpur, in the Nimar district of the Central Provinces, 310 miles from Bombay. It was the seat of government of the Deccan princes till Aurangabad took its place.

marts of trade in India, are in the same condition with us here, caused by the fatall jealousies arisen between the present Great Mogull Orangzeeb and his sonne Sultan Mazem, now Prince of Orangabaud, who in defense of his life, often attempted by his father, stands upon his guard with a vast army and privately setts on Sevagy with other Rashboots and Jentues to rebell against him, at whose outrages he winkes, but hitherto hath not offered any open act of hostility against his father: how long things will stand thus between them, wee are not able to foresee, but certaine it is that till a firme peace be settled, trade cannot recover the lively vigour it had before.

The coasting trade also had the ever-present danger of piracy; and the ships on their voyages to the coast factories were instructed to keep together and avoid Malabar vessels, 'not allowing them to come near by day or night, for they are a sort of pilfering thieves that never attempt but by surprize'.[1]

Among the places from which goods were obtained for the Company were Navsari, Broach, and Nandurbar.* In consequence of impositions in the form of extraordinary customs and demands for presents at Ahmadabad, the Council deserted that place and settled the manufacture of chintz and quilts at Nandurbar and the adjacent towns.[2] The difficulties that had arisen at Ahmadabad and the fear of robbery on the way to Surat held up 300 bales of indigo that had reached that town.[3] This commodity was largely obtained from Agra, where its baling was defective. Aungier reported that they had tried to get this improved, 'but wee cannot hitherto perswade them [the balers] to it, for these people are tenacious of their owne customes, which they will hardly allter unless Englishmen were with them to see it embaled themselves'.[4]

Three of the ships were still being laden at the close of the year, so the Council had a busy time of it. Otherwise there would have been little to do, Sivaji's incursion having 'totally ruined trade there at present'.[5] There was also French and Dutch competition towards the end of the year. In December there were, for instance, three French and two Dutch ships at Swally, laden with a large variety of goods.[6]

[1] Commn. to Capt. Hill of the *Hannibal*, 8 Oct., O.C. 3495. Cf. Biddulph, 70, 71.

* O.C. 3515, f. 6. Nandurbar is in the Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency.

[2] O.C. 3515, f. 6: cf. Sw. con. 24 Aug., 3 Sur. 82.

[3] O.C. 3515, f. 6.

[4] O.C. 3515, f. 17.

[5] Sw. let. to Bombay, 19 Dec., O.C. 3546.

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 19 Dec., O.C. 3523.

Only a few items now remain to be noticed. On 20 December Padre Gaspar Alphonso arrived at Swally with a commission from the Jesuit authorities at Goa to demand the delivery of their seized lands at Bombay. He also produced an order under the Company's seal, enjoining the Council to do justice in the matter, after holding an inquiry into the Jesuits' title to the lands. Aungier told him he hoped to proceed to Bombay in a few days and there comply with the Company's orders.[1]

Another event relates to the Council. Streynsham Master on 19 December asked for leave to go home on private business, as well as to satisfy the Company 'in many things wherein they appear to be distasted' with him.[2] No doubt he wanted to take his passage on one of the three ships about to sail to England. Aungier, however, asked him to stay on another year, in view of the Company's orders that there should be five members of Council resident at Surat and the need for his presence to answer account objections taken by the Company, especially those relating to Sir George Oxinden.[3]

The factory suffered a loss by the death in September of the Rev. Thomas Wilson, who had come out in November 1668 (see p. 36 of the preceding volume) and whose piety and good influence were highly commended by Aungier.[4] A recruit, who was afterwards to play a large part in Bombay history, was Thomas Niccolls, who had been court-martialled in Bombay for mutinous conduct and been sent up on the *Berkeley Castle* in September, Gray describing him as 'a most pestilent and turbulent fellow, one that hath all along disturbed the peace of the Islande'.[5] Aungier evidently considered him capable of better conduct and gave him a chance of proving it. Within three days of his arrival he was given the delicate task of searching the Company's ships for goods illicitly put on board for private trade.[6] He also probably took part in the defence of the factory in October, and was commended by Master for the 'care and paines' with which he repaired some muskets that were out of order.[7]

[1] Sw. con. 21 Dec., 3 Sur. 119. The Company's order was probably in terms similar to their despatch of 12 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 308.

[2] Master's let., 105 Sur. 94 & O.C. 3525.

[3] O.C. 3526.

[4] O.C. 3515, f. 24.

[5] Bom. let. 16 Aug., 19 Bom. 44; 105 Sur. 19, 26, & 6 Bom. 39.

[6] Sur. con. 26 Sept., 3 Sur. 70.

[7] Master's let. 30 Nov., 105 Sur. 83.

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1671

THE first important event of the year was the dispatch of the three ships the *Loyal Subject*, the *Hannibal*, and the *Experiment*, fully laden for their voyage home, on 10 January.[1] Including that of the *Berkeley Castle* in December, the shipments of goods from Surat were estimated to be worth about £102,077.[2] Aungier's intention to go with them on a visit to Bombay was given up, owing to the Surat Governor's objection and other reasons (p. 24).

On 14 January the 'unhappy accident' of a fire took place at Swally. The Company's warehouses at the quay were burnt to the ground, as well as others belonging to the President and other merchants. The former contained some Bombay coir and other stores, and the resultant loss was about Rs. 10,000; but fortunately the rest of the coir was in other warehouses, which were not involved in the conflagration.[3]

On 9 February the *George* arrived from Queda and Achin, with a freight estimated to be worth Rs. 30,000.[4] She brought back Henry Chown from the dissolved factory of Achin, of which he had been Chief.[5] In March he was appointed to the Bombay Council, but does not appear to have taken up the post till some time in June.[6] The Surat Council remained the same as in the previous year, for though Capt. Young, whom the Company had reinstated in his former place on the Council, came to Surat with the ships in September, he was prevented by illness from assisting the Council or taking up his appointment as 'second' to Rolt in Persia, *vice* John Child, whom the Company ordered to be transferred to Surat.[7] The Company in their despatch of 22 February asked that all animosity against him should be laid aside, to which Aungier readily agreed, reporting in November that Young had been treated 'with all offices of friendship' and had behaved himself civilly.[8] James Adams, who had been deported from Bombay with Young, also returned in September, the Company having entertained him again as a factor on his former salary to serve at Bantam.[9] The ship intended for that port did not,

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 26 Jan., O.C. 3546. [2] Sur. let. to Co. 9 Jan., O.C. 3538.
[3] O.C. 3546. [4] Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 1. [5] Ibid.
[6] Sw. con. 20 March, 2 Misc. 113; Bom. let. 3 June, 105 Sur. 150.
[7] Desp. 22 Feb., 4 L.B. 423, 424; Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 10.
[8] Ibid. [9] 4 L.B. 423.

however, leave till 3 December, and temporary employment was found for Adams on the Malabar coast.*

Arrangements for the investment in goods for the ships due from England in August began early in the year, and by April Aungier was able to report that they were 'very forward' in it, having 800 tons ready in the warehouses.[1] This amount included about 400 bales of good indigo.[2]

Trade conditions were still bad. In his letter of 10 January to the Company, Aungier said:

Trade continues still under a great obstruction and the towne of Suratt trembles at the name of Sevagy, whose flying armies passe undisturbed through the heart of Decan (where he hath made a miserable ruine) and give allarums to Suratt, which forceth us all to keepe in a defensive posture and putts you to the necessity of an uncomfortable charge for securing your great estate.[3]

The last remark is explained by a resolution of the Council on 16 January that 'the Companys estate lying for the most part still undisposed of at the Marine, and the feares of Sevagys coming a second time continuing', twenty Portuguese soldiers should be sent for from Bombay for its security.[4] They came accordingly and remained at Swally till the latter part of March, when it was decided that only a file of men and a corporal should be retained to guard the Company's estate on the Marine.[5] It looks as if the Portuguese soldiers had misbehaved, as a Bombay letter of about the same time mentions a resolve to 'teach them better manners'.†

In October twenty-eight English soldiers and a sergeant were sent up from Bombay.[6] The exact reason is not on record, but the increased strength of the English garrison enabled this to be done, and the men were probably required for guarding goods accumulated for shipping home.

Fears of another incursion by Sivaji seem to have continued throughout the year. Thus in April Aungier reported that the town

* See p. 304 *post* and cf. Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 4. Though the Company had appointed him to Bantam and prohibited his employment in Bombay, Adams went to the latter place as Customs-officer in 1672: see p. 40 *ante*.

[1] Sur. con. 28 Jan. & 4 Feb., 2 Misc. 112; Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 6.

[2] O.C. 3567, f. 4.

[3] O.C. 3546, f. 2.

[4] Sur. con. 16 Jan., 2 Misc. 112.

[5] Sur. con. 20 March, 2 Misc. 113.

† Bom. let. 18 March, 105 Sur. 138. The Bombay Council requested that their pay should be stopped, in order to provide for their families at Bombay (Bom. let. 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 113), and this may have caused dissatisfaction.

[6] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 106 Sur. 26.

was alarmed with fresh news of his army,[1] and in July James wrote that news of his forces approaching within fifty miles of the town had put it in great fear.[2] Besides frequent scares of this kind, the 'inland disturbances' caused by the hostilities between Sivaji and the Mughal forces caused considerable obstruction to trade during the year.[3]

These disturbances were undoubtedly serious. Aurangzeb had sent Mahabat Khan with an army of 40,000 men against Sivaji;[4] and though hostilities mainly took place in the Deccan, the general insecurity affected trade in and near Surat. Thus in September there was a difficulty in getting goods from Dabhoi to Broach (a distance of about thirty miles), as 'the wayes are so dangerous . . . that no shroff will insure the goods'.[5] Between January and May Mahabat Khan had advanced from Burhanpur to Nasik,[6] and this affected towns with which Surat traded. The Company itself was involved in another way. Bahadur Khan, who after Sivaji's looting of Surat had been turned out of his post as Viceroy of Gujarat, and Diler Khan, who had succeeded him, were both at Surat in May, preparing to march against Sivaji under orders from Aurangzeb. They had, of course, to be given presents, the Dutch being 'as liberal as formerly', though 'far outvied by the French with their affected gallantry'; and both of them commandeered horses from the Company's stables.[7] On the other hand, Aungier took advantage of the occasion to establish friendly relations with Diler Khan. At a formal visit paid to him by Aungier, the latter was received with respect, and at his parting Diler Khan presented him with a dagger, set with small rubies and emeralds, a pair of bracelets set with rubies, and another small jewel. Also, in exchange for some English greyhounds presented by Aungier, the President received 'a small beast of game called here a *siagosh*, esteemed a great rarity among the noblemen'.[8] This was a cheetah, tamed for hunting game, and it was sent home later in the year for Charles II.*

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 4. [2] James's let. 15 July, 105 Sur. 173.
[3] Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 9; Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 2.
[4] Sw. let. to Co., O.C. 3546, f. 3; Bom. let. 6 Feb., 105 Sur. 114. Cf. Grant Duff, i. 195.
[5] Gray's let. 12 Sept., 106 Sur. 1.
[6] O.C. 3546, f. 3; Bom. let. 8 April & 29 May, 105 Sur. 166, 168.
[7] Sur. let. to Co., O.C. 3567, f. 8. [8] O.C. 3567, ff. 8, 9.
* Sw. let. to Co., O.C. 3594, f. 16; commn. to Capt. Privett of the *London*, 7 Nov., O.C. 3595. A full account of the methods used in hunting with a cheetah, and of the diet to be given it, is contained in O.C. 3596. *Siagosh* is the Pers. *siyah-gosh* or 'black ear': cf. Vincent

Returning from this digression to the hostilities under notice, we find that Diler Khan was reported to have taken Poona with a flying army about December.[1] Such movements of 'severall armies passing to and fro in the heart of the kingdom' naturally hindered the passage of goods to Surat for shipment to England.[2]

Another result was a reduction in the sale of imports. In April Aungier reported to the Company that most of the coral sent out from England still lay on their hands, as also did the broadcloth, though its entire sale had been contracted for long previously.[3] There was trouble with the vendee Khwaja Minaz over this. The price of cloth had fallen since his contract, and in May he had nearly 2,000 pieces in the Company's warehouse unsold, which, says Aungier, he sought to 'fling on our hands, but we so roundly dealt with him, declaring our intention to seize all his shipping and estate wherever we could find it, that we at last made him stand to his bargain'.[4] He owed the Company the sum of Rs. 75,000, and to uphold his credit the Council let him have 100 bales of the cloth, though this diminished the security for its payment.[5] In November he claimed Rs. 6,000 on account of damage to the cloth at Swally.[6] He was supposed to have lost about £4,000; and this, together with 'the unsettled posture of the times made all merchants wary'.[7] In spite of this, the Council succeeded in making a forward contract with Mirza Muazzam for the broadcloth expected by the ships due in September.[8]

Even trade to foreign ports was affected, and freights for Persia and Bosra were so low 'by reason of the intestine troubles' that the *George* was sent on another freight voyage to Queda in April.[9] Orders were given for George Davis to take his passage from Queda to Surat on her return voyage, 'the business being so small'. John Portman was to remain on as Chief, and Charles Ward as second, but they were to sell off the Company's goods at current prices.*

Smith's note on p. 375 of his edn. of Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, and Sir William Foster, *John Company*, 92, 93.

[1] Bom. let. 13 Jan. 1672, 106 Sur. 62.
[2] Sur. let. 1 Jan. 1672, 87 Sur. 14, 15.
[3] O.C. 3566, f. 2.
[4] Sw. let. to Co. 1 June, O.C. 3567, ff. 3, 4.
[5] Sur. con. 6 May, 2 Misc. 114.
[6] Sur. con. 23 Nov., 2 Misc. 118.
[7] Sur. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 2.
[8] Sur. con. 1 Sept., 2 Misc. 116; O.C. 3594, f. 2.
[9] Sur. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 3566, f. 1.

* Sur. con. 16 April & commn. to the commander of the *George*, 2 Misc. 114, 120. Both Davis and Portman, however, died in 1671 (see p. 218 *post*).

In July an event occurred which threatened trouble approaching to dire disaster for the factory, but which—through a skilful handling of the situation—led to a decided improvement in its status. On the 5th of that month some intoxicated Dutch seamen had a dispute with the attendants of Agha Jafar, a leading merchant of Surat, in the course of which they drew their swords on him and wounded one of his servants. They were also wounded and took refuge in the English factory, where they were kept till a Dutch guard came and carried them away.* The next day the Governor issued a proclamation that no Moors should serve the English, French, or Dutch, upon pain of death and confiscation of their property. It also prohibited Europeans from carrying arms of any sort, and authorized their being killed in the streets with impunity, if they disobeyed. The factories, being thus deprived of their means of defence against thieves and assailants, had to close their doors, while Mohammedan gatherings demonstrating against all Christians rendered it unsafe to go out of them. Aungier, who had been at Swally for some time for reasons of health, happened to be on his way back to Surat, but hearing of the incident and its consequences he judged it unsafe to proceed with his journey till the fury of the town was over. He accordingly returned to Swally with what few servants he could hire of Parsis and Hindus and discharged the Mohammedan peons in attendance on him, who took their leave of him with tears.

Aungier then sent his secretary to the heads of the French and Dutch factories at Surat, 'to let them know that if they did not publiquely resent soe great an affront offerred to our severall religions and nations wee should never live a quiett hower in Suratt, nor be able to manage our severall affaires without continewall disturbance', and advised them both to repair to Swally, giving out their resolutions publicly to desert the town. They agreed and came to Swally by water on 7 July, in spite of an endeavour by the Governor to impede them 'by faire meanes and some appearance of fource'.† It was then agreed to suspend all manner of commerce, to

* The Dutch factory, however, said the brawl arose from a refusal to allow four Moors on the Dutch flutes on the departure of Georgius Hartsinde (Dutch Records, B, vol. xxx, no. 778, printed in Khan's *Sources*, &c., 283).

† This account is taken from the detailed 'Memorial of events' contained in O.C. 3568. The brief summary of it given by Bruce, ii. 301, 302, is inaccurate in stating that Aungier, on his return to Swally, 'was met by the Dutch and French *Directores*, who had fled from Surat'.

lock up the warehouses, and to transact no business with the Governor or other officers without mutual consent.

There then ensued a series of overtures for their return lasting for over a month, at the instance of the Governor, who no doubt was sensible that he might get into trouble if the factories were closed down and Surat lost the benefit of their trade. He ordered the Shahbandar (chief customs-officer) and some eminent merchants to go to Swally to treat with the chiefs of the three nations. Before effect, however, could be given to this order, various difficulties had to be overcome. First of all meetings between the three heads of factories had to be abandoned, because of the question of precedence. Aungier tried to arrange a meeting at the English house, 'in regard it would not only be an honour to us, but alsoe out of civillity that there he might give the French Directeur the precedency', but the latter so insisted on its being held at the French house under his presidentship that it was agreed not to meet but to communicate with each other through secretaries.[1] Then the eminent merchants at Surat took umbrage at one of them, Abdul Ghafur, being favoured by the Governor as a negotiator, though many of them were more eminent and of better quality, and they had to be smoothed down.[2]

A more serious difficulty arose from an unprovoked attack at Surat on Samuel Fiffett, the master of the new ketch, resulting in his being robbed and wounded. The Council approved of Aungier's proposal to call away all the factory employees from Surat, and the French and Dutch agreed to do the same. The Governor, alarmed at this new development, sent Padre Ambrosio, the Superior of the French Capuchins, to Swally to mediate a peace. Aungier and the Dutch Commandore thought it prejudicial to treat through him, but as the French Directeur was concerned for the Padre's credit, it was arranged that he should seem to persuade them to abstain from leaving Surat and to treat with some eminent persons of the town. Accordingly on receipt of a message from the Governor that he was taking steps to bring Fiffett's assailants to justice, a mild answer was returned; and a further request of the Governor that the orders for the employees to leave Surat should be cancelled was acceded to, the show of leaving having caused an 'effectual fear'.[3]

The deputation composed of the Shahbandar and merchants

[1] Entry of 16 July.

[2] Entry of 28 July.

[3] Entries of 30 July, 1, 2, & 3 Aug.

arrived at Swally on 10 August. Another problem then presented itself. The Chiefs of the three nations could not meet together to receive the merchants 'by reason of the pique of precedency', but they agreed the merchants' visit should not breed mutual animosity and asked them to come when and where they would. The merchants proposed to visit the English President first, but Aungier asked them to go to the others first, 'but withall that he might not too much gratifie the fond humour of the emulous Frenchman, he sent a private message to the Shawbunder that they should goe first to visitt the Dutch'. This they did, passing by the back of the French house on their way. On their return they stopped at the French house, 'where instead of a civill receptation which they expected, they found the gate armed with musqueteers to forbid their entrance', Mons. Baron, the Directeur,* having taken it 'in snuff' that they did not visit him first. The merchants in turn were offended and complained to Aungier of the rudeness of the French in setting musketeers at the gate to keep them out, as if they had been thieves and robbers. The Dutch Commandore also resented what he considered to be an affront both to himself and his nation, and proposed to Aungier that they should cease to act with the French; but Aungier and Gray eventually managed to get him to maintain the common front, and the merchants were informed that negotiations would not be opened with them till the French had been visited. They replied that, having been affronted, they would not visit the French again, unless the latter first came to them. Privately, however, they requested Aungier that for the sake of their repute he and the Dutch Commandore should first pay a visit to them (the merchants). This was done to oblige them; whereupon the merchants and the French Directeur duly exchanged visits.[1]

These troublesome preliminaries, that took up some three days, having been disposed of, the real business was soon dispatched. The demands of the three nations that had been previously agreed on were presented and were accepted, with some modifications on minor points. On 19 August they all (with the Shahbandar and merchants) returned to Surat in their palanquins, 'giving place

* He had been Consul at Aleppo for nine years, and his success there led to his selection for the post of Director at Surat, where he arrived on 20 May 1671 (Kaeppelin, 65; Gombroon let. 22 April, 105 Sur. 157, 158). There were, in fact, four Directors at Surat, and Mons. Baron was in charge only during the temporary absence of Mons. Caron, who had gone to Bantam (Kaeppelin, 32, 34, 65, 80).

[1] Entry of 11 Aug., &c.

reciprocally to one another, for soe wee had agreed, that the Moors should see no private pique should disturbe our publique union'. But there was still scope for disagreement and dissatisfaction. When they arrived at Surat (the French Directeur going in a separate boat to avoid the obstacle of precedence) they found that neither the Governor nor the Wakianavis* was present to receive them, as had been arranged; so they separated, resolving not to visit the Governor till he first visited them. The Governor sent word to Aungier that their absence had been due to the French Directeur being in their company, for as he had not visited him, he (the Governor) could not make a visit at the French house. He added, however, that he would visit Aungier first, and then the Dutch chief, which he did.† Relations between the Governor and the French were not improved by the action of Mons. Baron, who (as the Governor passed the French house to go to the English factory) ordered his 'gates to be shutt and musketeirs to stand at the doore, which the Governor tooke as a great affront'. The account, from which this summary is taken, concludes by saying:

The President alsoe resented it in such nature as was fitting, but this overture gave matter of divertisement to the merchants and graver sort of this towne, who failed not to observe the levity and pride of the French nation.[1]

The articles of agreement were apparently signed on 21 August by the Governor and other eminent persons of Surat, and are reproduced below:‡

1. That it be published by beat of drum in the citty that the English shall pass in the streets in the manner they use to do doe formerly, and none shall offer any affront or evill language to them, and that they may retaine what servants they please according to their former customs.

2. That no officer of the town beside the Governour shall intermeddle with any affairs belonging to the English or the brokers and servants belonging to them.

* The news-writer, whose duty it was to keep the Emperor informed of all events of importance.

† A present of Rs. 2,500 was given to the Governor on the occasion of this visit (Sur. con. 23 Aug., 2 Misc. 115).

[1] Entry of 19 Aug., &c.

‡ O.C. 3573 contains this document, with a note that it is a translation from the original Persian, and that the like articles were given to the French and Dutch at the same time and place.

3. That it shall be published in town by beat of drum that none shall speake evill of the English religion, nor shall they speake evill of other religions, and if anything of this nature fall out, the Governour shall punish those that offend of the towns people, and if any of the English offend they shall be punished by the President.

4. That no delay or obstruction be used in delivery of the English goods when demanded, whether they be within or without the Custom house.

5. That when the English President goes to visitt the Governour or the Vocanavies [Wakianavis] they shall shew him honour and respect due to his quallity.

6. That no trouble or impediment shall be offered to the labourers or artificers whatsoever they want, either for their houses or shipping, nor in providing the matterialls they shall have occasion for.

7. That whatever goods they sell to merchants of the town, the Kings officers shall not obstruct the said merchants in the transport thereof, they paying the Kings customs.

8. That the Governour etc. shall observe punctually the Phyrmands* granted by the King to the English Company.

9. That whatever just demands they shall pretend to with reason the Governour shall use diligence to write to the King to procure satisfaction.

In addition Aungier obtained special terms not conceded to the French or Dutch.† The principal one was an exemption of the Company's goods from all customs for one year. The others remedied trade difficulties of various kinds. Accordingly he could well report to the Company that 'God hath blessed our zeale to your service with answerable success, for we have procured greater advantages of the Moors then we had before, and have gained the start of our neighbours of the triple union in honour and privileges'. And the experience lent weight to his request that the Surat Council should be allowed a discretion to leave the town in times of sudden emergencies, 'not doubting but we shall be soon recalled with greater honour'.[1]

It was a good thing that this interference with the factory's ordinary business was over by the time the Company's ships reached Swally in September. The *Antelope*, the *London*, and the *Phoenix* arrived on the 8th and 10th; and the *Falcon* and the *Massingberd* on

* Pers. *farman*, order or letters patent.

† O.C. 3574. On the other hand, the Dutch factory said that they got some special articles also (Dutch Records, B, vol. xxx, no. 778, printed in Khan's *Sources*, &c., 284).

[1] Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 1.

the 23rd.[1] As in the previous year, one of the ships was to sail to England ahead of the others, and the *London* was appointed for this purpose. The other four were first to go down the Malabar coast to collect pepper and other goods.[2] The Council assembled at Swally in September to get them ready quickly, and though they were hindered by bad weather, two of them were dispatched on 26 September and the other two on 5 October. The *London* left for Bombay and England, laden with goods of all kinds, on 9 November.[3]

Ten days were lost in loading her by an unexpected event. This was the arrival on 21 September of a French fleet of twelve vessels, seven of which were men-of-war commanded by Admiral De la Haye.* Such a force naturally caused 'no small alarm' to the town of Surat, as well as some nervousness to the English as to their intentions. The French gave vent to threats against the Dutch, and it was thought the English might become involved in the quarrel. But by the beginning of November the Council had come to the conclusion that they had no great design except to repair their wants and return.[4] The fleet did not sail till 31 December. It shaped its course towards Goa, but its destination was unknown.[5]

The contemporaneous presence of the French and English ships at Swally in September gave rise to a dispute of a national character. De la Haye demanded that Capt. Seaman of the *Falcon* (the senior naval officer) should strike his flag to the French Admiral's, on the ground that the latter was a sovereign's flag and the other one merely that of a commercial body. The demand was strenuously supported by Mons. Baron, but was resisted by Aungier, being (as he afterwards stated to the Company) 'sensible of the great dishonour [that] would arrive to your affairs and to the nation in these foreign parts, should we tamely strike to the French, these people [here] not understanding a difference between a Kings flag and a Companys'. Accordingly 'we would not yield, and maintained the honour of your flag, neither striking to the French Kings Admiral, but only saluting him as our ships passed by his and

[1] Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3580; Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 4.

[2] Sur. con. 21 Sept., 2 Misc. 117; O.C. 3594, f. 4.

[3] O.C. 3594, ff. 4, 20; Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 1.

* O.C. 3594, ff. 6, 21. There were also two 'victuallers' for the men-of-war. The other three were merchant ships of the French Company. They had left France in March–April 1670, and made a long stay at Madagascar (Kaeppelin, 29, 30, 35, 80).

[4] O.C. 3594, ff. 21, 22; Sw. let. 30 Sept., PS., 87 Sur. 3.

[5] O.C. 3611, f. 13.

when he came into the Hole, which salutes he civilly answered'.* This did not, however, prevent an exchange of visits between Aungier and De la Haye, when each received the other 'with all demonstrations of respect'.[1]

French prestige was no doubt enhanced at this time, especially as they maintained an extraordinary state and gave rich presents. The main evil of their competition, said Aungier, was that it lowered the price of European commodities and raised that of Indian produce; but he rightly prophesied that the factory, with its vast charges, would not last long.[2]

Arrangements were made for the provision of goods for Bantam, as ordered by the Company; and the *Phoenix* was dispatched to that port on 3 December.[3] Trade with Mokha was discontinued, as it was held that goods like coffee, myrrh, and aloes could be got cheaper at Surat, having regard to the charges and risk involved in procuring them from Mokha.[4] No vessel was sent to Persia, where Rolt's continued hostility to Aungier showed itself by his ceasing to report to him, though his assistant, John Child, wrote frequent letters.†

The only other item deserving notice is about Europeans visiting or living at Surat. The Company had taken exception to their charges being increased by the entertainment of gentlewomen, who had gone on visits to Surat. Aungier explained that the charge was not a heavy one, saying 'they stayed not long in your house, being soon marryed to their content'.[5] But the Council issued a general prohibition of English families removing from Bombay to Surat, to do which they had been encouraged by the example of Anthony Smith, who had settled there as a freeman with his family. It was considered that his or any other freeman's trade at Surat was

* O.C. 3594, ff. 6, 7; Sur. con. 1 Oct., 2 Misc. 117; Grigby's let. 4 & 5 Oct., 106 Sur. 5–7. According to Dutch accounts, De la Haye made ostentatious preparations to board the first English ship that refused to strike, and was with difficulty dissuaded from doing so (Dutch Records, B, vol. xxx, no. 784, pp. 9, 10, printed in Khan's *Sources*, &c., 289; C. R. Boxer in *The Mariner's Mirror* of Oct. 1930, 344).

[1] O.C. 3594, f. 21.

[2] O.C. 3594, f. 7.

[3] Co.'s desp. of 22 Feb., 4 L.B. 427; Sur. con. 30 Aug., 10 Nov., & 23 Dec., 2 Misc. 116, 118, 119; Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 1.

[4] Sur. con. 30 Dec., 2 Misc. 119.

† O.C. 3566, f. 3; O.C. 3594, f. 7. There is, however, one letter from Rolt at Ispahan in October, 106 Sur. 54. Child's letters are in 105 Sur. 132, 135, 158, & 106 Sur. 50, 52, 57, 58, 59.

[5] O.C. 3567, f. 5.

prejudicial to the interest of the Company, and Smith was warned to repair to Bombay or England in the next year.*

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1672

THE three ships, *Massingberd*, *Falcon*, and *Antelope*, left Swally on 13 January, fully laden, on their homeward voyage. Aungier and some of his Council had intended to go in them to Bombay, but were deterred by a change of Governor that took place about that time. Ghiyas-uddin Khan, who had been Governor in 1664–7,[1] had been reappointed and sent down with 2,000 horse for the protection of the town. Aungier stated that this was in consequence of the 'noise' which the visit of the French fleet to Surat had made in the Court at Agra. He added that Ghiyas-uddin had formerly been a great friend to them, but he feared trouble because of the 'strange informations' about Bombay that had been given to the Mughal Emperor by some ill-disposed officers of the town, who had been lately turned out and were discontented at not having received the presents they had expected. Accordingly he had judged it prudent not to risk offending 'this new feirce Governor', who was threatening to turn the French out of Surat, by leaving the place so soon after his arrival.[2] In spite of this he got permission to go to Bombay in the *Advance*, which had arrived from Persia on the 18th and was shortly due to sail to Bantam. On 25 January, however, the situation was altered by a 'hott allarme' that Sivaji was approaching the town with an army of 15,000 men. The Governor made preparations for its defence, and at his request Aungier thought it reasonable to defer his departure. The *Advance* accordingly left on 5 February without him.[3]

On 13 January, when the ships left, there had been no news of Sivaji's approach, and all the Bombay soldiers were sent back on them, except one file of musketeers.[4] Accordingly, when the fear of an attack arose, steps were taken to engage other men for the defence

* O.C. 3594, f. 18. Anthony Smith had been in the Company's service for many years, having started in it at Surat in 1641, and become a member of Council there; he was captured during Sivaji's attack on the town in 1664 (*E.F.*, 1640–3, 299, 313; 1655–60, 202; 1661–4, 299–301). He seems, however, to have stayed on at Surat, as he died there in 1677 (p. 285 *post*).

[1] Cf. *E.F.*, 1661–4, 311, & 1665–7, 282.

[2] Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan., O.C. 3611, ff. 13, 16 (For. i. 44, 46).

[3] Sur. con. 25 Jan., 2 Misc. 121; Sur. let. to Co. 3 Feb., O.C. 3624, f. 4, & Forrest, 49, 50; Sur. let. 29 Jan. & 5 Feb., 87 Sur. 18 (For. 56).

[4] Sw. let. 13 Jan., 87 Sur. 16.

of the factory,[1] but fortunately the alarm proved groundless. It had been caused by the arrival of some forces of Sivaji at Ramnagar,* but his general, Moropant Pingle, contented himself with his main purpose of relieving the fortresss of Salher in Khandesh from its besiegers. Having done this, and inflicted a severe defeat on the Mughals, he retired to the Konkan,[2] and there were no fresh scares at Surat till June.

On 29 January the *George* arrived at Swally on her return from Queda, bringing news of the deaths of George Davis and John Portman. She was dispatched on another voyage to Achin and Queda on 24 April.[3]

The *Charles* arrived back from Persia about the beginning of May. She was so leaky that a lot of goods consigned on her had been damaged, and merchants were unwilling to lade any more on her. She was accordingly sent to Bombay to be hauled ashore and surveyed. Eventually she was cast as unfit for further service.[4]

The building of two frigates for Bombay was taken in hand in January, and the need for them was shown by the capture of the hoy *Mary* by Malabar pirates, news of which reached the Council on 5 February.[5] The *Hunter* was ready in April and took down the file of soldiers that had remained behind.[6] The master of the captured hoy, whom the Council had tried and condemned for his pusillanimous conduct in the engagement, was also sent to Bombay for deportation to England.[7]

Otherwise the record of the events at Surat during the first five months of the year contains little except trade matters and the story of Aungier's efforts to get the Governor's permission to go to Bombay. He wanted to go on the *George* in April, but the Governor 'plainly told him he shall not goe, pretending openly his jealousy that Bombay will spoyle this port'.[8] Aungier sent him several civil

[1] Sur. con. 25 Jan., 2 Misc. 121.

* Sur. let. 29 Jan., 87 Sur. 18, 19. Ramnagar, now known as Nagar, is about 74 miles from Surat and about 24 miles south-west of Dharampur, the new capital, which gives its name to this Koli state: see Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 245.

[2] Orme, 33; Grant Duff, 195, 196.

[3] Sur. let. to Co. 3 Feb., O.C. 3624 (For. 50); Sur. let. 23 & 24 April, 87 Sur. 31, 32.

[4] Sur. let. 9 May, 87 Sur. 32; Bom. let. 6 Nov., 106 Sur. 9; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 1.

[5] Sur. con. 20 Jan. & 5 Feb., 2 Misc. 122.

[6] Sur. con. 16 April, 2 Misc. 122; Sur. let. 16 April, 87 Sur. 27.

[7] Sur. con. 2 April, 2 Misc. 122.

[8] Sur. let. to Co. 23 April, O.C. 3634 (For. 61).

messages, representing the unreasonableness of this jealousy and the just grounds he had for visiting Bombay, but without effect. The Governor's real motive was shown by a demand he made through the Company's broker for payment of 'a round sum of money' for his permitting the President to depart. In view of its injustice and the bad precedent it would create, if conceded, the Council refused to give any money; and on 19 April Aungier sent the Governor a letter, couched in civil terms, intimating that, as he was a free merchant and no slave or prisoner, he was determined to go without his leave, if it was not granted. The Governor, enraged at this, sent down a strong force of soldiers, horse and foot, part of which took possession of the factory-house, while the rest guarded the neighbourhood, prohibiting admission to any supplies and abusing and beating the minister, who happened to be out, on his way back to the house. At the Governor's demand all the factory arms and its trumpet were handed over.

To all this force [writes Aungier in a letter to the Company][1] wee shewed not the least returne of violence, but suffered all patiently, treating the commander of the soldery with much civillity. About 6 at night hee sends the broker Bimgee Parrack to demand money from us to compound the business. Wee sent him answer that wee had given him at present already more than wee had given to any Governor, that wee were not in any fault and would pay him none, whereupon he forces from the broker Bimgee Parrack 500 rupees, threatning to seise his house, estate, wife & children, if he did not pay it; the broker being affrighted pays him the money, declaring withall it was his owne, not the Companys. At length it seems the Governor, being ashamed of what he had done, betwixt 8 & 9 at night, recalls all his souldiers, returnes all the armes and the trumpet, and leaves the house free. The next morning the President sent Mr. Gray with the rest of the Councell to the Shabunder & the eminent merchants of the towne to declare to them the force which was put upon us, shewing the letter which the President writt the Governor & withall gave them to understand that, as wee were in noe fault, so if any evill did ensue thereupon they must not blame us. The merchants did all bear witness of our innocence & cryed shame of the Governors injustice; since which the Governor seemes sorry for what is past; though he is outwardly civill, yet he will not here of the Presidents goeing downe.

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 23 April, O.C. 3634 (For. 61).

At the beginning of May the Governor was still refusing to allow Aungier to embark for Bombay, saying he was awaiting orders from the Court; but these could not arrive in time for him to go before the monsoon started.[1] On 16 May Aungier wrote to the Bombay Council that he was sending down his ship *Loyal Oxinden* to winter in Bombay.[2] No doubt he was hoping to be able to sail on her, and in fact he succeeded in doing so on the 21st, with the Governor's approval. His account of it to the Company says he

expressed his just resentment [at the Governor's behaviour] in a method soe unusual and unexpected that the Governor and towne of Surat soone began to consider what they had done, and proposed terms of mediation which the President wholly slighted for the present, determining to improve the controversy . . . with success . . . so that the Governor at length consented . . . and at their meeting said he was ashamed for what he had done and desired his pardon.[3]

Thus Aungier's firmness triumphed over the rapacity of his opponent; but the delay, with the monsoon approaching, involved serious risk to his life, and the voyage to Bombay nearly ended in disaster. In fact the stormy weather after his departure and some shipwrecks led to strong rumours of the loss of the *Loyal Oxinden*.[4]

The Council's relief at the news of the President's safe arrival at Bombay helped to mitigate the despondency caused by renewed fears of an attack on Surat by Sivaji's forces. On 11 June the town was 'strongly allarmed' by news of their near approach under Moropant Pingle, who had taken Jawhar, a fort within 100 miles of Surat.[5] On the 21st it was reported that he had also captured the nearer fortress of Ramnagar, and messengers arrived the same day with letters from Sivaji

demanding for the third time (which he said would be the last) the *chouty* or one-fourth of the King's revenues under his government, declaring that as their King had forced him to keep an army for defence of his people and country, so that army must be paid, and if they sent him not the money speedily he bid them make ready a large house for him, for he would come and sitt down here and receive the rents and customs, for there was none now to stop his passage.[6]

[1] Sur. let. 8 May, 87 Sur. 32, 33 (For. 63).
[2] 87 Sur. 36 (For. 63).
[3] Bom. let. to Co. 14 June, O.C. 3649, f. 2.
[4] Ibid., f. 8, cf. p. 44 *ante*; Sur. let. 21 June, 87 Sur. 44 (For. 67).
[5] Sur. let. 21 June, 87 Sur. 44.
[6] Sur. let. 25 June, 87 Sur. 47.

There was, in fact, the gravest cause for apprehension, and Sivaji's boast that there was no one to prevent him coming was well founded. Mahabat Khan, the commander of the Mughal army, after his defeat near Salher had retired to Aurangabad; the other two Mughal Generals, Bahadur Khan and Diler Khan, had been forced by Sivaji to beat a hasty retreat from Poona; and Sivaji, with Ramnagar guarding an easy route to Surat, had, as he called it, 'the key of his treasury' in his pocket.[1]

The danger was realized by the Governor, who called a meeting of all the eminent Hindu and Mohammedan merchants and proposed their collecting a sum of Rs. 45,000 to raise 500 horse and 3,000 foot for the defence of the town for two months. This was agreed to, but not apparently carried out. The Council wrote that they 'heared of no soldiers raiseing, but there are officers employed in taking an account of every Banians house in towne, of which the Governor no doubt will make good imployment to his particular benefitt'.* On the arrival of Sivaji's letters a panic arose among all men of property, who wanted to send their families out of Surat. The Governor at first gave them leave to do so, but withdrew it the next day and summoned another meeting to consider how to meet Sivaji's demand for money. He proposed they should raise Rs. 1,00,000 in the town and Rs. 2,00,000 in the surrounding district. This was declared to be impossible, and

at length, after sitting the whole day and night, the Governor would have them raise Rs. 60,000 to send at present to stop the enemy, with promises of the rest, and allotted Rs. 20,000 to the merchants and Rs. 40,000 to the country people, but they, apprehending it as a piece of his craft to enrich himself . . . sent him word it could not be and so broke up.[2]

Fortunately the panic subsided the next day (23 June), when news arrived that Moropant had retired on hearing that Diler Khan was gathering forces to stop his further progress. Heavy rain also 'brought great comfort to the town', as likely to hinder the mobility

[1] Sur. con. 21 June, 3 Sur. 4; Sur. let. to Co. 6 April, O.C. 3633, f. 4; Sur. let. 21 June, 87 Sur. 44; Sur. let. 8 July, 87 Sur. 52; Bom. let. to Co. 14 June, O.C. 3649, ff. 3, 4; Orme, 34; Grant Duff, i, 197.

* Sur. let. 21 June, 87 Sur. 44. Further steps were taken to collect money for this purpose in July, and the Surat Council hoped 'these taxes will doe good to our island, for these people were never accustomed to part with their money on such accounts' (Sur. let. 20 July, 87 Sur. 54).

[2] Sur. let. 25 June, 87 Sur. 47, 48.

of Sivaji's forces.[1] But apprehension still continued, and in July the shroffs at first refused to insure money that was being sent to Bombay because of the danger.[2] The expected attack, however, did not materialize, and Moropant advanced instead into the Nasik district and took the fort of Trimbak.[3] Consequently for about three months Surat had a respite from these recurrent alarms.* While the tension continued, it involved much anxiety and trouble to the Council for securing the Company's property as far as possible from the danger, not only of the town being looted, but also of its being set on fire. Thus the more valuable coral was put on the hoy, which was kept afloat in the river and provisioned for a month, while other goods were stored outside Surat.[4] As to the defence of the factory, Gray pointed out that this was practically impossible against such a resolute enemy with the 'few youths' that they had to help them.[5]

The alarm was naturally prejudicial to trade. Even the coral, the sale of which had been arranged at the beginning of June, remained undisposed of, and merchants would not buy goods 'in these times of rains and the danger the town is in'.[6] There was, however, one important transaction effected in June. Mirza Muazzam was at last prevailed on to take delivery of the broadcloth he had bought in the previous year, and the compensation to be allowed him for damaged cloth was settled.[7] On the other hand, he resisted all attempts to get him to take the perpetuanos lying in the factory, and the town was so glutted with cloth that difficulties in disposing of fresh stock were bound to occur.[8]

The work of building the frigate *Revenge* met with obstacles,[9] but these were sufficiently overcome early in September to permit of Capt. Burgess being sent up from Bombay with two files of soldiers to take her over when ready.[10] But it was not till October that she was

[1] Sur. let. 25 June, 87 Sur. 48.

[2] Sur. let. 8 July, 87 Sur. 52.

[3] Sw. let. 20 July, 87 Sur. 53, 54.

* Cf. Sur. let. to Co. 22 Oct., O.C. 3684 & Forrest, 70. The town also had, during part of July, the defence afforded by one, Naggar Khan, with an army 'who were very abusive to the towne people' (Sur. let. 30 July, 87 Sur. 57).

[4] Sur. con. 21 June, 3 Sur. 4; Sur. let. 25 June, 87 Sur. 48.

[5] Sur. let. 30 July, 87 Sur. 57.

[6] Sur. con. 3 & 11 June, 3 Sur. 3; Sur. let. 20 July, 87 Sur. 54.

[7] Sur. con. 3 June, 3 Sur. 3; Sur. let. 4 June, 87 Sur. 42.

[8] Ibid.; Sur. let. 20 July, 87 Sur. 54; Grigby's let. 5 Dec., 106 Sur. 14.

[9] Sur. let. 9 July & 14 Aug., 87 Sur. 53, 62.

[10] Bom. let. 19 Aug. & 3 Sept., PS., 106 Sur. 125, 130. As to Capt. Burgess, see p. 43 *ante*.

launched, and not till towards the end of November that she was able to sail for Bombay.[1] At the suggestion of the chief carpenter, Cursetji, she was made broader and deeper than was at first contemplated, and changes were also effected in the ketch *Phoenix* to make a better sailer of her.* The latter was dispatched on 29 August, in time to be useful to the ships when they reached Bombay in September.[2]

The four of them (p. 49) got to Swally Hole on 6 October,[3] and the Council then had a busy time in having them unladen and got ready for their voyage down the Malabar coast. It succeeded in dispatching them on 14 October,[4] and would have got them off earlier but for the *Mediterranean* being in such a leaky condition that she had to be hauled ashore for repairs.[5]

The receipt of news of the war with Holland gave some alarm to the Council in view of the possibility of an attack by a Dutch fleet. On 26 September Gray reported that the Dutch factory had sent down a hoy to Cochin and Ceylon to give warning of the war and the arrival of the English ships, and said the Council did not consider the Company's estate at Swally and Surat to be secure. It suggested that, instead of lading the ships at Swally, this should be done at Bombay, though the difficulty of transporting goods to that port was recognized.[6] Aungier, after due consideration of the proposal with his Council, rejected it, holding that Swally was really safer than Bombay; and it was accordingly withdrawn.[7] The only suggestion of hostilities by the Dutch at Surat during the year is afforded by an instruction to Capt. Burgess to avoid any fighting with the Dutch while taking the *Revenge* to Bombay, as the Council believed there was a plot to inveigle him into attacking a Dutch hoy, so that there might be an excuse for them to assault the ships in Swally Hole. The next day, however, this was superseded by the information that

[1] Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3685, f. 4; Sur. let. 12 & 16 Nov., 87 Sur. 91, 92; Sur. let. to Burgess, 20 & 21 Nov., 3 Sur. 30.

* Sur. let. 21 June, 87 Sur. 46 & Forrest, 67, 68; Bom. let. 8 July, 106 Sur. 115. Cursetji may have been an ancestor of the Lavji Nasarwanji Wadia, who was brought to Bombay from Surat in 1735 and built a number of vessels for the Company (*Bom. City Gaz.* ii. 110).

[2] Sur. let. 29 Aug., 87 Sur. 70 (For. 69). Cf. pp. 39, 40 *ante*.

[3] Grigby's let. 6 Oct., 106 Sur. 140; Sur. let. to Co. 22 Oct., O.C. 3684, f. 3 (For. 71).

[4] Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3685 & 87 Sur. 81–4.

[5] O.C. 3685, f. 5.

[6] Sur. let. 26 Sept., 87 Sur. 74 & O.C. 3680.

[7] Bom. let. 4 Oct., 106 Sur. 137, 138; Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3685, f. 4.

all the Dutch hoys were still in the Hole;[1] and the only danger that the frigate met with on her voyage was from Malabar pirates.[2]

On the other hand, Sivaji continued to be a source of danger to the factory. His threat to come and recover *chauth* was not the only reason for apprehending an attack by his army. Another was the fleet that had been built by Aurangzeb's order and had assembled in the river Tapti to assist the Sidi in his operations against Sivaji. Thus in August two frigates arrived from Gogo with about 1,000 men.[3] In July news came from Bombay that Moropant was to be sent against this threat with an army of about 15,000 men.[4] In October the fleet must have been ready to sail, for it was off Bombay at the end of that month.[5] When, therefore, news arrived on 26 October that Sivaji's forces were at Ramnagar, and on the 28th that they had advanced as far as Chikhli, a distance of only thirty-five miles from Surat, there was considerable consternation.[6] There was such a scare that the shroffs, who had bought the treasure imported on the ships and had paid Rs. 30,000 on account, refused to take it away, and none of the merchants would adventure on the purchase of the Company's goods.[7] The Council had the treasure repacked in handy chests and ordered the hoy up to take it and other valuable goods. Provisions and powder were laid in, and some of the soldiers that had come to guard the *Revenge* were brought up to defend the house.[8] On the 29th, however, it was learnt that only a party of the enemy's forces had gone to Chikhli to see if the river there was fordable and that it had returned to the main body near Ramnagar.[9] This quieted the alarm, though the danger still prejudiced trade.[10] Bahadur Khan and Diler Khan had gone to oppose an advance, but no engagement appears to have taken place, and Surat escaped attack. In December it was reported that Sivaji's forces had returned to Ramnagar and the Mughal generals to Aurangabad.* But it was realized both at Surat and Bombay that Sivaji had reason for exasperation against Surat because of the

[1] Sur. let. 20 & 21 Nov., 3 Sur. 30. [2] See p. 40 *ante*. [3] Sur. let. 22 Aug., 87 Sur. 64.
[4] Bom. let. 8 July, 106 Sur. 115. [5] See p. 55 *ante*.
[6] Sur. con. 26 & 28 Oct., 3 Sur. 25; Sur. let. 31 Oct., 87 Sur. 87 (For. 72).
[7] Sur. con. 26 & 28 Oct., 3 Sur. 25. [8] Sur. con. 28 Oct., 3 Sur. 25.
[9] Sur. let. 31 Oct., 87 Sur. 87. [10] Sur. let. 12 Nov., 87 Sur. 91.

* Ibid. & Sur. let. 31 Oct., 87 Sur. 87. Orme, 36, says Moropant 'compromised for the retreat of his army at much less than his first demands', though the sum was still a great one. It seems probable that this is what happened, but I have not succeeded in tracing any authority for the statement.

damage to his ports and shipping by the fleet Aurangzeb had sent from that place.[1]

This danger from Sivaji accentuated the Council's difficulty in the disposal of its broadcloth. Mirza Muazzam was the only merchant to offer to buy it wholesale, and that at a price considerably lower than what he had paid for the previous lot. It was accordingly decided in November, with Aungier's approval, to retail it in small parcels.[2] But this could only be done slowly, and money was urgently needed to repay creditors, who had become importunate on account of the war with Holland and the fear of another looting of the town. Accordingly at the beginning of December Mirza Muazzam was again sounded, with the result that he raised his offer for the whole parcel, provided he was allowed to buy the Company's ivory at an underrate.[3] There was considerable discussion about the advisability of accepting this offer. Gray and his Council were against it: Aungier and his Council thought it would be better to accept it, but left the decision to the Surat Council.[4] Accordingly it was resolved on 30 December to let Mirza Muazzam have the broadcloth and ivory on his own terms. He, however, then stood off from a bargain, and the cloth remained on the Company's hands.[5]

The acquiescence in Mirza Muazzam's proposal was partly based on the Company's orders to dispose of its stock at current prices to reduce the debt, irrespective of the loss caused.[6] Another important order that reached the Council in September was that no goods were to be sent to Bantam. The Council had provided an investment for that factory in accordance with the previous orders, and this change of plan left a further stock of goods on their hands.[7] Though the Council had sent no vessel to Bantam since the *Advance* left in February, Surat merchants continued to trade with that and other places in the Far East. Thus we read of advices from Bantam being

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 40; Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691 (4), f. 4; Sur. con. 21 Oct., 3 Sur. 23.

[2] Sur. con. 11 Nov., 3 Sur. 27; Sur. let. 12 Nov., 87 Sur. 89; Bom. let. 25 Nov., 106 Sur. 15.

[3] Sur. let. 3 & 7 Dec., O.C. 3703 & 3707; Grigby's let. 5 Dec., 106 Sur. 14.

[4] Ibid.; Aungier's let. 20 Dec., 6 Bom. 53; Bom. let. 23 Dec., 106 Sur. 50; Bom. con. 23 Dec., 1 Bom. 9.

[5] Sur. con. 30 Dec., 3 Sur. 35, 36; Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691 (4), ff. 7, 8.

[6] Desp. 15 March, 4 L.B. 535; Bom. let. 28 Sept., 106 Sur. 133; Sur. con. 30 Dec., 3 Sur. 35, 36.

[7] Desp. 15 March, 4 L.B. 535; Sur. let. 14 Aug., 87 Sur. 60, 61; Sw. let. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691 (4), f. 4.

received by the *Hopewell*, which Khwaja Minaz had for three years been sending to the Manillas, as well as of two junks of Abdul Ghafur and Muhammad Chellaby's ship, the *Welcome*, trading with Queda.[1]

The need of money to meet the demands of creditors, to whom the large debt at interest had been incurred, became pressing after receipt of news of the war with Holland, as they took alarm and called in their money.[2] In November the Council begged Aungier to send them all the money he could spare, and he immediately responded by sending up nearly all the treasure that the ships had brought out, although he had intended to coin it at the new Mint, and by remitting the proceeds of sales in Bombay.[3] Unfortunately the Company had sent out comparatively little treasure that year,[4] and Gray strongly pressed it to send double the ordinary stock, and that mostly in treasure, to enable them to reduce the huge debt, the interest on which ran to between £7,000 and £8,000 a year.[5] The difficulties were also pointed out by Aungier.[6] In the circumstances it was decided to suspend investing money for the next year's shipping, except for Agra indigo, which could only be obtained in proper quality and cheaply if contracted for ahead.[7]

Fortunately nothing interfered with the lading of the ships, which arrived back at Swally on 21 December.[8] Though, owing to financial and other difficulties, the quantity of cloth and pepper received from the coast factories was disappointing, the Council managed to send home goods to the value of about Rs. 8,74,000.[9] The *Return*, which was to have reached Surat from the Far East in November or December, had not been heard of, and it was feared she had been captured; her proportion of goods was consequently laden on the other ships.*

The Council remained depleted till about the end of the year, as Giffard and Chown, who had been appointed to fill the two vacancies,

[1] O.C. 3691 (4), f. 4; Sur. let. 14 Aug., 87 Sur. 63.
[2] Sur. con. 20 Nov., 3 Sur. 32; Sur. let. to Co. 10 Dec., O.C. 3684, f. 2.
[3] Sur. let. 16 & 20 Nov., 87 Sur. 91, 93; Bom. con. 26 Nov., 2 Misc. 146; Bom. let. 25 Nov., 106 Sur. 16, 17; Bom. let. to Co. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 35; Bom. let. 16 Dec., 106 Sur. 48.
[4] Bom. let. 28 Sept., 106 Sur. 133; Sur. let. to Co. 22 Oct., O.C. 3684, ff. 1, 2.
[5] Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691 (4), f. 6. [6] O.C. 3722, ff. 8, 11, 12.
[7] O.C. 3684, f. 2; O.C. 3722, f. 12; O.C. 3691 (4), f. 2.
[8] O.C. 3691 (4), ff. 1, 4. [9] Ibid., ff. 3, 4, 9.
* Sur. con. 30 Dec., 3 Sur. 36; O.C. 3691 (4), f. 9; desp. 15 March, 4 L.B. 531. The *Return*, in fact, had remained at Formosa, as the cargo procurable there did not come up to expectation, and she thus escaped the fate of capture that befell her sister-ship, the *Experiment*.

did not leave Bombay much before the close of December.* The management of affairs at Surat by Gray and his Council was praised by Aungier,[1] and the records show that Gray often gave useful advice and assistance.[2] A satisfactory item worth recording is that during the year the strained relations between Aungier and Rolt were ended by a reconciliation between them, on the President's initiative.[3]

The Council's relations with the Governor of Surat in the second half of the year seem to have been fairly harmonious, and Gray in October reported that they had not suffered any abuses from him during Aungier's absence.[4] He also paid up most of what was owed for lead supplied by the Company for the King's use.[5] But his dishonesty, to which reference has been made above, must have prevented cordiality and esteem. His protection of brokers, who paid him a yearly stipend, also hindered efforts to stop their dealings with commanders and seamen in prohibited goods.[6] His tyranny is exemplified by Gray's report that he had Khwaja Minaz 'beaten with slippers and staves until they had almost killed him, for writing to the King of injustice done him by the Government', and that he threatened Mirza Muazzam and others with similar treatment.[7]

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1673

On 13 January the four ships (as ordered by the Company) left direct for England, fully laden with goods to the value of £98,328.[8] The hoy, that had been sent to keep a look-out for five or six days, reported that no Dutch boats were in the vicinity.[9]

The Council suffered a great loss in June by the death of Alexander Grigby of 'an internal putrid fever'.[10] Aungier described him as having 'attained all the graces and accomplishments of a laborious and knowing servant to [the Company], a good counsellor and an

* Bom. con. 23 Dec., 1 Bom. 9; Bom. let. 31 Dec., 106 Sur. 53. Chown was only provisionally appointed, as Chamberlain could not be spared from Karwar (O.C. 3722, f. 52).

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 64.

[2] e.g. in answering criticisms by the Company, 106 Sur. 146, (Pt. 2) 15; O.C. 3696 & 3697.

[3] O.C. 3722, ff. 2, 3; Rolt's let. 27 Nov., 87 Sur. 102. See p. 202 *ante*.

[4] Sur. let. 24 Oct., O.C. 3693.

[5] Sur. let. 28 Sept., 87 Sur. 76.

[6] Bom. let. 21 Dec., O.C. 3722, f. 8.

[7] Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3685, f. 5.

[8] Desp. 5 July 1672, 5 L.B. 3; Sur. let. to Co. 17 Jan., O.C. 3741 (1).

[9] Ibid.

[10] Sur. con. 26 July, 3 Sur. 21; Sur. let. to Co. 1 Nov., O.C. 3886, f. 2.

honest man'.[1] Caesar Chamberlain was ordered from Karwar to succeed him, but did not arrive till towards the end of December.* Another loss was the death of Henry Chown in April; but (probably from illness) his assistance at consultations had been only intermittent.[2] On the other hand, Giffard, who joined at the beginning of January, seems to have recovered his health, except for an attack of fever in August.[3] Accordingly during most of the year the Council was reduced from its proper number of five to three;† and the absence of the President at Bombay also affected its status. Nevertheless, Gray and his colleagues‡ appear to have performed their duties satisfactorily.

Fortunately, in spite of the war, there was little to trouble the factory throughout the year. Neither the Dutch nor the English interfered with the other's trade or shipping at Surat and Swally; and even the seven ships that had reconnoitred Bombay paid a purely pacific visit for twenty-two days in March, bringing up goods and a new Director for the Dutch factory.[4] In November Gray entertained fears lest the Dutch success at Masulipatam should be followed up by an attack on the Company's ships at Swally, but he soon took a more cheerful view.[5] When, in fact, the ships were in Swally Hole in December, the Dutch hoys, though well-manned, did not venture to meddle with them.[6] The frequent alarms of the two previous years about the approach of Sivaji's army were not repeated, except for a few days at the beginning of October, when a rumour of his intention to attack Surat put the town into a panic and the gates were shut by order of the Governor.[7] The report appears to have been due to news of 20,000 wallets being made at

[1] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 15.

* Ibid.; Bom. con. 10 Dec., 1 Bom. 3. He had already asked to be transferred to Surat (Bom. let. 9 April, 106 Sur. 90, 91).

[2] Sur. let. to Co. 1 Nov., O.C. 3886, f. 2; 3 Sur. 1–14.

[3] Sw. con. 6 Jan., 3 Sur. 1; Sur. let. 20 Aug., O.C. 3832.

† John Petit, who in accordance with the Company's direction was appointed to a place on the Council, did not join during the year (see p. 324 *post*).

‡ They had the assistance of Henry Oxinden, Samuel Austen, and some ten other factors and writers: cf. list of factors, 87 Sur. 66. Another senior factor, Charles Ward, who was captured on the *George* by the Dutch and subsequently released, did not reach Surat till the end of the year (Sur. let. 7 Jan. 1674, 87 Sur. 55).

[4] Sur. PS. 6 March, O.C. 3741 (2), f. 5; Sur. let. to Co. 4 April, O.C. 3755.

[5] Sw. let. 8 Nov., O.C. 3890; Sw. let. 17 Nov., 87 Sur. 30; Sur. con. 18 Nov., 3 Sur. 44.

[6] Sw. let. 28 Dec. 52.

[7] Sur. con. 7 Oct., 3 Sur. 38; Bom. con. 3 Oct., 1 Bom. 92.

Rairi, as if to bring away the plunder of a large city like Surat.[1] But it soon became clear that Sivaji's objective was elsewhere; and when the *Phoenix* arrived from Bombay with twelve soldiers for the defence of the factory, the town was quiet.[2] Accordingly on the arrival of the *Hunter* with thirty-six soldiers, she was returned at once with all the troops, except two files that went back on the ketch.[3]

Nor did the Governor Ghiyas-uddin give any trouble, though his 'insatiable tyranny' continued to damage trade.[4] He maintained a fair understanding with the Council, but his furious temper made its continuance uncertain.[5] When the dispute with the Sidi took place in October (p. 66), Aungier's fears of the Governor being heated against the English were unrealized.[6] Another sign of friendliness was his invitation to Aungier to return to Surat.[7] The expediency of keeping in with him was, however, recognized; and Aungier sent him some hawks as a present, while Gray proposed to get two good horses from Persia for him.[8]

The main difficulty the Council had to face was the old one of the immense debt at interest. It had been increased by the large ladings obtained for the ships sailing in January, and in February amounted to some £80,000.[9] In August it had risen to £86,234;[10] and more money had to be borrowed in order to finance the investment for the ships due in December.[11] In July the problem raised such 'anxious thoughts' that the Council said 'they would not know how to show their faces to their creditors or appear [in] publique out of doors'.[12] In August, on hearing of the safe arrival of the ships on the Coromandel coast, and that the Company expected them to supply 3,000 tons, they compared their lot to that of the Israelites forced to make bricks without straw, and signed their letter to Aungier about it as 'your disconsolate friends'.[13] They managed, however, to raise the

[1] Bom. let. 16 Oct., 6 Bom. 218. Cf. Orme, 47.

[2] Sur. let. 25 Oct., O.C. 3874.

[3] Bom. con. 20 Oct., 1 Bom. 102; Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 231, 234; Sur. let. 6 Nov. & Sur. con. 18 Nov., 3 Sur. 42, 44; Sur. let. 6 Nov., O.C. 3888.

[4] O.C. 3779, f. 4; Bom. let. to Co., 6 Bom. 2.

[5] 6 Bom. 2; O.C. 3888.

[6] Bom. let. 23 Oct., 6 Bom. 235; Sur. let. 30 Oct., O.C. 3789 (2).

[7] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 21.

[8] Sw. let. 30 Oct., 14 Nov., O.C. 3894; Sur. let. 3 Dec. & 19 Jan. 1674, 87 Sur. 41, 91.

[9] Sw. let. to Co. 17 Jan. & 25 Feb., O.C. 3741 (1) & (2), f. 4.

[10] Sur. con. 7 Aug., 3 Sur. 25–7 & O.C. 3827.

[11] Sur. con. 23 Aug., 29 Sept., & 2 Oct., 3 Sur. 31, 37, 38.

[12] Sur. con. 28 July, 3 Sur. 23.

[13] Sur. let. 6 Aug., O.C. 3825.

extra money required for lading the ships, though it involved an increase of about £60,000 to the debt.[1]

The Company had sent out a stock estimated to be worth £90,575, which the Surat Council contended was less than half the sum required to cover the 3,000 tons they were expected to ship.[2] But the amount that actually reached them was considerably less.* Instead of a part of the Company's ships coming, as usual, direct to Bombay and Surat, all the ships were, in consequence of the war, sent off in a body to Madras, whence they were to sail together up the Malabar coast to take in the goods provided by the factories there, and then, after touching at Bombay, to go to Surat for their final lading in India.[3] The coast factories were authorized to take from them enough European commodities to meet the cost of the ensuing year's investment, and as much bullion as was required for the purchase of the pepper and other goods they provided.† The lower factories, having the first pick and being in monetary difficulties, took more than was expected; and the total value of the stock unladen on the coast and at Bombay was over £30,000.[4]

The loss of the ship *President* in the fight off Masulipatam seriously affected the Surat factory, as it was bringing out treasure for it.[5] Another thing that hampered the Council was the receipt of the stock at Surat in December instead of in the usual month of September. The result was that only the treasure could be turned into money before the ships left for England.[6]

Fortunately trade had been better than in 1672, and most of the stock received that year had been sold. Thus all the broadcloth, except some damaged pieces, had been disposed of by the end of July.[7] Coral was in low demand, but several chests were sold.[8] The lead had all been taken and paid for by the Governor, who made an illicit profit by charging the Emperor a third more than he gave for

[1] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 31; Sur. let. 12 & 19 Jan. 1674, 87 Sur. 74, 75, 91.

[2] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 3; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, f. 2.

* It is stated to have been 'not above £47,000' (O.C. 3921, f. 10).

[3] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 30, 31.

† Ibid. 31. Similar orders were issued by Aungier in May (Bom. con. 23 May, 1 Bom. 51; Bom. let. 24 May, 6 Bom. 121, 122, 126).

[4] Bom. let. 28 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 61; Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, f. 11.

[5] Bom. let. of Nov., 6 Bom. 227; Bom. let. 1 Nov., O.C. 3883; Bom. let. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 19.

[6] Sw. con. 23 Dec., 3 Sur. 47; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, f. 14.

[7] Bom. con. 28 July, 3 Sur. 24; Sur. let. to Co. 1 Nov., O.C. 3886, f. 1.

[8] Bom. let. to Co. 11 Dec., 6 Bom. 8; Sur. con. 9 May & 25 Nov., 3 Sur. 15, 45, 46.

it.[1] The goods provided for Bantam (see p. 225) had also been mostly sold. The only valuable commodity that lay on the Council's hands during the year was ivory. This was mainly due to dacoities on the roads, which had prevented dealers from Multan coming to Ahmadabad and Surat to buy it for women's armlets.[2]

But against the proceeds of sales had to be set the heavy expense of Bombay, which had taken £20,000 of the stock in question;[3] and a balance-sheet drawn up to August 1673 showed the available quick-stock exceeded liabilities (exclusive of interest on the debt) by only £1,994.[4] Moreover the debts due to the Company were not all speedily realizable. Thus pressure was put upon Khwaja Minaz to pay up a large liability in respect of a bargain he had failed to carry out, and though this included his being disgraced by keeping peons at his door day and night, it only obtained a part-payment of less than half the full amount and bonds for the payment of the rest by instalments.[5]

In spite of all these difficulties Gray and his colleagues were more successful than they expected to be in getting supplies for the ships. In August further orders were given in an effort to provide the tonnage ordered by the Company.[6] In November only some 700 to 800 tons were ready at Swally, and none of the inland investments had come down.[7] When, however, the seven ships anchored on 18 December, it was found they had brought up about 640 tons of pepper, 40 bales of cardamoms, and other goods.* Some more pepper had been sent by boat from Baliapatam, but did not arrive in time; and the Council was lucky to obtain 100 tons of pepper from the Bantam ship, the *Blessing*, which reached Swally on 30 December.[8] There was irritating delay over the receipt of goods from Nandrabad, Ahmadabad, and other inland places; and the lading of the ships was being held up on this account at the end of the year.[9] Nevertheless, the final result was a lading worth over £100,000 (see p. 234).

[1] Sur. con. 27 Aug. & 3 Sept., 3 Sur. 32, 34; Sur. let. to Co. 1 Nov., O.C. 3886, f. 1.

[2] Sur. let. to Co. 25 Feb., O.C. 3741 (2), f. 1; Sur. let. 30 Sept., O.C. 3856; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, ff. 5, 6.

[3] O.C. 3921, f. 6.

[4] Sur. con. 7 Aug., 3 Sur. 24-7 & O.C. 3826.

[5] Sur. con. 18 Aug., 3 Sur. 30; Sur. let. 20 Aug., O.C. 3832.

[6] Sur. con. 11 Aug., 3 Sur. 29, 30.

[7] Sw. let. to Co. 14 Nov., 87 Sur. 27.

* O.C. 3921, f. 10. The 7 ships were the *Ann, Bombay Merchant, Caesar, East India Merchant, London, Massingberd*, and *Unity*.

[8] Sur. let. 28 Dec., 87 Sur. 51; Bom. let. 28 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 62; Sur. con. 2 Jan. 1674, 3 Sur. 47; O.C. 3921, f. 12.

[9] Sw. let. 26 & 28 Dec., 87 Sur, 49, 50, 51.

An important step taken at the beginning of June was the re-establishment of a factory at Broach to supervise cloth investments there and at Ankleshwar, Dabhoi, Baroda, Nariad, Ahmadabad, and Dholka. Isaac Reynardson, who had served two years at Surat, and whose integrity and ability were described by Aungier as remarkable, was put in charge of it, with William Crawley, who had been five years at Surat, as his Assistant.* In November they were so busy that another Assistant, by name Henry Thomson, was sent there.[1] Considerable correspondence between Reynardson and the Surat Council during the last six months of the year is extant;[2] but it relates mainly to matters connected with the cloth investment. One or two points of interest may be noticed. A supply of limes and lime-trees were sent from Broach to Bombay in September;[3] and in October, when the Sidi's offensive had made provisions scarce and dear at Bombay, the Council ordered wheat, pulse, and other provisions to be sent by boat from Broach, as this could be done with less 'noise' there than at Surat.[4] Fears of Malabar pirates that were in the neighbourhood led, however, to the *Malabar Coaster* being sent to bring them to Surat, whence they were dispatched to Bombay.[5] The factory was also asked to buy 100 tons of Broach cotton to ship home, but later on this proposal was abandoned.[6] This was just as well, as the Company had ordered only cotton of the finest quality to be sent to them, and some of the cotton obtained was found by Aungier, to whom it was sent, to be so bad that it was not fit for making either cloth or cotton yarn.[7] There was a dispute between the inhabitants and the Governor of Broach, which had been referred to the Viceroy, Bahadur Khan; and the Governor was regarded as a 'mean person', his wages being little more than those of a common soldier, viz. Rs. 50 a month.[8]

* Sur. con. 24 May, 3 Sur. 16, 17; instrns. to Reynardson, 3 June, 3 Sur. 17, 18; Bom. let. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 17; O.C. 3921, f. 1. The factory had been discontinued after Sir George Oxinden's death (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 196); but the Company had recommended the settling of some of their servants in inland factories for their improvement in the country language, ways, and customs, knowledge of manufactures, &c. (Sur. con. 20 Nov. 1672, 3 Sur. 32–5).

[1] Sw. let. 7 Nov., O.C. 3889 & 87 Sur. 16; Gray's let. 29 Oct., 106 Sur. 207; list of factors, 87 Sur. 66.

[2] e.g. 106 Sur. 113, 124–9, 131–90; 87 Sur. 15–18, 25, 37, 38, 42, 46–50.

[3] Broach let. 6 Sept., 106 Sur. 169.

[4] Sur. con. 25 Oct., 3 Sur. 41; Gray's let. 28 Oct., O.C. 3878.

[5] Sw. let. 9, 13, & 18 Nov., 87 Sur. 18, 24, 32; Gray's let. 14 Nov., 87 Sur. 28.

[6] Sur. con. 1 & 25 Oct., 3 Sur. 38, 41; Sur. let. 7 & 12 Nov., O.C. 3889 & 3893.

[7] Sur. con. 1 Oct., 3 Sur. 38; Sur. let. 29 Jan. & 4 Feb. 1674, 87 Sur. 96, 108; Bom. let. 9 & 12 Feb. 1674, 6 Bom. 67, 68.

[8] Broach let. of June & 8 July, 106 Sur. 126–8.

Mughal rule at Surat had led many Hindu merchants, headed by the Company's broker Bhimji Parak, to think of settling in Bombay. A petition they had made to the Company for an assurance that, if they went there, they would enjoy freedom of religion and other privileges, had unfortunately been lost owing to the Dutch capturing the *Falcon* on its way home, and the Company asked for a fresh petition in English.* This was complied with, but it is significant that only Bhimji signed the petition: the former petition (it was reported) was signed by several of the chief Banians, when they were disgusted and had retired to Broach, but now they dared not 'collect hands', and had referred the negotiation to Bhimji.[1]

The war with the Dutch naturally hampered trade and communications with Persia and the Far East, but several merchants such as Khwaja Minaz, Mirza Muazzam, Abdul Gafur, and Haji Kadir still sent vessels to Persian ports, Siam, Queda, and Achin.[2] The friendly relations that had been established with Rolt, the Company's Chief in Persia, continued;[3] and the Council sent him presents worth Rs. 4,850, so that he should be able to deliver a letter from King Charles to the Shah of Persia in suitable style. Unfortunately the junk, on which they were consigned, 'being ill-stowed overset immediately on weighing anchor', with the result that her lading and nearly 200 persons were lost; and to prevent Rolt being disappointed, arrangements were made to send another lot of presents within a short time.[4] The 'second' in Persia, Capt. Young, by his quarrelsome and insubordinate behaviour so dissatisfied the Company that it ordered the Council to send an 'able person' to Persia, who might be available to succeed Rolt, if necessary, instead of Young.[5]

The supervision of subordinate factories by the Surat Council was necessarily affected by the President's absence in Bombay; and the centre of gravity shifted accordingly, although Aungier was careful to consult Gray and his colleagues on all important questions,

* Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 30; desp. 22 Feb. 1671, 4 L.B. 424; Bom. let. 12 Sept., 6 Bom. 189; Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611 (For. 46, 47). The *Falcon* was captured by the Dutch off the Lizard on 27 June 1672 (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 156).

[1] Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, f. 9. The petition will be found in O.C. 3913 & 87 Sur. 57, 58.

[2] e.g. James's let. 9 April, 106 Sur. 90; Sur. let. 20 Aug., O.C. 3832; Sur. con. 21 April & 24 May, 3 Sur. 13, 16; Bom. let. 15 May, 106 Sur. 107.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 28 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 69.

[4] Sur. con. 13 March, 3 Sur. 11.

[5] Rolt's let. to Co. 23 Nov., O.C. 3899; desp. 7 July, 5 L.B. 48, 49.

including those relating to Bombay.[1] The only matter on which there arose any decided difference of opinion was the question of the surrender of the Rajapur vessel that had been attached (see p. 68). But though there was general agreement, the position was in some respects anomalous, and friction naturally resulted. Thus Gray and his Council complained of the Bombay Council signing letters to Surat, as if it was a superior body instead of the reverse; but Aungier smoothed things down by pointing out that this was merely a matter of form to show their concurrence with the President, and asked them 'not to take offence at so little insignificant things'.[2]

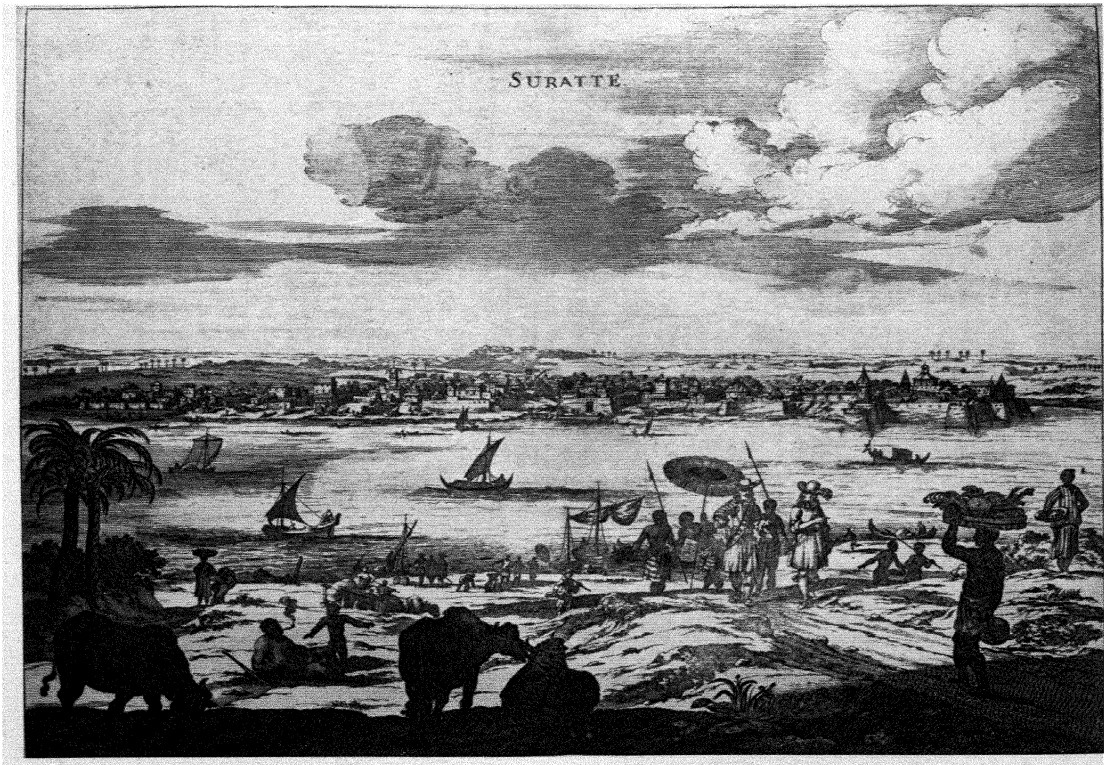
There was no question of moving the factory, as there had been in 1671 (p. 214), and Aungier, in reply to the Company's remarks deprecating any such step except in an extreme emergency, agreed that it would be in its interest for many years to come to keep the bulk of its trade in Surat.[3] The difficulties of communication in those days is shown by the reported seizure of the Company's overland packets in Mesopotamia by Arabs or Dutch spies, so that despatches of April, May, and July 1673 only arrived together on a ship at the beginning of 1674;[4] while an earlier despatch of 9 August 1672 was not received till October 1673.[5]

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1674

THE dispatch of the Company's seven ships was delayed for two days by the non-arrival of the Ahmadabad *cafila* till 10 January. Four of them left Swally Hole on the 12th, and the other three the next day. In addition to what they had brought from Fort St. George, they took away cargo worth about £104,160.[6] Several seamen that had deserted their ships and were giving trouble by misconduct at Surat were sent down to Bombay, where they were given employment.[7]

The factory-house at Surat 'being antient and in great danger

[1] e.g. Bom. con. 23 May, 27 June, 21 Aug., 15 Sept., & 3 Oct., 1 Bom. 52, 61, 75, 82, 86, 94.
[2] Aungier's let. 20 Sept., 6 Bom. 194, 195.
[3] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 28; Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 1.
[4] Bom. let. 26 May & 28 Aug., 6 Bom. 127, 175.
[5] Bom. let. 23 Oct. & 6 Nov., 6 Bom. 231, 248.
[6] Sw. let. 15 Jan., 87 Sur. 57; Sur. con. 15 Jan., 3 Sur. 3.
[7] Sw. let. 29 Jan. & 18 Feb., 87 Sur. 96, 97, 119; Sw. let. 30 Jan., 3 Sur. 2, 3; Bom. let. 9 Feb., 6 Bom. 65; Sur. con. 11 March, 3 Sur. 12.



VIEW OF SURAT, *c.* 1670
From *Baldaeus' Voyage*, 1672

of falling down', arrangements had been made with the Mughal building authorities for its repair, the cost of which was to be allowed out of the rent paid annually to the Emperor. In spite of the overseer of the work having been promised a certain sum to 'follow the work and not let it lie like church work', it had proceeded very slowly and then had stopped for a month. Inquiries showed that this was due to the Emperor's officers wanting their perquisites, and the chief building-overseer was ordered to be paid Rs. 60 or more.[1]

Mirza Muazzam was gratified by the Council's agreeing to sell him its ivory at the price he offered, though this meant a loss on it. It was, however, considered necessary to dispose of their stock as soon as possible, in view of the want of money. And though the demand was slack, the remaining broadcloth was also sold by the beginning of March.[2]

As it was expected that the Company would eventually require a larger tonnage than that called for in its last despatch, the Council made early preparations for the year's investment, and in February Reynardson was ordered to go to Broach and inspect the various cloth-markets in his charge.[3] Crawley was already there in January, and a letter of his[4] contains an account of the assassination of the Governor of Broach at Ankleshwar on the 17th of that month. The latter had gone there

to recall the Banyans of that place [Broach], who fled away upon some abuses offered some of them by his men [and] had some fallings out with those souldiers, occationed by his chawbucking [whipping] some of them, who went and complained to their Governor and desired leave to go and revenge themselves: he being in drink gave it them, and in a little time they got 150 or 200 of them together and came where he was, fireing gunns and shooting arrows, and at last he received a shot in his belly, whereof the next day he died. There was 3 or 4 Broach men more killed and wounded, and as many of Uncleseer. . . . His relations here give out that his death was occationed by this towne Banyans who were there and who, they say, hired the Uncleseer Governor, by giving him 5,000 Rs., to effect it.

[1] Sur con. 15 Feb., 3 Sur. 7.

[2] Sur. con. 28 Feb. & 1 March, 3 Sur. 7, 8; Sur. let. 29 Jan., 18 Feb., & 6 March, 87 Sur. 97, 119, 126.

[3] Sur. con. 24 Feb. & instrns. to Reynardson, 21 Feb., 3 Sur. 9, 10, 11.

[4] Broach let. 31 Jan., 88 Sur. 18.

Towards the end of March the Council decided to open another factory up-country. The place chosen was Dharangaon in the East Khandesh district, where the Company's broker had failed to supply a large part of the calicoes ordered in the previous year and the Company was owed about £5,000. Samuel Austen, with Thomas Haggerston as his assistant, was sent there in April to recover the debt and invest the money in baftas.[1] He failed, however, to get the money, and the debt was shifted on to the shoulders of the Surat broker, Bhimji Parak, who was liable for his sub-brokers in view of his extra commission of 1 per cent.[2] Nor was the factory able to supply even half the quantity of cloth ordered from it.[3]

On 27 March a squadron of four Dutch ships, commanded by Rickloffe's Vice-Admiral, Peter Wissang, arrived, bringing some forty English seamen who had been taken in the Company's ships on the Coromandel coast. The nine officers were released, as well as five others, who came to the factory destitute of apparel and all necessaries. They were given accommodation 'suitable to their degrees', and strenuous efforts were made to procure the release of nineteen English seamen, who were being kept in irons on board, with a bare subsistence of rice and water, because they refused to serve in the Dutch fleet, as over 150 of the Company's men were doing.[4] The Council only succeeded in getting some five more released, but the rest were given clothing.[5] The Dutch ships left on 27 April, and most of the released prisoners were then sent to Bombay in the hoy.[6]

Her departure was delayed by a violent gale from the south-west that raged for some ten days along the coast during the latter part of April and the first few days of May, to the great detriment of the ports of Surat, Daman, Bassein, and Goa. Surat was the greatest sufferer, as most of her ships that had left for Persia, Mokha, and the eastern archipelago were driven back and lost their voyages. Some of them were cast away, while others had to fling their goods

[1] Sur. con. 23 March & 15 May, 3 Sur. 12, 24; instrns. to Austen, 31 March, 3 Sur. 14, 15; Sur. let. 1 April, 87 Sur. 141; Sur. let. 7 April, 88 Sur. 87; Bom. let. 30 April, 6 Bom. 107.

[2] Sur. let. 3 & 28 Sept. & 16 Oct., 87 Sur. 199, 216, 241.

[3] Sur. let. 25 Sept., 87 Sur. 216.

[4] Sur. con. 30 March, 3 Sur. 13; Gray's let. 30 March, 87 Sur. 135–7; Sur. let. to Co. 1 April, 87 Sur. 141.

[5] Sur. con. 14 April, 3 Sur. 19, 20; Sur. let. 7, 11, & 29 April, 87 Sur. 144, 145, 147, 156.

[6] Sur. con. 7 April & 4 May, 3 Sur. 16, 22; Sur. let. 29 April, 87 Sur. 156.

overboard and the rest were damaged. The loss to Surat was said to total thirty lakhs of rupees and resulted in a prejudicial scarcity of money.[1]

Another consequence that was feared was the miscarriage of letters sent to the Company *via* Basra and Persia on the storm-bound ships, as well as of important letters to Rolt about Capt. Young's 'irregular proceedings' and misbehaviour as 'second' in Persia.* Rolt was authorized to seize Young and send him to Surat, if necessary; but before the issue of these instructions Young had died at Gombroon.[2]

Trade at Surat suffered considerably from losses caused by the gale, which broke several of its eminent merchants.[3] In September the Council wrote 'no freights offer for Persia, there being no goods in the town'.[4] Similarly Aungier reported that freights from Surat to Persia were 'quite spoilt and scarce bear the charge of the shipping'. The way the Dutch had treated the merchants taken on the *George* had also discouraged them from using English shipping to the South Seas.[5] The junk trade to Siam, Malacca, Bengal, &c., however, continued.[6]

The investment for the ships gave considerable worry to the Council, mostly for reasons unconnected with the state of trade in Surat. In May the Company's overland despatches of August and September 1673 were received.[7] These made such alterations of the orders previously received that the investments had to be reduced to about half of those previously bespoken.[8] Then, when the Company had thus made the Council 'slacken its hands', came the news of peace by the *Falcon* in September, with orders in the despatch of 13 March for enhanced quantities of calicoes, pepper, &c. On the top of this Gray was greatly disappointed at receiving an amount of treasure and stock that was far too small to discharge the large out-

[1] Bom. occurrences, O.C. 3918, f. 3; Bom. let. 26 May & 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 132, 169.

* Bom. let. 15 & 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 162, 169, 170, 171; Sur. con. 6 March, 3 Sur. 11; Sur. let. 6 Aug., 87 Sur. 189. The packets seem, however, to have arrived (Sur. let. 1 Sept., 87 Sur. 197).

[2] Aungier's let. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 172; Rolt's let. 22 July, O.C. 3980: cf. *B.J.* 32.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 169.

[4] Sur. let. 9 Sept., 87 Sur. 201.

[5] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 11.

[6] Cf. Sur. let. 1 May & 24 Aug., & Gray's let. 26 Sept., 87 Sur. 158, 194, 214.

[7] Sur. con. 15 May, 3 Sur. 23; Bom. let. to Co. 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 166.

[8] Sur. con. 15 May, 3 Sur. 23; Sur. let. to Co. 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 234.

standing debt, which came to £105,000 on 31 July.[1] Conditions, especially on the Malabar coast, were not favourable to a speedy increase of the investments, and the Council was reduced to deep melancholy, which even the news of peace could not remove.[2] However, it did its best to comply with the Company's requirements. Orders were sent to Broach, Dharangaon, and elsewhere for enhanced quantities of piece-goods, and arrangements were made to provide the Malabar coast factories with money and stock for the purchase of pepper, &c.[3] Only goods not procurable at short notice, such as Agra indigo, Carmania wool, cardamoms, and cinnamon, were perforce left aside.[4]

It was particularly difficult to raise money in the busy season, when it was most needed. On 7 September the Council decided to send down to the Malabar coast £13,000 in sequins, 'if so much can be got, although they are now very dear, yet nothing gets pepper more readily'.[5] But, when the *Falcon* arrived on 27 September, the money had not been obtained. She was kept at the foot of the bar, instead of being brought into Swally Hole, in order that no time should be lost in sending her down the coast;[6] but she was kept idle for two days, waiting for the sequins, which were eventually procured to the value of Rs. 104,830.[7] To get them the treasure received by the *Falcon* was sold; but this still left Rs. 50,000 to be paid.[8] Money was indeed so scarce in Surat that Gray questioned their ability to carry on the investment, unless the other ships arrived soon.[9] The difficulty was accentuated by the insistence of creditors on their loans being repaid.[10] The money stringency was increased in November by the competition of the Dutch, whose broker took up six lakhs of rupees for their ships to take to Bengal.[11] Even before that the town was stated to have been drained of money, and the Company's debt to have risen to £135,000.[12] On 15 November Bhimji Parak reported that he could get no more

[1] Sur. con. 7 & 12 Sept., 3 Sur. 34, 37, 38.
[2] Sur. con. 7 Sept., 3 Sur. 34, 35; Sur. let. 9 Sept., 87 Sur. 200.
[3] Sur. con. 7 & 10 Sept., 3 Sur. 34, 35, 36; Sur. let. 9 & 11 Sept., 87 Sur. 200–3.
[4] Sur. con. 7 Sept., 3 Sur. 34; Sur. let. 9 Sept. & 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 201, 234.
[5] 3 Sur. 34. [6] Sur. con. 27 Sept., 3 Sur. 38; Sur. let. 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 220.
[7] Sw. let. 2 & 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 219, 221.
[8] Sw. let. 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 221. [9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.; Sur. con. 1 Oct., 3 Sur. 38; Sur. let. 4 Nov. & 14 Dec., 88 Sur. 235 & 87 Sur. 257.
[11] Sur. let. 23 Nov., 87 Sur. 249; Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 6.
[12] Sur. let. 4 Nov., 88 Sur. 235.

money in the bazaar, and Rs. 12,000 had to be borrowed on special terms for its immediate repayment on the arrival of the other ships.[1]

The broadcloth and other stock brought out by the *Falcon* did very little to relieve the situation, as no merchant would tender for any of it till he knew the whole quantity that the ships would bring out that year. There was also no market for the cochineal, which had become 'the verryest drug in India these seven years'.* The only things brought out by the *Falcon* that had been sold by the time she left were the best coral and some iron guns and anchors.[2] Much the same applies to the European goods brought by the *Mary*, which reached Swally on 20 December.[3] The treasure on her was, however, more useful and was sold within ten days, though not so advantageously as that of the *Falcon*.[4]

Nor could debts due to the Company be recovered, except with considerable difficulty. Thus efforts to obtain further payments by Khwaja Minaz had no effect until the intervention of the 'Customer', Sayyid Mahmud, was sought in October, on its being discovered that Minaz had sold one of his vessels without fulfilling his promise to pay part of his debt on the ship's arrival. Minaz met the attack by falsely alleging that the debt was all due for interest, the recovery of which was not allowed by Mohammedan law. This was disproved by the production of several 'bills' under his hand, and two peons were sent by the Customer to sit at his door, with the result that he paid up Rs. 2,000 in cash and his broker gave bills for Rs. 6,000 more.[5] But against this payment had to be set one of Rs. 300 or 400 to Sayyid Mahmud, in order to induce him to release certain cotton yarn merchants, whom he had imprisoned for failure to comply with a novel demand for payment of four years' customs on all the yarn they imported from up-country to the town. The Council decided

[1] 3 Sur. 48.

* Sw. let. 4 & 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 221, 236, 237; Sur. let. 4 Nov., 88 Sur. 236. The bad market for cochineal is stated to have been mainly due to a prohibition by Aurangzeb, 'who designing a notable reformation as to religion, manners and habit, has strictly forbidden the cossumba [*kasumba*, safflower, whose dried petals yield a red dye] and cochineal colour to be used at Ahmadabad, Agra and other cities of his dominions' (Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 22: cf. Sur. let. 16 March, 87 Sur. 129). Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, iii, ch. 28, does not, however, mention this in his account of the Emperor's moral and religious reforms.

[2] O.C. 4062, f. 3. [3] Bom. let. 5 Dec., 6 Bom. 231; Sw. let. 23 Dec., 88 Sur. 4.

[4] Sw. let. 23 Dec., 88 Sur. 5; Sw. con. 29 Dec., 3 Sur. 53; Sw. let. to Co. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 6.

[5] Gray's let. 11 Feb., 87 Sur. 111; Sur. let. 29 April & 26 Sept., 87 Sur. 157, 214; Sur. con. 12, 15, 23, & 26 Oct., 3 Sur. 40, 42, 48; Sur. let. 28 Oct., 87 Sur. 246.

to pay this sum, as their confinement interfered with the Company's supply of yarn, of which there was a very great scarcity.[1]

Further interference with normal trading arose from renewed alarms of an incursion by Sivaji towards the end of the rains in August and September. It was reported that he had sent an order to his Brahman agent at Surat to demand the sum of Rs. 900,000 from the Governor as *chauth* due for three past years and to threaten a visit after the rains, in case of non-payment.[2] Consequently, when the hoy was dispatched to Bombay at the beginning of September, Gray asked for a corporal and two files of soldiers to be sent up on her as a guard for Swally Marine, which could be brought up to Surat in the event of the enemy's approach.[3] A detachment of this strength was accordingly sent when the hoy accompanied the *Falcon* to Swally at the end of September.[4] By the middle of that month Surat was 'strongly alarmed', and some of the town gates were shut up. The Governor was demanding Rs. 100,000 from the rich merchants for its defence, but they did not agree to what Aungier looked on as an attempt on the part of that rapacious officer to raise money for himself.[5] The alarm, however, subsequently died down until towards the end of October, when it was reported that Sivaji's forces were near Ramnagar, but that their advance was hindered by three or four thousand Bhils, to whom a bribe of Rs. 100,000 had been in vain proffered to permit their passage. The people of Bulsar, Chikli, and Gandevi were said to have fled, and the Surat Banians were packing away what goods they could secrete. It was even reported that the enemy had reached and burnt Gandevi, but by the 28th it was found that the alarm was a false one and that Sivaji's forces had approached no nearer than about eight miles the other side of Ramnagar and had retired. Consequently the town became quiet again;[6] and the Bombay soldiers were returned towards the end of December on the *Hunter*, which was sent ahead of the ships, as being of little use in lading them.[7] The frequent apprehension caused by Sivaji was, however, one of the unsettling conditions of

[1] Sur. con. 15, 16, & 23 Oct., 3 Sur. 40, 41, 42; Sw. let. 25 Sept. & 5 Oct., 87 Sur. 216, 224.
[2] Sw. let. 1 Aug., 87 Sur. 187; Sur. con. 6 Aug., 3 Sur. 29.
[3] Sur. con. 31 Aug., 3 Sur. 32, 33; Sur. let. 2 Sept., 87 Sur. 198.
[4] Bom. con. 8 Sept., 1 Bom. 87; Bom. let. 15 & 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 187, 196.
[5] Sw. let. 22 & 28 Oct., 87 Sur. 204; Bom. let. 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 202.
[6] Sur. let. 22 & 28 Oct., 87 Sur. 244, 246; Sur. let. 3 Nov., 88 Sur. 234; Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 1.
[7] Sw. let. 23 Dec., 88 Sur. 4.

the country that prevented the Surat merchants from laying out their moneys on commodities that were likely to lie long on their hands, and this checked the sale of the factory's stock of broadcloth, lead, coral, &c.[1] In particular broadcloth was not in demand. In October 1674 no less than 800 pieces of the stock brought out in 1673 remained with Surat merchants, and there was also a large quantity at Agra, stated to be partly due to the absence of Aurangzeb and his army on a campaign to subdue the Afghan revolt.[2] Lead was practically a dead stock, as it was the Emperor's monopoly and he had so much in store that he refused to take the lead sold to the Governor of Surat under a contract for the whole quantity shipped in 1673, although it had been weighed over to the latter. Payment for it consequently remained in abeyance.[3]

In spite of all these difficulties, Gray and his colleagues persevered in their efforts to procure the bulk of the goods ordered by the Company in the despatch received by the *Falcon*. The purchase of goods required for the Bantam factory had, however, to be postponed for want of funds.[4]

In November the non-arrival of the three other ships from England had brought the factory's business practically to a standstill, so that they were put to shifts to carry on, and had difficulty even in meeting a bill of Rs. 3,000 that Aungier had drawn on it.[5] Nor had conditions improved when the *Falcon* returned from the Malabar coast on 5 December.[6] She brought about 170 tons of pepper. The *Hunter* and *Mayboom* got to Swally Hole on 16 December with about 230 tons, and on the 18th the ketch *Phoenix*, which accompanied the *Mary*, brought 18 tons of pepper and 22 tons of cloth from Karwar.[7] Altogether, including the pepper kept at Bombay, it was calculated that upwards of 600 tons of pepper had been provided by the Malabar coast factories out of the 700 tons asked for.[8] The *Falcon* was hauled ashore on 14 December for repairs to her rudder, but by the 23rd she was being laden, and it was hoped to dispatch

[1] Sw. con. 27 Oct., 3 Sur. 45.

[2] Sur. let. to Co. 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 233: cf. Sur. con. 17 June, 3 Sur. 26, & Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, ff. 7, 8. As to the revolt, see Wheeler, *Short History of India*, 174, and Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 141–3.

[3] Sur. let. 20 May & 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 173, 233; Sur. con. 6 Aug., 3 Sur. 29.

[4] Sur. let. to Co. 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 233, 237; Sur. let. 4 Nov., 88 Sur. 235; Sur. con. 27 Oct., 3 Sur. 45.

[5] Sur. let. 13 Nov., 88 Sur. 245.

[6] Sur. let. 5 Dec., 88 Sur. 250.

[7] Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 6.

[8] Sur. con. 27 Sept., 3 Sur. 38; O.C. 4062, f. 8.

her within ten days, if the Ahmadabad *cafila* arrived in time.[1] The lading of the *Mary* was also well in hand at the end of the year.[2]

The Council remained unchanged throughout the year. Giffard was ill in August, and it was at his request that Dr. Fryer was sent to Surat, in the hope that he might cure 'his present distemper'.[3] The title of 'deputy President', which Aungier had conferred on Gray, survived the Company's criticism that it was unauthorized and had no precedent, Aungier explaining that it was required 'for preventing any disorder in affairs at Surat' and did not involve any additional salary.[4]

The Council took steps to avoid the issue of contradictory orders to the Malabar factories by the President at Bombay and his Council at Surat, as Chamberlain said had happened in his time.[5] But Gray again showed his resentment at any interference by Aungier's Council in the control of the Company's business at Surat. In a letter of 26 September he objected to suggestions made about getting goods from Rajapur and its neighbourhood, saying, 'we are so well versed in the business of lading the ships that we shall not need so many directors', and remarked that they had gone through greater difficulty in the past than they expected to meet with that year.[6] He was also very scathing about the refusal of the commander of the *Falcon*, Capt. Stafford, and other ship-captains to sail in the middle of September because of stormy weather, saying: 'If every bugbeare or the name of an Ellephant[a]* doth affright them, wee shall soon have them banianied† in time.'[7] He explained to his colleagues that there was nothing in his draft reflecting on Aungier, and that his aim was directed against 'his Councell there, which hath too largely taken on themselves to direct us in our mercantile affairs, whereas they are only concerned with the affairs of the Island, which is well known to have been a grievance to us'.[8] In acknowledging the letter Aungier said it required no answer, 'some expressions therein being best answered by silence'.[9] The President was also

[1] Sw. let. 23 Dec., 88 Sur. 4. [2] Sw. let. 29 Dec., 88 Sur. 7.
[3] Sur. let. 24 Aug., 87 Sur. 194; Aungier's let. 26 Aug., 6 Bom. 174.
[4] Co.'s desp. 3 April, 5 L.B. 116; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 18.
[5] Sur. let. 4 Feb. & 11 April, 87 Sur. 108, 145. [6] 87 Sur. 211.
* A sudden squall often occurring at that season and at Bombay generally first appearing off the Island of Elephanta. The name, however, has a different origin (Yule, 343; Fryer i. 127).
† i.e. become as timid as banians.
[7] Sw. let. 26 Sept., 87 Sur. 212.
[8] Gray's let. 26 Sept., 87 Sur. 215. [9] Bom. let. 14 Oct., 6 Bom. 208.

annoyed by the Surat Council's acceptance of a scandalous paper from Col. Bake, which (he said) 'begins with untruth and ends with foul ingratitude'. He considered this showed 'your slender respect to us in Bombay', and expressed his desire that the Council's letters should cease to 'savour of those irregular and majesteriall pekes and unpleasant reflections, which they have frequently been sullied with', adding that such reflections could 'not but be injurious to me (who has to act with those in Councell here), which I believe you do not intend'.[1] Nevertheless, this friction did not materially affect the generally harmonious relations between Aungier and the Surat Council, and in his last letter of the year to the Company he praised Gray as well meriting the favours conferred on him.[2] And Gray was equally outspoken to the Company. Thus he objected to the postscript to its despatch of 13 March 1674 censuring and charging the Surat Council for a deficiency in the pepper it had sent home: Gray said they resented this discouragement, for 'we find [it] a little too smart for us that after our great diligence in dispatching the ships quickly in time of danger, our services might have expected an *euge* [well-done!], wee have instead 9540 lbs. of pepper throwne on us'.[3]

In October the factory lost its Minister, Gilbert Calton, who had been there over three years.[4] Unfortunately he had occasional lapses into insobriety; and in July Aungier decided that, in view of his recent 'scandalous and debauched behaviour', it was unsafe to continue him in his appointment. He was accordingly informed in a tactful letter that he would be relieved by Robert Lloyd and was invited to visit his friends in Bombay. Lloyd came up on the *Falcon*, and Calton was given a passage to England on the same ship.[5] A want of writers arose through the deaths of Jeremiah Goodier, whom Aungier described as 'a youth of no small hopes', Henry Thomson, and James Bateman.[6]

The Council's relations with the Governor of Surat and other Mughal officials continued to be friendly throughout the year, or

[1] Bom. let. 30 Dec., 7 Bom. 28, 31.
[2] Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 19.
[3] Sur. let. 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 235.
[4] Sur. con. 18 Sept., 3 Sur. 35.
[5] Aungier's let. 20 July & 15 Sept., 6 Bom. 152, 189; Bom. let. 12 Sept., 14 Oct., & 12 Dec., 6 Bom. 184, 208, 235; Bom. con. 29 Dec., 2 Bom. 9.
[6] Bom. let. 5 March & 12 Nov., 6 Bom. 79, 217; Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 2.

(as Aungier put it) they had 'kept a fair understanding with us'.* In January Gray pressed Rolt to send two very good horses from Persia as soon as he could, as they wanted to present them to the Governor, 'whom we have not gratified all the time of war, during which they have not hindered our business in the least, but dispatched it at all times greatly to our content, for which if they do not expect a present, they at least deserve it'.[1] In October he repeated his request, saying the Governor had received nothing during the past three years 'to reward his kindness to us above the other European nations for so long a time'.[2] In September, for instance, owing to his favour the Company had escaped having to pay a considerable sum of money for the misbehaviour of one of the young writers, which had led to a 'quarrel with these people'.[3]

This was all the more gratifying, in view of the Governor's treatment of the Dutch and French, with whom disputes arose in the latter part of the year. He issued orders against any Europeans 'stirring out of the City gates' and 'highly affronted both nations'. The French had their lead stopped, on the ground that they intended taking it to Rajapur and selling it there to the King's enemies.[4] The Dutch were in a worse plight; sums of money were unjustly forced from them and their privileges were invaded, which cost them more; but, as the war was over, they took a bold stand and threatened reprisals when their ships arrived.[5] They sent a complaint to Aurangzeb through their Chief at Agra, and the 'second' with some of the other factors left in a hoy to take a house at Cambay, threatening

to leave this port and to have satisfaction as soon as their ships came. The Governor slights all this, sets guards at the waterside and town gates to secure the Commandore in town and not permit any Dutchman to go forth. The Customer and merchants did all they could to bring them to an accommodation, but the Dutch were high and would do nothing without satisfaction. The Governor's brother, who is the King's steward, stopt the business at Court and wrote . . . a severe letter [to his brother] to pacify them, if he minded his well-being, which the Dutch also had notice of: and the

* Bom. let. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 5. As to the Kazi, he was described as being 'ready on all occasions to befriend us' (Sur. let. 20 April, 87 Sur. 148).

[1] Sur. let. 19 Jan., 87 Sur. 91, 92.

[2] Sur. let. 17 Oct., 87 Sur. 242.

[3] Sw. let. 6 Oct., 87 Sur. 226.

[4] Sw. let. 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 221, 222.

[5] Ibid.; Sw. let. to Co. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 2.

haughty spirit of the Governor submitted to the present payment of Rs. 8,000, which the Kazi had unjustly forced from them, and returned a horse that was taken from them, and gave them a writing under his hand there should be no more exactions on their copper, which amounted to a great sum, contrary to the King's firman.

Relief from other impositions was also said to have been promised.[1] The matter had not been finally settled by the end of the year; and Gray and his colleagues viewed with no little satisfaction the prospect of the proud Governor being humbled by the Dutch, who (unlike the English factors) could proceed 'boldly and without control from their superiors'.[2]

The only impediment affecting the English that seems to have been imposed by the Mughal authorities was a prohibition by the Viceroy Bahadur Khan against sending provisions from Surat or Broach, on the ground that Sivaji got supplies thereby.[3] Aungier thought the Viceroy's order was 'a trick of statemanship more designed to ingratiate himself with the King than to hurt the enemies', and that it would soon be recalled as harmful.[4] But in any case it had little immediate effect, for (notwithstanding it) the Governor of Surat gave permission for the transport of provisions from Broach to Bombay, provided the vessels taking them came into Swally Hole and passed the custom-house.[5]

There was more risk about sending provisions from Broach to Konkan ports. Thus a vessel belonging to Reynardson and a Parsi merchant that was sent to Rajapur with Portuguese goods, betel-nuts, and coco-nuts, was captured by Sivaji's fleet, and Oxinden's efforts at Rairi to get it restored were met by the plea that this would be contrary to Konkan law and customs.[6] Aungier's conciliatory attitude towards his neighbours was very different. When a Parsi merchant from Broach asked him to restore a vessel of his that had been forced ashore on Old Woman's Island by the Sidi and then refloated, he first consulted the Governors of Surat and Broach, as a mark of respect; and their earnest request to him to restore it was granted, subject to the owner's clearing all the charges

[1] O.C. 4062, ff. 2, 3.

[2] Ibid., ff. 3, 8; Sw. let. 8 Oct., 13 & 23 Nov., 87 Sur. 228, 245, 249. As to the dispute, see also Fryer, i. 251, 252.

[3] Sw. let. 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 222.

[4] Bom. let. 14 Oct., 6 Bom. 209.

[5] Sw. let. 15 Oct., 87 Sur. 240.

[6] Aungier's let. 23 May, 6 Bom. 122, 123; Oxinden's let. 25 & 30 May, 87 Sur. 142, 143, 145.

of its recovery and paying customs for all goods saved.[1] Again, when four boats arrived at Bombay with wheat for Sivaji, he remitted custom-duties on them, as the English did not pay on provisions imported from his country.[2] And duties were similarly remitted in the case of a Surat ship that was forced to come into Bombay harbour by stress of weather and to land her goods, in order to encourage reciprocal treatment by the Surat custom-house.[3]

There are only two other things in the Surat annals of 1674 that require notice here. Oxinden, who had reached Surat on the *Falcon* at the end of September, was still there at the end of the year, but it was intended that he should go to Persia on the *Mayboom*, taking with him the presents, &c., that Rolt wanted.[4] The other thing is that, in accordance with the Company's orders, the factors at Queda were directed to close the factory there and come to Surat to render their accounts.[5]

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1675

THE first work of the year was to complete the lading of the two ships and dispatch them on their voyage to England. The *Falcon* left on 9 January and the *Mary* on the 12th, laden with goods worth Rs. 165,614 and Rs. 154,711 respectively.[6]

An awkward question of seniority then arose. Petit had arrived at Swally from Calicut on 8 January.[7] He had a grievance about the promotion of Chown and Child over his head, and probably pressed his claims to the next vacancy on the Council, as the question was discussed on 14 January.[8] It was complicated by James Adams also putting in a claim to the senior position.[9] Oxinden's claim had also to be considered, for early in January it was decided that he should not go to Persia on the *Mayboom*, as had originally been intended, as that vessel was found unfit for such a voyage.[10] The idea of sending him to Gombroon by another ship soon faded out,

[1] Bom. con. 5 Jan. & 13 March, 1 Bom. 4, 19.
[2] Bom. con. 8 May, 1 Bom. 36.
[3] Bom. con. 14 May, 1 Bom. 38.
[4] Sur. let. 14 Oct., 87 Sur. 242.
[5] Desp. 10 Jan. 1673, 5 L.B. 39; Sur. let. 21 Sept., 87 Sur. 206.
[6] Sw. let. to Co. 9 Jan., O.C. 4062, f. 8; instrns. to commander of the *Mary*, O.C. 4063.
[7] Sw. let. 9 Jan., 88 Sur. 9.
[8] Bom. let. 2 Feb. & Aungier's let. 27 Feb., 7 Bom. 71, 94; Sur. let. 20 Jan. & 2 March, 88 Sur. 12, 30.
[9] Bom. let. 2 Feb. & Aungier's let. 6 Feb., 7 Bom. 71, 76.
[10] Sw. con. 2 & 4 Jan., 3 Sur. 53, 54; Sw. let. to Co. 9 Jan., O.C. 4062, f. 7.

on news arriving of the dangerous illness of Bendish at Karwar (p. 330), which opened the prospect of a vacancy in its chiefship, for which he was well fitted.[1] Aungier, after taking time for consideration, concurred with the Surat Council in rejecting the claims of Adams and Child, but held that Petit should have precedence over Oxinden, in view of the Company's special recommendation in its despatch of 13 December 1672, that he should have a seat on the Surat Council. In accordance with Aungier's desire, Petit and Oxinden were admitted to the Council on 6 March, and Oxinden was offered the choice of Karwar or Persia. He chose the former, and Adams was then designated for the post of 'second' under Rolt.* The decision as to the right seniority was, however, subsequently submitted to the Company for orders.†

Gray and his colleagues expostulated against Aungier's censure of them for their treatment of Col. Bake's application (p. 243). All their advices, they said, had been made in a respectful manner, and their opinions, when required, had been faithfully given to the best of their judgements. Aungier replied that Bake had confessed the untruth of his paper and begged pardon for it with tears. He thought they had given improper credit to information from others, and that 'some here and some near you seek to breed discord between us'. He hoped the offenders would not be countenanced, for union was better than discord, and respectful treatment of one another than 'impertinent piques, haughty and hateful pride in our converse', which had already resulted in the disturbance of the general peace and that of the Island. Gray and his Council repudiated the charge by signing their next letter as persons 'free from corresponding with or abetting any disturbers of your peace or that of your Island, alsoe [free] from haughty pride'.[2] And friendly relations between Aungier and the Surat Council were evidently unaffected.

Gray had an attack of pleurisy towards the end of January,[3] and this may have contributed to postponing the departure of the

[1] Aungier's let. 6 Feb., 7 Bom. 77.

* 5 L.B. 34; Aungier's let. 27 Feb. & 29 March, 7 Bom. 93, 106; Sur. let. 18 Feb. & 9 March, 88 Sur. 24, 30. Petit had powerful connexions in England: cf. *K.R.* 27.

† Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 27, 28. The Company fixed it in the same way, viz. 1. Petit; 2. Oxinden; 3. Child (desp. 8 March 1676 & 28 Feb. 1679, 5 L.B. 274 & 6 L.B. 50).

[2] Sw. let. 20 Jan. & 18 Feb., 88 Sur. 12, 24; Aungier's let. 6 Feb., 7 Bom. 75, 76.

[3] Sur. let. 27 Jan., 88 Sur. 14.

members of the Council whom Aungier had invited to Bombay to assist him with their advice (p. 118). It was not till 1 April that Giffard, Chamberlain, Petit, and Oxinden left Swally on the *Revenge*.[1] Gray and James carried on the Council work alone until Chamberlain returned about the middle of May.* Nominally Petit and Oxinden remained on the Council, but Giffard became lost to it by his appointment as Deputy Governor of Bombay in July (p. 126).[2]

Chamberlain's return fortunately coincided with the arrival of one of the two long-expected ships, the *Rainbow*, which had been blown out of her course to Bombay by a storm and did not reach Swally till 14 May.[3] Previously business had been practically at a standstill, owing to their non-arrival and the consequent want of stock and money for carrying on the year's investment. This had also impaired the Company's credit and made its creditors very troublesome; and apart from this there was such a scarcity of money at Surat that it took a merchant about five days to raise even Rs. 1,000.[4] Further, the want of money prevented weavers being set to work at Karwar and Rajapur, and the Council anticipated that the quantity of goods obtained might be so deficient that it would entail keeping back one of the ships for want of a cargo.[5] Even after the arrival of the *Rainbow* and the *Golden Fleece* it was despondent about the situation. They said they would try to carry out the orders in the Company's advices up to 13 August 1674 that had just been received, but they thought it would be impossible to procure near the quantities required, with so much of the year spent and not a piece of calico of any sort for Europe yet made.[6]

The gloom, however, gradually lessened. Gray got 1 chest of gold, 8 chests of silver, and 188 chests of copper, as well as 3 chests of cochineal and 70 bales of broadcloth, off the *Rainbow* before her departure for Bombay on 21 May; and the treasure was quickly sold.[7] By the beginning of June he had also received the 12 ingots of gold sent from Bombay with Capt. Langford, which were soon

[1] Sw. let. 1 April, 88 Sur. 33.

* He was back by 15 May (88 Sur. 50).

[2] Sur. let. 3 July, 88 Sur. 70.

[3] Sur. let. 15 May, 88 Sur. 49; Sw. let. to Co. 10 Oct., O.C. 4118, f. 1.

[4] Sur. let. to Co. 13 Feb., O.C. 4077, f. 3; Bom. let. to Co. 20 March, 7 Bom. 104; Sur. let. 20 Jan., 25 Feb., 9 March, & 3 May, 88 Sur. 14, 25, 30, 39; Gray's let. 19 May, 88 Sur. 54.

[5] Sur. let. to Co. 25 March, O.C. 4077, f. 2.

[6] Sur. let. 24 May, 88 Sur. 55.

[7] Gray's let. 19 May & Sur. let. 24 May, 88 Sur. 53, 54.

sold, and the other treasure and goods brought out by the *Fleece* and sent up on the Modi's ketch (p. 121).[1]

The situation having clarified, Aungier and the Surat Council discussed plans for stocking the factories down the coast, as soon as the other ships arrived, and for obtaining the quantities of goods required from them. Gray again expressed a fear that one of the expected ships might have to be detained in India, for want of the requisite calicoes. Aungier replied that to do this would be 'utterly wrong', and forwarded proposals, agreed to by the Bombay Council, for resettling the Dharangaon factory, opening new factories at Cambay and Junnar, and enlarging the orders already given for all sorts of goods.[2] Gray and his colleagues naturally said they hoped Aungier did not think they were not using their best endeavours to get the cloth required for lading the expected ships, as the sudden resolve to settle new factories imported. Besides criticizing some of the Bombay proposals, they said they had already given orders covering a good deal of the ground, and they expected a sufficient investment to supply full lading for the ships, though some of the cloth would probably have to be sent home unwashed.[3] There was considerable force in their arguments, and Aungier left the matter over for discussion after his return to Surat.[4] The general result was a decision that (except in the case of Rajapur, which had received part of the *Fleece*'s stock) nothing could be done to help the coast factories till the Company's ships arrived in September.[5] An effective reason for this, among many others, was the impossibility of raising either sequins or rupees before their arrival.* The price of broadcloth at Surat had fallen so low that the Council thought of selling all the cloth brought out by the *Fleece* and the next ships to Mirza Muazzam at Rs. 3 a yard. Aungier disapproved of this proposal, as he was hoping to raise the price of broadcloth and considered a general sale at so low a rate would prevent its ever recovering from the undervalue thus put on the

[1] Sur. let. 26 May & 2 & 14 June, 88 Sur. 55, 59, 60.

[2] Bom. let. 4 June, 1 & 15 July, 7 Bom. 120, 131–7; Sur. let. 15 June & 3 July, 88 Sur. 66, 70; Bom. con. 14 July, 2 Bom. 98, 99.

[3] Sur. let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 79, 78 (2), 79 (2).

[4] Bom. let. 26 Aug., 7 Bom. 141.

[5] Bom. let. 4 & 24 June, 7 Bom. 120, 121, 131; Sur. let. 13 July & 20 Aug., 88 Sur. 75, 76, 92.

* Sur. let. 13 July, 88 Sur. 75. It is also revealed that there was a risk about getting gold sequins out of Surat surreptitiously, to avoid payment of mintage and customs (ibid. 78: cf. Bom. let. 1 July, 7 Bom. 133).

cloth. He propounded a scheme to limit the quantity put from time to time on the Surat market, with a view to raising the price to Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ a yard.[1] The idea was, however, soon found to be impracticable. The cloth could not be sold retail at even Rs. $3\frac{1}{8}$ a yard, and for its wholesale purchase Mirza Muazzam, who had offered a rate of Rs. $2\frac{15}{16}$ in September, would not go above Rs. $2\frac{13}{16}$ in November, and that only if he was allowed to have other goods at specially low rates.[2] The arrival of the French ships in August and October (cf. p. 124) had the effect of reducing the price, which Aungier had hoped would be Rs. $3\frac{1}{4}$ a yard, to Rs. 2.[3] Similarly Dutch competition lowered the market for other European commodities.[4]

The impasse over the payment for the lead sold to the Governor of Surat still continued. The Council's efforts to move in the matter only resulted in their composing a letter to Aurangzeb about it, the terms of which Aungier disapproved; and the question was left over till the President could interview the Governor himself.[5] Cochineal remained a commodity that could only be sold with difficulty, and then at a loss.[6] Coral was another thing that lay on the Council's hands, and its sale suffered from competition, such as the importation of Rs. 30,000 worth from Jidda.[7]

Relations with Ghiyas-uddin, the Governor of Surat, continued to be friendly. On 12 January he made a visit to Swally, accompanied by other high officers and the chief merchants of Surat, 'in the greatest state possible'. The English factors went out to meet him, but took their leave of him near their quarters, as they saw the Dutch factors waiting at the Governor's tent to receive him, and they wished to avoid 'a dispute about place'. This gave no offence to the Governor, who appreciated the reason. Before his return to Surat, he made calls at both the Dutch and English houses, but showed his preference for the English, not only by a

[1] Sur. let. 24 May, 88 Sur. 54, 55; Bom. let. 4 June, 7 Bom. 121, 122; Bom. con. 31 May, 2 Bom. 79–81.

[2] Sur. let. 2 June, 13 July, 8 Sept., & 17 Nov., 88 Sur. 59, 77, 107, & O.C. 4129, f. 5.

[3] Bom. con. 26 July, 2 Bom. 112, 113; Sur. let. 3 Oct., 88 Sur. 80; Sur. let. 10 Oct., O.C. 4118, ff. 2, 4: cf. Kaeppelin, 172.

[4] Ibid.; Sur. let. 24 May, 88 Sur. 54; Sur. let. 6 Dec., O.C. 4143, ff. 1, 2.

[5] Sur. let. 13 July, 88 Sur. 78; Bom. let. 26 Aug., 7 Bom. 141.

[6] Sur. let. 25 March & 1 April, O.C. 4077, f. 1, & 88 Sur. 31; Bom. let. 19 May, 7 Bom. 115; Sw. let. 17 Nov., O.C. 4129, f. 6.

[7] Sur. let. 25 March & 20 Aug., O.C. 4777, f. 1, & 88 Sur. 93.

longer stay, but also (as Gray puts it) by 'many expressions of love and friendship to us and the contrary to our neighbours, whose forcing him down in a manner to his dishonour he doth very ill resent'. He goes on to say that the Governor praised 'our situation and industry, finding diverse sorts of trees, herbs and flowers growing out of the sand'. Like the Dutch, the English took the opportunity of making presents to him and other officers, and their cost (Rs. 1,258) was considered to be a fair return 'for their civility to us in the current course of our trade and their quiet dispatch of our business without impediments', as well as for Ghiyas-uddin's favour shown by his silencing complaints about 'the unruliness of some of our debauched people'.[1]

Though the Dutch had not gained the Governor's friendship or liking, their forcible methods had otherwise attained a considerable success. They had brought up four men-of-war from Ceylon and are stated to have received compensation (including a payment of Rs. 22,000) in respect of their grievances (see p. 244) that satisfied them in the main: only 'some punctillios of honour they yet standing upon, [such] as their trumpet sounding before them in the street, which the Governor says he cannot grant, the Kings order being to the contrary'.*

Early in the year Ghiyas-uddin again pressed Aungier to return to Surat, and in February he decided to do so, at any rate, on the arrival of the Company's ships in September (p. 125). At Aungier's request Gray and the rest of the Council paid a formal visit to the Governor on 1 March, thanked him for his letters to Aungier, and gave him an assurance as to the latter's return. Ghiyas-uddin said he would receive him in a manner that would make the other nations 'repine and be grieved at'.[2]

In May the Governor fell ill and released all the prisoners in order that they might pray for his recovery.[3] We also are told in July that all the dancing-women had been turned out of the town, but this was not a piece of piety on the part of a sick man turning saint, but was due to fear of the Emperor's 'Ocan or schoolmaster', who

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 18 Feb., O.C. 4077, f. 1.

* Ibid., f. 2; Bom. let. 8 Feb., 7 Bom. 79: cf. Fryer, i. 292. Aungier also had to send back his trumpeter, 'as the Governor and other great men [here] are not well pleased with the sound of an English trumpet' (Sur. let. 6 Dec., 88 Sur. 128).

[2] Bom. let. 4 Feb., 7 Bom. 72, 73; Sur. let. 9 March, 88 Sur. 31.

[3] Chamberlain's let. 18 May, 107 Sur. 89; Gray's let. 19 May, 88 Sur. 54.

was to pass through Surat on his way to Mecca and who had power to inquire into affairs of morality and turn out Kazis.*

In October the Governor was well enough to carry out his promise as to the reception of Aungier, whom the *Golden Fleece* brought to Swally on the 4th of that month. On the 6th the Governor, together with all his officers and the eminent merchants of the city, came down to welcome the President. They 'expressed much respect and civility to the nation and the Company', and accompanied him to Surat the same night.[1] His time there was for some days largely occupied in paying and receiving visits.[2]

The most urgent business arising was to send some of the ships down the coast with stock to replenish the factories. The *East India Merchant* left on 12 October for Calicut. By mistake her commander sailed before he had received his full instructions, invoices of the goods laden on her, and the Council's advices to the factories concerned: consequently the *Revenge* had to be sent down post-haste with these.[3] The *New London* sailed on 15 October, with orders to touch at Rajapur and Karwar.[4] The late arrival of the other three ships (p. 138) led to the dispatch of the ketch *Phoenix* down the coast towards the end of the month, and orders were given to Giffard to send the *Mayboom* also to Calicut, to help in bringing up pepper.†

The next thing was to send off the *Golden Fleece* and the *Rainbow* on their voyage home. An unfortunate coincidence was the death of their two commanders, Capt. Peirce and Capt. Goodlad, on 6 and 12 October respectively, which (Aungier said) had been contributed to by 'melancholy thoughts about their voyage [out]'.[5] The cargoes for them lay ready, and Aungier had hoped to dispatch them during October, but the death of their commanders and the

* Sur. let. 13 July, 88 Sur. 77, 78. 'Ocan' is probably a corruption of *Akhund*, a teacher. He may have been one of the Censors of Morals (*muhtasibs*) appointed by Aurangzeb throughout his dominions (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 156).

[1] Sur. let. 8 Oct., 88 Sur. 113; Sur. let. to Co., O.C. 4118, f. 2.

[2] O.C. 4118, f. 2.

[3] Sw. let. 13 Oct., 88 Sur. 114, 115; Sw. let. 11 Oct., O.C. 4119, f. 2; Sw. let. 26 Oct., O.C. 4123+1, f. 1.

[4] O.C. 4123+1, f. 1; Sw. let. 15 & 16 Oct., O.C. 4121 & 4122.

† Sw. let. 14, 21, & 22 Oct., 88 Sur. 116, 117, 118, 119; O.C. 4132+1, f. 2: cf. p 143 *ante*. The *Phoenix* had been sent up to Swally in April with 300 bags of pepper, to winter there (Bom. let. 19 April, 7 Bom. 109).

[5] Sw. let. 13 Oct., 88 Sur. 115; Sur. let. to Co., O.C. 4118, f. 3.

loss of many members of their crews, a heavy unexpected rainfall lasting for five days, and other accidents delayed their lading, and they did not sail till about 20 November.* They carried goods worth Rs. 262,656 and Rs. 186,404 respectively.[1]

The *Ann* reached Swally from Bombay on 24 October and was sent down the coast on 3 November.[2] The *Massingberd* arrived about the latter date and was dispatched to Rajapur and Karwar on 10 November.[3] The *Unicorn* arrived on 23 November and left on 13 December for Bantam, with a cargo worth Rs. 81,850. She had to be hurried off, so as to 'save her monsoon', and her lading kept the Council so busy that it had no time to spare for deliberation on some important Bombay affairs.[4] The young Prince of Bantam was allowed to take his passage home on her.[5]

In October there was some recurrence of the fear that Sivaji might again attack Surat.[6] In January it was known that he had sent a letter to the Desai, renewing his demands for *chauth* with severe threats;[7] but the report of peace negotiations between him and the Emperor quieted apprehensions, and in February the Council returned the four files of soldiers that had been sent up from Bombay.[8] In October the negotiations had broken down and the alarm lasted longer; but it does not appear to have materially interfered with the Council's business, and at the beginning of December it had died down. Consequently the topasses from Bombay were sent back, and only a guard of two files of English soldiers was retained.[9]

The *East India Merchant* returned to Swally from Calicut on 28 November and, being leaky, was hauled ashore for repairs.[10] The other three ships do not appear to have returned before the latter part of December.† The Council made all haste to get goods ready

* O.C. 4118, f. 3; Sw. let. 17 & 20 Nov., O.C. 4129, f. 1, & 88 Sur. 122. Out of the *Fleece*'s complement of 98 men, 25 had died or deserted. The corresponding figures for the *Rainbow* were 71 and 14 (O.C. 4129, f. 8).

[1] O.C. 4129, f. 7.

[2] Sw. let. 25 Oct., 88 Sur. 120; instrns. to Capt. Chamblett, O.C. 4125.

[3] Sw. let. 4 Nov., 88 Sur. 121; instrns. to Capt. Westlack, O.C. 4128.

[4] Sw. let. 26 Nov. & 6 Dec., 88 Sur. 127 & O.C. 4143, f. 1; instrns. to Capt. Packe, O.C. 4147; Sw. let. 29 Dec., For. 76.

[5] Sur. let. 6 Dec., O.C. 4143, f. 2.

[6] Sw. let. 14 & 26 Oct., 88 Sur. 116 & O.C. 4123+1, f. 2.

[7] Sur. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 13.

[8] Bom. let. 1 Feb., 7 Bom. 70; Sur. let. 18 Feb., 88 Sur. 23.

[9] Sur. let. 6 Dec., 88 Sur. 128 & O.C. 4143, f. 1; instrns. to Capt. Packe, O.C. 4147.

[10] Sur. let. to Co. 6 Dec., O.C. 4144, f. 2.

† They had apparently not arrived by 8 Dec. (88 Sur. 128), and the *Massingberd* on

for them, but they came in very slowly. This was due partly to the late receipt of final orders from the Company and partly to delays in their transit caused by inroads of Sivaji's army and robberies of the *cafilas* bringing them from inland places.[1]

The contribution made by each of the mainland factories under the Surat Presidency is shown in the following account of their chief activities during the year.

Dharangaon. As already mentioned (p. 124) this factory was looted and burnt by one of Sivaji's generals on 1 January. Baftas worth Rs. 3,554 perished in the conflagration, while weavers fled with Rs. 5,681 advanced to them. The two factors, Austen and Haggerston, were made prisoners and carried off over 60 to 80 miles before they were released. They were robbed of all they possessed, and the unfortunate Haggerston was whipped because he had so little on him. They made their way to Surat in the same month.[2] The attempt made to get satisfaction from Sivaji failed (p. 125), and the Surat Council thought it was no good trying to increase the 600 corge (score) of cloth that the brokers had promised to send to Surat.[3] After the rains were over, Austen was sent to adjust accounts with the brokers, weavers, and washers in the various towns where the investment was on foot.[4]

Broach. This factory furnished goods for lading the ships that left in January, but the quantity sent in time was reduced by the brokers failing to carry out their promises and various delays. One of these arose from a new demand for payment of customs on goods sent from Baroda, Dabhoi, Ankleshwar, &c., by the Mughal customs-officer at Ahmadabad.[5] In February the *Malabar Coaster* arrived laden with salt from Bombay, but she had to return empty, as the corn wanted could not be laden on her because of Bahadur Khan having prohibited the transfer of provisions, in case they might help Sivaji (p. 245).[6] In April, at the request of the Surat Council,

her way up left Rajapur on 10 Dec. (Raj. let. 12 Dec., 88 Sur. 128). Details as to the other ships are not forthcoming; but on 29 Dec. all four ships were taking in their lading for England (Sw. let. to Fort St. George, 88 Sur. 128).

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 6 Dec., O.C. 4144, f. 2: cf. Sur. let. 13 Feb., O.C. 4077, f. 2.

[2] Sur. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 13; Sur. let. to Co. 13 Feb., O.C. 4077, f. 1.

[3] Sur. let. 3 July & 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 70, 79.

[4] Sur. let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 79.

[5] Broach let. 2 & 27 Jan. & 4 Feb., 107 Sur. 45, 51, 53.

[6] Bom. let. 1 Feb., 7 Bom. 68, 69; Sw. let. 13 Feb., & Broach let. 18 Feb., 107 Sur. 57, 63; Broach let. 24 April, 88 Sur. 57.

Reynardson went to Surat to help in the work there during Chamberlain's absence at Bombay (p. 126) and stayed there till about the middle of June.[1] In August heavy rainfall resulted in the bazaar being flooded, causing distress to a great many poor people.[2] The investment for the year was hampered by Dutch and French competition in employing weavers and buying similar cloth.[3] An even worse competitor was a Parsi merchant from Bombay, who bought cloth at higher rates than the factory gave and had it 'numbered' in imitation of the Company's stuff.* Reynardson got him to desist from buying in September, but he did a good deal to hamper the investment.[4] In the last quarter of the year the factors were busy sending goods for the ships for Bantam and Europe; but their transit was hindered by rain in October and the looting of a consignment of cloth from Nariad. The dacoits are stated to have been a large force of over 900 men and to have left nothing of the goods. Reynardson went to Baroda and got the Governor there to send out 600 men to attack them with the help of a Bhil contingent; but otherwise he had to content himself with the belief that the Governor would be liable for the loss, as the robbers came from the country under his jurisdiction.[5] In spite of these difficulties, Reynardson and his assistants were energetic in getting goods to Surat, and Aungier in his report to the Company at the end of the year commended his 'extraordinary diligence'.[6]

Rajapur. Child arrived on the *Mayboom* to take charge of this factory on 28 January.[7] He was accompanied by Thomas Mitchell, a writer, and six soldier-clerks, one of whom was his brother-in-law, John Shaxton.† He sent Mitchell ahead to give notice of his arrival, and remained on board the *Mayboom* till 2 February, when he came to Rajapur and had a respectful reception from the Subadar, or

[1] Sur. let. 8 April & 14 June, 88 Sur. 34, 59; Broach let. 24 April, 88 Sur. 57.

[2] Broach let. 3 Aug., 107 Sur. 114.

[3] Broach let. 8 March, 20 June, 23 Aug., 9 & 25 Sept., 107 Sur. 73, 100, 101, 121, 125, 126.

* Broach let. 3, 11, & 20 Aug., 107 Sur. 114, 118, 120. His name was Manna (? Manak): 107 Sur. 147.

[4] Broach let. 25 Sept. & 19 Oct., 107 Sur. 126, 147; Bom. let. 7 Sept., 7 Bom. 143.

[5] Broach let. 15, 19, 22, 26, 29 Oct. & 6, 8, 15 Nov., 107 Sur. 143, 147, 154, 159, 160, 161, 165, 166, 169; Reynardson's let. 13 & 19 Nov., 107 Sur. 179, 180, 181, 182.

[6] Sur. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 28.

[7] Raj. let. 6 Feb., 88 Sur. 15.

† Instrns. to Child, 7 Bom. 66. The Company in its despatch of 5 March entertained Shaxton in its service, but ordered that he should not serve in the same factory as any of his relations (5 L.B. 167).

Governor, and a crowd of 500 men that had increased to 3,000 by the time he reached the town.[1] Trouble at once arose about a house for the factory. His party was conducted to a house, which (although one of the best in the place and strongly built) was not big enough and was a long way from the waterside; and Child preferred to stay at the temporary lodging prepared for him by Ward. Sivaji's chief representative, Annaji Pundit, refused to give up the old factory-house that had been promised in the treaty, but agreed to have a new one built and to have its cost met out of the customs. Child and Aungier perforce accepted this proposal;[2] but Child was anxious to have the arrangement confirmed by Sivaji himself. The latter passed through Rajapur, with a strong force, on his way to lay siege to Phonda,* and Child took advantage of this to obtain an audience on 25 March, which lasted two hours. Most of the time was taken up in answering Sivaji's questions, but it ended with Child presenting a statement of his desires in the Marathi language and Sivaji saying they were all granted.[3] Three *farmans* were accordingly received in May, and though the one about the house did not answer Child's expectations, he considered they had had a good success.[4] Sivaji also left a man behind, whose sole business was to see to the speedy building of the house; and work on it had started in April.[5] On the other hand, Annaji showed a hostile attitude that hindered the factory's progress.†

A question in which progress was more difficult was the recovery of the first instalment of 2,500 pagodas due under the treaty of 1674. Annaji proposed it should be made in coco-nuts and betel-nuts, but at Sivaji's customary rate of exchange instead of the current one, viz. coco-nuts at 5 (instead of $2\frac{1}{2}$) laris a hundred, and betel-nuts at 100 (instead of 80) laris a candy.[6] Aungier naturally did not like this proposal, but authorized Child to accept the goods

[1] Raj. let. 6 Feb., 88 Sur. 15–17. [2] Ibid., 18, 19; Bom. let. 18 Feb., 7 Bom. 86.

* Phonda was a fortress in Bijapur territory, ten miles south-east of Goa.

[3] Raj. let. 20 April, 88 Sur. 45–7. Part of Child's account of the audience and his preliminary meetings with Sivaji is given by Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 358–9.

[4] Raj. let. 21 May, 88 Sur. 60. [5] Raj. let. 20 April, 88 Sur. 47.

† Raj. let. 6 Feb. & 20 April, 88 Sur. 18, 43. Aungier's suspicion that this hostility was the outcome of Annaji's 'implacable disgust and offence at some passages which have happened between you [Child] and him' (Bom. let. 13 May, 7 Bom. 111) is supported by Child's evident resentment at Annaji's not accompanying the Subadar to meet him at his arrival and by his giving Annaji 'a piece of our mind' at keeping him waiting for two hours for an audience with Sivaji, which did not come off till the next day (88 Sur. 18, 47).

[6] Raj. let. 6 Feb. & 20 April, 88 Sur. 19, 42, 48.

at the best rates he could obtain, rather than that the debt should continue entirely unpaid.[1] No payment, however, was obtained during the year.[2]

As desired by Aungier, the *Mayboom* was sent on a freight voyage from Rajapur in April and returned in May. She was very leaky, and was hauled ashore for repairs.[3] Towards the end of May the two *shibars* sent from Bombay with treasure and stock (p. 121) arrived safely, but were forced by the near approach of the monsoon to winter at Rajapur.[4] In October and November the *New London* and the *Massingberd* brought the factory a further consignment of stock worth about Rs. 70,000.[5]

In May it became clear that Sivaji's incursion into Kanara (p. 337) would prevent any but a small supply of cloth from Karwar, and the Council had to rely on Rajapur to fill the gap. Orders for large quantities of baftas and other cloth, as well as 100 bales of cotton yarn and of cardamoms, were accordingly sent to Child at the beginning of June.[6] The dimensions of the different sorts of cloth required were stated according to directions given by the Company.[7] In July Child and Mitchell left Rajapur on an up-country tour to arrange for getting the goods, as the town itself had no goods or merchants and everything had to be obtained from Deccan marts, such as Raibag and Hothani.* From Kolhapur and Raibag Child wrote letters to Ward, and in one of these complained that the positive orders given him about the dimensions of the cloth supplied would cause a considerable diminution in its quantity.† Ward sent

[1] Bom. let. 13 May & 24 June, 7 Bom. 110, 112, 130.

[2] Cf. Raj. let. 21 Sept., 197 Sur. 143.

[3] Instrns. to Child, 7 Bom. 68; Raj. let. 20 April & 21 May, 88 Sur. 42, 60.

[4] Raj. let. 31 May & 14 June, 88 Sur. 62, 64; Sw. let. 9 Nov., O.C. 4127.

[5] Sw. let. 16 Oct., O.C. 4121; Raj. let. 20 Oct., 107 Sur. 175.

[6] Bom. let. 23 May & 14 June, 7 Bom. 117, 119, 120; Sur. let. 26 May, 88 Sur. 56.

[7] Ibid.; cf. instrns. to Child, 7 Bom. 68, & desp. 3 April 1674, 5 L.B. 118.

* Raj. let. 6 Feb. & 20 April, 88 Sur. 19, 42, 61. This was one of its main drawbacks. Another one was that, though lying at the head of a tidal and navigable creek, it was fifteen miles from the sea, and large vessels anchored at Jaitapur, at a distance from Rajapur that Child says was twenty-five miles (*Imperial Gaz. of India*, xxi, 66, 67; Raj. let. 6 Feb., 7 Bom. 16: cf. Sur. let. 9 Nov., O.C. 4127, f. 3).

† Child's let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 94, 95, 96. Child's description of the journey from Kolhapur to Raibag gives an interesting description of the condition to which the countryside had been reduced: 'Our journey [was] very troublesome and uncomfortable; in the highway wee passed by many dead bodyes of men and women that died for want of food; the wayes in many places very deep, soe that our horses in some places [were] ready to stick fast; such townes as we passed much broken and decayed, few or no people in them; where one house

copies of the letters to Aungier,[1] who was very upset over Child's strict construction of the orders. After consulting his Council at Bombay, he sent the *Phoenix* expressly to Rajapur with instructions to Child not to hold up his investment by an insistence on the exact dimensions specified, in view of the 'indispensable necessity' of getting the goods and the 'rational proviso'—*if procurable*—that was always to be understood in such orders.[2] There was other censure of Child, which will be dealt with later. In regard to this particular matter Child's view was that a more elastic interpretation of his orders would have resulted in obtaining only very few more goods;[3] and the quantity supplied by the factory was very disappointing. Full details are not on record, but Rajapur and other letters show that only seven bales of unwashed cloth were ready to be sent on the *Phoenix* in September; no goods had come down from up-country in October; and though goods were sent on the *Massingberd* and the *Hunter* in December, they were scarce half of what had been ordered, most of them being brown cloth received too late for bleaching and unfit for Europe, while the quality of the cotton yarn was still worse.[4]

Child's tour, however, was justified by Aungier's instructions that he should see to the factory's business himself, instead of relying entirely on brokers,* and had some good results. It showed the difficulties of transport in the rains. Thus heavy rain prevented oxen travelling and weavers working, and the town of Raibag was half washed away.[5] The possibility of competition between the factories of Rajapur and Karwar in buying or selling goods in the same area became apparent. Child complained of a Karwar broker interfering with a sale of broadcloth at Raibag, and suggested placing both factories under one Chief; while the Karwar factors reported that merchants at Hubli were breaking their contracts, because the Rajapur factory's broker was competing with them in

had a dweller ten were empty, the people being runne away for want and fear of Sevajee and oppression of their government.'

[1] Raj. let. 13 Aug., 88 Sur. 99.

[2] Bom. con. 6 Sept., 2 Bom. 124, 125; Bom. let. 8 Sept., 7 Bom. 144–6.

[3] Child's let. 17 Sept., 107 Sur. 140, 141.

[4] Raj. let. 21 & 27 Sept. & 20 Oct., 107 Sur. 143, 145, 175; Raj. let. 12 Dec., 88 Sur. 128; Bom. let. 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 1; Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 10, 28.

* 7 Bom. 67. Aungier there blamed Ward and his assistants for having childishly trusted the information of their brokers, 'the noyse and stink of dancing women haveing, as wee understand, put serious business out of their heads'.

[5] Child's let. 31 Aug., 15 Sept., & 18 Oct., 88 Sur. 110, & 107 Sur. 135, 172.

buying cloth.[1] On the other hand, Child established good relations at Raibag, where he and Mitchell were welcomed by the Governor and other chief inhabitants and were fêted for four hours with drums, pipes, and dancing-women, 'which noyse our weary journey and hungry bellyes made more then ordinary unpleasant to us'.[2] While there they went to Miraj to pay a visit to the Nawab, Bahlol Khan,* at his invitation. They stayed there four days and obtained a *farman* from him, granting some of the requests they had made to him. Child also got a remission of half the customs usually charged at Raibag.† He and Mitchell were back at Rajapur in December.[3] Meanwhile the *Mayboom*, which had been refitted with much trouble and at a cost of nearly Rs. 2,000, was (after several unsuccessful attempts, due to its weight) refloated and left for Bombay about the end of October.[4]

The only other thing that needs mention is the severe reprimands given to Child by Aungier in March and September. The latter can best be dealt with first. In addition to what has already been mentioned, he found fault with Child for not having written to him between his departure from Rajapur in July and 1 September, when he received a copy of his letter to Ward, 'which is a novelty and a caprichio yet unpractised by any Cheifes of Factoryes to the President and Council'. He wondered why Child, so discreet in other proceedings, should commit such an error in breeding and asked him to forbear a repetition of it.[5] Child replied that it had not occurred to him that Aungier would take offence at his procedure in leaving Ward and his assistants to keep him informed of Rajapur affairs in his absence, but now that he understood otherwise, he would 'take off this occasion for offence, for it is truly my desire to live in peace and quietness, if possible'.[6] This disclaimer of any intention to annoy Aungier is supported by a letter he wrote to Aungier before the receipt of his reprimand, in which he mentioned that Ward would doubtless answer Aungier's letters of June, July, and August,

[1] Raj. let. 11 Feb. & Child's let. 17 Sept., 107 Sur. 67, 141; Kar. let. 28 July, 88 Sur. 88, 89. As to Aungier's orders, see p. 339 *post*. [2] Child's let. 3 Aug., 88 Sur. 95.

* He was Bahlol Khan II, the Afghan commander-in-chief of the Bijapur State, who seized the regency from Khawas Khan in November 1675 (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 249, 250).

† Child's let. 31 Aug., 88 Sur. 108, 109. Child and Mitchell had a day's hunting with the Nawab's pack of cheetas (*siagosh*) and dogs, on their departure from Miraj (ibid. 109).

[3] Raj. let. 12 Dec., 88 Sur. 125.

[4] Raj. let. 20 & 30 Oct., 107 Sur. 175 & 88 Sur. 121.

[5] Bom. let. 8 Sept., 7 Bom. 125. [6] Child's let. 17 Sept., 107 Sur. 139, 140.

and would send him copies of the accounts he gave Ward of his journey.* Nor is there any reason to suppose that he wanted to show resentment by not writing to the President direct. Had he had any such intention, he would naturally have given effect to it after the receipt of Aungier's letter of 5 March, in which the President severely trounced him for making the first overtures about his proposal to put Rajapur and Karwar under one Chief, not to him, but to his colleagues on the Surat Council. The letter continued:

But wee little wonder at it, when we consider the inveterate and implacable spleene and disrespect which Mr. Child hath manifested to the President not only in Suratt and Persia but also in Bombay dureing his residence here, and in Rajapur since his arrivall there, as appears by evident and undenyable witnesses, which though the President hath hitherto been silent in, yet he finds himselfe now obliged for the Companys honour and interest to take notice of, seeing you doe now soe apparently strike at his authority by seeming to prefer his Council before him. . . . We require you now to forbear such ill-boding practices in future lest you confirme the odd fame and character which you have acquired at Bombay of contrivances of disturbance and unquietness of goverment. We think good also, as friends, to advise you to forbeare in your family those slight contempts of the Companys authority and Court of Judicature on this Island, which wee are informed you frequently use in publique.[1]

Child's reply to this is not on record,† but at any rate he continued to send factory letters to Aungier during April, May, and June.‡ His attitude to any such reproof is sufficiently shown by his letter of 17 September, where he suggests Aungier was prejudiced against him, and says that he had heard Aungier had talked of removing him from the Company's service and had even questioned his honesty. He added:

I beg your Honour will not in the least favour me. God forbid I should be so wicked or unreasonable as to desire it, and if you deem

* 107 Sur. 133, 134. This is dated 15 Sept., while Child's let. of 17 Sept. (107 Sur. 139) shows he received Aungier's letter of 7 Sept. on 16 Sept. [1] 7 Bom. 95, 96.

† On 3 May he denied having received the letter of 5 March (88 Sur. 52); but a copy would probably be sent him later.

‡ 88 Sur. 33, 41, 52, 60, 62, 64, 72. R. & O. Strachey, *K.R.* 26, are wrong in saying that Child 'showed himself at first in the sulks' at Rajapur and that 'for a whole year he would write no letter to Aungier, sending him only copies of his letters to Ward'. From the time of his arrival to the time he left on his tour there are no less than eleven letters that he wrote to Aungier, extant in 88 and 107 Surat.

me unfit for the imployment, or not able to discharge it, turn me out, wrong not so much your own conscience and the trust the Company has imposed in you to keep me in. Since 1659 I have been maintained by the Company and am beholden to them for the very shirt on my back. If my stay here in the least prejudices them, better I go for England, though I live never so poorly there.[1]

He also justified his sticking closely to the orders about the dimensions of the cloth supplied, on the ground that Aungier had taught him to do so by unjustly blaming him and others in Persia for the detention of the *Charles* at Gombroon, though it would have been unsafe to comply with the Surat Council's orders[2] (see p. 201). While not using any openly disrespectful or disobedient language, he plainly showed his opinion that he was being unjustly treated.

In a subsequent letter,[3] in answer to another complaint against him, he told Aungier he was unkind to him, and repudiated the idea that personal ambition had led him to make the proposal of putting Rajapur and Karwar under one Chief, saying, 'I value not being called Captain Sahib: its the profit of my masters I desire', and that he would cheerfully relinquish his charge, if Oxinden were given both factories.

These replies did little to smooth down Aungier, who in the Surat Council's letter of 19 November said:[4]

In our last we hinted the just offence we have taken at Mr. Childs presumptuous answers to our letters; every clause thereof discovers the pride and turbulence of his spirit, for which he hath now rendered himself notorious in all the factories wherever he hath served (viz. in Surat, Persia, Bombay and Rajapur). We have not hitherto questioned his integrity: neither can we altogether justify it till we receive a full account of his proceedings: but had we doubted his honesty, we would not have committed so considerable a trust to his care: but he has given us great reason to question his prudence and discretion, so we give him liberty to leave the Companys service and repair to Surat for England when he thinks good.

No subsequent reference to this difference is on record, but evidently it died down, as Child remained at Rajapur. In spite of Child's antipathy to him, Aungier showed his freedom from petty

[1] 107 Sur. 140, 142.
[2] Ibid. 140.
[3] Child's let. 18 Oct., 107 Sur. 174, 175.
[4] O.C. 4127, ff. 1, 2.

spite by granting Child's request that his two sisters should be allowed to join him at Rajapur.* His report to the Company about the Rajapur factory, moreover, contains nothing against Child's conduct of its affairs. It explained the deficient supply of goods from it as due to the continued wars in the adjacent country, which obstructed all trade, and to heavy rainfall having belated the arrival of goods by one month.[1]

A further convincing proof of Aungier's moderation and magnanimity is afforded by his answer to an inquiry made by the Company as to information it had received that Capt. Shaxton and Child had defrauded it in their management of the Mint, and that Child 'hath much misbehaved himselfe towards us both in language and action'.[2] After a reference to the Bombay Council that elicited nothing,[3] Aungier replied that he and his colleagues had never heard of their wronging the Company in the manner alleged, and thought it improbable. The other part of the Company's inquiry gave a clear opening for an attack on Child, e.g. by repeating the remarks as to his 'pride and turbulence of spirit' and 'slight contempts of the Companys authority' that have been reproduced above. But he made no complaint as to Child's conduct at Rajapur, and referred only to his alleged disrespectful language about the Company in Persia and his supposed complicity with his father-in-law, Capt. Shaxton, in the garrison trouble of 1674. His main statement was that Child's humour was 'not a little troublesome (though otherwise reasonably experienced and quallifyed to serve you)' and that he wished his demeanour at Rajapur might be such 'as to cancell all his former imprudencys'. He mentioned also that Child had expressed 'an irreconcillable antipathy' against him, on account of which he would (but for his duty to reply to the inquiry) have liked to have been excused from saying anything about him.[4]

On the other hand, it is only fair to Child to say that he did not 'sulk' during the year, nor write anything to Aungier that was not

* Raj. let. 18 Oct., 107 Sur. 175; Sw. let. 23 Nov., 88 Sur. 126, 127; Bom. let. 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 174, 175. Child's brother had apparently also attempted to come to Bombay as a soldier, but was prevented by the Company from going out (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 166).

[1] Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 10.

[2] Co.'s desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 170. The passage is reproduced by R. & O. Strachey, *K.R.* 24.

[3] Sw. let. 8 Dec., 88 Sur. 128; Bom. let. 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 174.

[4] O.C. 4163, f. 7. Most of the passage is reproduced in *K.R.* 24, 25.

expressed with seeming respect and deference. He also accepted the decision of Aungier and the Bombay Council that Capt. Shaxton was not entitled (as Child claimed) to a refund on account of a loss he had made in farming the 1 per cent. contribution, and he paid up what was due to the Company on Shaxton's account, as ordered.[1] Child was himself in debt to the Company and anxious to get his account cleared, 'for we are all uncertain of life, and I may dye and leave behind a poor little wife that I love dearly and I dont want her to lose what little I leave her'.*

A critical event at Gombroon, requiring urgent consideration by the Surat Council, may be briefly noticed. Its trade was threatened with virtual extinction by the Portuguese, who wished to divert it to the rival port of Kung, where under a treaty of 1631 they were entitled to half the customs (see the 1630–3 volume, p. 140). Under orders from the Viceroy of Goa, Portuguese passes were withheld from ships bound for Gombroon, with the result that Surat merchants refused to send any vessels to that port, as they feared their seizure by the Portuguese fleet, which visited Kung annually to demand the half-share of the customs. The Portuguese had (said Gray) grown so bold that they even took ships off the road of Gombroon and carried them to Kung.[2] In March Aungier asked the Company to consider what should be done to vindicate its rights, and suggested that King Charles should be moved in the matter.[3] Rolt in consequence had difficulty in shipping Carmania wool† and other goods to Surat, till the Council came to his aid by sending the *Good Hope* and the *Happy Rose* to Persia.[4] At the close of the year, Aungier responded very fully to the Company's request for his advice regarding the encroachments on its interests in Persia. He said the Governor of Surat and its merchants strongly resented the Portuguese refusal to give passes for Gombroon, and suggested the Company should resort to retaliatory measures, with the King's assistance and the use of force, if necessary, by armed vessels. This

[1] Raj. let. 3 & 31 May, 88 Sur. 53, 62; Bom. con. 31 May & 18 June, 2 Bom. 79, 87; Bom. let. 4 & 24 June, 7 Bom. 119, 130; Child's let. 15 Sept., 107 Sur. 134.

* Child's let. 18 Oct., 107 Sur. 173. According to Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt*, edn. Rawlinson, 95, Child left her a fortune of at least £100,000.

[2] Rolt's let. 25 Jan., 107 Sur. 66; Sur. let. to Co. 13 Feb., O.C. 4077, ff. 2, 3.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 20 March, 7 Bom. 105, 106.

† i.e. wool of Karman or Kerman, a province of Persia.

[4] Rolt's let. 15 March & 17 April, 107 Sur. 78, 87; Rolt's let. 22 Nov., O.C. 4136, ff. 1, 3.

might involve the factory in Persia being closed for three years at least, but he considered that it was of little avail or honour to the Company as things stood.[1]

Aungier's forgiving spirit is shown by the way in which he supported Rolt's authority in cases where he complained of misconduct by English mariners and others from Surat and Bombay; and Rolt thanked him and the Surat Council for their affection and kind appreciation of his efforts to improve the Company's revenue from the Gombroon customs.[2] In his final letter to the Company, Aungier also commended Rolt for procuring an annual revenue of 1,000 tomans,* and while deploring the deficient supply of Carmania wool said he was sure that Rolt had done his best to get it.[3]

As the Company had strongly objected to the continuance of the factory at Queda, the *Good Hope* was sent there with orders to bring the factors back to Surat; but this was prevented by the King of that country, who refused to allow them to leave.[4]

A point about the inspection of subordinate factories was settled during the year. In December 1673 Aungier had mentioned that he had thoughts of visiting the Malabar coast factories; but the Company disapproved of the President risking his life and causing extra expense to it in this way, and said any such inspection should be made by some other able person.[5]

It only remains to add that Aungier was evidently tiring of life in India. In his final letter he asked the Company to fix a term to his office as President, so that, with a year's notice, he might return home, as 'years and sickness [were] coming on him and India and other discouragements [were] growing too hard for him'.[6] These latter no doubt included the severe censure for extravagance that he had received from the Company (pp. 134–7).

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1676

THE lading of the three ships *Ann*, *New London*, and *East India Merchant* was completed by 15 January, and they left Swally for England on 18, 19, and 20 January respectively. The value of their

[1] Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 170; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 12–18.

[2] Bom. con. 7, 10, & 21 May, 2 Bom. 62, 63, 64, 72, 73; O.C. 4136, f. 1; O.C. 4163, f. 19; O.C. 4155.

* According to Fryer (ii. 160), a toman in 1677 was worth £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

[3] O.C. 4163, ff. 17, 19.

[4] Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 171; O.C. 4163, f. 19.

[5] Bom. let. 15 Dec. 1673, 6 Bom. 15; desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 168.

[6] O.C. 4163, f. 27.

ladings, which exhausted the contents of the Marine warehouses, totalled Rs. 618,317. They also took home two deer and two Indian cranes (*sarus*) for His Majesty.[1] The *Massingberd* was detained for several *cafilas* from Agra, Ahmadabad, and elsewhere, which did not arrive till 30 January. She sailed on 5 February, with a cargo worth Rs. 312,425.[2]

Owing to their departure being later than usual, none of the four ships touched at Bombay, to the disappointment both of Aungier and the Bombay Council.[3] The frigates *Revenge* and *Hunter*, the ketch *Phoenix*, and the *Malabar Coaster* also left Swally in January;[4] but the *Revenge* returned after escorting the ships a short way, and was sent on a freight voyage to Persia in February. Capt. Minchin, who had been suspended for fighting a duel with Hornigold, was allowed to resume his command of her, but was fined and severely reprimanded.*

The Company's ship *Return*, which had arrived at Surat on 6 December 1675 after settling a factory in Siam,[5] was freighted for a voyage to Basra and left about 7 April, taking James Adams to his post as 'second' in Persia.[6]

In February Sivaji's serious illness at Satara led to rumours of his death, but by the beginning of April his 'perfect recovery' had become evident;† and during May the town of Surat was kept in a continual scare, owing to his prime minister, Moro Trimbak, having driven the Raja of Ramnagar out of his country and taken Pindval in the Dharampur State, which was within five days' journey of Surat, while he threatened to destroy that city, unless the Governor paid up nine lakhs of rupees.[7] The Governor shut the gates to pre-

[1] Sw. let. 15 Jan., 89 Sur. 9; Sw. let. to Co. 12 & 26 Jan., O.C. 4163, ff. 28, 29, & 4171.

[2] Sw. let. to Co. 2 Feb., O.C. 4175, ff. 1 (For. 80), 2, 3; Sur. let. 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 17 (For. 83).

[3] Bom. let. 20 Dec., 7 Bom. 79; Sw. let. 2, 11, & 15 Jan., 89 Sur. 5, 6, 9; instrns. to Capt. Wislak, O.C. 4176.

[4] Sw. let. 11, 15, 18, & 24 Jan., 89 Sur. 6 (For. 78), 9, 10.

* Sw. let. 24 & 29 Jan. & 8 Feb., 89 Sur. 10, 11, 14, 15; Bom. let. 4 Feb., 7 Bom. 16. Cf. p. 134 n. *ante*. The Company disapproved of this leniency and issued strong orders against duelling (desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 545).

[5] Sw. let. 29 Dec. 1675 (For. 76).

[6] Sw. let. to Rolt 7 April (For. 87, 89); Sw. let. to Co. 7 April, O.C. 4202, f. 4 (For. 91). Adams gave an account of his experiences at Basra in his letter of 6 Oct., O.C. 4226.

† Sur. let. 8 Feb., 59 Sur. 16 (For. 83); Sw. let. to Co. 2 Feb. & 7 April, O.C. 4175, f. 3, & 4202, f. 6 (For. 93). His recovery was signified by activity of the Marathas in April, such as the looting of Athni, as mentioned on p. 270 *post*. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 224.

[7] Sur. let. 16 & 27 May, 89 Sur. 35, 39; Sur. let. to Co. 22 Sept., O.C. 4224, f. 2 (For. 102, 103).

vent people running away and 'made some show of defence'. The Council had unfortunately sent back two files of English soldiers and some topasses in April, as having no further use for them;[1] but it kept the *Revenge*, which had returned from Persia, instead of sending her to Bombay, as had been intended.[2] The alarm continued longer than any that had occurred before, and the enemy's near approach made the danger greater. But owing to his meeting with some opposition and the approach of the monsoon, Moro Trimbak withdrew the bulk of his forces to Raigarh, and the alarm died down by the beginning of June.[3] There was, however, naturally fear of an attack after the rains were over. Sundarji Parbhu, a new envoy of Sivaji, who arrived in May and had a cold reception from the Surat Governor and townsfolk, was loud in prophesying its plunder and destruction.[4] On the other hand, he brought Aungier a letter from Moro Trimbak, which was 'full of kindness'.[5]

Sidi Sambal arrived with his fleet in April (see p. 150), and on his seeking an interview with the President, Aungier at first 'returned a slight answer, as not caring to be troubled with his impertinancies'. However, he seems to have gratified him later on, as he wrote a letter to the Bombay Council about a representation the Sidi had made to him.[6]

The next important event was the arrival of the Company's five ships (p. 161) at Swally on 15 September.[7] They brought Giffard, who had fallen ill at Bombay and had been allowed to come to Surat, in the hope that a change of air might do him good (p. 145). The stock they brought from England (of the estimated value of £96,500) was considerably less than that of the previous year (£189,000). In both these years the orders of the Company were to dispose of the goods at market prices and to apply the proceeds to the discharge of the debt at interest and the balance for providing the next investment.[8] Part of the large stock sent out in 1675 was used for reducing the heavy debt, but Aungier pointed out that it

[1] O.C. 4224, f. 2 (For. 103); Sur. let. 27 April, 89 Sur. 32.
[2] Sur. let. 16 May, 89 Sur. 35.
[3] Sur. let. 1 June & 4 July, 89 Sur. 40, 46, 47 (For. 96). Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 224, 225.
[4] Sur. let. 27 May, 1 June, & 4 July, 89 Sur. 38, 40, 46, 47 (For. 96); Bom. let. 28 April, 7 Bom. 41.
[5] Sur. let. 9 June, 89 Sur. 46.
[6] Sur. let. 27 & 29 April, 89 Sur. 33, 37.
[7] Sur. let. 21 Sept., 89 Sur. 64; O.C. 4224, f. 1.
[8] Sur. let. 1 June & 4 July, 89 Sur. 40, 46, 47 (For. 96). Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 224, 225.

could not wipe it out entirely, as this would leave nothing available for beginning the new investment, for which ready money was required in all the factories.[1] The Council by April had cleared its warehouses of most of its stock of European goods, but owing to the bad state of trade in Surat the prices obtained were low.[2] The same depreciation applied to the goods sent out in 1676, and Aungier estimated the loss on them as from 10 to 25 per cent.[3] In particular the sale of bullion, which formed the larger proportion of the stock in both years, could only be made at a loss instead of the usual small profit. Aungier said this was due to an unprecedented fall in the value of gold. His explanation of it is interesting: it was all due to the Emperor Aurangzeb. He had reduced his treasure by unsuccessful wars against the Afghans and by the exemption of all Mohammedans from paying customs or other duties, as well as by suffering the abuses and embezzlement of his officers. His army was ready to mutiny, so at length he resolved to open the famous treasure of the Emperor Akbar. On the inner door to the vault was found a copperplate inscription cursing any one who opened the store and removed the treasure. Pressed by necessity, he decided to get to it; but, hoping to evade the danger of the curse, he refrained from having the door opened and had a hole made in the side of one of the walls, by which he took out the treasure, consisting of gold rupees to an incredible amount. With these he paid his army,* but shroffs and others took advantage of the situation, so that the value of the gold rupee called the *Suny*,† formerly worth Rs. 15, fell to only Rs. 12 or 11. It was the standard coin, in proportion to which all gold was valued, and consequently the exchange

[1] Sur. let. 27 May, 1 June, & 4 July, 89 Sur. 38, 40, 46, 47 (For. 96); Bom. let. 28 April, 7 Bom. 41.

[2] Sur. let. 9 June, 89 Sur. 46.

[3] Sur. let. 27 & 29 April, 89 Sur. 33, 37.

* I have not found any other mention of Aurangzeb using Akbar's treasure in this way; but Manucci states that he opened 'the treasure houses of Akbar, Nur Jahan, Jahangir and Shahjahan' in 1681, because his funds were exhausted by his war with Sambhaji (Irvine's translation of *Storia do Mogor*, ii. 255). Akbar is estimated to have left fully £40,000,000 in coined money: Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 2nd edn., 347).

† This probably represents the Gujarati 'sunyao', a gold coin: cf. *E.F.*, 1642–9, 235, where 'sunneas' and a similar fall in the value of gold at Surat and Ahmadabad are mentioned, and S. H. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, 252. Next year the Surat Council ordered 500 'sunays' to be got in the bazaar at Rs. 13¾ each (Sur. con. 28 May, 4 Sur. 60). Judging from its market value, the coin was the ordinary mohur, and is not likely to have been the 'sumni', the nominal value of which was under Rs. 2, and which (according to Abu'l Fazl) was 'never stamped without special orders': cf. Hodivala, 49.

value of all gold in India had fallen. Aungier added that the curse was already taking effect, Sultan Mahmud, heir to the Crown, having died suddenly,* and his three brothers prosecuting their several designs and raising factions, so that there was great uncertainty as to the future of the State. The result of this was that rich men chose to secure their estates rather than risk them in commerce, and there was a general decay in trade.[1] Many eminent merchants at Surat had, for instance, been reduced to poverty, and there was an extraordinary alteration in its state of trade.[2]

This particularly affected the sale of broadcloth, tin, and other European commodities; and in September Aungier asked the Company, till further notice, not to send out any more tin, coral, red lead, perpetuanos, guns, and anchors, or other naval stores.[3] The quantity of cloth brought out in 1676 was, he thought in August, more than they could expect to sell at Surat: nevertheless, most of the stock had been cleared at the beginning of 1677, though at low rates.[4]

The result was that the Council continued throughout most of the year to be in want of money, and the debt at interest was not cleared off.[5] Though conditions improved after the arrival of the ships in September, money was required for stocking the factories of Karwar and Calicut. The three ships *Berkeley Castle, Nathaniel,* and *Society,* left for their voyage down the coast about 29 September, taking goods for Karwar and treasure and coral for Calicut.[6] The Company had directed that the other two ships, *Scipio Africanus* and *Persian Merchant,* should go on to Gombroon, with a stock of goods suitable for Persia, and had armed them, so that they might protect the Company's threatened privileges at that port, if feasible.† These the Council kept at Swally in the hope of obtaining freight goods for Persia, though (owing to competition by mer-

* Sultan Mahmud died on 3 Dec. 1676, and (according to Manucci) was poisoned under the orders of Aurangzeb: Irvine's translation of *Storia do Mogor,* ii. 194–5; see also Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* 487. Henry Gary similarly mentions a report that he had been poisoned by his brother Muazzam through the agency of a eunuch (O.C. 4314, f. 2).

[1] O.C. 4258, ff. 12, 13.

[2] Sw. let. to Co. 22 Sept., O.C. 4224, ff. 1, 2 (For. 102).

[3] Ibid., f. 1.

[4] O.C. 4258, f. 14.

[5] Cf. Sur. let. 11 March & 8 Sept., 89 Sur. 27, 63.

[6] Sur. let. 28 Sept., 89 Sur. 65; instrns. to Capt. Fisher, 29 Sept., O.C. 4255, ff. 1, 2.

† Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 262, 270, 271. Dr. Fryer, who went to Persia on the *Scipio,* makes some rather scathing remarks (ii. 150) about its being more fit for 'pageantry' than as 'a guard to the Gulf'.

chants' vessels) such goods were 'exceeding cheape and hard to be got'; and as there were no suitable wares procurable at Surat, they had to wait for the arrival of goods from Agra and elsewhere up-country, which were not expected till November or December.[1] The *Scipio* was sent to Bombay in December to bring up stock that could be sold easier at Surat (p. 167), and the two ships were still at Swally at the end of the year.*

On 4 October the *Blessing* arrived with two envoys from the King of Bantam to treat with the Governor of Surat for establishing a mercantile agency in the town. This was a project that struck at the trade of the Company's factory at Bantam, and the Surat Council did what it could to discourage it.[2]

Two horses were given to the Governor of Surat, and Rolt was asked to send other presents for him.[3] The price of the lead sold to him in 1673 (p. 241) still remained owing: the Governor had 'unhappily embroiled that affair to his own loss as well as that' of the Company, but through friends at court was helping the Council's efforts to recover the debt.[4] There was some trouble in extracting anything from Khwaja Minaz on account of protection given him by the Governor and the 'Customer', for which he had to pay them dearly; but Aungier managed to recover part of the debt by countermanding all assistance at Bombay to an Armenian vessel, in which Khwaja Minaz was interested, until he did so.[5]

The Council had considerable difficulty in procuring enough goods to lade on the ships at the end of the year. As the records contain no letters from any of the factories to Surat, except two in March–April from Calicut, details are not available; but the general result is given in the letter that Aungier sent to the Company by the ships. There was a deficiency of 150 and 80 tons respectively in the expected supply from Karwar and Calicut, while the Rajapur factory failed to provide any calicoes that were good enough to send home.[6] Also none of the Carmania wool asked for came from Persia.[7] Consequently the Council was forced to get cloth and Agra wares, includ-

[1] O.C. 4224, f. 3 (For. 103) & 4258, f. 22.

* The delay in sending the *Scipio* to Persia and her being used locally were censured by the Company in its despatch of 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 543, 546.

[2] O.C. 4202, f. 3 (For. 91) & 4258, f. 14; Sw. let. 10 Oct., 89 Sur. 65.

[3] Sw. let. to Rolt, 7 April, For. 90.

[4] O.C. 4258, f. 10.

[5] Sur. let. 27 May & 11 July, 89 Sur. 38, 50. Cf. p. 159 *ante*.

[6] O.C. 4258, ff. 35, 36.

[7] Ibid., f. 23.

ing goods not ordered by the Company, such as coffee and olibanum, as best it could at Surat.[1] The lading of the ships began on their arrival from the Malabar coast about 11 December,* and proceeded during the rest of the month.

The records also give very little information about events at the several factories during the year. Those at Karwar and Calicut are dealt with in the section relating to the Malabar coast. At Broach a sad occurrence was the death in July of its Chief, Isaac Reynardson, a loss lamented by Aungier and his Council, who said he had given them great proof of his integrity and ability.[2] Thomas Crawley, who was 'well improved' and had experience of the place and its customs, as well as some knowledge of the Gujarathi language, was selected to succeed him.[3] The Dharangaon factory was restarted under Samuel Austen, with Thomas Keck and Francis Snape as his assistants; but the first of these died in June.[4] Bartholomew Harris was then sent there as 'second'.[5] Austen was commended for discovering some abuses of the Company's brokers there; and Aungier said that, though goods had not arrived from the factory as well as was expected, yet he hoped it would become more useful and he intended to send Austen back there the next year.[6]

The Rajapur factory suffered from the presence of Sivaji's army in the neighbourhood of the marts from which it had to be supplied. In April news came of his having looted Athni, a town about thirty miles from Raibag, with a consequent small loss of broadcloth to the Company.[7] In May Child said that Sivaji had an army of 4,000 horse that ranged up and down, robbing without any hindrance or danger, and that the troubles were so great that the factors feared they would be unable to provide any goods that year.[8] In August he repeated this fear. He added that this was in spite of their doing their duty properly, and later on he said that, but for the 'unhappy incident' at Athni, he would certainly have sent 2,000 corge of

[1] O.C. 4258, ff. 23, 36.

* Sur. let. 5 Dec., 89 Sur. 90: cf. Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 74. The *Society* is there shown to have arrived on the 11th, and Dr. Fryer (ii. 88) gives the same date as that of the arrival of the *Berkeley Castle*, which was probably accompanied by the *Nathaniel*.

[2] O.C. 4224, f. 3 (For. 103); Sw. let. 19 July, PS., 89 Sur. 53.

[3] Sur. let. 5 Aug., 89 Sur. 55; O.C. 4258, f. 19.

[4] O.C. 4202, f. 6, & 4224, f. 3 (For. 93, 103).

[5] O.C. 4197 & 4258, f. 19.

[6] O.C. 4258, f. 19, & 4223.

[7] O.C. 4202, f. 5 (For. 93); Raj. let. 13 March, 89 Sur. 23; O.C. 4258, f. 35. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 224.

[8] Raj. let. 9 May, 89 Sur. 37.

patkas (waist-cloths).[1] But the only actual output seems to have been some cloth not fit for England, and some cotton yarn that was sent to Bombay for the use of the weavers there (p. 166).[2] The factory also supplied Bombay with saltpetre.[3]

In addition to this failure, the Rajapur stock of goods for sale lay dead all the year, while the Subadar put 'the most notorious cheat' on the Company in a bargain to supply coco-nuts in part-payment of the 10,000 pagodas due from Sivaji. Aungier said the result would be a loss of at least Rs. 12,000.[4] The details are not on record, except that boats were sent from Bombay to Rajapur to help in taking the coco-nuts to Swally, but the Subadar refused to have the nuts laded on them (p. 149). In consequence of Sivaji's bad faith and the poor results of the factory, the Surat Council in October ordered its dissolution, saying that 'so long as that pirate and universal robber [Sivaji] lives, that hath no regard to friend or foe, God nor man, there can be no security in any trade in his country'. Child and Ward were instructed to come to Bombay on the *Nathaniel*, when she touched at Rajapur on her way up the coast, with such estate of the Company as they could bring away, while Robinson and Mitchell were to stay behind for a while to recover outstanding debts.[5] The Subadar, however, prevented Child from leaving on the *Nathaniel*, so only Ward and Mrs. Shaxton, who had gone on a visit to Rajapur in February (p. 149), left on that ship about the end of November.[6] Child managed to get to Bombay towards the end of December and went up to Surat.[7] The factory was left in a confused state, as the Sidi's fleet had come and burnt Jaitapur at the mouth of the Rajapur river.[8]

It is, therefore, no wonder that Aungier described the year as 'one of great affliction and tryall of patience to us in and from all your factories under our charge'.[9]

The Council remained the same till December, viz. Aungier, Gray, James, and Chamberlain. Giffard was too ill to assist it after his

[1] Raj. let. 24 Aug., 89 Sur. 62; Child's memo. 10 Jan. 1677, O.C. 4253, f. 4.
[2] O.C. 4175, f. 3, & 4258, f. 35; Sur. let. 14 Nov., 89 Sur. 80.
[3] Bom. let. 4 Feb., 26 April, & 27 June, 7 Bom. 17, 40, 45; Raj. let. 13 March & 9 May, 89 Sur. 23, 36.
[4] O.C. 4258, f. 35.
[5] Sur. let. 17 Oct., 89 Sur. 69 (For. 106).
[6] Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 74.
[7] Bom. let. 26 & 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 78, 79; O.C. 4258, f. 22.
[8] Bom. let. 1 Dec., 7 Bom. 74: cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 270.
[9] O.C. 4258, f. 37.

arrival in September, and his death took place on 22 November.* This was followed by the sudden death of Matthew Gray on 7 December. He seemed to be in good health on the 6th, but was found dead next morning of apoplexy, to which he was much subject. Aungier commended him as one of the Company's best servants in India, able and of large experience, faithful and of unspotted integrity in his public and private duty.[1] Fortunately Oxinden had been allowed to come to Surat from Karwar on the *Berkeley Castle*, and so was able to take on the duties of Purser-Marine at Swally.[2] His position as next in seniority to Petit had been settled by the Company.[3]

Gray had been designated as Aungier's successor in the office of President, in the event of the latter's demise, and his death affected the question of Aungier's resignation. The latter explained that he did not wish to inconvenience the Company, and he left the time of its taking effect wholly to its decision. On the other hand, he had been ill and confined to bed for nearly three months from a 'dangerous flux';[4] and he besought the Company to consider his length of service, the perils of life and fortune he had undergone, and his infirmity of health, adding that he had thrice been near the gates of death in 1675 at Bombay. He also mentioned Rolt's intention to give over charge to Adams and come to India shortly.[5] This might have facilitated the grant of permission to retire had communications in those days been quicker; but as will be seen later (p. 281), the Company's reply to his first application made in January of this year arrived too late.†

Another thing that marks the difference between those days and these is that Rolt thanked the Company for their great favour to him in paying his wages: the Surat Council, on this point, said 'such remarkable acts of your goodness create a reverence to your

* Aungier's PS. 27 Nov., 89 Sur. 86; O.C. 4258, f. 25, where Aungier said he was well qualified for the post of Deputy Governor by his great ability, knowledge of languages, and experience, while his sufferings in health, liberty, and estate in the Company's service had been remarkable. The 'sufferings' cover his capture by the Marathas at Rajapur in 1661 and confinement till the beginning of 1663 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 4–6, 86, 230).

[1] O.C. 4258, f. 15.

[2] O.C. 4258, ff. 18, 36: cf. Fryer, ii. 588.

[3] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 274; O.C. 4258, f. 12.

[4] Sur. let. 5, 14, & 21 Aug., 89 Sur. 54, 55, 57; O.C. 4224, f. 3 (For. 103).

[5] O.C. 4258, f. 17.

† Desp. 7 March 1677, 5 L.B. 413. It gave him leave to return to England, when he pleased, and appointed Gray or (in the event of Gray's decease) Rolt to succeed him.

persons . . . and raise an emulation in your servants to outdo one another in their faithful services to you'.* A decision of greater importance and one more deserving of such language was the Company's adoption of the principle of seniority as a general rule for promotion, by establishing regular grades: thus apprentices were to become writers after they had satisfactorily served their term of seven years; similarly writers after five years could become factors; factors, who had served their term, could rise to merchants, and the latter to senior merchants.[1] On the other hand the Company in the same despatch gave orders that must have caused some perturbation among their servants. It had sent out in 1668 certain rules regarding private trade and had ordered that a register of such trade should be kept and sent home annually.[2] It observed that this order had never yet been followed, and required a 'punctual complyance' with it for the future.[3] Aungier and his Council deferred action on this direction. They agreed as to its utility, but said they could not spare any one to keep the register, as all their servants were busily employed and the writing work was so heavy that it could hardly be finished for want of hands. They suggested that the Company should send out a notary public to Surat, to whom all the Company's servants should submit invoices, &c., and who could also assist in preparing wills and contracts.[4]

An abuse committed in this private trade was that Englishmen who sent goods to Gombroon were sometimes guilty of 'colouring' or passing off goods that belonged to Indians or others as their own, so that they might obtain exemption from the usual customs. This had been complained of by the Shah, and the Company issued strict orders prohibiting it. All goods brought to Gombroon by any Englishman, or alleged to be for the account of any Englishman, had in future to be wholly consigned to the Company's agent there for sale and disposal, or to some one of the Company's factors residing there; while all goods not so consigned would be deemed to belong to people of other nations and so not entitled to the privileges

* Sw. let. to Co. 2 Feb., O.C. 4175, f. 3. The Company had made up Rolt's account of salary for five years and paid two-thirds of it, at Rolt's request, to his brother in England (desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 182). As to salaries being then ordinarily in arrears, see *B.J.* 59.

[1] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 271: cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 247, 248, & O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service*, 3. This 'distinction of titles' was adopted by the Company on the suggestion of Streynsham Master (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, xvii, xxv).

[2] See *E.F.*, 1668–9, 18.

[3] 5 L.B. 274.

[4] O.C. 4258, ff. 15, 16.

afforded by the treaty of 1622.[1] The Surat Council said this 'colouring' of goods was 'too just a charge' and ought to be stopped.[2]

The multiplicity of writing work mentioned above naturally consumed a great quantity of paper and quills, and in January Aungier asked the Company to send treble the ordinary amount. A week later he raised this to four times the ordinary quantity, saying that the insufficient supply forced the Council every year to buy them from the French and Dutch.[3] The other factories were also in need of them, and Rolt made the want of paper his excuse (not accepted by Aungier) for failure to send any accounts for four years.[4]

The Company inquired about the printing work, for which (at Bhimji Parak's request) an English printer had been sent out.[5] Aungier replied that the design had not met with the success expected by Bhimji, although he had gone to great trouble and expense in contriving ways to cast the Banian characters in the English manner. This was mainly due to the inexperience of the printer in this sort of work, and he suggested that a type-caster should be sent out at Bhimji's expense.*

In conclusion it may be mentioned that Aungier had experimented in producing coloured silk at Chaul and Ahmadabad, and he sent home some samples of the material obtained.[6]

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY, 1677

THE three ships, *Berkeley Castle*, *Nathaniel*, and *Society*, were not dispatched to England till 24 January,[7] and this late departure prevented their touching at Bombay (p. 167). There was considerable difficulty in giving them full ladings, as the goods received were 100 tons less than the Council expected.[8] The deficiency had to be made up by the purchase of cloth and other commodities at Surat, and when the Agra *cafila* arrived on 20 January 70 tons still remained to be made up.[9] In all, 1,412 tons of goods, worth £917,582,

[1] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 270, 271: cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, xv. 286–8.
[2] O.C. 4258, f. 34.
[3] Sw. let. 26 Jan. & 2 Feb., O.C. 4171 & 4175, f. 3.
[4] Sur. let. 7 April, For. 89.
[5] 5 L.B. 273: cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 85 n.
* O.C. 4258, f. 32. The printer is also stated to have been taken into the Company's service, cf. p. 131 *ante*.
[6] O.C. 4258, f. 20. The Company, however, said they 'turn not to account' (desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 532).
[7] Sw. let. 26 Jan., 89 Sur. 8.
[8] Instrns. to Capt. Fisher, 4 Sur. 7.
[9] Ibid.; Sur. con. 1 & 20 Jan., 4 Sur. 1, 6, 7; Sw. let. to Co., O.C. 4258, f. 37.

were laden on the ships.[1] They also took home an elk, ten deer, and two cranes (*sarus*), for His Majesty.[2]

On 7 January Child arrived from Bombay on his own vessel, the *Lamb*, and left on the *Phoenix* about 3 February, for Bombay *en route* to Rajapur.[3] This was because, on his advice, it was thought Sivaji and his officers would be kinder than they had been, and that further efforts should be made to recover the treaty-debt.* Oxinden also left at the beginning of February for Karwar to settle accounts there, &c.,[4] so that the Council was reduced to three, viz. Aungier, James, and Chamberlain.

The two ships, which the Company had sent out for the Persian Gulf in 1676, were next disposed of. The *Scipio Africanus* left for Gombroon about 18 February with freight goods that had been procured with difficulty.† The *Persian Merchant* was sent to Bantam and thence to England, instead of to Persia, as it was easier to obtain freight goods for the former place; and she left Swally about 12 March with a cargo worth Rs. 37,478.[5]

Their lading was for some time interfered with by a rumour started by the French that England was again at war with Holland and had sent out a fleet against the Dutch. This at first startled Indian merchants into refusing to lade goods on Company's ships bound for Persia and Bantam; but 'when we convinced them of their error, they made not much scruple thereof, for the French have no great fame of truth-speakers in Surat'.[6] They were in a difficult position there because of the continuance of their war with the Dutch. The French ship and pink that had arrived in 1676 (p. 164) still lay in Swally Hole, being blocked from leaving by two great Dutch ships.[7] In February or March a serious quarrel broke out between them and the Dutch about some Dutchmen who had run

[1] O.C. 4260. [2] Ibid.

[3] Sw. let. 8 Jan. & 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 3, 9; Aungier's let. 8 Jan., 89 Sur. 12.

* Child's let. 10 Jan., O.C. 4253; Sw. con. 27 Jan., 4 Sur. 9. Sivaji, on news of the factors leaving, had sent his son, Sambhaji, to solicit a continuance of the factory, and promise its future good treatment (Sw. let. 22 Jan., O.C. 4258, ff. 35, 36).

[4] Sw. con. 4 Jan., 4 Sur. 2; Sur. let. 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 9.

† Sur. let. to Co. 18 Feb., O.C. 4267, f. 2; Sur. con. 2 Feb. & instrns. to Capt. Cooke, 18 Feb., 4 Sur. 15, 17. Dr. Fryer, who had been appointed surgeon in Persia in place of Samuel Carleton (Sur. let. 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 11; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 36, 292), was a passenger on the ship and says (ii. 149) it left Swally Hole on 22 Feb.

[5] Sur. let. to Co. 18 Feb. & 10 March, O.C. 4267, f. 1, & 4270, f. 1; Sur. con. 26 Feb. & instrns. to Capt. Bowers, 12 March, 4 Sur. 21, 26.

[6] O.C. 4267, f. 2. [7] Ibid., f. 1.

away to the French house and were forcibly detained there. The Dutch applied to the Governor, who required the French to deliver them up. On their refusing to do so, the Governor gave the Dutch leave to use their utmost force against the French, either at Surat or Swally. The Dutch at once proposed to bring their ships into Swally Hole and do the French all the mischief they could, if they persisted in keeping the runaways. The French prepared to resist any attack, and peace was only preserved by the intervention of Aungier and his colleagues, who prevailed on them to settle the dispute.[1] Aungier said that the main inducement for their mediation was the importance of preserving the neutrality of Swally and the mouth of the river Tapti in time of war: otherwise trade at Surat would lose the security it had hitherto enjoyed and the Company might suffer in the future.* The French factory was at a low ebb, owing to no ships having come for some time, and they had difficulty in pacifying their creditors.[2]

Two other Company's ships arrived about 1 March, viz. the *Return* from her voyage to Basra (p. 265) and the *Formosa* from Amoy. The latter brought a small cargo for the factory, and after being repaired was sent on to Bantam about 20 March with a lading of wheat.[3] The *Return's* voyage to Persia had turned out very unprofitably, and the Surat Council blamed Adams for having detained her too long in hopes of getting a good freight for her, which failed.[4] She brought little or no goods beyond those on the Company's account, the latter including 100 tomans in silver, some horses, and 98 bales of Carmania wool.† The *Selimony*, belonging to Khwaja Minaz, had accompanied the *Return* to Persia, and the Council had installed an English commander and some other officers on her and had consigned her to Adams, so that he might receive the freight-money in part-payment of the Khwaja's debt to the Company. The

[1] O.C. 4270, f. 3.

* Ibid. The Company, however, did not appreciate this argument, saying they were sure neither the French nor the Dutch would have done the same by them, and the freedom of the port had already been violated when the Dutch fleet forced the Governor to give satisfaction for their injuries (desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 533).

[2] O.C. 4270, f. 7; Gary's let. 16 Jan. 1678, O.C. 4314, f. 3.

[3] O.C. 4270, f. 2; Sw. con. 5 & 19 March, 4 Sur. 24, 30; instructions to Capt. Marriner, 20 March, 4 Sur. 30, 31.

[4] O.C. 4270, ff. 1, 6; Sur. con. 12 April, 4 Sur. 43.

† O.C. 4270, f. 1. Both her commander, Capt. John Atkins, and her chief mate died on the voyage from Basra (Sur. con. 12 April, 4 Sur. 43).

scheme was, however, defeated by two Armenian *nakhudas* that Khwaja Minaz had surreptitiously put on board, and Adams was so annoyed that he sent them back to Surat as prisoners on the *Return*. This offended the Governor and other dignitaries at Surat, but the Council on inquiry found that Adams had acted under great provocation, and managed to settle the affair amicably.[1]

The *Return*'s seamen gave some trouble. They objected to receiving only one-third of their wages for the Japan voyage of the ship, and that at 3*s*. a rupee. They demanded payment of the full amount due. There was a consequent mutiny, but threats of forfeiture of wages and corporal punishment brought them to submission. In order to alleviate hardship, Aungier allowed them as much as would satisfy their present wants and (as the Company had ordered the ship to remain in Indian waters) directed them to be paid at the same rate as that given to seamen at Bombay.[2] Many of the men, some of whom had served for six years in the East, also wanted to get back to England, and it was arranged to let them fill vacancies on ships bound for Europe.[3]

Efforts were made to get freight for Persia, so that the *Return* might go on another voyage before the monsoon set in. It was difficult to get any on account of the number of country vessels that were lying up and available for taking goods to Persia, and the principal merchants all said they had none to send there. It was hoped that she might obtain freight for the South seas, as the Dutch had for some time been refusing to give junks passes for Siam, Achin, and Queda; but the merchants at length prevailed on the Dutch to grant them. She had, therefore, to be laid up; and as it was inconvenient to keep her at Surat, the river being choked with quicksands, she was sent to Bombay to winter during the monsoon. She left accordingly about 26 April.[4] The *Scipio Africanus* arrived back from Gombroon about 27 April, and was also sent to Bombay for the monsoon early in May, when a 'violent wind and sea' had already set in.[5]

[1] Ibid., ff. 1, 4, 5; Sur. con. 2 Feb. & 4 April, 4 Sur. 22, 23, 36, 37.

[2] Sur. con. 6 March, 4 Sur. 24–6; O.C. 4270, f. 4.

[3] Sw. con. 2 March & 1 Oct., 4 Sur. 23, 24, 87, 88; Sur. let. 30 Oct., O.C. 4287, f. 6; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 33; instrns. to Capt. Smith, 26 April & 4 Nov., 4 Sur. 47–8, 106.

[4] Instrns. to Capt. Cooke, 18 Feb., & to Capt. Smith, 26 April, 4 Sur. 17, 46; Sur. con. 14 & 21 March & 12 April, 4 Sur. 28, 31, 44, 45, 47, 48; Sur. let. to Co., 7 April, O.C. 4270, f. 5.

[5] Sur. con. 2 May, & instrns. to Capt. Cooke, 4 Sur. 49, 50, 51; Sur. let. 3 May, 89 Sur. 34.

Although Sivaji had gone on his Carnatic expedition, Surat continued to be alarmed at the propinquity of forces left behind under his Peshwa, Moro Trimbak, or rather his General, Trimbakji, who was in actual command. Some of the soldiers were garrisoned at Navsari and Gandevi, within thirty miles of Surat, and their officers had appropriated even the houses of the Desais of those places, who had fled to Surat with the Kazis and other principal inhabitants. His men not only forced contributions from the country, but came boldly into the town in troops of 40 or 50 at a time and demanded provisions and contributions from the Governor and other Mughal officers. It was also suspected that soldiers were lodged in the town surreptitiously for some plot. The Commandant of the Castle consequently raised 500 more men for its defence and took precautions against a surprise attack. The anxiety continued over March, April, and May,[1] and owing to it the 20 to 30 soldiers that had been kept as a guard for the lading of the ships were not sent back to Bombay.[2] Aungier also wrote civil letters to Moro Trimbak and Sivaji, asking them to order Trimbakji and the other officers to offer no violence to the English house or nation, or to any of their brokers and servants, and these were forwarded to the Bombay Council for transmission (p. 174).[3]

The record of Surat consultations in April and May indicates that Aungier's long illness was beginning to impede his usual promptness in carrying on official business, though he clearly continued to take a large part in it in a way that must have seriously taxed his strength. On 10 April the Council held a detailed inquiry into charges brought by Samuel Austen against the Company's broker at Dharangaon, which is stated to have been deferred till then by multiplicity of business and the President's continued sickness.[4] On the same day he desired the Bombay Council to send up Dr. Wilson to treat him and stay at Surat for the rains, because of his remaining in 'a sickly and weak condition'.[5] His illness also delayed the Council's settlement of the contributions to be made by the different factories to the investment for the ships due in August or September. The Company's despatch of 28 June 1676 making some alterations in

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 10 March, O.C. 4270, f. 4; Surat occurrences, 10 & 31 May, O.C. 4283; Sur. let. 26 May, 89 Sur. 40, 41 (For. 114, 115); cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 319.

[2] Sur. con. 12 April, 4 Sur. 45; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 23.

[3] 89 Sur. 40, 41 (For. 114, 115).

[4] 4 Sur. 38.

[5] 89 Sur. 28.

the previous orders as to the goods required to be sent home was received by 18 February;[1] but 'the President's sickness for some time debarred him from convening a Council' to consider the matter till 9 May, when the quantities to be sent by each subordinate factory were discussed and fixed.[2] The last time Aungier presided over a Council meeting was on 26 June, when it had before it an order obtained from the Emperor, which must have gratified him. It directed the Governor of Surat to pay the agreed price of Rs. 10 a double maund for the lead that had been sold to Ghiyas-uddin Khan in 1673, and the latter had privately promised to yield all due obedience to it. This order had been obtained by a Parsi resident at Aurangzeb's Court, by name Rustomji Sherob [?Sohrab], who had undertaken to do the business for Rs. 5,000. He wanted, however, Rs. 2,000 more as expenditure necessary to 'stop the mouths' of officers, who would otherwise have prevented success. The Council doubted the truth of this claim, and decided to keep him nearer the agreed sum.[3] The rest of the story comes after Aungier's death.

This sad event took place on the early morning of Saturday, 30 June.[4] It was the end of 'a tedious sickness' that had lasted for over three years and comprised 'several distempers of body, which he endured with great patience and discretion unto his last'.[5] James and Chamberlain, in reporting his death to the Company, spoke of the great sorrow it caused not only to them, but also to 'all in these parts of India that know him', and added, 'his wisdome, eminent perfections and care of your affaires will better commend his worth then wee can tell how to discribe him'.[6] Their omission to do so justifies a citation of Dr. Fryer's eulogy of Aungier:*

> He was a Mecaenas of honest studies; a great cherisher of ingenuity; of a generous and free access; masculinely candid; a master of all languages and sciences, as well as skilled in military virtues; as if Mars had undertaken the protection of the Muses; but so envious are the Fates, that the best things are snatch'd away first.

[1] O.C. 4267, f. 1.
[2] 4 Sur. 54–7.
[3] 4 Sur. 64–8.
[4] Sur. con. 30 June, 4 Sur. 68 (2); Sur. let. 30 June, 89 Sur. 45 (For. 116).
[5] 89 Sur. 45 (For. 116); Sur. let. to Co. 31 Aug., O.C. 4270, f. 6.
[6] O.C. 4270, f. 6.

* ii. 314. Streynsham Master in his letter of 18 Jan. 1672 (Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, ii. 316) also described Aungier as 'one of the most ingenious men of our nation that ever was in these parts'.

This may be supplemented by Capt. Alexander Hamilton's testimony some fifty years later to the respect inspired by his personality and wisdom:[1]

The name of Mr. Aungier is much revered by the ancient people of Surat and Bombay to this day. His justice and dexterity in managing affairs got him such esteem that the natives of those places made him the common arbitrator of their differences in point of traffick: nor was it ever known that any party receded from his award.

His burial presumably took place in the English cemetery at Surat on Monday, 2 July;[2] but none of the tombs in it bears his name, though a large structure, without any distinguishing mark, is supposed to be his grave.*

The Company in 1670 had made provision for the case of both Aungier's and Gray's decease by directing that the rest of the Surat Council should then act as 'joint commissioners', pending the receipt of orders as to the President's successor.[3] Acting under this authority, James and Chamberlain confirmed Petit as Deputy Governor of Bombay and wrote to Oxinden and Child to rejoin their appointments on the Council at Surat as soon as they could conveniently leave their charges at Karwar and Rajapur.[4] This resulted in Child's arrival with his family on 29 September.[5] Oxinden, however, did not come up, as he was stopped at Bombay on his way from Karwar in December, to take Petit's place as Deputy Governor. Petit's continued bad health had led him to ask for a temporary transfer to Surat (p. 186), and he arrived there on 30 December.[6]

The three Company's ships, *Success*, *George*, and *Bombay Merchant*, got into Swally Hole on 29 September.[7] The treasure they

[1] i. 109.

[2] The intention to bury him 'on Munday next' is mentioned in Sur. let. 30 June, 89 Sur. 45.

* Rawlinson, 138. Grant Duff, i. 201 n. Perhaps it was Aungier's own wish that his tomb should not vie in laudatory inscription with those of his predecessor, Sir George Oxinden, and others. He had more right than the Irish rebel, Robert Emmet (1778–1803), to say 'Let there be no inscription on my tomb: let no man write my epitaph!', for his best memorial lay in the rise of Bombay, which he had so sedulously fostered. Lack of funds may have been a contributory cause, as Aungier had, in anticipation of his resignation, sent home a large part of his estate, before he died (O.C. 4370, f. 3).

[3] Desp. 16 Feb. 1670, 4 L.B. 314.

[4] 89 Sur. 45, 46 (For. 116); O.C. 3720, f. 6; Sur. con. 30 June, 4 Sur. 68 (2).

[5] Bom. let. 21 Sept., 8 Bom. 54; Sur. let. to Co., O.C. 4287, f. 6.

[6] Bom. let. 21 & 30 Dec., 8 Bom. 74; Sur. let. 1 & 26 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 5, 42.

[7] O.C. 4287, f. 8.

brought, worth £27,754, was speedily taken ashore, money being urgently required to pay off some of the Council's creditors, who had become very importunate since the President's death.[1] As the ships arrived so late in September, their unlading and lading had to be done in haste, so that they might start on their voyages down the coast as soon as possible. The *Scipio* and the *Return* had accompanied the three ships from Bombay (p. 175), and the former was the first to get off. She left on 2 October for Calicut, and was followed on the 8th by the *George*. On the 14th the *Success* sailed for Rajapur, Goa, and Karwar; and on the 19th the *Bombay Merchant* was dispatched to Bantam, as the want of goods suitable for England prevented compliance with the Company's preference for her to be also laden for home.[2]

The despatch to Surat that the Company sent out by the ships cleared the situation as to Aungier's successor, for it gave him leave to return to England when he pleased, and appointed Gray or, in the event of Gray's death, Rolt to succeed him.[3] The last-named was at Ispahan early in October, but intimated his intention of going shortly to Gombroon.[4] The Surat Council considered it derogatory for him to sail on a junk, so sent the *Return* to Gombroon on 4 November to bring him over.[5] She took such freight as could be gleaned at short notice in Surat, as well as a parcel of perpetuanos, Rolt having sold previous cloth of this kind at the high price of £4 a piece; but she was prejudiced in getting a cargo by the Dutch having two ships designed for Persia.[6]

The same despatch brought a reproof to Child for not carrying himself 'with that due respect he ought to beare towards his superiors', and expressed the hope that the admonition Aungier had given him would prevent similar complaints in future.[7] It also disapproved of various acts done and payments made by Aungier, such as spending too much in presents and charging Rs. 1,200 for a 'state-horse' for the use of the Governor in Bombay.[8] This and

[1] 5 L.B. 413; Sur. let. 31 July, 89 Sur. 51; Sur. con. 30 July & 2 Oct., 4 Sur. 74, 91; Sur. let. 27 Sept., 4 Sur. 84.

[2] Desp. 7 March, 5 L.B. 415, 420; Sur. let. to Co. 30 Oct., O.C. 4287, f. 5; instrns. to the four captains, 4 Sur. 88, 93, 95, 98; Sur. con. 1 Oct., 4 Sur. 85, 86.

[3] 5 L.B. 413, 424.

[4] Rolt's let. 8 Oct., 107 Sur. 10.

[5] Sur. con. & instrns. 20 Oct. & 4 Nov., 4 Sur. 103, 105; O.C. 4287, f. 6.

[6] 4 Sur. 103; O.C. 4287, f. 6.

[7] 5 L.B. 405: see pp. 259–61 *ante*.

[8] 5 L.B. 404, 405, 409, 412; Bom. con. 27 Aug. 1675, 2 Bom. 123; Bom. let. 11 Nov. & 12 Dec., 8 Bom. 69, 72 (2) (For. 140, 141); Sur. let. 27 Oct., 89 Sur. 72.

other complaints of extravagance and disregard of the Company's interests contained in the despatch of 15 March 1678, which was written in ignorance of his death, leave little doubt that Aungier had fallen out of favour with the Court of Committees.[1] Silence 'deep as death' met these objections, which (except on one point) the Surat Council passed over in their answer to the Company as 'actings of the late President and Council at Bombay'.[2]

The Company in its despatch of 7 March again urged that young factors should be encouraged to learn 'the language of the country', and asked to be advised of any attaining good proficiency, so that they might be rewarded: it also required an impartial report of the abilities and behaviour of all their higher servants to be sent home annually.*

The disposal of the European goods brought out by the ships was slow. The market for them was still bad, and by the end of October none had been sold, as prices were extremely low.[3] Nearly all such commodities remained in low esteem, through the available markets being glutted with them.[4] Later on some sales of broadcloth, tin, coral, and cochineal were effected, though mostly at low prices;[5] and the Council asked the Company to send out no more tin, iron, and cochineal, which could only be disposed of at a loss.[6] Efforts to raise the price of broadcloth failed; and the offers for the whole quantity of it that had been brought out were so low that they were rejected and the cloth put up for retail sale at Rs. 3 a yard, in spite of the temptation to the Council to get ready money for the whole lot towards meeting the demands of their creditors, who were 'tormenting' the Company's broker, Bhimji, 'by their clamorous complaints'.[7] There also continued to be a loss of about 8 per cent. on

[1] 5 L.B. 533, 535, 543, 544, 547. Cf. Hunter, ii. 226, and *K.R.* 25, 26.

[2] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 23, 27.

* 5 L.B. 406. The Council in reply vaguely reported that all the factors were 'more or less' acquainted with the vernacular (Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 18); but James seems to have been the only one at Surat capable of reading Gujarathi accounts (5 L.B. 532). Fryer (i. 218) also says that the Company encouraged young men in their service to 'gain a perfection [in 'the language'] which few attempt, and fewer attain'.

[3] Sur. let. 18 & 20 Oct., 89 Sur. 64, 65; O.C. 4287, f. 7.

[4] Ibid.; Sur. let. 31 Aug., O.C. 4270, ff. 8, 9; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 12, 20, 22.

[5] 89 Sur. 12, 21, 22; Sur. con. 19, 26, 29 Nov., & 12 & 24 Dec., 4 Sur. 110, 115, 116, 116 (3), 119.

[6] 89 Sur. 16, 21.

[7] Sur. let. 27 Oct. & 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 70 & (next sec.) 12; Sur. con. 15 Oct. & 1 Nov., 4 Sur. 99, 100, 105.

gold.* Silver, on the other hand, was more profitable, there being a 2 per cent. increase through Aurangzeb having taken off a mintage-duty that had previously been imposed.[1]

In spite of the Emperor's order, there was difficulty about getting payment for the lead sold in 1673. The order, though it was clear as to the price to be paid, unfortunately did not mention the full quantity of lead sold (16,821 maunds), and the Governor took advantage of this to say he could not pay for the whole amount without specific warrant for it. After much contest, this was accommodated by the Council undertaking to receive back a certain quantity, if Aurangzeb disapproved of the whole lot being sold. Then another question arose about the price. It had formerly been agreed that the rate of Rs. 10 a double maund covered a commission of Rs. 2 a maund for the Governor, and allowances to other officers; but the Governor did not dare to own up to this arrangement, especially as, on inquiry into the current market-rate of lead, the French and Dutch offered to supply the same amount at Rs. 2¼ a single maund. This great difference in rates caused a 'demur' for several days, until news came that Ghiyas-uddin Khan was being turned out of the Governorship. This put the Council into 'no small perplexity', fearing the change of government would upset all the trouble and expense incurred. But instead it put 'a happy period' to the long controversy, for the Governor, wanting to oblige the Council on the eve of his departure, unexpectedly waived his full commission and gave an assignment on the customs and other assets for the full amount of lead, at the rate of Rs. 9 the double maund, the cut of one rupee off the rate being for the purpose of making a show of service to the Emperor. The Company accordingly got more than the net price agreed on, and this exceeded the expense of getting Aurangzeb's order, &c., giving an estimated profit of Rs. 20,000.[2]

The removal of Ghiyas-uddin Khan took place in November, but had been anticipated since August. It arose out of the discontent of a number of merchants, headed by Mirza Muazzam, due to continued oppression by the Governor and other officers. On 4 May

* O.C. 4287, f. 6; 89 Sur. 21. This fall in the value of gold may have been contributed to by Aurangzeb having had to convert all his gold and silver plate into money to pay his soldiers (O.C. 4283, entry of Aug. 25).

[1] O.C. 4270, f. 8.

[2] Sur. con. 20 Nov., 4 Sur. 112, 113; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 13.

they secretly left Surat and fled to Ahmadabad, where they appealed to Muhammad Amin Khan,* the Viceroy of Gujarat, for assistance in redressing their wrongs. From there Mirza Muazzam went on to the Emperor's Court to petition him about their grievances. He was successful, and by October it was known that the Governor was to be replaced by Mirza Muhammad Beg. The latter arrived at Surat on 20 November. On the 22nd the Council paid him a visit: he received them 'with the usual respect due to our nation', but entertained them with very little discourse, as he was an illiterate and unpolished soldier.[1] In spite of this it was feared that the change of Governors would render Surat more liable to attack by Sivaji, for the newcomer totally refused to maintain amity with him by presents, as Ghiyas-uddin Khan had covertly done.[2] The latter was reported to have made nearly 100 lakhs of rupees by extortion from the inhabitants and by defrauding the Emperor.[3] The removal must have caused him some inconvenience, as his wife and family had arrived as recently as 31 May, accompanied by 12 elephants, several palankeens, and a troop of 200 horse from the north of India, whither on 27 November he took his departure.[4]

Khwaja Minaz was one of those who had suffered at the hands of Ghiyas-uddin, having been imprisoned.[5] He was insolvent, and a valuation of his estate had to be made, before the Kazi would assist the Council in recovering his debt to the Company. Eventually Muhammad Amin Khan, whose jurisdiction now extended to Surat, referred the settlement of his debts to arbitration.†

In spite of the great want of money, which even made the Council solicit help from Bombay, its investment for the ships went on steadily; but a shortage of dungarees and some other commodities necessitated the substitution of other kinds of goods.[6] The debt at interest had, however, increased to about £100,000 by the end of

* He was the son of Mir Jumla, the Viceroy of Bengal, who conquered Assam in 1662: cf. Fryer, i. 301 n, and E.F., 1668–9, 299.

[1] Sur. let. 31 Aug. & 27 Oct., O.C. 4270, f. 8, & 89 Sur. 71; Surat occurrences, May, June, & Nov., O.C. 4283.

[2] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 23; O.C. 4270, f. 8.

[3] O.C. 4283, entry of Nov. 20.

[4] O.C. 4283.

[5] Sur. let. to Co. 10 March & 7 April, O.C. 4270, ff. 2, 5.

† O.C. 4270, f. 5; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 23. Previously the town of Surat, instead of being under the Viceroy of Ahmadabad, came under the Emperor's direct supervision (Fryer, i. 300, & Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, ii. 316).

[6] O.C. 4270, f. 7; 89 Sur. 66 & (next sec.) 16.

the year.[1] As the Company disapproved of insurance charges being incurred, it was decided not to insure goods from Agra, Ahmadabad, Broach, Dharangaon, &c.[2]

The *Scipio* and *Success* left Bombay on their way from the Malabar coast on 6 December and must have reached Swally a few days later.[3] The *George* was delayed by contrary winds and did not arrive till 18 December.[4] Their lading for England then began, and by the end of the year they were half laden.[5]

A dispute broke out about the right to wear the flag. The Company had allotted this to Capt. Swanley, commander of the *Success*, whom it appointed Admiral of the three ships, at the same time making Capt. Bennet of the *Bombay Merchant* Vice-Admiral, and Capt. Earning of the *George* Rear-Admiral.[6] Capt. Swanley died on the voyage out to India and was succeeded by his son.[7] Accordingly the Council in October directed Capt. Bennet to fly the flag while in Swally Hole;[8] but his ship left for Bantam on the 19th of the same month. Capt. Earning then became entitled to this honour, but Capt. Cooke of the *Scipio* objected that he was the eldest commander and his ship the best, and put out his flag. This conflict had a bad appearance, and Child, as Purser Marine, requested orders from James and Chamberlain. They told the two commanders to come to an agreement like good men, otherwise they would both have to strike their flags.[9] Presumably the point was settled, as nothing more about it appears on the records.

The *Malabar Coaster*, which had wintered at Surat, was sold in November for Rs. 1,300, and an old sloop (to replace which a larger one had been ordered in May) fetched Rs. 275.[10] Two other noteworthy items remain. Anthony Smith, a freeman and former member of the Surat Council, died on 13 February;[11] and the printer, Henry Hills, having fallen out with Bhimji Parak on account of his refusing to teach Indians how to print, had given up this work and was employed as steward of the Surat house.[12]

[1] Sur. let. 9 Jan. 1678, 107 Sur. 26.
[2] Sur. con. 1 Oct. & 6 Nov., 4 Sur. 85, 107, 108; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 16.
[3] Bom. let. 6 Dec., 8 Bom. 70.
[4] Child's let. 18 Dec., 107 Sur. 16.
[5] Sur. let. 18 Dec. & 1 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 74 & (next sec.) 5.
[6] 5 L.B. 425.
[7] Bom. let. 2 Sept., 8 Bom. 50.
[8] Sur. con. 1 Oct., 4 Sur. 87.
[9] Child's let. 18 & 20 Dec., 107 Sur. 16; James's let. 20 Dec., 89 Sur. 4, 5.
[10] Sur. con. 2 & 21 May & 17 Nov., 4 Sur. 49, 59, 110; Sur. let. 3 May & 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 34 & (next sec.) 15.
[11] O.C. 4270, f. 9: cf. p. 217 *ante*.
[12] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 22.

The subordinate factories (excluding those on the Malabar coast) may now be briefly noticed.

Persia. Tension with the Portuguese had relaxed, as the Viceroy of Goa had disowned the proceedings of their Admiral in forcing ships out of Gombroon and carrying them to Kung, and had promised all fair amity for the future.* The factory at Gombroon supplied some Carmania wool, but nothing like the quantity of 400 bales wanted by the Council.[1] A few Carmania goats were also sent for St. Helena.[2] Rolt sailed on the *Return* for Surat, leaving Adams in charge, but had not arrived by the end of the year.[3]

Broach. Robert Carver was sent to assist Crawley in March.[4] The factory sent about 262 bales of goods in November and December, but 76 bales from Baroda were temporarily held up by the Ahmadabad customs-officer on account of disputed dues.[5] In December there was a rumour that the town had been put under the Viceroy, Muhammad Amin Khan, and Crawley hoped this might save a present to the new Governor, Mirza Kasim, who had just arrived, but 'being one that hath the leprosie keeps his chamber, not caring to be seen but by as few as may be'.[6]

Dharangaon. Aungier and his Council held 'a whole days' inquiry in April into alleged frauds of the broker, at which the latter was given a full opportunity of answering the allegations against him. Most of his defence was found to be good, but Austen was required to make further inquiry on some points. The broker was consequently readmitted into the Company's service.[7] Austen then left for Dharangaon. In May he reported that the chief shroff had decided to cease business there, so that there would be a difficulty about procuring money and drawing bills on the Council. Consequently some Rs. 12,000 were sent him in gold and silver, in addition to what the factory got by bills on Surat.[8] About 100 bales of goods

* O.C. 4267, f. 2. The Company objected that the Viceroy should have made satisfaction for the damage done and publicly declared his dislike of the Admiral's proceedings (desp. 15, March 1678, 5 L.B. 534).

[1] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 24; Sur. con. 9 May, 4 Sur. 54–7.

[2] 89 Sur. 31.

[3] Rolt arrived on 15 Jan. 1678 (89 Sur. 34).

[4] Sur. con. 21 March, 4 Sur. 32.

[5] Broach let. 29 Nov., 3, 22, & 26 Dec., & 3 Jan. 1678, 107 Sur. 1, 2, 20, 25; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 26.

[6] Broach let. 26 Dec. ,107 Sur. 20, 21.

[7] Sur. con. 26 March & 10 April, 4 Sur. 33. 34, 38–43.

[8] Sur. con. 28 May & 8 Nov., 4 Sur. 60, 108; Dhar. let. 19 Nov. & 1 Dec., 107 Sur. 1, 4.

were ready to be sent in September, and another *cafila* from it arrived by 1 December.[1] Its investment in broad baftas was enlarged in July, but under the Company's orders its supply of narrow baftas was discontinued.[2]

Rajapur. In January the Council decided to send Child back to Rajapur, in the hope that Sivaji and his Subadar would be found more compliant.[3] After staying some time at Bombay, he arrived on the *Hunter* early in April.[4] On Aungier's death, he was recalled to Surat and appears to have left in July.* The factory in the first half of the year sent 66 bales of goods that had remained over from the previous investment,[5] but contributed nothing towards the lading of the ships in December, as internal troubles again prevented it from getting goods from up-country.[6] Its only progress towards recovery of the treaty-debt was the forced receipt of betel-nuts or coco-nuts, so decayed that they scarcely bore the expense of transportation to Surat for sale.[7] The question of discontinuing the factory was deferred till Rolt's arrival.[8]

[1] Sur. con. 1 Oct. & 1 Dec., 4 Sur. 85, 116.
[2] Sur. con. 9 July, 4 Sur. 69; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 12.
[3] Sur. con. 27 Jan., 4 Sur. 14; Sur. let. 1 Feb., 89 Sur. 10.
[4] Bom. let. 27 March, 8 Bom. 24 (For. 124); Raj. let. 9 April, 89 Sur. 30.
* Sur. let. 31 Aug., O.C. 4270, f. 6. He was in Bombay on 2 Aug. (8 Bom. 46).
[5] Bom. let. 22 April, 8 Bom. 31; Sur. let. 26 Jan. & 3 May, 89 Sur. 7, 34.
[6] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 26; Raj. let. 29 Nov. & 8 Dec., 107 Sur. 9, 42.
[7] 89 Sur. 26; Raj. let. 29 Nov., 107 Sur. 9.
[8] 89 Sur. 26.

THE MALABAR COAST, 1670

THE position of the factories on this coast, which at the end of 1667 was desperate (see p. 101 of the preceding volume), had much improved and was roughly as follows at the beginning of the year. Grigby, the Chief of the factory at Calicut, had gone to Surat to take his seat on the Council, after having arranged with the King of Cannanore for the establishment of a new factory at the mouth of the Baliapatam river, some five miles north of Cannanore.* John Petit, who had accompanied Grigby to Baliapatam, was back at Calicut, but the withdrawal of its factory there as a protest against the Mopla outbreak of November 1668 was under consideration.[1] The factory at Karwar, which was in charge of Philip Giffard, assisted by Caesar Chamberlain and Charles Bendish, was doing well.[2] Trade with ports to the south of Cochin was under negotiation.[3] Dutch opposition to the English settlements, and their attempts to monopolize the Malabar trade, had been mainly ineffective.[4]

The records contain no correspondence between the factories and Surat during the first half of the year, except three letters from Petit at Calicut.[5] The first was sent by the hand of one Tulcidas,† who had taken a passage on a hoy belonging to Abdul Codder (Kadir). At Mangalore, however, the vessel encountered four Portuguese frigates and only escaped after a skirmish of four hours, in which one of the crew was killed.[6] Apart from factory business, Petit's news chiefly concerned the long-standing hostilities between the Dutch and the Zamorin of Calicut. The Dutch commander at Cochin, Hendrick van Rheede, had ordered an attack on the Zamorin from the Dutch fort at Cranganur. It was made and caught him unawares; the women's quarters were broken into and some of them killed. The invaders then fell a-plundering, which enabled the

* Preceding volume, pp. 205, 258, 266–8, 273. The factory was in a small fort, locally known as Cota Cuna (ibid. 266 n.).

[1] Ibid., 119, 265, 266, 268, 273.

[2] Ibid. 271, 273.

[3] Ibid., 259, 273.

[4] Ibid., 266, 272, 273.

[5] Cal. let. 4 March, PS. 4 April, & Cal. let. 5 May, 105 Sur. 26–30.

† He appears to have been Tulsidas Parak, the Company's former broker at Surat. He was indebted to the Company, and tried unsuccessfully to recover the goods he had freighted in Abdul Kadir's vessel (106 Sur. 84).

[6] PS. 4 April, 105 Sur. 29.

Palace Nairs* to carry away the King and get reinforcements, with the result that the Dutch were forced to retreat in disorder and with a loss of about 30 men. In his last letter Petit reported that the Dutch had since withdrawn to their previous stations, some to Cochin and the rest to Ceylon,† leaving only about 30 men in Cochin, 20 in Cranganur, and 2 in Palliapur, 'soe that it had been an easy matter to have surprized either of those places, but these Mallabars are dull warriours'.[1] Later in the year, however, the Dutch turned the tables on the Zamorin. In November Bowcher reported that, with the assistance of 20,000 Nairs of the King of Cochin, they had surrounded the Zamorin, who had not above 1,500 men with him, and that as reinforcements were difficult to procure without ready money, the Dutch were not likely to meet with resistance for some time.[2] The Zamorin was, in fact, driven out of his Pagoda and forced to flee inland.[3]

In view of this close pursuit of the Zamorin, he could not be expected to take further action against the Moplas who had participated in the murderous riot of 1668, and some of whom had already suffered at his hands.[4] The proposal to withdraw from Calicut to Ponnani further down the coast was consequently not pursued.‡

Effective steps were taken in April to start the new factory of Cota Cuna. As already mentioned (p. 191), Grigby was sent there from Surat on the *George*. He took Mansell Smith with him, and they landed at Baliapatam on 4 May. A long letter of 21 July, signed by them and George Bowcher, gives a full account of the position as they found it and of their proceedings.[5] Four days after their arrival they delivered a letter from the President to the King and Prince of Cannanore, which the latter received 'with much content'. Their main business was with the Prince, who had the sole government.§ After a whole day's debate they got him to agree to a customs duty of 2½ per cent. on all goods bought or sold since Grigby's arrival, plus an annual subsidy of 200 sequins;

* The Nairs at this time formed the militia of the kingdom.

† A party of 150 soldiers had come over from Ceylon under van Rheede; see preceding volume, p. 260.

[1] Cal. let. 5 May, 105 Sur. 26.

[2] Cal. let. 14 Nov., 105 Sur. 103, 104.

[3] Petit's let. 18 Jan. 1671, 105 Sur. 116.

[4] Preceding volume, p. 266.

‡ 105 Sur. 6. For the proposal, see Sur. con. of April, 3 Sur. 59. Grigby had previously advised against it; see preceding volume, p. 266.

[5] 105 Sur. 6–11.

§ This was because the King was very old; see preceding volume, p. 263.

otherwise the existing articles of agreement were to remain in force.* This was only a verbal agreement, and caution was (they said) needed in dealing with a Prince whom they described as 'the archest Mallabar sophister that we have hitherto mett with'. He had, however, kept his promise not to allow a footing to the French, who consequently were building a large factory a league to the southward of Dharmapatam† against their will, though they pretended they had all along desired it. They had eight or nine persons in their residence, some of whom (it was thought) were intended for new factories to the south. They were, however, in want of money, which kept them 'dormant for a while'. French competition would probably increase the price of pepper, and the factors should be furnished with a good quick stock to enable them to get things ready in good time. The Portuguese negotiations for a factory in Ponnani had broken down, and they were now settled in Tanur,‡ where a *padri* was the factor and was buying pepper for the King of Portugal.

On account of the lateness of the season, Grigby decided that the *George* should go straight to Achin, and not touch at Calicut. Petit was summoned from that place, and 'not without difficulty' made a land trip, in company with Bowcher and Mansell Smith, bringing two chests of coral and 1,000 sequins safely through 'all the thieves country' to Baliapatam.

In the same letter Grigby mentioned his intention to go with Petit to Calicut and thence to the Zamorin's court. From a letter written by Mansell Smith at Baliapatam on 6 September[1] we learn that they left on 23 August. Their departure had been impeded for a few days by a troublesome dispute with the Moplas of Baliapatam, who objected to the factory buying pepper at outside places instead of in their bazaar. The factors avoided the latter alternative on account of a *masjid* or church duty, which (in addition to the King's due) was payable to the Moplas under a grant of a former Raja. The latter showed their resentment at this loss of trade by scurrilous language and abuse of the factory servants when they

* As to the articles which were signed in Nov. 1669, see preceding volume, pp. 265, 267. The clause about the customs had remained over for settlement. At first the Prince had demanded 5 per cent., but he finally agreed to 2½ per cent., provided he was paid 200 sequins a year. This payment, to which the Surat Council had objected, was now conceded.

† This place was about two miles north-west of Tellicherry.

‡ This was about twenty miles south of Calicut and fifteen miles north of Ponnani.

[1] 105 Sur. 73.

were sent to the bazaar. The factors complained to the Prince, who sent for the Mopla chiefs, and Grigby and Mansell Smith discussed the affair with them at his house. Grigby was firm in objecting to 'any ill custome in our half-settled factory in its infancy, that wee may not be in the condition of Calicut factory, where they can get noe pepper without they pay the money beforehand'. In the end an arrangement was made for the Mopla merchants to deliver pepper at the factory next day. They failed, however, to carry out their undertaking, and sent word that the pepper should be fetched by the factors from the bazaar. The Prince advised them to let the Moplas 'fret a little in their owne grease', after which he was sure they would be glad to give way. Meanwhile he arranged for the purchase of fifty candies of pepper and its delivery to the factory. The Moplas also raised difficulties about the weighment of pepper at the bazaar, but this was surmounted by the erection of two warehouses at the factory, which (Mansell Smith said) were nearly finished.

The same letter gives an illustration of the insecurity that prevailed in that part of India. Ever since Grigby's departure they had been forced to stand upon their guard, because of the alarm caused by 'a grand rogue and thiefe', whose house had formerly been burnt to the ground by the Prince. He was lurking in the neighbourhood, with a rapscallion following of 200 Nairs, Brahmins, and Moplas that he had collected. Mansell Smith put the factory in the best possible posture of defence with arms of his own; and the Prince sent a guard of ten Nairs. This apparently kept the enemy off, though they kept close to the warehouse at the river's mouth a whole day. The French at Dharmapatam were also alarmed, and the building of their new factory was hindered until the Prince sent them fifteen Nairs. Mansell Smith added: 'The Prince is very civill and kind to us, and is now providing timber, the best he can gett, but I am to take none without seeing it first, as they do at Calicut.'

The records do not contain any letter from Calicut between May and November, but Mansell Smith's letter mentions that on account of exceptionally stormy weather on the coast 'the rageing sea hath devoured great parte of Callicut towne and also halfe the English factory, soe that they must be forced to looke for a new house or build another'. Grigby accordingly arranged to hire a house 'for

the better security of the Companys estate there'. This must have been disappointing to him, in view of his report in July that the Calicut house, with the help of some repairs, had withstood the sea.[1]

The main event after the monsoon was the arrival of the two ships, the *Hannibal* and the *Experiment*, which had been sent down the Malabar coast from Swally, with a stock of Rs. 28,101 for Baliapatam.[2] They arrived there on 24 and 25 October respectively, bringing a letter of 4 October from Aungier, in which Grigby was recalled to complete the Council at Surat and Petit was provisionally appointed Chief of Baliapatam, Calicut, and Ponnani in his place.[3] The *Hannibal* was loaded up with pepper and dispatched back to Swally on 31 October. The *Experiment* was sent down the coast on the 26th, arriving at Calicut on the 29th, and proceeding thence to Tanur and Ponnani,* at which places she was laden with a cargo of pepper, &c., amounting to 123,226 fanams† in value. In fact, she was filled so full at the last two places that she could take in nothing at Calicut, and as the *Hannibal* did not call there, some 200 candies of pepper had to be left behind.[4]

The *Experiment* appears to have brought Petit from Calicut to Baliapatam, for a letter of 11 November from Petit to the Surat Council was written from the latter place and mentions that Grigby was taking his passage on that ship for Swally.‡ Bowcher was left in charge of Calicut, and a letter of his dated 14 November[5] reports the main events since their departure. One was the close Dutch pursuit of the Zamorin that has already been mentioned (p. 289). Another appears in an amusing story about Mons. de Flacourt, Chief of the French on the Malabar coast.§ On 6 November he passed through Calicut on his way to the Zamorin to treat for a

[1] 105 Sur. 10.

[2] Sur. let. to Co. 30 Nov., O.C. 3515.

[3] O.C. 3491.

* Cf. *Barlow's Journal*, i. 188–93, for an account of this voyage of the *Experiment*, giving also Barlow's drawings of Baliapatam, Ponnani, Tanur, and Calicut in half-tones. That of Calicut is reproduced from the original in colour as the frontispiece to this volume.

† A fanam was a small coin, worth about a quarter of a rupee.

[4] Bal. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3508; Petit's let. 11 Nov., 105 Sur. 85 & O.C. 3511; Bowcher's let. 14 Nov., 105 Sur. 104.

‡ This is confirmed by *Barlow's Journal*, i. 192, which mentions that 'the chief factor which was there [at Calicut] came on board of us to go to "Belopatan" to be chief there, for he that was chief at "Belopatan" [Grigby] we were to carry to Surat'.

[5] 105 Sur. 103, 104.

§ He had erected the factory near Tellicherry (Kaeppelin, 62).

French settlement in his territories. He said he wanted this at Aygott, a place opposite the Dutch fort at Palliport* and a little below Cranganur, within shot of both. The Zamorin replied he thought the Dutch would not permit him to be so near their forts, to which Mons. de Flacourt retorted that, if he was given permission to settle there, he would put up his King's flag and the Hollanders would not dare to disturb them or meddle with it: which (Bowcher adds) was soon performed by him, and the Dutch almost as soon shot it down. Flacourt, who had a very narrow escape from being shot himself, found the place too warm to remain any longer.

Among the trade items was one relating to debts owed the Company by Calicut merchants. Petit had in March expressed some anxiety about money owed by Abdul Kadir, saying 'he is a true Mallabarr, except in this that he hath been so constant in lying that now I begin to know the truth from out of his words, in beleiving him just the backward way'.[1] The Governor, however, promised, if necessary, to 'sett some Naires at his back'. This meant quartering them on the debtor at his expense, and so putting pressure on him to pay up. Bowcher reported that the Governor had done this, with the result that Abdul had sent some pepper and was endeavouring to raise more. Another debtor was stated to be more honest, but to be in difficulties owing to trade losses.

Petit in a letter of 18 January 1671 gives the final news of the previous year relating to Baliapatam, Calicut, and Ponnani.[2] Of the stock sent from Swally, Grigby had disposed of all but two chests of coral and two cases of quicksilver, and arrangements had been made to barter the coral for pepper—'yet these Moors being of Ali Rajahs† complexion, we cant be certain till the pepper is delivered'. The coral in Calicut was also likely to be sold soon. The broadcloth was being sent to Seringapatam, with which place an endeavour to establish trade relations had been in train for some time.[3]

The Council at Surat had ordered Grigby to supply gunpowder

* Palliport was about fifteen miles north of Cochin.

[1] Cal. let. 4 March, 105 Sur. 27.

[2] 105 Sur. 115, 116.

† Ali Raja was the Chief Minister of the Raja of Cannanore and the head of the Mopla community. He had backed out of a contract to buy a chest of coral, and his duplicity was the subject of much adverse comment (e.g. 105 Sur. 7 & 75).

[3] Cal. let. 4 March, 21 July, & 6 Sept., 105 Sur. 9, 28, 76.

of the best quality possible for Bombay,[1] and Petit reported they had been making it as fast as they could and hoped to complete the quantity ordered. Above ninety timber trees had also arrived at Calicut, but owing to the absence of the Governor, Araman Acha, with the Zamorin nothing had been settled about them.

We now turn to the factory at Karwar, which, as already mentioned, was, at the beginning of the year, in the charge of Giffard, assisted by Chamberlain and Bendish.* In February Giffard was promoted to the Bombay Council, and left in that month or early in March.† Chamberlain succeeded him as Chief of the factory.

The records give no information as to events at Karwar in the first half of the year, except that the *George*, with Grigby on board, and a stock of Rs. 18,869 for the factory, called there at the beginning of May.[2] This supply did not, however, satisfy the factors, who in July represented the difficulty of selling European commodities there and the need for more money, to carry on their large investments and discharge their engagements.[3] The Surat Council accordingly promised them a full supply from the ships due in September.[4] The first extant letter from Karwar is dated 2 August.[5] In this Chamberlain said they were hard put to it for want of money to carry on the cloth investment and asked for Rs. 100,000 more. He explained that the weavers, who were being employed at and around Hubli in considerable numbers, had so improved that he was loath to break off the arrangement: accordingly he had preferred to borrow money at interest for this purpose, the cloth being so good that he did not question it would bear the charge.[6] Aungier and his colleagues decided to comply with this request, and sent a large stock of gold, as well as other money and goods, on the *Experiment* and the *Loyal Subject* in October.[7] In the same letter Chamberlain makes some interesting remarks regarding the difficulties of

[1] Sw. PS. 8 Oct., O.C. 3491.

* There were also two writers, Robert Jones, who had been sent out by the Company in 1668, and Thomas Sherlock, a promoted sailor (see preceding volume, pp. 16, 199).

† He may have come up on the *Charles* and was in Surat on 12 March (see p. 5 *ante*).

[2] O.C. 3515, f. 1 (49 Home Misc. 305); commn. to commander of the *George*, 18 April, 3 Sur. 155.

[3] Bom. let. 27 July, 6 Bom. 38; Sur. con. 8 Aug., 3 Sur. 78.

[4] Sur. con. 8 Aug., 3 Sur. 78.

[5] 105 Sur. 3–5.

[6] Ibid. 4.

[7] Sw. con. 30 Sept., 3 Sur. 92; Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3496.

trading, due to the disturbed state of the Province. Merchants, he says, were holding back, as

the country hath bin so hazarded with civill warrs that there is but few merchants of note left, and they very cautious of makeing too great a show . . . all mens mindes are wholly fixed upon the event of the Mogulls army; and like as a thick cloud gathers upon the borders of this country, and 'tis uncertaine where the storme will light, so that everybody are loath to clog themselves with goods in so uncertaine times. . . . There is an ambassador come from the Mogul to this King to demand 12,000 horse against Sivagee, else threatning to turn all his forces upon him, so that the King is in a great streight, on the one side being loath to break with Sivagee and on the other, if he do not, how to satisfy the Mogul; but 'tis thought he will be forced to raise an army against him, in show though not with an intention to hurt him, only for the satisfaction of the Mogul.[1]

The next available letter from the factory is dated 19 November.[2] The *Experiment** and the *Loyal Subject* had by then brought supplies, as stated above, and the *Loyal Subject* was about to return to Swally with her lading from the factory. The money sent had enabled Chamberlain to pay off most of the 16,000 pagodas that had been borrowed for the cloth investment. It had taken some time to send the large sum of money required at Hubli, as they were 'loath to venture so much at once, for feare of any accident'. They had put on the *Loyal Subject* as much of the investment they had made as she could take, worth about 28,775 pagodas; but nearly 200 bales of cloth and 240 candies of pepper remained behind. These should be sent for before the rains set in, as there was no room for them in the warehouses. They would want more treasure for the new investment, as what was left would go only a little way for the cloth. Also the ingots of gold that had been sent were not readily saleable on account of 'these people [being] not . . . so well versed in' them, as in coined gold.

The factory had been ordered to supply 1,000 maunds of saltpetre annually for the manufacture of gunpowder at Bombay, as well as timber for building purposes.[3] Chamberlain exceeded his

[1] 105 Sur. 4, 5. [2] 105 Sur. 87–91.

* Cf. *Barlow's Journal*, i. 188, 194, for an account of this voyage of the *Experiment*, and Barlow's drawing of Karwar.

[3] Sur. con. in April, 3 Sur. 59; Sur. con. 8 Aug., 3 Sur. 78.

instructions by sending some 1,500 maunds on the *Loyal Subject*,[1] but reported that the ship was not able to take any timber, though it was in readiness.

The letter finished with an account of a troublesome claim by the Desai* to a separate duty of ½ per cent. on goods. It was a claim that he had only put forward since the factory was resettled by Randolph Taylor under articles of agreement arranged with the Governor of Karwar in 1668.[2] These provided for a comprehensive duty of 1½ per cent., and the Desai sought to get ½ per cent. either out of this, which the Governor refused, or from the factory. They had hitherto refused to comply with his demand, but he was causing trouble by stopping boats laden with goods and by 'false suggestions to the Lords Chief Overseer of all his affairs',† which might affect their licence to trade. The latter was expected at Karwar, and negotiations with him would be entered into.

A later letter of 8 December[3] gives a further instance of the unsettled state of the country. The Governor of Kotta‡ had seized pepper that was on its way from Hubli to the factory, owing to a quarrel in which some Kotta goods had been seized at Hubli; and they were not able to move the pepper until the other goods had been released at Hubli.

In his general letter to the Company of 20 November, Aungier described Baliapatam as a 'hopeful' factory, and commended Chamberlain 'for a sober and an able servant', who had done good service at Karwar.[4]

THE MALABAR COAST, 1671

THE three factories at Karwar, Baliapatam, and Calicut continued during the year, with no material change except a slight accession to their staffs. Two writers (Edward Austen and Nathaniel Lowndes) were posted to Karwar, and one factor (John Chase) and

[1] Kar. let. 10 Feb. 1671, 105 Sur. 126.

* He was the revenue superintendent, one of the officers of the Bijapur kingdom, of which Karwar formed a part. Cf. Fryer, ii. 6.

[2] See preceding volume, pp. 107, 108, & 110.

† This was probably the Chief Minister of the King of Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah II.

[3] 105 Sur. 101, 102.

‡ This was a league north of Calicut and was then the haunt of pirates: cf. the 1665–7 volume, p. 212, and *Malabar District Gazetteer*, i. 5.

[4] O.C. 3515, f. 18.

two writers (Nathan Meriton and Thomas Kennon) to Baliapatam and Calicut.* Towards the close of the year it was also decided to start a factory at Carnopoly,† whose Raja gave great encouragement to the project, but where there was serious Dutch opposition —to be recounted later on.

The Karwar annals call for only a brief recital. Though there were considerable difficulties in the way of trade, these did not materially hamper the provision of the quantities of cloth and pepper required for the homeward ladings of December. And before commencing the new investment, the factory was able to send up nearly all the goods that had been left behind in the previous year. In February 200 bales of cloth and 101 candies of pepper were laden on the *Charles*,[1] and in April the hoy *Mary* brought up all the remaining cloth, except 25 bales.[2] In the latter month Chamberlain began to arrange for the new supply of cloth required for the homeward ships at the end of the year. He said that every care would be taken to remove the cause for complaint as to bad washing and other defects in quality that the Surat Council had made about the cloth supplied in the previous year, but added the caution that the factory could not prevent accidents happening 'in this troublesome country'.[3] The orders as to the pepper investment caused him considerable agitation. In January the Surat Council had entered into a contract for the supply of 500 candies by the Raja of Sonda, whose pepper was famous for its good quality and cheapness.‡ This had been arranged through Vithoji Shenvi, a servant of Govind Naik, the Vazir of the Raja; and Chamberlain was naturally aggrieved that he had not been consulted in the matter. He pointed out various difficulties in the working of the contract, and said the Council had been misinformed on material points. On the other hand, he undertook not to try and break the contract, but only to

* Sw. let. 5 Oct., O.C. 3588; Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3580. Of these Austen and Meriton had come out in 1668 (preceding volume, pp. 16, 36), and the others had been sent out on the ships arriving at Swally in Sept. 1671.

† Sur. con. 6 Dec., 2 Misc. 119. Carnopoly (Karnagapalli) is about ten miles north of Quilon.

[1] Kar. let. 10 Feb., 105 Sur. 127.

[2] Kar. let. 18 April, 105 Sur. 141, 142.

[3] Kar. let. 10 Feb. & 18 April, 105 Sur. 120, 121, 144.

‡ Sw. con. 12 Jan., 2 Misc. 112; *Bom. Presidency Gazetteer*, xv, pt. 2, 130; Fryer, ii. 41, 42. The Sonda chiefs were a branch of the Vijayanagar Kings, who settled (1570–82) at Sonda, a small town in North Kanara district, which remained the capital of their dynasty till 1762 (*Bom. Pres. Gaz.* xv, pt. 2, 347 ff; Sardar, *Shivaji*, 226).

modify it as best he could.* This, however, was not an easy task, for Govind Naik refused to have anything to do with the Karwar factory beyond demanding from it payment of the advance due to him under the contract, while Vithoji Shenvi, though at hand, refrained from coming to Karwar.[1] In May Chamberlain reported that Govind Naik had broken the contract by refusing to deliver pepper of the stipulated kind, and consequently he had arranged to procure a considerable quantity from Naran Nulla, a merchant at Batticola (Bhatkal).[2] And though the Surat Council ordered him to accept pepper from Govind Naik, if properly tendered, all the pepper shipped from Karwar seems to have been obtained from Bhatkal and Honavar.[3]

Besides thus getting his way, Chamberlain was fortunate in being able to announce in August a satisfactory settlement of the Desai's claim to *lasmo* or customs at the rate of ½ per cent. on the Company's goods during past years. He had accepted a payment of 110 pagodas in full discharge of his claim and an old debt of 26 pagodas, and the settlement had turned him from an enemy into a friend of the factory.[4] This was of importance, because he had become more powerful than the Governor.[5] The settlement also enabled Chamberlain to forward to Surat the factory accounts, which could not be properly balanced so long as the dispute remained open.[6]

The Desai's cordiality was shown by his taking part in a ceremonial recognition of the 'new house', at which he and the Governor laid a stone with their own hands and gave the factors leave to go on with it when they pleased.[7] This was significant, because one of the troubles caused by the Desai in the previous year had been a stoppage of the licence to build it.[8] There had, in fact, been a succession of difficulties in the way of its completion. Work, said Chamberlain,[9] had been started on it soon after the opening of the

* Kar. let. 10 Feb., 105 Sur. 122–4. Chamberlain also complained bitterly of Govind Naik's extortions and hostility to European trade (ibid. 125).

[1] Kar. let. 18 April & 27 May, 105 Sur. 142, 143, 145, 180.

[2] Kar. let. 10 Feb., 27 May, & 5 Aug., 105 Sur. 126, 180, 181, 198.

[3] Kar. let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 15, & 31 Oct., O.C. 3590.

[4] Kar. let. 5 Aug., 105 Sur. 199, 200.

[5] Kar. let. 27 May & 20 Sept., 105 Sur. 179 & 106 Sur. 15.

[6] Kar. let. 27 May & 5 Aug., 105 Sur. 179, 199.

[7] Kar. let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 15 & O.C. 3578.

[8] Kar. let. 19 Nov. 1670, 105 Sur. 90.

[9] His let. about audit objections, 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 20 & O.C. 3579.

factory in 1662 by Robert Master, but when Sir Abraham Shipman and his soldiers settled on the neighbouring island of Anjidiv, against the Governor's consent, this 'bred such a jealousy in him of some designe of fortifying upon the place' that he immediately put a stop to it.* When Anjidiv was vacated towards the end of 1664, Master obtained permission to go on with the building, but money was 'so scarce with the Governor', who was bearing the expense of it, that it went on very slowly; and before it was finished, the foundation, being on sand, gave way and the building fell to the ground.† Accordingly, when Taylor resettled the factory in 1668, he thought it advisable to build the house at the Company's expense, with a contribution of 200 pagodas from the customs, and a stronger foundation was laid. The work, however, came to a stop, as already mentioned, pending the settlement of the Desai's claim. Meanwhile the factory suffered from the inferior accommodation provided by the temporary building in which it was housed.‡

Even when the Desai joined the Governor in allowing the work to proceed, Chamberlain did not at once go on with it. This was because of the disturbed state of the country at that time (September). Rustam Zaman, the former Viceroy, who had been dismissed in 1666 'for his traitorous compliance with Sevagy in delivering up some of the Kings castles unto him',§ had taken up arms against the King of Bijapur, presuming on the 'great alliance' he had among the nobility of Kanara. With underhand assistance from Sivaji's forces, he had seized on a large tract of country, and merchants of several towns had fled, including those of Hubli, who feared 'the contagion' would spread to them, so that 'in these parts all is confusion'. The King had sent an army against him, but it was advancing slowly.[1]

A month later, however, Chamberlain reported the trouble was over, the King's forces having come to battle with the rebels and utterly routed them.[2] He had consequently restarted work on the

* Cf. the 1661–4 volume, pp. 121, 140, 141, 214, 216, 334. Robert Master was a brother of Streynsham Master, ibid., p. 27.

† Cf. the 1665–7 volume, p. 207, as to its having collapsed 'in a great storm of wind and rain' during the monsoon of 1666.

‡ Chamberlain describes it as 'a thatched hovell', which Master had enlarged and tiled for fear of fire (106 Sur. 20); see also Giffard's complaints about it in the preceding volume, pp. 271, 272.

§ This was in 1666; see the 1665–7 volume, p. 206.

[1] Kar. let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 16.

[2] Kar. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3590.

new house, but had no workmen able to build the upper terraces properly. Also the local lime, being made of oyster-shells, was inferior. He asked for help from Surat to remedy these deficiencies.[1]

In addition to Rustam Zaman's rebellion, there was a revolt against the Sonda Raja by one of his kinsmen; while further trouble was caused by the Governor being displaced by a new one in August.[2] This affected the Castle of Mirjan, which refused to acknowledge the new Governor, and was still holding out in October. In consequence, the idea of building a warehouse there was abandoned, and twelve candies of pepper owed to the Company at that place were with some difficulty recovered by the Desai's help.[3]

These disturbances, however, did not prevent the factory's discharge of its main function of supplying cloth and pepper for the Company's ships. When the *Phoenix* arrived on 6 October, she was detained for only two days for the landing of the stock of Rs. 95,757 that had been sent on her.[4] She was then dispatched to the two southerly ports of Honavar and Bhatkal, where she was loaded with about 200 tons of pepper.[5] Her return to Karwar was delayed by a violent storm at Bhatkal, which lasted for a fortnight and rotted all the pepper-bags.* She reached Karwar on 30 October and was sent off the next day, with the addition of a supply of saltpetre for Bombay.[6]

The *Falcon* was the other ship sent to Karwar. She left Swally on 5 October with a stock of Rs. 13,859,[7] and was kept at Karwar till 22 November. She brought back to Swally a large supply of cloth, mostly woven at Hubli and in its neighbourhood and worth about 17,971 pagodas.[8] In addition, the *Charles* in September was laden with 61 bales of cloth and 127 candies of pepper.[9]

In spite of the impediments to trade which rendered the market

[1] Kar. let. 31 Oct., PS., O.C. 3590. [2] Kar. let. 5 Aug., 105 Sur. 199, 200.

[3] Ibid.; Kar. let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 16, & 31 Oct., O.C. 3590.

[4] Sw. let. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 4.

[5] Kar. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3590; Sw. let. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 1.

* Kar. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3590. Capt. Alexander Hamilton's story (i. 158) of the massacre of 18 Englishmen at Bhatkal about 1670, owing to a bulldog belonging to one of them killing a sacred cow, might conceivably have happened on this occasion; but if so, it is strange that no reference to the incident is made in the Karwar letters. Sir William Foster, in his note on the story (ii. 248), says he has failed to find in the records any confirmation of this massacre; nor was there at this period any factory at Bhatkal, as stated by Hamilton.

[6] Kar. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3590; Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3583.

[7] O.C. 3583 & 3594, f. 4. [8] Kar. let. 22 Nov. ,106 Sur. 47 & O.C. 3607.

[9] Kar. let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 15; O.C. 3594, f. 9.

for European commodities dull,[1] Chamberlain seems to have had no great difficulty in disposing of the English goods sent him. Coral, in particular, was in much request.[2] Even most of the broadcloth was sold, though it could not be disposed of in bulk (as at Surat), 'these country merchants', in the words of Chamberlain, being 'so fearful of meddling with great parcels'.[3] Lead was sent from Swally to be sold at a cheap rate, as the French and Dutch had over-stocked the market at Surat.[4] There was the usual difficulty in getting money changed at Karwar, and to save loss, treasure had to be sent to Hubli to convert it into pagodas.[5]

French and Dutch activity did not affect this factory, and it is only of its Portuguese neighbours at Goa that the Karwar letters give occasional news. Thus, in May, the arrival of a new Viceroy, Luiz de Mendoza, is reported,[6] and in October the fitting-out of an Armada for an attack on Muskat.[7] The difference between those days and these is reflected in the surprise expressed at a report that a Portuguese vessel had taken only five and a half months over her voyage from Lisbon to Goa.[8]

The smooth working of the factory under the management of Chamberlain was praised by Aungier, who said it would supply the Company with two good ship-loads of cloth and pepper annually.[9]

The factors at Baliapatam and Calicut had greater difficulties to contend with, at any rate in the last quarter of the year. Their extant letters up to November consist of only three from each place, the latest of which were written in April from Calicut and in May from Baliapatam.[10] These show that Petit was at Calicut with Mansell Smith and Bowcher at the end of January and beginning of February, but was intending to return soon to Baliapatam.[11] There was little happening at Calicut, but five chests of coral had been sold and Petit asked for seven or eight chests more for both factories.[12] No further news was available about the Dutch proceedings against the Zamorin of Calicut, but it was reported that the Dutch

[1] Kar. let. 18 April, 105 Sur. 143. [2] Ibid. 144; Kar. let. 27 May, 105 Sur. 179.
[3] Kar. let. 27 May, 105 Sur. 180, & Kar. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3590.
[4] Sw. let. 5 Oct., O.C. 3588; O.C. 3594, f. 5.
[5] Chamberlain's let. 20 Sept., 106 Sur. 20 & O.C. 3579.
[6] Kar. let. 27 May, 105 Sur. 182. [7] Ibid., & Kar. let. 31 Oct., O.C. 3590.
[8] Ibid. [9] O.C. 3594, f. 7.
[10] Bal. let 18 Jan., 3 & 22 May, 105 Sur. 115, 174, 186; Cal. let. 31 Jan., 6 Feb., & 28 April, 105 Sur. 138, 140, 174.
[11] Cal. let. 31 Jan. & 6 Feb., 105 Sur. 140. [12] Cal. let. 31 Jan., 105 Sur. 139, 140.

had fared badly in Ceylon, the Cingalese having cut off a party of 200 Dutchmen, and that the latter had twice sent for recruits from Cochin, &c., though they badly wanted the men in those parts. 'This', however, he added, 'is Jesuits news: dare not say it is Gospell.'[1]

In April George Bowcher, writing from Calicut, gives the first intimation of coming trouble in the shape of a demand by the new Governor, whose name is given as Cunny Cruckle,* that, if the Company wished to trade in that part, it must help the Zamorin by lending him 2,000 fanams. The Second Raja also wanted 6,000 fanams, but was not in such a hurry for payment as was the Governor.[2] Petit, in forwarding Bowcher's letter, expressed the opinion that it would be better to send the Governor something than that he should force it from them, but said he would temporize by telling him the Surat Council would never allow such indignities to be imposed on the Company. He also reported that a site for a new house at Calicut had not been settled on, though the old one was 'ready to fall down'.[3]

Later on Petit went to Calicut and made a formal visit and present to the new Governor. At first the latter's attitude to the Company was complimentary and friendly. The factory house had by then been entirely washed away by the sea, and he invited Petit to choose another spot for a new one to be built at the expense of the customs. Its foundation was laid with a great deal of ceremony, and the work proceeded for eight days, but meanwhile the Governor made known his intention to cause trouble unless a large sum was paid as a contribution towards the Zamorin's needs. Petit unsuccessfully tried to get him to accept about 3,000 fanams, saying no more could be spared until the arrival of the ships in October; the Governor demanded 50,000 fanams and backed this up by stopping the building work and threatening to have the customs raised to their former high level. Petit, finding that he could not satisfy him, resorted to

[1] Cal. let. 31 Jan. & 6 Feb., 105 Sur. 140.

* This probably represents *Kunhi Gurukkal*. He appears to have succeeded Araman Acha, who was Governor, at any rate, up to Jan. 1671 (Petit's let. 18 Jan., 105 Sur. 116). Petit subsequently described Cunny Cruckle as 'by birth a Cannara [Kanarese], by education a fencing master, by transmutation an ambassador, or rather a tr[e]ator between the Samorine and the Dutch', who had lent the Zamorin 30,000 fanams and so obtained his post (Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 41).

[2] Cal. let. 28 April, 105 Sur. 174.

[3] Bal. let. 3 May, 105 Sur. 175, 176.

giving presents to influential persons who might assist him, and to making an appeal to the Zamorin through Araman Acha.* The position was thus decidedly unstable at the time the ships were due from Swally.

Turning to Baliapatam, the two letters from Petit and Mansell Smith in May[1] report nothing much about the factory except that its coral had all been sold, and they had none to show several merchants from Seringapatam, who were 'so greedy' for it that they asked for the first refusal of the entire stock on the coming ships. Petit suggested a further supply of 8 or 10 chests for both factories, a request with which the Surat Council appears to have complied.[2] He hoped to be able to furnish some 300 candies of pepper, 110 bales of cardamoms, and 117 maunds of gunpowder, 'an old parcel of the Prince's', in addition to what was being manufactured there.

He stated that the Prince was having trouble with a cousin of the King, with whom three-fourths of the Nairs sided. They had destroyed custom-houses at Cannanore and elsewhere, and other hostilities had taken place. An attack on the Baliapatam factory was feared, as it was under the Prince's protection, and the factory Nairs and other servants had to stand on guard day and night. The Prince had given them an additional guard of twenty Nairs.[3]

Petit also gives some interesting news about a visit of Mons. Caron† to the French factory near Tellicherry in April. He says the Prince and Ali Raja were disgusted with the niggardly presents he made them—contrary to the usual complaint that the French were too lavish in this respect[4]—and suggests that the French factors at Surat were hard up. According to Petit's information, Mons. Caron told Mons. de Flacourt, the French Chief on the Malabar coast, that he could provide no money towards his expenses, but that he hoped to do so later on, meanwhile presenting him with ten pieces of cloth! The result was that de Flacourt had to borrow 1,000 fanams to meet his house expenses.[5]

We now come to an important decision of the Surat Council. The Raja of Carnopoly had for some time made overtures for the Com-

* Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 41, 42. Araman Acha was the former Governor of Calicut.

[1] Bal. let. 3 & 22 May, 105 Sur. 174, 186.

[2] Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3580.

[3] 105 Sur. 176, 187.

† He was the head of the French factory at Surat and was on his way to Bantam.

[4] Cf. pp. 208, 216 *ante*.

[5] Bal. let. 3 May, 105 Sur. 175, 176.

pany to have a settlement in his territory.[1] Hitherto no active response had been made to them, but on 21 September it was resolved to send Adams, with Hornigold and Chase as assistants, on the *Antelope* to Porakad* on a special mission. This had three main objects: (1) to try to recover a debt of 100 candies of pepper due to the Company by a merchant of Porakad, (2) to preserve the Company's interest with its Raja and strengthen the Company's trade there, and (3) to investigate the possibilities of trading and establishing a factory at the neighbouring port of Carnopoly.[2] Full instructions were given to Adams as to the procedure he was to follow. *Inter alia* he was told that the *Antelope* was to go to Carnopoly only if its Raja and the result of inquiries at Porakad encouraged the scheme. The probability of Dutch opposition was foreseen, but Adams was asked not to be frightened at mere threats, and if they affronted him or used violence, to take cognizance of it by public protest or otherwise as might be proper.[3] It was hoped that they would be wary about disturbing the English, in view of the situation between them in Europe.[4]

The *Antelope* left Swally on 26 September with a stock of Rs. 75,529 in money and goods, to provide for the purchase of pepper and cinnamon at Porakad, if it could be got there cheaply.[5] She arrived at Baliapatam on 10 October, and in accordance with instructions from Surat was sent on at once to Porakad, taking Verdamon, the Company's broker, to assist Adams in his negotiations, &c.[6] On her way she touched at Calicut to land Meriton, the new writer, and some money for the assistance of the factory there, as well as to see about the possibility of shipping pepper at that port. Cunny Cruckle, however, absolutely refused to 'let a corn be shipped' without payment of the money he had demanded,[7] so the ship went on to Porakad. Adams sent word to the Raja that he had a message from the President for him, but received a reply from the Raja that neither he nor the merchant-debtor could be interviewed. Being thus rebuffed, Adams went on to Carnopoly, off which port the

[1] Cf. the preceding volume, p. 265.

* This was on the coast between Cochin and Quilon. The Company's factory there had been seized by the Dutch in July 1665 (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 91).

[2] Sur. con. 21 Sept., 2 Misc. 117; Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3580; Sw. let. to Co. 7 Nov., O.C. 3594, f. 8.

[3] O.C. 3582.

[4] O.C. 3594, f. 8.

[5] Ibid., f. 4; Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3580.

[6] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 44.

[7] See p. 302 *ante*.

Antelope anchored on 21 October.[1] There he met with seeming success, so far as its Raja was concerned. He gave him leave to settle in his country with all freedom, whereupon he entered into negotiations with him for a supply of pepper.* This must have reached the ears of the Dutch Chief at Quilon,† who sent about twenty armed soldiers and an officer from its garrison, with resulting incidents that are the subject of a formal 'protest' by Adams against him, dated 31 October.[2] This recites that on the 27th of that month the soldiers beat two servants of his that came ashore, and attempted to upset a boat laden with goods, so that the latter were damaged. They also fired muskets at Adams and his three companions as they approached the shore—'which, through Gods mercy,' he says, 'did us no harm'—and afterwards assaulted them and tried to intimidate them from landing or trading there. They were kept prisoners for over three hours, and though they were then given their liberty, the soldiers followed them, continually threatening them and any merchant from whom they sought to buy goods. The protest further alleged that the Dutch slandered the Company and the English to the Raja of Carnopoly, and refused the ship's purser's request to be allowed to buy fresh provisions at Quilon or its vicinity. Their tyrannical dealings there and at Porakad had rendered the *Antelope*'s voyage utterly fruitless.

This protest was followed up in December with another addressed by Aungier and his colleagues to the Director of the Dutch Company at Surat and based on the same allegations, as to the loss caused by the opposition to Adams.[3]

The ship went back to Calicut, but was unable to lade any of the 400 candies of pepper ready there, owing to the Governor's prohibition of any shipment, unless a sum of about 14,000 fanams was first paid by the Company. Meanwhile the *Massingberd* had reached Baliapatam on 27 October,[4] and Petit proceeded on her to Calicut, to try and get the embargo removed. In this he was unsuccessful, so the ship went on to Ponnani, where he found a similar prohibition against shipping goods. With some difficulty he managed to get an

[1] 106 Sur. 44; O.C. 3591.

* Ibid. The Raja, however, broke off all idea of allowing this trade, on being informed by the Dutch that the English were not their friends (Dutch Records, B, vol. 30, No. 777, printed in Khan's *Sources*, &c., 285–6).

† His name is given as Mathias Berkman.

[2] O.C. 3591

[3] O.C. 3609.

[4] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 41, 44.

order from the Zamorin that enabled the *Massingberd* to lade pepper at Ponnani, but not at Calicut, where his efforts were defeated by the opposition of the Fifth Raja, who insisted on payment of 600 fanams that he claimed from the Company before any goods left their house. On 11 November Petit held a consultation about this demand with Adams, Bowcher, and the commanders of the two ships, and it was decided not to accede to it.[1] This decision followed instructions from the Surat Council that such disturbances to trade should be resisted.[2]

In spite of these difficulties, the *Antelope* and *Massingberd* brought back a good supply of pepper, the former taking in that ready at Baliapatam and the latter that of Ponnani and its vicinity without any further trouble.[3] The *Antelope* left Baliapatam on 20 November with pepper, cardamoms, and gunpowder to the value of 209,354 fanams,[4] and the *Massingberd* had sailed direct from Calicut five days earlier, with pepper and other goods that (including some European commodities returned to Surat) were worth about 201,607 fanams.[5]

Aungier, however, reported to the Company that the ships had not brought up as much as was expected, or as would otherwise have been shipped on them, owing to active Dutch hostility at Carnopoly, Porakad, Calicut, and Baliapatam, aided by mercenary Malabar natives, whom they bribed.[6] At Baliapatam the Moplas still continued to give trouble by stopping boats on pretence of levying their 'church' customs, so that Petit was forced to send an Englishman in every boat to prevent this, as also by their refusing to deliver pepper except at the bazaar, contrary to their agreement to bring it to the factory.[7] The Dutch had sought to embroil the factory with the Rajas. The Prince, said Petit, had generously resisted their attempt to bribe him, but Ali Raja had succumbed and had instigated hostile acts by Nairs and Mohammedans, so that they had been forced to stand on their guard day and night and were unable to procure necessaries. In view of the probability of an attack, Petit recommended that some English soldiers should be sent to

[1] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 44, 45; Bal. let. 20 Nov., O.C. 3605; Cal. con. 11 Nov., 106 Sur. 41.
[2] Sw. let. 25 Sept., O.C. 3580.
[3] Bal. let. 1 Dec., 106 Sur. 61.
[4] Bal. let. 20 Nov., O.C. 3605.
[5] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 46.
[6] Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, ff. 1, 2.
[7] Bal. let. 20 Nov., O.C. 3605.

garrison the factory.[1] He was backed up by Adams, and the Surat Council accordingly sent down twelve of the soldiers that had come from Bombay to guard the Company's estate at Swally Marine.[2] This move harmonized with Petit's view that 'we shall never be secure from Dutch malice till we are able to protect ourselves'. The Dutch were, however, for the time preoccupied with other matters. The intended voyage of De la Haye's fleet down the Malabar coast naturally caused them anxiety, and Petit reported that at Cannanore and Cochin they were making great preparations to meet a possible attack, fearing the worst. In this they were hampered by the stress of their war against the Cingalese in Ceylon, which necessitated their depleting their garrisons of men and guns.* Another favourable circumstance was that the factory at Baliapatam was befriended by the Prince and the one at Calicut by the late Governor, Araman Acha, who protested that, if the English could not live there with freedom and honour, he would never return to it, nor be able to look an Englishman in the face, their coming to that place having been mainly on his invitation.[3] Cunny Cruckle had made a 'mortal enemy' of him by turning his nephew out of the superintendence of the bazaar and by putting on him the blame of his own failure to raise money for the Zamorin there.[4] This and his Dutch leanings seem to have brought about his downfall, and in December Petit had the satisfaction of reporting that he had been removed from his Governorship of Calicut, though he continued to govern the rest of the Zamorin's country.[5] His previous orders at Calicut still, however, operated, so that Petit and Bowcher were unable to ship any pepper on the *George* at the end of December, when she passed the port on her way back to Swally from Bantam.[6] The prohibition extended also to other goods, and the *Malabar Coaster* had to be sent back empty in November, although timber was ready for loading on her.[7] In view of this it is no wonder that, in spite of the recent failure caused by Dutch opposition, the idea of establishing a factory at Carnopoly was still fostered.[8] Aungier, in reporting on

[1] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 43, 44. [2] Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 2.

* Cal. let. 15 Nov. & 31 Dec., 106 Sur. 46, 63. One rumour was that the French wanted to get the Portuguese to join with them in an attack on Cochin (Sur. let. 15 Nov., O.C. 3603).

[3] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 42, 43, 44. [4] Ibid.

[5] Cal. let. 31 Dec., 106 Sur. 64; Bal. let. 1 Dec., 106 Sur. 61.

[6] Cal. let. 31 Dec., 106 Sur. 63.

[7] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 46. [8] Sur. con. 6 Dec., 2 Misc. 119.

this to the Company, relied on the encouragement given by the Raja, and hoped that the Dutch, in spite of their 'daring insolence, arrogant menaces, and hectoring ways', would not break the peace between them and the English by continuing their acts of hostility.[1] In the same letter Aungier justified the sending of soldiers to Baliapatam by the need of keeping a hold on that place, which not only furnished pepper and cardamoms, but also was beginning to vend quantities of European goods.[2] Thus in November, lead, copper, coral, and broadcloth were taken ashore at Baliapatam for sale.[3] The gold that had been sent to help in buying pepper was, however, objected to, because the people there were unaccustomed to it and would not take it except at a great advantage to themselves and loss to the Company. The Council was accordingly pressed to change such gold into sequins at Surat for future supplies.[4]

THE MALABAR COAST, 1672

CAESAR CHAMBERLAIN, with his three assistants, Bendish, Sherlock, and Jones, remained in charge of the Karwar factory throughout the year. They had a good deal to report early in the year as to fighting and other troubles in the Kanarese territories. Several of the Bednur Raja's chiefs, being weary of his rule, conspired to murder him, with the help of an envoy from the King of Bijapur, who had come to collect arrears of tribute. They succeeded in doing this; but most of the mutineers and their abettors were killed by the Raja's enraged soldiery, and a kinsman of the deceased ruler, other than the one intended by the conspirators, was set up as his successor.* This led to further conflict and the disturbance was so extensive that for some time it rendered the roads in the whole Kanarese country impassable.[5] Naran Mulla, the leading merchant of Bhatkal, took up arms in favour of one of the aspirants, who at first succeeded and made peace with the King of Bijapur;[6] but another faction set up a rival, and in August Chamberlain reported

[1] Sur. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1672, O.C. 3611, f. 2.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 106 Sur. 46.
[4] Cal. let. 31 Dec., 106 Sur. 63.

* Kar. let. 7 Jan., 106 Sur. 66, 67. The murdered king appears to have been Shamshankar or Somashikara Naik, who had succeeded Shivappa in 1670. Bednur, now Nagar in Mysore, had become the capital of the Keladi chiefs, who came from Ikkeri about 1640 (Fryer ii. 41 and *Bom. Pres. Gaz.* xv, pt. 2, 130; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 226).

[5] Kar. let. 13 April, 106 Sur. 95.
[6] Ibid.

that it was feared that this would lead to warfare by the Bijapur army and further 'combustion'.[1] A minor trouble in the neighbourhood of Karwar arose from the appointment of a new Governor. A former Governor, Mahmud Khan, resisted him, but was defeated and taken prisoner.[2] Chamberlain took advantage of the interregnum between the old Governor going out and a new one coming to take possession of the new factory house, though it was badly furnished. He thought it would be more secure than the old one and convenient for trade.[3]

The arrival of De la Haye's fleet at Goa about 13 January, and its stay there for twelve days, was duly noticed. De la Haye was treated by the Portuguese Viceroy 'with all manner of refreshment the place affords'. But there was a difficulty about their meeting, as both stood on their punctilios and neither would condescend to give the other a first visit. At length it was arranged they should meet at a public quay, near which the French fleet lay anchored, and they had a private conference there in the open. The Portuguese were 'very jealous' during the stay of the French fleet, keeping a strict watch and strengthening their garrisons on the sea, so as 'to make as great an appearance to the French as they could'.[4] The fears that were entertained of the French and Portuguese fleets combining for aggression were dissipated by the sailing of the latter fleet for Muskat in March.[5]

Nothing much seems to have been done in the way of trade during most of the year. Chamberlain sent up 14 bales of cloth on the *George* in January and expected to have 100 more bales ready by the beginning of March.[6] In July and August he asked for a considerable sum of money to be sent to pay for the cloth and pepper that had been ordered, saying the European commodities in stock sold slowly and then only on credit.[7] As to getting pepper, he thought the prospects doubtful. Govind Naik was more compliant than in the previous year, but could not be trusted to keep his contract. The dissension at Bhatkal also might prevent resort to that

[1] Kar. let. 10 Aug., 106 Sur. 3, 4.
[2] Kar. let. 13 April & 27 July, 106 Sur. 95 (Pt. 2), 2.
[3] Kar. let. 13 April, 106 Sur. 95.
[4] Kar. let. 9 Feb., 106 Sur. 72, 73.
[5] Kar. let. 13 April, 106 Sur. 95.
[6] Kar. let. 7 Jan., 106 Sur. 66.
[7] Kar. let. 27 July & 10 Aug., 106 Sur. 1, 2, 3.

market.[1] Reports of the serious illness of the King of Bijapur were a further source of anxiety.*

The Company's four ships, which had left Swally on 14 October, arrived at Karwar on the 23rd of that month, after touching at Bombay on the 19th.[2] They brought with them Philip Giffard and Henry Oxinden, who had been appointed to supervise the business part of the voyage down the coast. Giffard had fallen so ill in Surat that at the last moment the entire management had been put in Oxinden's hands, but Giffard sailed on the *Rainbow*, being resolved to go whether he lived or died.[3] He was still very weak when he arrived at Karwar, so remained there when the ships left for the lower factories on the 25th.[4] They took with them the Dutch ship *Mayboom* (*Meijboom*) of about 400 tons burden, which they had captured off Karwar on the 23rd, without firing a gun or any bloodshed.†

Though the ships brought a stock of Rs. 82,286, of which nearly Rs. 30,000 was in ready money, Chamberlain expressed disappointment, saying it was short of what he had expected and what was required to clear the factory's debts.[5] Besides the resultant want of money, there was considerable difficulty in obtaining delivery of the cloth and pepper contracted for. Govind Naik was the main obstruction. He not only demanded unacceptable terms as to its delivery, but also stopped oxen bringing cloth from Hubli for the Company. With Giffard's help and influence, however, a settlement was arrived at, though it involved the factory in extra expense when it was hard up and in having to give security for payment of the price.[6] In fact they had to take 600 candies instead of the 400 contracted for, and when the ships arrived back in November no less than 2,560 corge (score) of cloth and 167 tons of pepper were shipped, though some goods had to be left behind to avoid undue detention of the ships.[7]

[1] Kar. let. 27 July & 10 Aug., 106 Sur. 1, 3.

* Ibid. 2, 4. King Ali Adil Shah died on 24 Nov. 1672 (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 248), and evidently had been ill for some months previously.

[2] O.C. 3649 & 3685; Giffard's let. 4 Nov., 106 Sur. 7.

[3] Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3685, f. 5 and PS.; O.C. 3678, 3686, & 3687.

[4] Giffard's let. 4 Nov., 106 Sur. 7.

† Ibid.; 106 Sur. 43; 1 Bom. 3. The *Meijboom* was met shortly after she had left Karwar and her commander did not know that war had broken out.

[5] Kar. let. 29 Nov., 106 Sur. 29; Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3689.

[6] Giffard's let. 4 Nov., 106 Sur. 7; Kar. let. 29 Nov., 106 Sur. 30, 31; Sw. let. to Co. 10 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3691 (4), f. 4.

[7] Ibid.

The factory also helped by offering to build ships, saying this could be done cheaper than at Surat, provided a couple of carpenters were sent to direct the workmen. Accordingly a 'bulloon' or barge was ordered by Aungier and was being built in November.* Timber was also ordered but was not sent, owing to want of vessels to transport it, neither the *Hunter* nor the *Mayboom* being suitable for this purpose.[1]

The quantity of European commodities sent to Karwar was decreased in view of there being a considerable stock still unsold, and there being little prospect of the market improving.[2] As a result all the coral, except two chests, was sold at an under-rate, owing to the urgent need of money.[3]

At the end of the year Aungier reported that their concerns at Karwar were 'in a fair state', but that disturbances in the neighbouring country were apprehended owing to the death of the King of Bijapur and an intended invasion by the Mughal army.†

Events at or connected with the Baliapatam and Calicut factories included some more exciting episodes. One of these was a 'mutiny' in the garrison of twelve soldiers that had been sent to Baliapatam from Swally.[4] It was, however, confined to mutinous conduct on the part of five of the garrison, two English and three Portuguese, who formed the guard one night in January. Corporal James Forke‡ had absented himself from his duty as corporal of the Guard without permission and put on another man to deputize for him. This was discovered by Mansell Smith, who appointed another soldier to the post; but the order was resisted by the guard with threats to fire on Mansell Smith and any others who came near them. Eventually, with the help of a file of musketeers from the *Malabar Coaster*, the mutineers were arrested and confined.[5] Petit, who was then ill with 'flux' at Calicut, came to Baliapatam on hearing of the occurrence, and finding the five accused guilty sent them up to Bombay on the

* Kar. let. 10 Aug. & 29 Nov., 106 Sur. 4, 31. 'Bulloon', or 'balloon', as it was generally spelt, is from Mahr. *balyānw*, cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 68.

[1] 106 Sur. 31.

[2] Kar. let. 27 July & 10 Aug., 106 Sur. 13; Sw. let. 14 Oct., O.C. 3689.

[3] Kar. let. 29 Nov., 106 Sur. 31.

† Bom. let. to Co. 11 Jan. 1673, 6 Bom. 64. The information as to the King of Bijapur's death seems based on a letter later than that of 29 Nov., which is the last one of 1672 in the India Office records.

[4] See pp. 306–7 *ante*.

‡ He was tried and condemned as a chief offender in the mutiny of Capt. Shaxton's company on 29 May 1674, and was shot on 21 Oct. 1674 (p. 96 *ante*).

[5] Bal. let. 11, 23, & 26 Feb., 106 Sur. 76, 77, 83, and attestations of 29 Jan., ibid., 78–80.

Malabar Coaster.* Another incident at Baliapatam in January was the arrest of the broker Benidas,[1] a forcible step taken for the recovery of a debt he owed the Company. Hearing he was in the vicinity, Mansell Smith and two soldiers went in search of him, and after surprising him at a Brahmin's house at Cannanore, brought him a prisoner to the factory. Naturally, Ali Raja was 'much displeased' at this summary capture in his dominions, but it succeeded in getting a part-payment out of Benidas.[2]

The arrival of De la Haye's fleet on the Malabar coast gave rise to some anxiety, in view of the French desire to obtain a settlement in the territory of the Prince of Cannanore. This was countered as far as possible by Mansell Smith's 'rhetorick' to the Prince; but the latter had grievances against the factory for its failure to build a fort at the mouth of the river, as he desired, and to meet his demands as to payment of customs.[3] An attempt of the Surat Council to gain his favour by the present of a diamond ring met with signal failure. The Prince liked neither the stone nor its setting, and it was returned to Surat. Another was sent later, but 'by a mischance' the stone dropped out and could not be found.[4]

Petit reported from Calicut that the French fleet had stopped at Ponnani, but had left by the end of February; and no material success appears to have attended any effort they may have made to obtain another settlement on the coast.[5] He also tells a story that illustrates the extreme unpopularity of the Dutch in those parts. The Zamorin of Calicut and all the Rajas were celebrating the Malabar Jubilee, which took place every two years;[6] and on a false report that the French Viceroy had landed at Ponnani, an elephant was sent to bring him to the Jubilee.

> Now, the Frenchman that lives at Pennany, thinking the elephant had been sent for him, up he gettes: and so in great state rides to the place where their Jubely was—but he was no sooner come near, but it took the people in the head that a Dutchman was coming, and presently it all ran about that a Dutchman was come. Had

* 106 Sur. 77. Four of the five men were replaced by soldiers taken from the *Malabar Coaster* (ibid).

[1] See *E.F.*, 1668–9, 259, 267.

[2] Bal. let. 11 Feb., 106 Sur. 76, 77; Bal. con. 23 Jan., 106 Sur. 81.

[3] Bal. let. 11 & 23 Feb., 106 Sur. 77, 78; Cal. let. 1 Feb., 106 Sur. 82.

[4] Cal. let. 1 Feb., 106 Sur. 81; Bal. let. 23 & 26 Feb., 106 Sur. 78, 83; Bal. let. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 75.

[5] Cal. let. 3 & 26 Feb., 106 Sur. 83, 84.

[6] Cal. let. 15 Nov., 1671, 106 Sur. 41.

he not slipped off the elephant quickly they had undoubtedly killed him: and he was forced to betake himself to a little house for shelter, where a guard was sent to shield him 'from the blind rage of the multitude'.*

But, if the Dutch were unpopular, they certainly instilled fear, and their influence defeated another attempt by the Surat Council to settle a factory at Carnopoly. Under instructions from Petit,[1] on 23 February, George Bowcher, with Thomas Kennon and a native broker to assist him, set sail from Calicut for this purpose. On arrival at Carnopoly they had to swim ashore, as no boats dared to venture near them from fear of the Dutch. They managed to get a house to stay in, but next day a Dutch contingent arrived from Quilon to guard the shore and oppose their settling in the country. By bribery and intimidation the Rajadores† and others were kept from helping them in any way, and when, with some difficulty, they had got their goods ashore, these were seized as contraband and impounded for several days. The King of Carnopoly was away and not expected back for some time. Meanwhile the party was continually harassed, and on 19 March Bowcher, getting tired of waiting, went to Puttanapuram, where the King was residing, and succeeded in having an interview with him. This plainly showed that the King was afraid of the Dutch and that no settlement could be made without the backing of a force to resist them. Accordingly Bowcher left, after telling him what a dishonour it was to him and to the Company to be sent for to the country and then to be turned out at the instigation of the Dutch, as if they ruled it. On his way back to Carnopoly Bowcher had the courage to visit the Dutch factory at Quilon, where he gave a Dutchman a bit of his mind. Attempts to get the party to leave Carnopoly continued. It defeated one attack only by setting fire to a cracker, which frightened off the Nairs, who were trying to eject them. On 25 March, on getting assurances of protection from the King of Quilon, they moved into his country. The Dutch found out where they had gone and renewed their opposition. Finally, on 19 April, Bowcher, having obtained a boat at Quilon, left for Calicut, which he reached on the 26th. The remainder of the party left on 25 April and arrived

* Cal. let. 3 Feb., 106 Sur. 83. Another instance showing how much the Dutch were hated is given at the end of Bowcher's narrative about the Dutch, 11 May, O.C. 3628.

[1] 106 Sur. 84, 85.

† Chiefs, from Port. *regedor*, a ruler or magistrate.

at Calicut on 1 May, after being imprisoned by the Dutch at Cochin and losing all their own and the Company's goods.[1] Bowcher showed considerable courage, resource, and persistence, but, as Aungier reported to the Company, 'he, poor man, hardly escaped with his life', and the successful affronts of the Dutch brought disrespect to the English.[2]

The main result, apart from the usual exchange of 'protests' and some useful information obtained by Bowcher about the Dutch organization on the coast,[3] was Aungier's decision to defer any further attempt to effect a settlement at Carnopoly till a better opportunity might afford itself after the conclusion of the war with Holland.[4] Meanwhile no pepper could be obtained there, and the earnest-money Adams had paid on a contract for its delivery this year was lost.[5]

In spite of this, Petit's report in May contained some cheerful reading. Though the Dutch had made peace with the Zamorin,* the Second Raja and the Nairs were still imbued with hatred of them, and he thought the peace would not last long. He was also confident that the Dutch would not succeed in setting foot in Calicut. Though Araman Acha, who was friendly to the English, was no longer Governor, he would probably be reappointed; and even if Cunny Cruckle returned, he would not be as powerful as he was before. The embargo on exporting the Company's pepper had been wholly taken off, because of the loss of profits it entailed. The factory of Baliapatam was having a peaceful time. The only trouble was the covetousness of the Prince, who had forced them to lend him 300 sequins towards the cost of some unsuccessful warfare of his in Kanara. They had disposed of all their lead and copper in exchange for pepper, and had sold part of their broadcloth.[6] On the other hand the coral was still on their hands, and there was a difficulty in getting 'these unreasonable Mallabars' to fulfil their contracts for delivery of pepper.[7]

[1] Bowcher's diary of the journey, O.C. 3628; Bal. let. 20 May, O.C. 3641.

[2] O.C. 3722, f. 5.

[3] Bowcher's narrative about the Dutch, and various protests, O.C. 3628 (last para.), 3629, 3630, 3632.

[4] Bom. let. 28 Sept., 106 Sur. 135; Sur. let. 26 Aug., 87 Sur. 65.

[5] Bal. let. 20 May, O.C. 3641.

* This appears to have been made in Feb. 1672, see the copy of the treaty, cited in Khan's *Sources*, &c., 192.

[6] O.C. 3641.

[7] Ibid. & Bal. let. 26 Aug., 106 Sur. 5, 16.

The four ships reached Calicut early in November, and Petit was there to help Oxinden in getting them laden.[1] As the Surat Council had considered that the lower factories had sufficient stock in hand to pay for the pepper contracted for,[2] no ready money had been sent on the ships. Petit was naturally annoyed at finding 'not one farthing for us' on them, and the consequent want of money greatly hampered the furnishing of the requisite supplies.[3] The Surat Council had expected all Tanur and Ponnani pepper to be brought to Calicut, where it would be safer to ship it,[4] but some 300 candies had remained at Tanur from fear of Malabar pirates, who were 'in the way'. It was therefore decided to send Petit down for it on the *Hunter*, with a parcel of coral to use as a pledge.[5] The actual shipments at Calicut and Tanur are not given in the available records.

At Baliapatam the provision of pepper and cardamoms for the ships was attended with great difficulties. The lack of money prevented the completion of some contracts, and none of the stock of broadcloth and coral could be turned into cash, while the factory credit also suffered. In addition to this, Ali Raja, under Dutch instigation, failed to deliver the pepper he had contracted to supply, although he had taken part-payment in lead, copper, &c. Similarly, a Dharmapatam trader proved good for no more than half of the 400 candies contracted for, and its delivery was so obstructed on various pretences that only 160 candies were ultimately obtained with difficulty.[6] Yet altogether some 1,500 candies were laden on the ships;[7] and Aungier reported to the Company that the cargo of pepper and cloth brought up left so little room for the Bombay goods that he had had to send them to Swally on the *Loyal Oxinden*.[8]

The four ships, accompanied by the *Hunter* and the *Mayboom*, left Baliapatam for Bombay about 14 November. They took with them George Robinson, a young writer who had been sent to assist Petit in 1669,[9] and who had been found 'unfit to serve the Company in these parts'.[10] On the other hand they left behind eighteen of the soldiers they had brought down with them, so as to increase the

[1] Cal. con. 5 Nov., 106 Sur. 45, 46.
[2] Sw. let. to Bom., 14 Oct., O.C. 3685.
[3] Bal. let. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 73, 74.
[4] Sw. let. to Bal., 14 Oct., O.C. 3688.
[5] Cal. con. 5 Nov., 106 Sur. 45, 46.
[6] Bal. let. 14 Nov. & 16 Jan. 1673, 106 Sur. 73–5, 79, 80, 81.
[7] Bal. let. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 75.
[8] O.C. 3722, f. 50.
[9] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 265.
[10] Bal. let. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 74.

Baliapatam garrison to thirty men.[1] The commanders of the ships also spared some ammunition and stores, which were badly needed for the defence of the factory, as they could expect no protection from the Prince, who was not able even to protect himself.[2]

The Surat Council raised the question whether the Calicut factory should not be withdrawn, in view of its proximity to the Dutch garrisons; but Petit pointed out the difficulty of doing this, especially as they had got timber ready for building the frigates that had been ordered.[3] The two lower coast factories appear, therefore, to have remained in much the same condition as they were in the previous year, but with additional dangers and difficulties from the Dutch war and the want of money.

THE MALABAR COAST, 1673

THE extant letters from the coast factories during the year are not many,[4] but contain a tale of trouble in all three places. Karwar, in particular, had an anxious time. The death of King Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur on 24 November 1672 was followed by a rebellion of the Rajas of Sonda and Bednur, who invaded Bijapur territory across their frontiers. This explains Chamberlain's statement in February that they were 'in a double fear', what with the Dutch on one side and the forces of the two Rajas on the other.[5] He further said that the Bednur army had retired to their own country after taking Mirjan, while that of the Sonda Raja, under the command of Govind Naik, was laying siege to Ankola. Muzaffar Khan, 'the Lord of this Country', had, however, been sent from Bijapur with an army to chastise the two Rajas, and it was anticipated he would succeed.[6]

Letters sent from Karwar in March and April[7] are missing, and further details as to this warfare are consequently not available in the records;* but the March letters must have expressed an appre-

[1] Bal. let. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 75; Bal. con. 14 Nov., 106 Sur. 45.

[2] 106 Sur. 73. [3] 106 Sur. 74.

[4] Nine from Karwar, 7 from Baliapatam, and 1 from Calicut (106 Sur. 79–84, 93, 99–101, 129–146; 88 Sur. 19–32; O.C. 3904).

[5] Kar. let. 17 Feb., 106 Sur. 100. [6] Ibid.

[7] Kar. let. 18 & 29 March & 19 & 22 April, acknowledged in Bom. let. 24 May, 6 Bom. 120.

* Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 245, says Muzaffar Khan chastised the Rajas and wrested Sonda from its Raja; but this is not stated in Chamberlain's letter of 17 Feb. that he cites as authority.

hension for the safety of the factory, for the Bombay Council was asked to send down a frigate to guard it, in view of the troubles there and an expectation that Sivaji would invade Kanara.[1] This request was refused in April because of the risk entailed in sending it during the war, and 'as we are in a fair way to composing the difference with Sivaji, who is not therefore likely to disturb the Companys affairs at Carwar'.[2] This was, however, a delusive hope, for Sivaji's forces led by his general, Prataprao, made an incursion into the Carnatic, captured several forts, and plundered various towns, including Hubli, the chief mart of the Karwar factory.[3] When Hubli was taken on 16 April, the Company's house was the first one that was looted: the broadcloth in it was brought out into the bazaar and shown to Prataprao, and the house was all dug up in a search for money. The total loss of goods, &c., was put at nearly 8,000 pagodas.[4] On news of this reaching Bombay in May, a Rajapur vessel was attached with a view to putting pressure on Sivaji to give satisfaction, to demand which Niccolls was sent to Rairi (see pp. 68–70). It was, however, decided not to send a frigate to Karwar on account of the near approaching rains and other circumstances.[5] The Karwar factors, fearing an attack, wisely made preparations for the worst, putting the factory in a defensive condition and storing provisions in case of a siege.[6] Chamberlain was strongly of opinion that it was endangered by the events at Hubli, following on the long failure to get any satisfaction from Sivaji for the similar losses at Rajapur, and said 'our troubles mainly proceed from the mean opinion these people have of the Company's power to take satisfaction for injuries'.[7] This fear turned out to be well-founded.

When the looting at Hubli took place, Muzaffar Khan, who had been appointed Viceroy of the Kanara coast in place of the rebellious Rustam Zaman (see p. 299), was advancing with an army of some 5,000 horse for its succour, and he is said to have missed the Marathas by only a day. His doing so was probably responsible for the subsequent desertion of all the nobles and most of the soldiers under him; and he was deprived of all his country except Belgaum Fort, to which he retired with a small force, and the

[1] Bom. con. 18 April, 1 Bom. 40, 41. [2] Ibid.
[3] Bombay occurrences, O.C. 3799. f. 2; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 245–6; Bal Krishna, 406, 410–13.
[4] Kar. let. 14 & 18 June, 106 Sur. 136, 137, 142, 145, 146, & O.C. 3800.
[5] Bom. con. 14 & 16 May, 1 Bom. 47, 48; Bom. let. 24 May, 6 Bom. 121.
[6] Kar. let. 14 June, 106 Sur. 136. [7] Ibid. 137.

portion of Kanara between Goa and Mirjan, in which Karwar lay. This he had secured by sending a new Governor there.[1] The latter at once gave trouble to the factory. According to Chamberlain, he would have entrapped them at their first visit to him and kept them prisoners, but for fear of the Desai, whom he wanted to catch first, and whom he eventually confined, with his family, at Ankola.[2] The Governor, being hard up for money to pay his soldiers and so maintain his rebellion against the King of Bijapur by plunder, wanted to get hold of the factory in the belief that it contained a large sum of ready money. Fortunately, the defensive preparations that had been made succeeded in staving off an actual assault. The factors also helped the Governor that the King had appointed to get possession of the castle at Karwar, and so diverted the rebels into an attempt to retake it. And, though the other Governor several times sent a part of his forces to the factory, yet 'finding our house strong and us resolute to maintain it, they always went away dissatisfied and sometimes with losses'.[3]

On news that the factory was in danger reaching Bombay in August, the *Revenge* was promptly sent down with thirty-six soldiers, guns, ammunition, money and provisions for its relief.* For some time no news came through as to what had befallen the factory, and it was only in October that word was received that it was safe, though the rebels still held the surrounding country.[4] The seasonable arrival of the *Revenge* had at once secured the Company's house and estate from further molestation, the rebels making peace with the factors as soon as they saw her.[5] She arrived back at Bombay on 3 December, laden with cloth and pepper; but half the soldiers and an eight-pounder were retained at Karwar, as it was feared the extra peons engaged for the factory's defence might otherwise desert it.† The factory house was also strengthened by the addition of

[1] Kar. let. 14 June, 106 Sur. 139; cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 246, and Bal Krishna, 407.

[2] Ibid. 140.

[3] Kar. let. 14 June & 8 Dec., 106 Sur. 140 & O.C. 3904; Bombay occurrences, O.C. 3799, f. 2.

* Bom. con. 12, 15, & 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 70, 71, 75; Bom. let. 14, 15, & 20 Aug., 6 Bom. 157, 158, 168. It had before that been decided to send the *Revenge* in August, with money and goods for the factory (Bom. con. 4 Aug., 1 Bom. 67, and Bom. let. 15 July, 6 Bom. 145).

[4] Sur. let. 30 Oct. & 1 Nov., O.C. 3879 (2) & 3886, f. 2.

[5] Bom. let. to Co. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 13; Bombay occurrences, O.C. 3799, f. 5.

† Bom. con. 8 Dec., 1 Bom. 2; Kar. let. 25 Nov. & 8 Dec., 88 Sur. 23 & O.C. 3904. On her way back the *Revenge* had about 100 shot fired at her, causing damage to her sails and rigging; this was because her commander, Capt. Niccolls, being in a hurry to get back to

bastions.* The Surat Council appropriately pointed out that the new house had justified its cost by its strength contributing so largely to its successful defence.[1]

This, however, did not mean the end of possible danger during the year. Early in October Sivaji left with an army of 25,000 men to make another incursion into Kanara; and at the beginning of December he reached Kadra, which was only 20 miles to the north-east of Karwar, with a division of 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse, while his main forces occupied a hill near Hubli, causing all the merchants to forsake the town.[2] He received two 'great overthrows' from Bijapur troops, which forced him to evacuate Kanara.[3] But even then the factors were afraid of trouble, as the rebel Governor, Mian Saheb, was reported to be coming back to try and retake the castle. They therefore still had to stand on their guard.[4]

The result was that the ordinary work of obtaining the quantities of cloth and pepper required for the ships practically came to a standstill. The broadcloth at Hubli that might otherwise have been bartered for pepper had been looted; and Sivaji's invasion had so scared merchants there that they would not take the lead that had been saved.[5] An attempt was made to send some of the pepper remaining at Hubli to Karwar, but it was detained on the way by Govind Naik under a claim for enhanced payment; and even including the Hubli pepper, there were only 50 candies available in June.[6] Arrangements for other supplies of pepper could only be made at Bhatkal and other places not held by the rebels.[7] The cloth investment could not be proceeded with, in view of the disturbances at Hubli, at and about which place it was woven, so that shipping of cloth had to be restricted to what was left over from the last investment.[8] This had compensations, for the factory was in a bad

Bombay, would not stop to speak with the Admiral of a Portuguese fleet that met her (Bom. let. to Co. 17 Feb. 1674, 6 Bom. 71).

* Kar. let. 17 Dec., 88 Sur. 33. Cf. Fryer's description of it (ii. 3) as 'their stately mansion four-square, guarded by two bulwarks at the commanding corners of the house'.

[1] Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, f. 10.

[2] Kar. let. 17 Dec., 88 Sur. 32; Aungier's Report on Bombay, O.C. 3910, f. 18 (*JBBRAS.*, Aug. 1931, 39); Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 320, 321.

[3] Kar. let. 17 Dec., 88 Sur. 33.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Kar. let. 14 June, 106 Sur. 138; Sur. let. 2 Feb. 1674, 87 Sur. 100.

[6] Kar. let. 18 June, 106 Sur. 138, 143, 144.

[7] Sur. let. 30 Oct., O.C. 3879 (2); Gray's let. 30 Oct., O.C. 3880.

[8] O.C. 3879 (2); Bom. let. 13 Aug., O.C. 3829, f. 1.

financial condition. In February it still owed money for the previous year's goods, and was 'deep in the userers books'.[1] In June the shroff, from whom the factors had borrowed, was very importunate, and there was hardly any stock left.[2] Aungier authorized them to take out of the ships goods and treasure to the value of Rs. 100,000, but Chamberlain said this would be too little.[3] Subsequently the fear of a Dutch fleet following the ships caused Aungier to limit them to taking what would cover the cost of the goods supplied and earnest-money for the next year's contracts.[4] Yet the difficulties were surmounted to a great extent; and, when the ships arrived at the end of November, no less than 220 tons of pepper and 560 corge (about 30 tons) of cloth were laden on them.[5]

This more than satisfied Aungier's expectation of 200 tons of pepper.[6] He sent down gold worth Rs. 5,000 on the *Revenge*, but more had to be borrowed from one of the commanders, as Naran Mulla, from whom most of the pepper was obtained, refused to take payment entirely in rials of eight.[7] No goods were taken ashore because of the troublesome state of the country, so that the estimated value of the stock in December was only Rs. 40,000.[8]

The Baliapatam factory suffered a severe loss in August by the death of its firm friend, the Prince of Cannanore. He got into trouble at the beginning of January, when he was turned out of his place.[9] He asked Petit to lend him money for an attempt at restoration; but he was told there was no ready money available. He then wanted two chests of coral to be sent him, so that he might pledge them for 500 sequins. The interview, however, does not seem to have resulted in much more than promises of assistance, which Petit says they were forced to make, 'for we had a wolf by the ears, alike unsafe to hold fast or let go—for if we assist him we shall make all people our enemy, of which occasion the Dutch will lay hold, and if we deny him he bids us turn out of the Castle, and then we are lost to the wide world'.[10] Petit at the same time admitted he was 'a

[1] Kar. let. 17 Feb., 106 Sur. 100.
[2] Kar. let. 18 June, 106 Sur. 143, 146.
[3] Bom. let. 24 May, 6 Bom. 121, 122; Kar. let. 18 June, 106 Sur. 143.
[4] Bom. let. 29 Sept., 6 Bom. 182; Kar. let. 8 Dec., O.C. 3904.
[5] Kar. let. 8 Dec., O.C. 3904; Kar. let. 27 Nov., 88 Sur. 24; Bom. let. 15 Dec., 6 Bom. 20.
[6] Bom. let. of Dec., 6 Bom. 228.
[7] Bom. con. 15 Aug., 1 Bom. 71; Kar. let. 27 Nov., 88 Sur. 24.
[8] Kar. let. 27 Nov. & 8 Dec., 88 Sur. 24, 31.
[9] Bal. let. 16 Jan., 106 Sur. 81.
[10] Ibid. 81–3.

most faithfull and judicious person', and asked that his request for 10 candies of white sugar should be gratified.* Again, in April he said the Prince was their fast friend and stood up stoutly against all his enemies, but he had protested that he could not protect the factory longer than September, unless the Company used force to stop the machinations of Ali Raja.[1] Such intervention, though at times it was favoured by Aungier, was impossible during the war;[2] and the Prince's prophecy turned out to be true in an unexpected sense, when his death became known in Bombay at the end of September.[3] The report there was that it was due to poison given him by his enemies, but whether this was confirmed by Petit is doubtful, as his letter of 8 October containing an account of the occurrence† is missing. Both Aungier and the Surat Council condoled with him on 'the untimely end' of so good a friend, and approved of his seeking the affections of a nephew, who was likely to succeed the deceased.[4]

The loss of this strong supporter of the factory added to its difficulties. The question whether it should not be abandoned came up for serious consideration. In October Aungier wrote a strong remonstrance about the excessive cost of the factory, and suggested it would be better to close it down unless the house and garrison charges were reduced.[5] Petit himself came round to this view, saying that he did not think the place was worth its heavy cost while affording so small a quantity of goods and giving such great trouble in getting them.[6] But conditions were expected to improve and the question was left to Petit to decide.[7]

An additional trouble was a want of money, which could not be remedied until the ships came and goods and treasure were taken out under the authorization of the Company and Aungier.[8] In January Petit was so hard up that he had to draw bills of exchange on Surat to meet a liability of Rs. 225.[9] In April he was depressed about the possibility of getting pepper on credit, and thought the

* Ibid. 84. The sugar was sent from Bombay in September (Bom. con. 17 Sept., 1 Bom. 87; Bom. let. 18 Sept., 6 Bom. 202).

[1] Bal. let. 9 April, 106 Sur. 131.

[2] e.g. Bom. let. 8 Oct., 6 Bom. 214.

[3] Bom. let. 29 Sept., 6 Bom. 206.

† Sur. let. 3 Feb. 1674, 87 Sur. 102. Mansell Smith, however, subsequently stated that Ali Raja was popularly supposed to have had him poisoned (O.C. 4256, ff. 1, 2).

[4] 87 Sur. 102; Bom. let. 8 Oct., 6 Bom. 215.

[5] Bom. let. 8 Oct., 6 Bom. 211–13.

[6] Bal. let. 3 Dec., 88 Sur. 27.

[7] Bom. let. 28 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 61.

[8] Desp. 13 Dec., 5 L.B. 31; Bom. con. 25 May, 1 Bom. 51; Bom. let. 24 & 26 May & 19 Aug., 6 Bom. 125, 126, 127, 161.

[9] Bal. let. 5 Jan., 106 Sur. 93.

most he would be able to do would be to barter their lead for it.[1] In May he was almost despairing of getting goods for the ships and said they were up to the ears in debt.[2] The Surat Council might have alleviated this poverty by sending down a stock of sequins (worth Rs. 18,422) that it had in hand, but in April it decided to sell them, as they could not be safely sent on account of the war and the approach of the monsoon.[3] This was unfortunate, because no foreign currency was so acceptable on the Malabar Coast as sequins, and the ships in November brought up only silver dollars, which had to be exchanged into rupees at a considerable loss.[4]

Conditions in Calicut were no better, and were aggravated by the seizure of the supposed Malabar pirate vessel by the *Revenge* in March (p. 68). In answer to Aungier's inquiries, Petit wrote on 9 April that the ship probably belonged to Sheik Mercar, a prominent merchant of Calicut, and that difficulties were likely to ensue for the Company's trade there, unless she was released.[5] His fears were soon realized, as shown by a letter of 12 April from Bowcher on the same subject.[6] Petit had left Calicut a few days before that date. Subsequently news of the vessel's seizure was brought by a boat from Broach. The same night the factory house was surrounded by a mob of some forty Mohammedans, headed by the Kazi in person. They were under the impression that Petit had left because he had heard of the seizure, and that Bowcher would do the same unless he was prevented in time. The next day Sheik Mercar invited him to his house, where he found a large Moslem gathering headed by the Kazi, as well as the Rajadore and many other persons of quality, who all seemed much concerned at the news, saying 'why did we who pretended to friendship with them seize their ships and goods and keep their men prisoners against all reason?' Bowcher stated that Sheik Mercar was the chief merchant in those parts, and the one with whom the Company principally traded; that the Company had too considerable an estate there to hazard for the mere gain of a vessel laden with coco-nuts, and that he (Bowcher) was likely to receive the same treatment as was meted out to the imprisoned

[1] Bal. let. 9 April, 106 Sur. 130. [2] Bal. let. 2 May, 106 Sur. 136.

[3] Sur. let. 25 Feb., O.C. 3741 (2), f. 4; Sur. con. 21 April, 3 Sur. 14; Sur. let. 13 Aug., O.C. 3829, f. 1.

[4] Sur. let. to Co. 1 Nov., O.C. 3886, f. 2; Bal. let. 16 Nov., 88 Sur. 21; Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1674, O.C. 3921, f. 12.

[5] 106 Sur. 130, 131. [6] 106 Sur. 133, 134.

crew. In fact, he said, he was already a virtual prisoner, as on the previous night the factory was surrounded by a guard of 80 to 90 Mohammedans, as well as 25 Nairs, whose vigilance prevented all idea of escape. Finally he urged that it would be against the interest of the Company to dissolve the factory, which was a better and securer place for obtaining pepper than Baliapatam. The Zamorin and Princes were not 'so ravenous for money as formerly', and to leave Calicut now would encourage the Dutch, who were beginning to despair of accomplishing their design to destroy the factory. In forwarding Bowcher's letter, Petit concurred as to the necessity of releasing the vessel.[1] Its surrender to Sheik Mercar was not decided upon till August,[2] and meanwhile the tension at Calicut must have been considerable. News of it was probably not received till September, as letters to Petit were held up by the troubles at Karwar and a special *shibar* had to be sent down to him about the middle of that month.[3]

This brought news of the arrival of the ships on the Coromandel coast and advices as to their ladings. He was asked to provide 800 tons of pepper, if possible, as well as some cardamoms, and to contract for delivery of 400 tons of pepper in the next year.[4] There are no extant letters from Baliapatam and Calicut between June and November, but a Bombay letter shows that Petit had managed to get 400 candies of pepper from Sheik Mercar in barter for lead and coral, and that he was negotiating for supplies from Tanur.[5] About a fortnight before the arrival of the ships, he had obtained 300 tons there on credit, and would have got more but for the Dutch factors at Ponnani, who came to Tanur and stopped the merchants from delivering any more by telling them that the Dutch had taken four of the Company's ships and that the rest had run away, so that no English ships would come there that year.[6] This was soon contradicted by the arrival of the seven ships that had survived the fight off Masulipatam. On 25 October the fleet anchored off Carnopoly, but found no English factors or goods there. On the 30th they reached Ponnani, where the French Company's representative told the commanders that there was an Englishman waiting with goods

[1] Bal. let. 18 April, 106 Sur. 135.
[2] Bom. let. 5 & 16 Aug., 6 Bom. 152, 163.
[3] Bom. con. 15 Sept., 1 Bom. 86.
[4] Bom. let. 19 Aug. & 18 Sept., 6 Bom. 161, 162.
[5] Bom. let. 8 Oct., 6 Bom. 214, 215.
[6] Bal. let. 16 Nov., 88 Sur. 20.

at Tanur. The next day the fleet anchored in Tanur road and found Bowcher and Meriton there. On November 2 they were joined by Petit, who had come from Calicut. Finding that the Company wanted the fleet to reach Surat by 15 November, he called a conference of the commanders, to advise him as to the length of their stay on the coast; but they would take no responsibility for a decision, saying it was no business of theirs. Petit considered it advisable to send them up as soon as possible, so did not make the ships return to Ponnani, where he had expected to get 150 tons of pepper, but confined himself to lading what was ready at Tanur. He then accompanied the ships to Calicut, Dharmapatam, and Baliapatam, at each of which places more pepper was shipped; and on 17 November they left the last-named port with 450 tons of pepper, as well as some cardamoms and cinnamon.[1] Some goods were also sent up on the *shibar*, which was attacked by pirates off Goa and had to take refuge from other pirates near Janjira.[2] Petit was blamed for not sending some English soldiers on her, as he had settled to dispense with the garrison at Baliapatam and sent all the men to Bombay on the fleet.[3] He refused to keep even one file of them, as this would be a superfluous charge and not supply enough men for continuous sentry-work, while it would be easier to leave the factory in any danger, if there was no garrison to make it dishonourable to do so.[4] Petit had been asked to come up on the ships to fill a vacancy on the Surat Council, but gave reasons for not complying till the next year.[5]

The ships next anchored off Bhatkal on 20 November. There they were met by Sherlock, who laded them with all the pepper procurable at Bhatkal, Honavar, and Mirjan as speedily as possible. The fleet reached Karwar on the 26th and left on the 28th for Bombay.[6] It brought up Caesar Chamberlain, who had been appointed fourth member of Council at Surat and who was succeeded by Charles Bendish.[7]

[1] Capt. Basse's narrative, O.C. 3983, ff. 5, 6; Bal. let. 16 Nov. & 3 Dec., 88 Sur. 19, 20, 26.
[2] Bal. let. 16 Nov., 88 Sur. 21; and see p. 68.
[3] Bom. let. 28 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 62; Bal. let. 16 Nov. & 3 Dec., 88 Sur. 21, 27.
[4] 88 Sur. 21, 27.
[5] Bom. let. 19 Aug., 6 Bom. 163; Bal. let. 16 Nov., 88 Sur. 21; Sur. let. 3 Feb. 1674, 87 Sur. 103, 104.
[6] Capt. Basse's narrative, O.C. 3983, f. 6; Kar. let. 27 Nov. & 8 Dec., 88 Sur. 24 & O.C. 3904.
[7] Bom. let. 24 July & 2 Aug., 6 Bom. 149, 154, 155.

Petit, as already mentioned (p. 230), took a considerable stock off the ships, so the financial position of the two factories improved. But Baliapatam remained in a troubled state at the close of the year. The sale of European commodities continued to be very poor, and Petit pointed out that broadcloth did not appeal much to 'these naked Mallabars'.[1] He intended, therefore, to send Mansell Smith to Seringapatam with all the broadcloth and coral, in the hope that it might have a better sale there. This was, however, hindered by the confusion since the Prince's death, and with some difficulty he brought the goods to Calicut, 'misdoubting some foul play from those new Princes'. His fears were justified, as no sooner had he left 'than they clapt a guard on Mr. Chase, not suffering anything to go out of the house', so that all the lead there would, he thought, remain dead-stock.[2] He explained that there were three heirs to the deceased Prince, who had now nothing to do with the government, yet had power enough to trouble them; and though the eldest professed great kindness towards them, his want of power and soft character made him of no use as a protector.[3]

The Calicut factory on the other hand seems to have had no further trouble, once that about Sheik Mercar's ship was disposed of. The only noteworthy items of news from it towards the end of the year were the seizure of the *Swallow* (a vessel that had been consigned to the President from Bantam) by a Portuguese frigate, which took it as a prize to Goa,[4] and George Bowcher's thoughts of retiring from the Company's service and becoming a freeman. Aungier urged him to stay on, promising him all due encouragement.[5]

THE MALABAR COAST, 1674

THE coast factories had, as will be seen, a quieter time than in the preceding year, but their trade continued to meet with much obstruction, especially in the case of Karwar. In February Bendish reported that it still suffered from the contest between the rebel Governor, Mian Saheb, and the King's forces. These had frequent skirmishes with varying success, and though the Governor had lost

[1] Bal. let. 3 Dec., 88 Sur. 29.
[2] Ibid.; Cal. let. 13 Jan. 1674, 88 Sur. 60.
[3] 88 Sur. 60.
[4] Bal. let. 3 Dec., 88 Sur. 25, 26; Bom. let. 5 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 56.
[5] Bom. let. 28 Jan. 1674, 6 Bom. 62.

his castle at Sonda, he held out in the rest obstinately, so that peace could not be expected for some time.[1] But in April Bendish was able to send better news. At length an end had been put to the long and tedious rebellion by the arrival and success of Abu Khan, Rustam Zaman II,* as the new Viceroy. He was hampered by want of money and his opponents thought he would consequently fail to keep his men together long enough, but contrary to expectation he was joined by the Governor of the Kadra country. Thereupon Mian Saheb surrendered Karwar and Ankola without striking a blow, and promised to deliver up the castle of Shiveshvar, to which he had retreated. There was accordingly in April good ground for the hope of a lasting peace.† The new-comers, however, gave the factory some trouble. They were in need of money and solicited a loan, which after much dispute and importunity was granted, as it was not in the Company's interest 'to anger this new Lord'. He paid them a visit and promised to cherish the same love for them that his father always bore to the English.[2]

The result was that they were at last able to dispense with most of the small garrison that had been sent to their assistance in 1673. Accordingly in April they sent 2 English soldiers, 10 topasses, and 4 seamen (including a Dutchman that had come to them from the Dutch ships) in their 'bulloon'[3] to Goa, whence they were to hire a boat to Bombay. Only five English soldiers were kept 'to play our gun on any occasion', as the factory estate would be insecure without them in that ill-governed country.‡ The others had a bad time. Stormy weather drove their vessel ashore off Kudal, in Sivaji's domains, where his Subadar seized them, deprived them of their arms and possessions, and sent them in a destitute condition to Goa. There they were, however, taken care of and returned to Karwar.[4] They were not much needed, as the factory now enjoyed 'peace and quietness', Rustam Zaman having taken the remaining rebel castles

[1] Kar. let. 14 Feb., 88 Sur. 55.

* Abu Khan appears to have been the son of the former Rustam Zaman (Sur. con. 7 Sept., 3 Sur. 35).

† Kar. let. 22 April, 88 Sur. 129, 130. Kadra, on the Kalinadi river, was about 20 miles north-east of Karwar, and Shiveshvar (or Halekot) was 5 miles north-west of Karwar.

[2] 88 Sur. 130.

[3] See note on p. 311 *ante*.

‡ Kar. let. 22 April, 88 Sur. 130, 131. Bendish added that Sivaji was reported to be only a day's march from Karwar and intending to 'build a castle upon a very high hill, from which he may very much annoy these parts' (p. 131).

[4] Bom. let. 7 July, 6 Bom. 147; Kar. let. 6 Aug., 88 Sur. 189; Bom. let. 10 Sept., 6 Bom. 182.

without material resistance.[1] He had, however, incensed Sivaji by seizing a rich Maratha merchant, who lived ten miles from Phonda Fort, and fearing reprisals he arranged to send artillery there. For this purpose he asked the factory to spare him some guns and their 'bulloon'. Bendish refused, pointing out that it would entail serious risk to the new factory at Rajapur and that they were merchants, who had come to Karwar to trade and not to fight. Rustam Zaman, however, was displeased and complained that the refusal of such a small request was inconsistent with assistance that had been formerly given to a Brahmin Governor.* Fortunately this did not matter much, for by the end of October he had been recalled to Bijapur and it was thought he would not return.† According to Bendish, this was due to complaints about his oppression: he robbed every one on whom he could lay his hands, sending for moneyed men and forcing them to lend him money by imprisoning them till they yielded. He even paid a visit to the factory with the supposed intention of making the factors prisoners, should they decline to let him have the money he wanted. This happened to be on a Sunday, and the factors had the presence of mind to shut the doors and send a message to him excusing themselves from admitting him, as they were going to their prayers and it was not customary to receive visits on that day—a not-at-home intimation that 'he heard without seeming the least displeased'.[2] In any case conditions were peaceful enough to enable the factory to send back most of the soldiers and seamen to Bombay on the ketch at the end of November.[3]

Adverse conditions in other parts of the country, however, still continued to hamper the supply of goods for the ships. In February Bendish gave cogent reasons for fearing that he would not be able to provide the quantities of cloth and pepper ordered by the Surat Council. Their stock of coral and lead was not readily saleable; many merchants had left Hubli and almost all of them were discouraged from trading, so that it would be difficult to borrow money there for the requisite advances to weavers. As to pepper, in spite

[1] Kar. let. 6 & 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 189, 201.

* Kar. let. 2 Sept., 88 Sur. 204; Bom. let. 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 303. The assistance referred to may be the supply of guns mentioned in *E.F.*, 1668–9, 271, 272, but the Governor was then a Mohammedan: ibid. 107 n.

† Kar. let. 27 Oct., 88 Sur. 240. According to Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 322, Rustam was summoned to Bijapur by Khawas Khan, the new *wazir*.

[2] Kar. let. 27 Oct., 88 Sur. 240.

[3] Ibid.; Bom. let. 9 Dec., 6 Bom. 232.

of the difficulties, he would try and negotiate a contract with Naran Mulla for its supply at Honavar and Bhatkal.[1] This was approved by Aungier and the Surat Council, and it was hoped he would manage to get 1,000 candies.[2] Bendish, however, found he could not safely trust Naran Mulla with any money in advance, as he was in high displeasure with the Rani of Kanara (Bednur) on account of his costly but unsuccessful attempt to capture Ankola. Also Sivaji's incursions had discouraged the Sonda merchants from sending down pepper, though they had a good supply available. Accordingly by the end of April he had done nothing towards making the proposed arrangement with Naran Mulla.[3] This was fortunate because the idea of getting the pepper was put an end to by the arrival in May of the Company's despatch of 11 August 1673, prohibiting the purchase of Sonda pepper, unless its price was half the prevailing contract-rate of 20½ pagodas a candy.* Instead, Bendish was told to invest all his stock in dungarees and baftas.[4]

Accordingly, Sherlock and the broker Valji were sent to Hubli at the end of June to make arrangements. News came that Sherlock had fallen very ill and was so weak that he could not write, so Austen was sent up to see the state of affairs.[5] This was very bad. Sherlock had died of 'flux' and fever at Hubli on 21 August.[6] The approach of Sivaji's forces as far as Belgaum had frightened all the merchants out of Hubli, as well as the weavers, who had fled with about 3,000 pagodas that had been advanced to them. It was only gradually that, as the fear of Sivaji died away, they returned; and towards the end of October the most that Bendish expected to procure was about 300 corge of cloth.[7] Another thing that hampered the investment was want of money. Though all the coral and most of the lead had been sold by August, payment was not due for five or six months, and there was too little stock left to raise the requisite funds. Consequently, the factory had to resort to borrowing money;

[1] Kar. let. 14 Feb., 88 Sur. 54, 55.

[2] Bom. let. 5 & 10 March, 6 Bom. 80, 81; Sur. let. 11 April, 87 Sur. 54, 55.

[3] Kar. let. 22 April, 88 Sur. 129.

* 5 L.B. 62; Sur. let. 15 May & 26 June, 87 Sur. 165, 174; Bom. let. 26 May, 6 Bom. 129, 130. The Company in later years resumed taking Sonda pepper, acknowledging it was 'the best sort', but said that its cost made it unprofitable and that the chief reason for buying any pepper in India was 'to supply the third part of their Suratt tonnage' (desp. 20 April 1708, 13 L.B. 350, 358).

[4] Bom. let. 26 May, 6 Bom. 130.

[5] Kar. let. 6 Aug., 88 Sur. 187, 188.

[6] Kar. let. 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 201.

[7] Kar. let. 27 Oct., 88 Sur. 239; Sw. let. to Co. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 1.

but there was delay in obtaining it; its efforts to get loans at the usual monthly rate of 1 per cent. failed, and it had eventually to agree to pay ¼ per cent. more.[1]

In September the Surat Council hoped to get 10,000 pieces of cloth from Karwar, and intended to send the factory more stock (including £800 in gold) on the *Falcon*.[2] But in October it decided that none of the treasure she had brought out could be spared, and that she should go to Baliapatam, without calling at Karwar.[3] Instead, on 9 October the ketch *Phoenix* was sent to Karwar from Bombay to bring up all the cloth she could carry.[4] She brought the factory no additional stock, and this had a prejudicial effect. Bendish said it made 'the governments here begin to wonder whether we shall have any or not, so they begin to slight us'.[5] This was the more disconcerting as the Dutch had come there to settle a factory and had been given leave to build a house as big as the English one, which they intended doing on a site formerly occupied by them. This was nearer the river's mouth than the English factory was, so that they would command the river when they pleased.* It was difficult to counter this design, and Aungier could only suggest that Bendish should try to persuade the Governor to withdraw his permission.[6]

The ketch left Karwar about 30 November and reached Bombay on 7 December. On the 12th she was dispatched to Swally, where she arrived on the 20th with her cargo of about 18 tons of pepper and 22 tons of cloth.† The total cloth sent amounted to 8,883 pieces, as against the 30,000 that the Surat Council would have liked to have got.[7] Not only had the troubles at Hubli delayed the weaving of cloth, but the weavers also complained of the short time in the year that they were employed for the Company and the trouble they had in getting yarn of the required dimensions, saying they got enough

[1] Kar. let. 6 & 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 188, 189, 199, 200.

[2] Sur. con. 7 Sept., 3 Sur. 35.

[3] Sur. con. 16 Oct., 3 Sur. 38; Sur. let. 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 220, 221; instrns. to Capt. Stafford, 4 Oct., 3 Sur. 34.

[4] Bom. let. 8 & 10 Oct., 6 Bom. 205, 206.

[5] Kar. let. 27 Oct., 88 Sur. 239.

* Ibid. 239, 240. As to the former Dutch factory at Karwar, see *E.F.*, 1661–4, 238, 239.

[6] Bom. let. 9 Dec., 6 Bom. 232.

† Bom. let. 9 & 12 Dec., 6 Bom. 232, 236; Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 6 The pepper appears to have been some contracted for at Mirjan before the receipt of the orders not to send any (Kar. let. 22 April & 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 129, 200).

[7] Sur. let. 14 Oct., 87 Sur. 238; O.C. 4062, f. 1.

other employment with less trouble and more gain.[1] There was also a threat of extra expense in getting the cloth, as the merchants at Hubli were seeking to have the Company brought 'into their corporation', so as to bear their share of public charges.[2]

Bendish naturally wanted money to be sent him to clear the loans taken up for the cloth investment.[3] The Surat Council accordingly asked Aungier to send him a stock of cloth and lead and £2,000 in gold, if they were procurable; but the financial exigencies of Bombay and Surat, and the non-arrival of the remaining ships, prevented anything being sent during the year. The factory had to rest content with Aungier's expectation that the *Revenge* or *Mayboom* would be sent down later on, with sufficient money to cover their next year's investment.[4]

The year closed gloomily. Bendish, who urged that a 'second' should be sent him as soon as possible to replace Sherlock, was himself taken seriously ill. He had been indisposed when the ketch left for Bombay, but nothing was said about it, as it was hoped he would recover. Unfortunately, he got worse, and about the end of the year the country doctors pronounced him to be past recovery. This left only Jones, Austen, and Lowndes, who declared their incapacity to manage the Company's business properly.[5]

Baliapatam and Calicut had little to report during the first five months of the year, except the death of Thomas Kennon at Calicut on 15 January, after 'a lingering consumption' of about twelve months.[6] In the same month five seamen, who had deserted the *Ann* the night she sailed, were sent to Bombay on a Surat ship.[7] After giving news of seventeen Dutch ships having been seen passing Cochin to the northward,[8] Petit did not write again to Bombay till 29 May. He was then still at Calicut, but was leaving for Baliapatam on the ship carrying his letter.[9] The embargo placed by the Princes on the factory lead (p. 325) still continued, but he hoped to 'clear all their scruples' and get it raised. Fortunately the coral had escaped attachment by its removal to Calicut, and a contract for the sale of

[1] Kar. let. 27 Oct., 88 Sur. 241. [2] Ibid.
[3] Kar. let. 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 200, 201.
[4] Sw. let. 14 Oct., 87 Sur. 239; Bom. let. 9 Dec., 6 Bom. 232.
[5] Kar. let. 2 Sept. & 27 Oct., 88 Sur. 204, 238; Kar. let. 11 Jan. 1675, 88 Sur. 3.
[6] Cal. let. 16 Jan., 88 Sur. 61.
[7] Cal. let. 13 & 16 Jan., 88 Sur. 60, 62; Bom. let. 4 May, 6 Bom. 109.
[8] Cal. let. 29 Jan., 88 Sur. 62, 63. [9] O.C. 3968, ff. 1, 2.

two chests had been made, though at a less price than had hitherto obtained, because of the need for money. He added that the proposed trip to Seringapatam had been prevented by the unsettled condition of the country, which made it too risky to take goods through it.[1] Petit devoted a good deal of his letter to showing that there was a want of money and answering Aungier's remark that he was well supplied with stock for the new investment, as he had taken more treasure out of the ships than had been expected.[2] Though his accounts showed an ostensible balance of over 330 thousand fanams, he estimated that, deducting dead-stock such as broadcloth on hand, debts owed or impending, and necessary expenses (including loans to the Rajas and the cost of building the new factory-house), there would not be left above 80 or 90 thousand fanams, which was 'no great matter' for buying the pepper and cardamoms required for the ships.[3] Yet he did not despair of getting the 800 tons of pepper that Aungier asked for, as well as 100 bales of cardamoms. As to the complaint of the Company about the quality of the goods sent from the Malabar coast, he pointed out the difficulties in the way of getting clean pepper and the best sort of cardamoms.[4]

Aungier had advised Petit to make friends with Ali Raja and other notabilities, who would, he thought, be more disposed to amicable relations than in the past.[5] Petit replied that it was not love of the Dutch, but fear that obliged Ali Raja to take the course he did, and though he understood his interest was to keep in with the English, yet he could not depart from it 'while that visible force is so imminent over him'. Consequently, Petit had little hope of arranging a compromise with him.[6] In this, however, he was too pessimistic. On his arrival at Baliapatam, Ali Raja sent him a friendly message, proposing a meeting for the amicable settlement of all differences. This took place near Cannanore, and the interview was a friendly one, at which Ali Raja promised to pay up the balance of his account and 'to bear himself for the future with all love and friendship'.[7] Petit also had a friendly reception from the Princes, who sent him 'many messages of love and kindness', with promises of good treatment by them. He succeeded with some difficulty in

[1] Ibid., f. 2.
[2] Bom. let. 28 Jan., 6 Bom. 61.
[3] O.C. 3968, ff. 1, 2.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Bom. let. 28 Jan., 6 Bom. 61.
[6] O.C. 3968, f. 1.
[7] Bal. let. 7 June, 88 Sur. 190; Cal. let. 21 July, 88 Sur. 198.

getting the embargo on the lead taken off, on payment of 180 sequins.[1] But (he said) 'in general we find a sad government since the death of our late Prince, the kingly power being slighted by all and true obedience paid to none'.[2]

As to Calicut, in July he sent two good bits of news. Their old enemy and the Dutchmen's friend, Cunny Cruckle, who had been chief Governor of the whole kingdom, was dead, and they had at length got permission to go forward with the building of the new factory-house. They had also obtained an *ola* (written authority) from the Zamorin for deducting its cost from the customs payable to him.[3]

Petit was less confident than he had been in May about providing the goods wanted by the Surat Council and said they could not turn their stock into even 400 tons of pepper by the time the ships arrived, nor could it expect all their debts to be paid 'at a clap'. He accordingly asked to be allowed to take money from the ships, as he had done in 1673.[4] In sanctioning this the Surat Council enjoined him not to take out more treasure than he really required, in view of the financial stress at Surat, and told him it expected a larger quantity of pepper from him, as the Company had stopped the usual supply from Karwar.[5] But the situation was altered by the arrival of the *Falcon* at Bombay in August, bringing the news that the other ships were also bound for that port. At first the Surat Council thought the latter might arrive in time to accompany the *Falcon* down the coast; but it soon became clear that this was unlikely. Consequently, it was arranged that the three frigates, *Revenge*, *Mayboom*, and *Hunter*, should wait for the *Falcon* at Rajapur and proceed with her to Baliapatam and Calicut.[6] She left Swally about 4 October. On her were sent sequins to the value of Rs. 104,830, and 12,000 rupees, and Petit was instructed to provide at least 700 tons of pepper and to return the *Falcon* as soon as possible.[7] She called at Bombay on the way down, and Aungier confirmed Gray's instructions. He also referred to a letter he had received from George Bowcher, complaining of his supersession by

[1] Cal. let. 21 July, 88 Sur. 198.
[2] Bal. let. 7 June, 88 Sur. 190.
[3] Cal. let. 21 July, 88 Sur. 198, 199.
[4] Ibid. 198.
[5] Sw. let. 12 Aug., 87 Sur. 192.
[6] Sur. con. 7 Sept., 3 Sur. 35; Sur. let. 9 & 26 Sept. & 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 200, 212, 221; Bom. con. 4, 16, & 19 Sept., 1 Bom. 85, 91, 94; Bom. let. 16 & 25 Sept., 6 Bom. 193, 194, 202.
[7] Sur. instrns. to Capt. Stafford, 3 Sur. 39; Sur. let. 4 Oct., 87 Sur. 222–4.

Mansell Smith in the vacancy of Chief of Baliapatam and Calicut, caused by Petit's promotion to the Surat Council. After giving reasons for this having been done, he promised Bowcher that, if he continued in those parts, it would not be to his detriment, or, if he took his passage to Bombay on the *Falcon*, he should not want for good employment from him.[1] The Surat Council also expressed the hope that Bowcher would not leave Calicut.[2]

The *Falcon* left Bombay on 9 October and arrived with the three frigates at Tanur on the 27th.[3] Details of her intermediate calls are wanting, but presumably she was taken from Calicut to Tanur, where pepper was waiting for her. In a letter from that place on 5 November, Petit reported that he had laden 587 candies, worth 115,575 fanams, on her and that he was dispatching her with all speed, as ordered. He hoped to complete the 700 tons required, but as the four ships together would not be able to carry 1,600 candies, he had hired a native vessel to take 450 candies.*

In the same letter Petit said that the other ships would sail in a few days, but it was not till about 4 December that the *Revenge* and the *grab* accompanying her actually left Baliapatam, carrying some 698 candies of pepper and 28 candies of cardamoms. The delay was due to the impossibility of getting the hired *grab* ready before that date and the risk of sending her alone.[4] The *Mayboom* and the *Hunter* left earlier and reached Bombay on 6 December and Swally on the 16th. They brought about 230 tons of pepper.[5] As already mentioned (p. 113), the *Revenge* and the *grab* did not reach Bombay till 29 December, and their lading was kept at Bombay.

Petit sailed on the *Revenge* to Bombay, leaving Mansell Smith as his successor in charge of the two lower factories.[6] He was highly commended by the Surat Council for his success in obtaining upwards of 600 tons of pepper and 93 bales of cardamoms.[7] Though Petit does not appear to have started buying any pepper before the *Falcon* arrived in October, he had encouraged the Surat Council to believe that he could get 600 or 700 tons of Malabar pepper, if he

[1] Bom. let. 8 & 14 Oct., 6 Bom. 206, 208. [2] Sur. let. 4 Oct., 88 Sur. 224.

[3] Bom. let. 14 Oct., 6 Bom. 208; Petit's let. 5 Nov., 88 Sur. 246.

* 88 Sur. 246. The Surat Council give the quantity of pepper brought by the *Falcon* as 170 tons (88 Sur. 282, O.C. 4062, f. 6).

[4] Bal. let. 4 Dec., 88 Sur. 2.

[5] Bom. let. 5 Dec., 6 Bom. 231; Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec., 7 Bom. 16.

[6] Bal. let. 4 Dec., 88 Sur. 2. [7] Sw. let. 9 Jan. 1675, O.C. 4062, f. 8.

was provided with the money to do so;[1] and judging from the difficulties experienced in previous years it must have entailed hard and anxious work to get the amount he did in the short time available. The details, however, are not forthcoming, as no account of them was given in view of Petit himself journeying to Bombay and Surat.[2] In only one respect did he not fulfill the main requirements of Aungier and the Surat Council. Aungier brought to his notice that the Company chided them for not supplying cinnamon though it grew in the country near the lower factories, and asked Petit to try to comply with the order for 200 bales. Petit's remarks on this are not on record, but the Dutch monopoly of this spice was probably too strong to infringe.*

The question of giving up the Baliapatam factory remained in suspense. The Surat Council pointed out that the Company wanted to keep a footing on that part of the coast, where the pepper was of a larger growth than elsewhere and cardamoms grew in sight, while Aungier told Petit not to be in a hurry about leaving.[3] The latter in May said he thought that, though there was little encouragement to stay, in view of the bad government, the turbulence of the new Prince, and other circumstances, yet he was against rashly dissolving it. He thought, however, that Dharmapatam, 2½ leagues to the south of Cannanore, was a better place for the factory, as it would be less expensive and they would be among Mohammedans, from whom they got more respect than they did from the Nairs at Baliapatam.[4]

THE MALABAR COAST, 1675

THIS was a bad year for the Karwar factory. Bendish died on 27 January, and Jones fervently renewed his request for a new chief, 'fearing we may sink under a storm'.[5] A storm did indeed break towards the end of April, when one of Sivaji's generals 'visited Karwar to burn it, which he did effectually for he has not

[1] Sw. let. to Co. 12 Oct., 87 Sur. 235. [2] Bal. let. 4 Dec., 88 Sur. 2.

* Bom. let. 10 Sept., 6 Bom. 183. As to the Dutch monopoly, in 1672 George Bowcher was instructed to look out for the possibility of getting cinnamon (106 Sur. 85) during his trip to Carnopoly, which failed, as related in his diary (pp. 313–14 *ante*). Petit, in a note of July 1675 urging that a factory should be settled at Carnopoly, said that cinnamon could not be procured, 'while wee have only Calicut' (2 Bom. 109).

[3] Sur. let. 3 Feb. & 19 March, 87 Sur. 103, 134; Bom. let. 5 March, 6 Bom. 81.

[4] O.C. 3968, f. 2. [5] Kar. let. 29 Jan., 88 Sur. 15.

left one house standing'.* The factory was not molested, but the substitution of Sivaji's rule for that of the King of Bijapur was an exchange for the worse (pp. 336–7). On 18 May the factory suffered a further loss by the death of its broker Valji, whose integrity and industry were well known.† Three months later Edward Austen was attacked by fever and died on 26 August.[1] And, as in the previous year, want of stock and Sivaji's incursion into Kanara severely handicapped its trading utility.

In January the factory owed nearly 1,500 pagodas, and its credit was much impaired for want of money.[2] In February Aungier was optimistic and proposed sending it a good cargo in treasure and goods after the arrival of the *Golden Fleece* and the *Rainbow*.[3] But in March, when the two ships were still overdue and were not expected before May, the remaining factors (Jones, Lowndes, and Austen) were asked to carry on as best they could till September, when it was hoped to send a stock with Oxinden, who had been selected to succeed Bendish.[4] Jones tried to borrow money to start the investment, but the general panic—'people all running away'—at the expected approach of Sivaji's horse prevented his obtaining a loan. In any case, he said, the credit of the Company had fallen so low that he could not expect to raise one at a less rate of interest than 1¼ per cent.[5] In April he reported that the Dutch factory at Vengurla had sent a ship laden with a large stock of copper, tin, spices, &c., and had sold most of it at Karwar. This encouraged Dutch hopes of establishing a trade there, but they did not start building a house (see p. 329) from fear of their great enemy, Sivaji. The latter had laid siege to Phonda[6] with about 2,000 horse and 7,000 foot, and it was thought he would soon take it. Jones asked for orders as to their conduct should Sivaji's forces come their way.[7] Within a month of his letter Sivaji had taken Phonda and was besieging Shiveshvar.‡ And on 26 April, as already mentioned, a detachment came to Karwar and burnt it. The general asked the

* Kar. let. 8 May, 88 Sur. 41. Cf. Fryer (ii. 3) as to the town being 'wholly laid in ashes'.

† Kar. let. 25 May, 88 Sur. 58. Valji had been the Karwar factory broker since its establishment in 1668 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 106–8).

[1] Kar. let. 22 & 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 112 & 107 Sur. 167.

[2] Kar. let. 29 Jan., 88 Sur. 15.

[3] Bom. let. 15 Feb., 7 Bom. 97.

[4] Bom. let. 13 March, 7 Bom. 98.

[5] Kar. let. 14 April, 88 Sur. 36.

[6] See p. 256n.

[7] Kar. let. 14 April, 88 Sur. 36, 37.

‡ As to Shiveshvar, see p. 326. Jones describes it as 'about two leagues off us' (88 Sur. 38). Phonda fell about 6 May (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 251).

factory to send one of its staff to call on him. The latter declined the invitation and prepared to resist any attack on the factory house. The general was annoyed—Jones says he 'showed more passion than wit in his reply'—but departed without making any attempt at hostilities.[1] Aungier disapproved of the factory's incivility, saying Sivaji was likely to resent it; but Jones had an explanation for it. At the time of the general's visit, Phonda had not been taken and Bahlol Khan was believed to be on his way to relieve the fortress, so 'circumspectly we refrained from visiting the general and offending the Moors'. Bahlol Khan had, however, been bribed by Sivaji not to intervene.[2] And by the end of May Sivaji was master of all the country down to Ankola, having got it (Jones says) by his money, without striking a blow.[3] Mahmud Khan, the former Governor of Karwar, became a prisoner in irons, and Collee Khan, a protégé of the Governor of Ankola, ruled in his stead. Jones and Austen paid a visit to Sivaji, after he had taken Phonda, and were told they must pay the same customs and enjoy only the same privileges as those of the factory at Rajapur under the treaty.[4]

Trouble soon ensued between the factors and the 'new-comers'. The 'first affront' was a requisition that they should give the number of coco-nut trees in their garden, as a prelude to the levy of a tax on them. Even the coco-nuts had to be numbered, but an attempt to compel their sale to the government was staved off.[5] Close on this came a charge against the factory peons of concealing rice that had been left with them by inhabitants who had fled on the change of government. To avoid a search of their quarters, the peons were questioned, and confessed to having a quantity of rice belonging to others. An account of this was prepared for the Jemadar, but without asking for it he seized all the rice in possession of one of the peons. This included some that belonged to the man himself, and on failing to get it returned the factors managed to take it back 'without any harm done'. The Jemadar proposed a troop of horse should be sent to force the factors 'to a better compliance', but fortunately the Governor, 'being an understanding man', did not accede to this suggestion.[6] Then the Jemadar tried to impose a tax

[1] Kar. let. 8 May, 88 Sur. 41.
[2] Bom. let. 13 May, 7 Bom. 115; Kar. let. 9 June, 88 Sur. 71.
[3] Kar. let. 25 May, 88 Sur. 58.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Kar. let. 9 June, 88 Sur. 73.
[6] Ibid.

on buffaloes and cows according to the Rajapur custom. The factors told their servants not to pay it, as being 'a duty never demanded by the Moors', whereupon all the cattle were impounded till payment was made.[1] Jones said they had daily troubles of this kind and the factory could not flourish under Sivaji's rule. He added that the country people had been so robbed 'as to the seed they sowed that next year the men will be ready to eat each other, for the new crop will be very small. All people pray that the Moors may regain the country'.*

There was also trouble in the kingdom of Bednur. War had broken out early in the year between the Rani and her prime minister, Timanna, a man 'of a very mean parentage', who had offended the Brahmins by his domineering ways.[2] It ended in favour of Timanna, with whom the Rani made peace; but Naran Mulla and other 'great merchants', who had sided with the Rani, were imprisoned and called on to pay up large sums to assist in the war against Sivaji.[3] Though Timanna virtually ruled the country, this apparently did not affect the factory, which obtained a permit from the Rani to get its goods down the Ghat in her territory at 2½ per cent. customs.[4] This was of importance because of the liability to pay enhanced customs to Sivaji, who had a post at the bottom of the Ghat for their levy.† Jones complained that they could not even send a letter to Surat without Sivaji's people wanting a *douceur* before they would let it pass.[5]

In April the difficulty of raising money at Karwar necessitated the sending of Lowndes in the 'bulloon' to Goa—the overland way being stopped—to get funds for provisioning the factory and paying its men till a ship could arrive with a stock in September.[6] The capture and burning of Karwar in the same month and 'the distracted condition of the countrys affairs' naturally led Jones to tell Aungier that he could not expect much cloth from them; and this was fully recognized by him and the Surat Council.[7] But every

[1] Kar. let. 22 & 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 111, 112, & 107 Sur. 167.

* Kar. let. 9 June & 29 Aug., 88 Sur. 74, & 107 Sur. 167. Cf. Fryer, ii. 4, 5, as to the Desais being forced to pay double the former rates for all lands, and their dealing in the same way with the cultivators.

[2] Kar. let. 14 April, 88 Sur. 37.

[3] Kar. let. 18 Aug., 88 Sur. 104.

[4] Ibid.

† Kar. let. 28 July & 18 Aug., 88 Sur. 89, 104. The post was at Varhalli, seven miles south of Ankola (ibid., and cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 252).

[5] Kar. let. 28 July, 88 Sur. 89.

[6] Kar. let. 22 April, 88 Sur. 37.

[7] Kar. let. 8 May, 88 Sur. 40; Bom. let. 17 May, 7 Bom. 114; Sur. let. 15 June, 88 Sur. 65.

effort had to be made to get a full lading for the ships, and in June Aungier directed the factory to try and borrow enough money to go on with its investment under a promise to pay its creditors as soon as the monsoon was over.[1] Jones then managed to get 4,000 pagodas at 1¼ per cent. a month and was hopeful about supplying the quantity of dungarees ordered. The provision of the baftas required was more difficult, as the weavers lived two days' journey from Hubli and caution was needed in making them advances.[2] To avoid this risk, he tried to arrange with some merchants to supply the factory with cloth, to be paid for as it came in.[3] It was at this stage that he complained of the interference of Child's broker in inviting merchants at Hubli, who had already made contracts with the Karwar factory, to bring all the cloth they had made to Child at Raybag (see pp. 258–9), a request with which they threatened to comply unless more was paid for their cloth than had been agreed on.[4] At the same time Jones ordered the Hubli broker to be more careful about the quality of the cloth supplied, so as to rectify defects of which the Company had complained.[5]

In August Austen died, and the two remaining factors were reduced to great despondency. They asked the Surat Council to send them an English doctor, as they had none, and the former one 'didn't rightly understand the constitution of our bodies, and to say truly most of them are very ignorant of our natures—our hearts are so much down with this sudden death that, if we fell sick, the weight of our fear would carry us to the grave'.* In the same letter they said they expected to have to lade all their cloth at Mirjan, as they had been forbidden to bring any cloth by Kadra and had had a lot of trouble over patterns that had been brought down by that way.[6] Aungier in September urged them to get as much cloth as possible; but Jones replied on the 21st of that month that they could not comply with the orders about the investment and were having trouble with their creditors, who had taken alarm at the absence

[1] Bom. let. 9 June, 7 Bom. 118.
[2] Kar. let. 1 July, 88 Sur. 72.
[3] Kar. let. 28 July, 88 Sur. 88.
[4] Ibid. 88, 89.
[5] Bom. let. 9 June, 7 Bom. 119; Kar. let. 1 & 28 July, 88 Sur. 72, 88.
* Kar. let. 29 Aug., 107 Sur. 167. It was perhaps in response to this request that Dr. Fryer went to Karwar with Oxinden in November, though he says (ii. 2) he went merely out of curiosity. He stayed there till 17 Oct. 1676 (ii. 86).
[6] Kar. let. 29 Aug., 107 Sur. 167.

of any ship.[1] He said they were awaiting with impatience the arrival of Oxinden (who, he hoped, would 'modellize' their new masters to more civility) and suggested that two or three young men should be sent to the factory with him.[2]

This is the last letter from Karwar on the records of 1675, and there are none on those of 1676, so the subsequent events have to be gathered from other materials. A letter of 25 September from Bombay informed the factory of the arrival of two of the Company's ships and the 'daily expectation' of the other two, so that four ships would probably come down with the new Chief;[3] but the delay in the arrival of the *Ann* and the *Massingberd* at Swally (p. 138) doomed this hope to disappointment. Only the *New London* and the *East India Merchant* were available for sending down the coast in mid-October, and the former of these alone touched at Karwar, bringing treasure, cloth, and copper worth Rs. 46,964. Oxinden was prevented by 'affairs' from going on her, but she brought two Assistants, Thomas Haggerston and John Sheppard. Jones was told to sell the stock, pay the factory debts, and get goods ready for the ships on their return up the coast from Calicut: also that the Council would issue 'effectual instructions to prevent Mr. Childs like follys and irregularitys in the future'.[4]

The same letter said that the next ship down the coast would bring more stock. This was the *Ann*, which left Swally about 3 November. It was intended that she should take Oxinden to Karwar, but he fell ill and the ship was sent to Calicut without touching at Karwar.[5] It was not till about 10 November that Oxinden (accompanied by another Assistant, William Goring, and some more stock for the factory) left Swally on the *Massingberd*. She had to touch first at Rajapur, so it was probably about the end of November that she reached Karwar.* She was to lade the goods

[1] Bom. let. 8 Sept., 7 Bom. 144; Kar. let. 21 Sept., 107 Sur. 168.
[2] Kar. let. 21 Sept., 107 Sur. 168.
[3] 7 Bom. 149.
[4] Sw. let. 16 Oct., O.C. 4122.
[5] O.C. 4125, f. 2.

* Instrns. to Capt. Westlack, O.C. 4128. Dr. Fryer accompanied Oxinden to Karwar, and his fourth letter gives an interesting account (ii. 3–7) of the then unsettled state of affairs. He says there was almost 'daily disturbance' from fighting between Sivaji's small contingent and a body of adherents to the former Bijapur régime, who had fled to the adjacent woods and hills for shelter. Thus one morning 500 of the latter—'a tumultuous throng of people' marching 'without any order'—came down, 'whereupon Seva Gi's men, being but 100 foot and 25 horse, retired into the Castle; miserable souls for soldiers on both sides; they look't like our old *Britains*, half naked and as fierce, where all lies open before them'. Sivaji's men

that were ready there and bring them up to Swally.[1] There is nothing on the records to show what the result was, except Aungier's statement that the quantity received from the factory was not one-eighth of the usual consignment.[2] This, however, indicates that it managed to supply some cloth in addition to the 100 corge that had been left over from the previous investment.[3]

Events at Baliapatam soon settled the pending question of the continuance of the factory there. The only letter from it is dated 12 January and tells a tale of 'the insufferable wrongs and apparent dangers we are continually in through the unworthy actions . . . of the Princes . . . against us, and all through the instigation of these violent and insulting Dutch'. On 10 January three Princes, having heard of Mansell Smith's arrival on the previous day, came with about 100 Nairs and demanded an interview with him. This was refused, in view of their hostile attitude, and the factors stood on their guard. The young Prince, who was their friend, came to their aid with a force of Nairs, on hearing of which the gathering quickly dispersed. It appeared that the three Princes wanted a share in the customs, house-rent, &c., paid by the factory, on the ground that they were the 'chief' princes, though the Raja had handed over the entire government to the young Prince. A day later the same three Princes attempted to seize the factory broker, Verdamon, and another Banian at Cannanore, where they had gone on some business with Ali Raja. Again the young Prince thwarted them by bravely rescuing the two men with his own sword, though he had a smaller force than that of the kidnappers. At Cannanore the Dutch had also behaved insolently to an Englishman and his Banian, who landed from the *Happy Rose* on business. They were arrested by Dutch soldiers and taken before the commandant, who abused them because Bowcher had assisted two runaway English prisoners to get to Surat, and ordered them aboard again. The Dutch were, moreover, taking active steps to enforce their claim to monopolize all pepper. Mansell Smith strongly advocated withdrawing the factory from Baliapatam, and carrying on its business

later sent them 'flying under our guns for succour', and small skirmishes ensued, news of which was brought at night to the factory, 'for . . . both parties *salam* to us, being in so strong an house, else we should be liable to their fury'.

[1] O.C. 4128.

[2] Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 11.

[3] Sw. let. 15 June, 88 Sur. 66.

from Calicut, whence emissaries could go to Baliapatam or its neighbourhood to make contracts or weigh goods for the shipping.[1]

In a letter from Calicut of 31 January, Mansell Smith carried on the tale of woe. Chase had written to say that the Princes were still 'baiting' him for money, and their friend, the young Prince, had discontented the old King, who was likely to turn him out of the government and put in another Prince, a great friend of the Dutch and Ali Raja. In that event the new ruler would certainly 'rack' the factory for all the customs paid to the young Prince and force it to pay them again to him, or give it 'the hardest usage possible'. M. Smith said he had consequently decided to call Chase to Calicut with all convenient haste.[2] A Calicut letter of 7 March gives further Baliapatam news. The young Prince had objected to being turned out after having been put into the government 'by a general consent'. He waged warfare against all the other Princes and Ali Raja, and was driving on so 'Jehu-like' that, if his life was not taken by treachery or poison, there was a good chance of his securing absolute power. That would ensure better trade and security for the factory, but meanwhile Chase and all but a few belongings had been withdrawn from Baliapatam.[3] This anticipated the orders that Aungier and his Council sent M. Smith on 20 March for the factory's withdrawal in answer to his letter of 12 January.[4]

In his letter of 13 June M. Smith said it was fortunate that Chase got away when he did, as shortly after his departure the young Prince was turned out of his place and the power fell into the hands of his enemies, who would not have let Chase go without a considerable payment. Later, however, the young Prince turned the tables on the other Princes, who quarrelled among themselves, by invoking the aid of the Dutch, 'so that now the government is wholly in his hands, and there are 14 Dutch soldiers with a serjeant at Cotacuna'. Ali Raja fled to Dharmapatam, as both the Dutch and the young Prince were now his enemies, and he could obtain peace only by paying large sums of money. The Dutch were not welcomed by the people at Baliapatam, who called them thieves and murderers, as opposed to the English, who were only merchants. Nor did M. Smith and his colleagues like the situation. They mistrusted the Prince because 'his youth is rash and heady and his

[1] 88 Sur. 10, 11. [2] Ibid. 28, 29. [3] Ibid. 50, 51.
[4] 7 Bom. 101: cf. Bom. con. 12 April, 2 Bom. 54, 55.

mind very wavering', and 'if the Dutch be in his heart, he'll make us smart one time or another'.[1]

The factory broker, Verdamon Beca, was brought to Calicut, where he was to reside in future, except when investments had to be made at Dharmapatam. It was also intended to employ him in Calicut investments as a check on the tricks of the ordinary broker, Jewant, who was useful, being 'a rich fellow and well acquainted with all merchants . . . though we know him to be a very knave'.* Dharmapatam was favoured by M. Smith as a more suitable place for trading than Baliapatam, but the young Prince was opposed to an English settlement there, because its Moplas were 'not in absolute subjection to him but headstrong and selfwilled'.[2]

What investment was made there is not shown by the records of the year, but M. Smith and Meriton appear to have gone to Dharmapatam with the *Mayboom* in December and to have got goods there, for a written protest made in Ali Raja's house and 'before his face', and signed by them and the commander of the *Mayboom*, complains that Ali Raja put off making up his accounts 'with strange delayes and unreasonable demands'.[3]

The Calicut factory also had its troubles. It started well by taking possession of the new house, though this was not yet finished;[4] and it also got an *ola* from the Governor to import cardamoms without paying any inland customs on them.[5] But the investment for the ships met with the usual difficulties, in addition to those caused by want of money. For instance, Sheik Mercar insisted on a deposit of half the price of the pepper contracted for and would not take any lead in part-payment. When they went to another merchant, who was more obliging, Mercar and his partner Jewant complained to the Third Raja that the English got little or no pepper at Calicut and made most of their contracts at Tanur. The Prince sent for them and they told him that, while they were willing to buy at Calicut, they objected to being tied to Sheik Mercar, who 'being the only moneyed man and merchant in the country' dominated all other merchants and made unreasonable demands, to which they could

[1] 88 Sur. 81, 84, 85.

* Cal. let. 7 March, 88 Sur. 50, 51. Jewant had succeeded Sheik Mercar as the Calicut broker (Cal. let. 21 July, 88 Sur. 101).

[2] Cal. let. 7 March & 13 June, 88 Sur. 50, 85.

[3] Dharmapatam protest, 22 Dec., O.C. 4151.

[4] Cal. let. 7 March & 13 June, 88 Sur. 51, 81.

[5] Ibid.

not accede. Finally he acquiesced in their objection, but entreated them not to go to Tanur, saying he was resolved to make war on its Raja and stop their getting pepper there.[1] M. Smith also had some differences with Tanur merchants over their not taking out his passes for their ships and their refusal (from fear of the Dutch) to let him build a stone warehouse for the storage of pepper.[2]

In the end the factory had to go to Sheik Mercar for pepper, and after a great deal of wrangling a bargain was struck for the supply of 500 candies, the requisite deposit being borrowed without Jewant's assistance, much to his disgust.[3] In July M. Smith had contracted altogether for 1,600 candies at Baliapatam, Dharmapatam, and Calicut, and proposed to get 600 more at Tanur and Ponnani.[4] Not a merchant in Calicut would take any of the Company's lead in part-payment; while Jewant gave trouble over some coral which had been pledged to him and which had been kept so badly that it was all broken to pieces.[5]

In June Aungier asked the factory to supply 800, or at least 600, tons of pepper as well as 100 bales of cardamoms and 400 bales of the best cinnamon procurable.[6] He also said that the late arrival of the *Fleece* and the *Rainbow* prevented any ship being sent down the coast till after the monsoon.[7] On the arrival of the *East India Merchant* and the *New London* at Bombay, it was decided that they should go to Swally before proceeding down the coast;[8] and the *East India Merchant* did not reach Calicut till 22 October. She brought 20,000 sequins, worth Rs. 82,909, as well as lead and a parcel of presents for ceremonial visits. The *Revenge* that was sent down soon after her (p. 143) brought 300 chests of copper, worth Rs. 19,526, on 31 October.[9] M. Smith said the latter would be of no use for this year's investment, as they had contracted for their full supplies of pepper long since, and nothing would satisfy the Calicut and Tanur merchants but gold sequins.[10]

The *East India Merchant* was in a leaky condition and had to be laded quickly, so that she might return soon and have more time at Swally to stop the leak.[11] She left Calicut about 3 November with

[1] Cal. let. 13 June, 88 Sur. 85, 86.
[2] Cal. let. 31 Jan. & 13 June, 88 Sur. 29, 82.
[3] Cal. let. 21 July, 88 Sur. 101, 102.
[4] Cal. let. 21 & 23 July, 88 Sur. 102.
[5] Cal. let. 23 July, 88 Sur. 103.
[6] Bom. let. 4 June, 7 Bom. 124, 125.
[7] Ibid. 124.
[8] Bom. let. 25 Sept., 7 Bom. 150.
[9] Sw. let. 11 Oct., O.C. 4119, f. 1; Cal. let. 3 Nov., 107 Sur. 184.
[10] 107 Sur. 184.
[11] Sw. let. 11 Oct., O.C. 4119, f. 1.

409 bales of pepper and 48 bales of cardamoms. Delivery of the pepper had been delayed by late rains and by Dutch seizure of vessels transporting it; but notwithstanding this the factory could have put 100 more bales of pepper on board, had the commander been willing to take them.[1]

The *New London* arrived from Karwar some time about the middle of November, and her lading took six days instead of the five ordered. This was due to 'Dutch villany'. They would not let a grain of pepper leave the shore, wherever they had the least power, and intimidated boats from shipping it. Not a single merchant at Calicut would or could comply fully with his contract, and Sheik Mercar would not ship any of his pepper 'until we got Capt. Chamblett [commander of the *New London*] to come ashore in great state as our Commissary or Overseer, and threaten them if our bargain 's not punctually performed'. This stratagem brought out the pepper that was ready, but the rest only came in by slow degrees. The price of pepper rose and merchants impudently refused to supply it except at rates higher than those stipulated in their contracts, with the result that the factory had either to pay more for it or go without, for (as M. Smith remarked) there 'is no justice procurable here'. It also had to comply with demands for money by the Governor and other officers of the Zamorin before pepper was allowed to be shipped.[2] But in spite of these impediments and breaches of contract, M. Smith sent up 588 candies of pepper on the *New London* towards the end of November.[3] She also took with her a *manchua* or 'balloon' intended for Bombay that had been built at Calicut. This was a sharp, long, and light vessel, to be manned with twenty oars on each side, which could out-row any prow that the Malabar pirates possessed. Her completion had been delayed by an epidemic of small-pox at Calicut that frightened the carpenters away and necessitated hauling the boat to another place where workmen would go.[4] M. Smith in January said that the epidemic was so virulent that it carried people off as fast as the plague, and that most of their house servants had been attacked, while three had died, 'so we are very hard put to it to get our victuals dressed'.[5]

[1] Cal. let. 3 Nov., 107 Sur. 185.

[2] Cal. let 22 Nov., O.C. 4137, ff. 1, 2; Cal. let. 6 March 1676, O.C. 4180, f. 2, where the amount paid is shown as 4,000 fanams.

[3] Cal. let. 23 Nov., O.C. 4131.

[4] Cal. let. 26 Jan., 13 June, & 23 Nov., 88 Sur. 28, 83, & O.C. 4138; Sw. let. 15 Oct., O.C. 4120, f. 2; Bom. let. 13 Dec., 7 Bom. 173.

[5] Cal. let. 26 Jan., 88 Sur. 28.

The *Ann*, which left Swally on 4 November, had reached Calicut by the 22nd,[1] but no details as to her lading, or those of the *Revenge*, *Mayboom*, or *Phoenix*, are available. All that the extant records reveal is that the *Revenge* and the *Phoenix* were kept three days longer than had been intended, waiting for pepper promised by Sheik Mercar that never came, though a deposit of 400 sequins had been made for it;[2] that the *Ann* left in time to reach Swally by the end of December (p. 253), but the *Revenge*, *Mayboom*, and *Phoenix* were kept longer and did not get to Swally till the following January;[3] and that the total quantity of pepper brought up from the coast was scarcely more than half of what had been asked for.[4]

Aungier added that this half had been obtained at dearer rates than formerly. This increase of price was unfortunate, as the Company had complained of the dearness of the pepper sent home and had threatened to leave the Malabar coast altogether, unless it could be got cheap enough to cost 2½*d.* a pound or under.[5] M. Smith could only say that they bought pepper as cheap as any other merchants and that the Company could not expect to get it as inexpensively as the Dutch, unless it followed their example in building and maintaining castles and forts. As it was, they were lucky to get it as cheap as they did, considering they were at the mercy of every petty fellow and no justice could be obtained except by force.[6] Petit calculated that, even allowing for reduction in expenditure due to the withdrawal from Baliapatam and supposing that trade ran smoothly without embargoes on the shipping of pepper, the cost of getting it at Calicut and neighbouring ports was nearly 3*d.* a pound.[7] He and Aungier considered that it could not be had at the price the Company desired, unless a factory were settled at Carnopoly, where pepper was cheaper.[8] The difficulty was to overcome Dutch opposition to the English settling there, as had been shown by the abortive efforts of Adams and Bowcher.

After consultation with the Bombay Council, Aungier came to the conclusion that another attempt should be made. He thought that

[1] Sw. let. to Co. 17 Nov., O.C. 4129, f. 1; O.C. 4125, f. 2; O.C. 4137, f. 1.
[2] Cal. let. 6 March 1676, O.C. 4180, f. 3.
[3] Bom. let. 12 Jan. 1676, 7 Bom. 9; Sw. let. 18 Jan. 1676, 89 Sur. 9.
[4] Sw. let. to Co. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, f. 11.
[5] Desp. 17 Aug. 1674, 5 L.B. 121; Bom. let. 4 June, 7 Bom. 124.
[6] Cal. let. 23 July, 88 Sur. 102, 103.
[7] Bom. con. 23 July, 2 Bom. 105.
[8] Bom. con. 31 May & 23 July, 2 Bom. 78, 79, 105.

Bowcher's failure was largely due to his expedition not having been backed with sufficient courage and resolution and with the liberality to the Raja of Carnopoly that was required at all first settlements. It would be necessary for the first year or two to keep up a force that would convince both the Dutch and the Raja that they would not be baffled or frightened away, and to give the Raja and his officers adequate presents. The extra expenditure involved would be justified by the Company's orders to get their goods at the cheapest rates, and it would be prejudicial to wait for further instructions.[1] The Surat Council approved of another attempt to settle at Carnopoly, and suggested that two or three ships with some soldiers should be sent to support it.[2] At Aungier's request Petit wrote a long memorandum on the question, in which he answered some objections to the proposal and estimated that the cost of getting pepper at Carnopoly would be only 2½*d.* a pound, even including the cost of 80 soldiers, 4 or 5 factors, and the building of a new house. He considered that the Raja and his people would welcome them, if they appeared with 'swords in their hands' and a resolution to make a firm and durable residence, and that, unless they kept a strong settlement there, the Dutch would eventually drive them away from the Malabar coast.[3] This view was approved by the Bombay Council, and it was accordingly resolved to settle a factory there after the arrival of the ships in September.[4] The *Fleece* and the *Rainbow* were at first intended to join in the expedition, but this idea was subsequently given up, in view of the liability to demurrage that it would involve.[5] In September it was feared that the late arrival of the ships would interfere with the project,[6] and after Aungier had left Bombay it was suspended on account of this and other difficulties, pending orders of the Company about it.[7]

Summarizing the situation, Aungier said the Company had just reason to complain of the dearness of pepper, which became yearly worse and worse. He sent copies of M. Smith's last letters to show the great difficulties the Calicut factory had in getting it, and in referring the question of a Carnopoly factory for orders stressed the

[1] Bom. con. 31 May, 2 Bom. 78, 79; Bom. let. 9 June, 7 Bom. 125–7.
[2] Sur. let. 28 June, 88 Sur. 68, 69.
[3] Bom. con. 23 July, 2 Bom. 105–10.
[4] Ibid. 111.
[5] Ibid.; Bom. con. 9 Aug., 2 Bom. 120; Sw. let. 20 Aug., 88 Sur. 92.
[6] Bom. let. 7 Sept., 7 Bom. 142; Bom. con. 13 Sept., 2 Bom. 126.
[7] Bom. let. to Co. 17 Nov., O.C. 4129, f. 3.

need of firmness to prevent the Dutch from spoiling the Company's trade on the coast.[1]

The Company also complained of the dirtiness of the pepper sent home, and Aungier had to confess it was bad.[2] Petit had in the past expatiated on this topic, and M. Smith's letters gave further instances. Thus in one parcel of 30 candies at Tanur he had taken out 1½ candies of black sand; while insistence on cleaning the pepper, before it was taken, often led to blows between the factory servants and those of the merchants supplying it.[3] Sheik Mercar, in particular, gave trouble about this. When his pepper came to the scales, it was generally so dirty or wet that there was no weighing it properly; and he incited his servants to abuse and assault the men they employed in cleaning it.[4]

Another requirement of the Company was that only new fresh cardamoms should be sent home, and Aungier asked the factory accordingly to supply 100 bales, provided they could be got fresh and red.[5] Preparations for obtaining these were made at both Baliapatam and Calicut, but in November M. Smith feared they would not be able to get even 30 candies of the kind required, owing to their colour and growth having been spoilt by unusually late rains.[6] The supply, if any, was therefore probably a small one.*

Nor could any cinnamon be obtained, though the Company earnestly desired 400 bales of it.[7] M. Smith said it was impossible to get any that was fit for Europe, as the Dutch uprooted all the trees they met with at Cochin, so as to get a better market for their Ceylon cinnamon.[8] One of the arguments in favour of the proposed factory at Carnopoly was the better prospect it would afford of obtaining this commodity.[9]

In response to a request by M. Smith for more assistance, four

[1] Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 11, 12.

[2] Ibid.; Sw. let. to Co. 17 Nov., O.C. 4124, f. 7. [3] Cal. let. 13 June, 88 Sur. 82.

[4] Cal. let. 22 Nov., O.C. 4137, f. 1; Cal. let. 6 March 1676, O.C. 4180, f. 3.

[5] Desp. 5 March, 5 L.B. 175; Bom. let. 17 April, 7 Bom. 109.

[6] Bal. let. 20 Jan., 88 Sur. 11; Cal. let. 7 March, 88 Sur. 51; Cal. let. 3 & 23 Nov., 107 Sur. & O.C. 4138.

* No mention of cardamoms is made in the letter that went by the ships in Jan. 1676 (O.C. 4163).

[7] Desp. 17 Aug. 1674, 5 L.B. 127; Bom. let. 4 June, 7 Bom. 126; Sw. let. 11 Oct., O.C. 4119, f. 1.

[8] Cal. let. 13 June, 88 Sur. 83; M. Smith's memo. 16 Jan. 1677, O.C. 4256, f. 6.

[9] Petit's memo. 22 June, 2 Bom. 108, 109.

young men were sent to Calicut in October, viz. Lambert Daniel, John Newton, Simon Cracroft, and Daniel Acworth; but of these Newton (who was very ill when he landed) died on 19 November.[1] M. Smith was also, at his request, given leave to come to Surat, with a view to his going home by the next ships to recover an estate left by his uncle. Bowcher was at the same time given the choice of going to Surat, as already arranged, or of staying at Calicut and taking charge of the factory on M. Smith's departure.* He decided to stay on in the Company's service, for which (Aungier said) he was very capable, and to remain at Calicut, instead of going home or becoming a freeman at Bombay.[2]

THE MALABAR COAST, 1676

THOUGH there are references to letters from the coast factories to the Surat Council, only two from Calicut are extant on the records.† The information available for the year is, therefore, meagre, especially in the case of Karwar.

This factory was not disturbed during the year by any of Sivaji's forces, but their intrusion into Bijapur territory hampered its investments, as well as those of Rajapur; and the Surat Council contemplated the possibility of withdrawing it.[3] But this was not effected, and when its Chief, Oxinden, came to Surat in December (p. 272), the intention was that he should return to Karwar, at any rate for a few months to adjust the accounts.[4]

About 15 February the *Phoenix* was sent from Swally down the coast, with additional stock for the two factories and to bring up some cloth that remained at Karwar, as it was not safe to let it lie there 'by reason of the dangerous times'.[5] She appears to have left

[1] Cal. let. 13 June, 88 Sur. 82; Sw. let. 11 & 15 Oct., O.C. 4119, f. 2, & 4120, f. 3; Cal. let. 23 Nov., O.C. 4138; list of factors, O.C. 4142.

* Sw. let. 15 Oct., O.C. 4120, f. 3. Bowcher had been summoned in March to Surat, but had deferred his departure till October (Bom. let. 20 March, 7 Bom. 102; Cal. let. 13 June, 88 Sur. 84).

[2] Sw. let. 12 Jan. 1676, O.C. 4163, ff. 6, 7.

† Cal. let. 6 March & 8 April, O.C. 4180 & 4203. There is also a short letter from Calicut to the Bombay Council, asking it to forward letters and account books to Surat, 8 Oct., 89 Sur. 73.

[3] Sw. let. 7 April, O.C. 4202, f. 6 (For. 93); Bom. let. 6 Oct., 7 Bom. 63; Sw. let. 17 Oct., 89 Sur. 69.

[4] O.C. 4258, f. 36.

[5] O.C. 4202, f. 4 (For. 91); Sur. let. 23 March, For. 84.

Karwar in April and to have reached Bombay after a long voyage on 29 May.* Some of the cloth she brought up was, however, much damaged owing to her leakiness.[1] The good cloth was sent to Surat on the *Berkeley Castle* in September, while nine damaged bales went on the hoy in December.[2] The *Malabar Coaster* also went from Bombay to Karwar on a freight voyage in September, and brought up betel-nuts and other goods for Surat.[3]

Towards the end of September, the three ships *Berkeley Castle*, *Nathaniel*, and *Society* were ordered to call at Karwar on their voyage down the coast, and to deliver goods to Oxinden, before proceeding to Calicut. On their return from that factory they were to call at Karwar again and bring its consignment and Oxinden to Swally.[4] The dates of their arrival and departure are not on record, except that Dr. Fryer, who was at Karwar from January to 6 April, and from 20 May till he embarked with Oxinden on the *Berkeley Castle*, says he did so on 17 October. But it is almost impossible that the ship, which left Swally only at the end of September, would have had time to go to Calicut and return to Karwar by that date, and 17 October may be a mistake for 17 November.† The quantity of goods sent up must have been very small, for Aungier says the factory 'totally disappointed' them of 150 tons of dungarees and other cloth that were expected from it. On the other hand, such goods as it sent were (he said) commendable in quality and dimensions, and as cheap as they could expect them to be.[5]

The only other items of interest revealed by the records are that Jones was designated to succeed Oxinden as Chief of the factory, having had sufficient experience to manage it properly; and that Lowndes was commended by the Surat Council for his work there.[6]

There is more information available as to the Calicut factory. Not only are its two letters of 6 March and 8 April extant, but there is

* Bom. let. 30 May, 7 Bom. 43. Dr. Fryer (ii. 83) says he left Karwar on the *Phoenix* on 6 April, having been ordered to go to Bombay to attend Giffard in his illness, but the ship was delayed at Goa, and he returned to Karwar from there (ii. 85).

[1] Bom. let. 30 May, 3 July, & 31 Dec., 7 Bom. 43, 48, 80.

[2] Bom. let. 7 Sept. & 4 Nov., 7 Bom. 56, 67, 74.

[3] Sur. let. 1 Sept., 89 Sur. 60; Bom. let. 19 Sept. & 14 Nov., 7 Bom. 58, 67.

[4] Instrns. to Capt. Fisher, 29 Sept., O.C. 4225.

† Fryer, ii. 29, 30, 83, 85, 86. This suggestion also fits in better with his statement (ii. 87) that the *Berkeley Castle* left Goa 'on the eve of St. Xeverius's Feast', which appears to have taken place on 3 Dec.

[5] O.C. 4258, f. 36.

[6] O.C. 3528, ff. 19, 20.

also a declaration made on 5 July by Mansell Smith, Bowcher, and Meriton, as to the factory's bad treatment by 'the Mallabars in general', which (at Aungier's request) was supplemented by a statement of M. Smith in January 1677 as to the unfriendly conduct of the Dutch on the Malabar coast.[1] These show that its difficulties continued, and its supply of pepper, &c., was (as Aungier remarked) obtained 'with no small trouble'.[2]

Thus the Third Raja, who had the 'chief sway' under the Zamorin in those parts, demanded a payment of 17,000 fanams, though nothing was owed for customs or anything else, while the Zamorin, on the contrary, owed the Company 14,000 fanams and the cost of building the new house. On a refusal to pay, he put the factors under a surveillance so strict that 'the like is never done among the country people'. Their guards would not even let them have privacy in their bedchambers. The broker Verdamon was told to ask why they were treated in this way, and they were then sent for by the Raja, who kept them at his house till nightfall, because they would not consent to his unreasonable demands. Ultimately they agreed to pay him 5,000 fanams, under his promise to get an *ola*, permitting them to deduct one-third of each year's customs towards clearing the Zamorin's debt, and debarring any one else from demanding money from them; 'but' (M. Smith added) 'we fear this is all but wind, for how often has Mr. Petit been promised so fair'.[3] Then, Sheik Mercar, whose wiles and delays in the previous year would have made 'a Job impatient', continued his 'strange cross ways'. He said he was too busy to settle his account with the Company till he had sent all his ships to Goa, and would not take the factory's passes for any of them, though all the other merchants did this.[4]

Early in the year preparations were made for the investment, though there was in March a great want of money for it.[5] Sales of coral, copper, lead, and tin, however, helped to provide the necessary means, and by the beginning of April M. Smith had contracted for 1,800 candies of pepper at Baliapatam, Dharmapatam, and Tanur.[6] He also said he hoped to arrange for at least 200 candies more than the 500 tons ordered by the Surat Council, so as to allow for short-deliveries.[7] And, though details are not forthcoming, Aungier tells

[1] O.C. 4180, 4203, 4213, & 4256.
[2] O.C. 4258, f. 36.
[3] O.C. 4180, f. 2, & 4213, f. 2.
[4] O.C. 4180, f. 3.
[5] Ibid., f. 4.
[6] O.C. 4203, f. 2.
[7] Ibid., f. 3.

us that the factory supplied 'a sufficient quantity' of pepper.[1] On the other hand, the Company's desire to bring down the cost of pepper still remained unsatisfied.[2]

The factors were not so successful in getting cardamoms. In April M. Smith said he had 10 candies in the warehouse and hoped to get 15 candies more at Calicut, while Chase had gone to Dharmapatam, with a sufficient stock of sequins, to try to get a considerable quantity. He also had 'small hopes' of getting some cinnamon. But Aungier reported that in these two commodities the factory had 'much failed' them, it being about 80 tons short of what had been ordered.[3] As to cinnamon, the factors reported that it was not procurable or was so bad that it was not worth sending home.[4]

Dutch opposition may have been less effective this year, as owing to their forces in Ceylon having been beaten back to their strongholds by the King of Kandy they had depleted their garrisons at Cochin, Cannanore, and elsewhere along the coast.[5] But they were still powerful, and the difficulties of getting a sufficient supply of pepper in face of their opposition are recounted at length in M. Smith's two statements that have been mentioned above.[6] The Zamorin was too weak to resist them, and the country people were overawed, knowing the Dutch would forcibly retaliate against any resistance, whereas the English were known to accept molestation, not daring to retaliate for fear of losing their pepper trade.[7] The southernmost point at which the Calicut factory was able to trade was Tanur, but they could not get more from that neighbourhood, and that of Calicut and Dharmapatam, than 500 or 600 candies of pepper. Consequently they had to contract with merchants at those places to get them pepper from south of Cochin, whence two-thirds of their investment came. This involved their making an advance of half the price three or four months ahead, and with this money the merchants sent their *manchuas* down the coast to get pepper at great risk, for if the Dutch met any of their boats that had a maund of pepper, they made it 'lawful prize' and confiscated the vessel and its goods. In one year they took as many as twenty in this way. Also they kept guards of 16 or 20 soldiers at every fort or place where pepper might be shipped, so that it could be got away only

[1] O.C. 4258, f. 36. [2] Ibid., f. 5. [3] O.C. 4203, ff. 3, 4; O.C. 4258, f. 36.
[4] Ibid., f. 5. [5] O.C. 4180, f. 5. [6] O.C. 4213 & 4256.
[7] O.C. 4213, f. 2, & 4256, ff. 3, 5.

by stealth at night, when gangs of 200 or 300 men would ship 40 or 50 candies in half an hour. Another recent expedient of the Dutch was to offer money to the Rajas, on condition they allowed no pepper to leave their territory till 25 December, knowing that by that time the Company's ships would have left the coast.[1]

The crimes and chicanery of the two 'ruling tyrants', Ali Raja and Sheik Mercar, are also described at length by M. Smith. He said the former did not stick at cheating and breach of trust, but instigated acts of violence against the factors. Thus, when in 1671 his Nairs had defeated those of the young Prince and attempted to take the Cota Cuna factory (p. 306) Mansell Smith was alone, as Petit was at Calicut and Robinson at Dharmapatam. He got eighteen guns mounted and called the other two factors back. The Prince assisted him with his Nairs, and the factory fortunately had a lot of gunpowder, with the noise of which the enemy was frightened away. Ali Raja tried to seize Robinson on his way back to Baliapatam; and he escaped with difficulty, by fleeing from a house at midnight by the back door and going a long way round with the help of a guide. Petit also was once shot at on his way to Cannanore by Ali Raja's Nairs; and the Moplas at Baliapatam, who were hand in glove with Ali Raja, had stoned him out of the bazaar without any provocation. Similarly, the Curtow,* though given a reasonable present, showed hostility by inducing boatmen at Dharmapatam, who were to take Petit, M. Smith, and others to Cannanore, to put them down on another side of the water, where they remained stranded for a long time, and 'poore Mansell was faine to comfort up' the rest 'with a merry song'.[2] They were powerless against both Ali Raja and Sheik Mercar, because of the intimidation they exercised and the absence of any authority from whom they could get justice, so that force was the only effective remedy.[3] In conclusion the Calicut factors declared that the English were in such disrepute that, unless the state of affairs were remedied, the Dutch need not trouble to turn them out, for the natives would effect this by their persistent tricks and abuses.[4]

[1] O.C. 4213, f. 12, & 4256, ff. 3–5.

* This probably represents *Kartā*, an agent, proprietor, manager, &c., which may have been the local name for the Governor. Thus its plural 'Curtaukal' (Tamil, *Karttakkal*) was the title of the Naik rulers of Madura, whose sway at this time extended to Travancore on the Malabar coast: *Madras Manual of the Administration*, iii. 255.

[2] O.C. 4213, ff. 2–11. [3] Ibid., ff. 2, 11, 13, 14, & O.C. 4256, f. 3. [4] O.C. 4213, f. 14.

Aungier and his Council took much the same view. They agreed that, unless some severe and rigorous course were taken with the Malabar Princes, their impositions would grow insufferable and the Company would be forced to quit its trade on the coast. They recommended the Company to authorize the use of open force, when necessary, to recover or preserve its rights and privileges, saying they would be very cautious about using it. 'The state of India . . . is much altered of what it was; that respect and justice, wherewith strangers in general and especially those of our nation were treated with, is quite laid aside; the name of the Honourable Company and the English nation, through our long patient sufferings of wrong, is become slighted; our complaints, remonstrances, paper protests and threatenings, are laughed at; . . . in violent distempers violent cures are only successful . . . the times now require you to manage your general commerce with your sword in your hands.' The Council had made several remonstrances to the Zamorin and other rulers in an effort to obtain redress; but little or no notice had been taken of them, so this year they had instructed Capt. Fisher of the *Berkeley Castle* and the other commanders with due caution 'to personate a more rough and bold appearance of our resentment' when they met with vessels sailing in those parts without English passes, and to give personal support to the factors on shore when asked to expostulate with any Governor, &c., abusing them. That was the most they dared to do without further authorization from the Company. No extraordinary charges would be involved in a chastisement such as the Council proposed, for the *Revenge* and *Hunter*, well manned with Bombay soldiers, would suffice to affright the whole coast; and it would be enough if the Company showed that it was in earnest to maintain its rights by force in seizing and confiscating the vessels of those who did not keep in proper amity with it. A monsoon or two at most would put an end to the quarrel, and if pepper were stopped at one port, it could be got from others. In two or three years' time it would become very difficult to get any pepper on the Malabar coast if steps were not taken to prevent the evil practices of the Dutch, who continued their enmity by secret and underhand methods.[1]

That even a show of resentment could have a good effect was evidenced by the result of the withdrawal of the Baliapatam factory

[1] O.C. 4258, ff. 6–8, 37; instrns. to Capt. Fisher, O.C. 4225, ff. 2, 3.

in the previous year. The Prince was anxious for the factors to return to his territory, saying that the departure of the English had done him more disgrace than all his conquests could make good. At a visit they made early in the year he received them civilly and promised them a convenient settlement, except at Dharmapatam. He personally took them to several places along the Baliapatam river, but none of these pleased them, as the sites were out of the way of trade and not so convenient as another place they thought might suit. This was Curly,* which lay between Cannanore and Dharmapatam, and where there was a small town of Moors and a little bazaar. The Prince was ready to give them favourable terms, and Mansell Smith forwarded an *ola* the Prince had written to Aungier about it.[1]

Aungier called for Petit's opinion on this proposal.[2] This was given in a memorandum, a copy of which was forwarded to the Company.[3] He there recounted the difficulties met with at Calicut and Baliapatam, and gave reasons for preferring Dharmapatam to Curly, which (he said) was an inconsiderable village with no manner of trade, no house for use as a factory, and no shipping facilities. Apart from Dharmapatam, where the Moors were so stubborn that the Cannanore Princes could not oppress them, he thought no place was safe except Calicut or Tanur, where the Governor was a generous one and pepper was cheaper than at Calicut.[4] No orders were passed on the question during the year; but the situation enabled the factory at Calicut to make as great investments as ever at Dharmapatam.[5]

The three ships (p. 268) took down treasure and coral to Calicut,[6] but further details are not available. Mansell Smith came to Surat on the *Society*.[7] In March he had asked for leave to go to England on the homeward ships, but the Surat Council refused this and proposed to keep him at Bombay or Surat, till he had better adjusted the factory accounts.[8] The main trouble was the large amount of outstanding debts, recovery of which was proving very difficult. These included debts incurred in Petit's time, such as those of Ali Raja and his

* Petit says this was two miles from Dharmapatam and six from Cannanore. The only place I can find on the Trigonometrical Survey map that might correspond is *Chirakutala*.

[1] O.C. 4180, f. 1.
[2] Sur. let. 14 June, 89 Sur. 43.
[3] O.C. 4212.
[4] Ibid., ff. 3–5.
[5] O.C. 4256, f. 2.
[6] O.C. 4225, f. 2.
[7] O.C. 4258, f. 37.
[8] O.C. 4180, f. 3; 4258, ff. 19 & 37.

brother amounting to 17,847 fanams.[1] Consequently Petit also was called on to give the Council satisfaction in regard to their recovery.[2] He was in trouble, too, with the Company over short-weight of pepper shipped on the *Golden Fleece* in 1672, which the Surat Council had explained as mainly due to the hurry in which the lading had to be done, with a Dutch fleet in the offing. The Company, however, merely replied that they noted the excuse, but expected the Council to receive satisfaction from Petit for it. His answer was that he was not responsible for the loss, and the Council in forwarding it to the Company expressed the hope that, if it was not accepted, the loss would be debited to Petit, and not to its account.[3]

George Bowcher, as already arranged, succeeded Mansel Smith as Chief of the factory, which lost one of its members by the death of Lambert Daniel in June.[4]

THE MALABAR COAST, 1677

VERY little material for an account of the coast factories is afforded by the records for the first half of the year.* Early in February Oxinden left Surat on the *Good Neighbour*, which took him down to Mangalore to get rice for Bombay (p. 168). Some 2,636 bales of it were laden on the *Malabar Coaster*, the *Good Neighbour*, and the *Phoenix* in February and March.[5] The *Phoenix* took 5,000 sequins to Calicut to help the factory in its investment. Oxinden unsuccessfully tried to get a cargo of freight goods for the vessel's return voyage at Karwar and Calicut, but secured a consignment of betel-nuts from Bhatkal to a Parsi merchant at Surat, by name Dhanji Vora.[6] Oxinden was back at Karwar in March,[7] and remained there till he left in November,[8] on being recalled to Surat (p. 280).

[1] O.C. 4213, f. 4, & 4241.

[2] O.C. 4258, f. 37.

[3] Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec. 1674, 7 Bom. 9, 10; desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 263; Petit's memo. 26 Dec., O.C. 4245; O.C. 4258, f. 9.

[4] O.C. 4258, f. 19, & 4224, f. 3.

* There are no extant Karwar letters to Surat till November, and none from Calicut till July.

[5] Oxinden's let. 22 Feb., 20 & 28 March, 89 Sur. 20, 27, 29; Bom. let 3 April & 2 May, 8 Bom. 29 (For. 130), 35.

[6] Sw. con. 25 Jan., 4 Sur. 11; Cal. let. 28 Feb., 89 Sur. 25; Sur. let. 1 Feb. & 31 July, 89 Sur. 9, 52.

[7] Kar. let. 20 March, 89 Sur. 20.

[8] Kar. let. 19 Nov., 107 Sur. 7, 8.

In May Aungier and his Council called on the Karwar factory to supply 66,000 pieces of cloth, but anticipated that the full quantity would not be forthcoming, owing to 'intestine troubles'.[1] In June the Bombay Council reported that 'all the Deccan country is soe miserably harrassed that Mr. Child [at Rajapur] does not expect to provide a piece of goods this year, and wee believe Carwarr to be in little better estate'.[2] Though Sivaji was engaged on his Carnatic expedition, he had left the Konkan districts in charge of Annaji Datto, with a strong force at his disposal, to look to his interests.[3] Hubli, Karwar's chief mart, in particular suffered considerably. In August the Surat Council described it as 'in a manner ruined', and said 'the country lies waste, the people being disheartened by the wars', so that the price of cotton had risen 50 per cent.[4] Later on Annaji hovered round it with a force, demanding *chauth* from the Governor, who refused to pay it.* The result was that the country, on which the factory depended for its supply of cloth, was 'so infested with wars and environed round both with Moguls and Sivajis armies' that only a small quantity was obtained.[5]

About the beginning of November the *Success* arrived with a stock of broadcloth, lead, and coral, and with instructions that what was not wanted should be returned.[6] The factory kept only 10 out of 32 bales of broadcloth, as a proposal by Oxinden to barter cloth and lead for Deccan pepper fell through, and the continuing troubles disheartened all trade.[7] The ship left about 19 November, taking Oxinden, who had handed over charge to Jones, as a passenger.[8] The quantity of cloth sent up is not stated, but was considerably less than had been ordered.[9] On 29 November the *Revenge*, which had been sent down by Petit in October (p. 176), took up fourteen bales of cloth that had arrived late from Hubli, and five seamen, who had run away from the *Success* while she was at Goa.[10] Oxinden,

[1] Sur. con. 9 May, 4 Sur. 54–7.
[2] 8 Bom. 38 (For. 132).
[3] Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 289; Bom. let. 2 Aug., 8 Bom. 45.
[4] Sur. let. 31 Aug., O.C. 4270, f. 7.
* Kar. let. 29 Nov. & 13 Dec., 107 Sur. 35, 36; Raj. let. 8 Dec., 107 Sur. 43. According to Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 425, Hubli was looted on 3 Nov.
[5] Kar. let. 19 Nov., 107 Sur. 8; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 26.
[6] Sur. con. 1 & 2 Oct., & instrns. to Capt. Swanley, 13 Oct., 4 Sur. 86, 91, 92, 95.
[7] Sur. con. 14 July & 2 Oct., 4 Sur. 71, 92; Kar. let. 19 Nov., 107 Sur. 7; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 12.
[8] Kar. let. 19 Nov., 107 Sur. 7, 8; Oxinden's let. 6 Dec., 107 Sur. 7.
[9] Ibid.; 89 Sur. 26.
[10] Kar. let. 29 Nov., 107 Sur. 35.

who was stopped at Bombay to relieve Petit (p. 186), wrote to the Surat Council that he would have liked to come up and represent the need of reducing the two factories of Karwar and Rajapur, which were 'more than enough in these distracted times, when no goods will vend, nor hardly any [are] procurable'.[1]

The Company had sent out two gold medals for presentation to Chamberlain and Lowndes in recognition of their gallantry in defence of the Company's estate during the troubles of 1673 (p. 318), and these were duly delivered.[2] After Oxinden's departure an unfortunate quarrel arose between Lowndes, Haggerston, and Goring, 'which proceeded to a drawing of their rapiers'; and Jones said that, unless those in fault were punished, there could be no quiet living in the factory.* In December Lowndes was sent to Hubli, where the Governor's conduct had made the factory broker so nervous about the safety of his person that he had fled, and the Company's property there was in some jeopardy.†

In December a new Subadar, by name Visaji Kambdu, was sent by Annaji Datto. Jones describes him as a very morose man, who made fair promises of friendship, the performance of which was much doubted.[3] Sivaji's government continued to be more exacting than the previous Bijapur rule.[4]

The Calicut factory had another troubled year. As already mentioned (p. 355), the *Phoenix* in February brought it 5,000 sequins. The *Persian Merchant* on its way to Bantam also stopped there early in April to deliver articles suitable for presents.[5] After that, the factory had, as usual, to wait till October for a supply of fresh stock.

In January and February the Kotta pirates (p. 296) became 'worse than ever'. They seized an Englishman, Isaac Watts, from a Damaun vessel, and either because they could not get ransom for him or he refused to turn Mohammedan, 'basely set him up against a

[1] 107 Sur. 7.

[2] Desp. 8 March, 5 L.B. 405; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 17; Kar. let. 19 Nov., 107 Sur. 8.

* Kar. let. 29 Nov., 107 Sur. 35. No details are given, as it was said Capt. Minchin would be able to tell the whole story. When asked for a full report after Lowndes's death, Jones begged to be excused, it 'being something inhumane to rake in the ashes of the dead' (Kar. let. 23 March 1678, 107 Sur. 78).

† Kar. let. 13 Dec., 107 Sur. 36. A later letter says that Lowndes fell ill of a violent fever within seven days of his arrival, and died on 6 Jan. 1678 (107 Sur. 47).

[3] Kar. let. 16 Jan. 1678, 107 Sur. 47.

[4] O.C. 4270, f. 7.

[5] Instrns. to Capt. Bowers, 4 Sur. 28; Sur. let. 31 Aug., O.C. 4270, f. 7; Cal. let. 23 July, O.C. 4286.

tree and lanced him to death'. They also surprised Chase and Meriton as they were going by land to Dharmapatam, and kept them prisoners for some time.[1] Previous to that they had made an attack on the *Happy Rose** as she lay quietly at anchor in the Dharmapatam road, which was only repelled after three hours' 'sharp dispute', the pirates being beaten back with the loss of a great many men.[2] It was believed that Ali Raja had instigated this gross affront, and aided it with his men and ammunition.[3]

The Surat Council ordered the factory to cease all further commerce and communication with the town of Dharmapatam and Ali Raja, and in June consulted Petit and his Council on a proposal to resort to forcible reprisals against the offenders by sea, after the monsoon was over.[4] The Bombay Council agreed and suggested that the *Revenge* and the *Hunter* with the two *manchuas* should be sent out for this purpose, manned by sixteen to twenty files of soldiers and under a chief commander of discretion and experience, carrying 'in one hand the sword and in the other an olive branch'.[5] Petit himself was designed for this enterprise;[6] but it was postponed in consequence of Aungier's death, as James and Chamberlain thought it wiser in the circumstances 'to keep things as they are at present' until they received the Company's orders on the recommendation that had already been made for forcible reprisals, when necessary.†

This development put an end to any idea of settling a factory at Dharmapatam or elsewhere in the territory of the young Prince of Baliapatam, who had subdued Ali Raja and his other opponents and had renewed his invitation to the Calicut factors to return. They excused themselves on the ground of the insecurity that was apparent from his subjects having ventured to attack an English ship in his own port. They also resolved to avoid trading at Dharmapatam and to make all their bargains at Calicut and Tanur.[7]

[1] Cal. let. 28 Feb., 107 Sur. 26; Bom. let. 3 April, 8 Bom. 29 (For. 130); Sur. let. 13 June, 89 Sur. 43.

* The *Happy Rose* belonged to Aungier (Bom. let. to Co. 16 Dec. 1674, 7 Bom. 20).

[2] Sw. con. 26 Feb., 4 Sur. 20; Sur. let. 13 June, 89 Sur. 43.

[3] Ibid.

[4] 4 Sur. 20, 21; Sur. let. 13 June, 89 Sur. 43.

[5] Bom. let. 27 June, 8 Bom. 39, 40 (For. 132, 133).

[6] Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 25.

† Sur. con. 14 July, 4 Sur. 70. The Company's rather indefinite orders authorized reprisals by the seizure of vessels and goods, if 'amicable ways' were not successful (desp. 15 March 1678, 5 L.B. 542).

[7] Cal. let. 13 July, O.C. 4286, f. 3.

Attempts were made to get redress for the injuries committed by the Kotta pirates in personal interviews with the Zamorin and the Second and Third Rajas. The factors obtained only 'fair promises and bigg words', coupled with the usual request for a loan to the Third Raja; and, on their showing their resentment at this result of their complaints, they were met with a wholly unexpected demand that they should pay customs on all the pepper the Company had ever shipped at Tanur. In vain Bowcher pointed out the unreasonableness of this proposal: his arguments only brought a declaration from the Third Raja that otherwise they would have to leave Calicut and go to Tanur, if they wanted to trade there. This was an effectual threat, for it was doubtful whether the Raja of Tanur could give them real protection, if the factory were to move there. The discussion ended in their making a loan of 7,000 fanams and leaving the question of Tanur customs in abeyance.[1]

It soon, however, became clear that the Third Raja meant business. A difficulty had arisen about getting pepper, owing to the Dutch having taken possession of a fort commanding the main mart, to which pepper was brought for transport up the coast to Tanur and Calicut. The Dutch also had agreed to take a large quantity from Cochin and the neighbouring country. The result was that merchants were chary about contracting to supply pepper, and the price also rose. However, merchants at Tanur agreed to provide Bowcher with 500 candies at $12\frac{3}{4}$ sequins a candy.[2] On the arrival of the *Scipio* on 24 October, it was accordingly taken from Calicut to Tanur for lading; but the chief merchant there, before whom no other merchant dared to make a move, delayed sending his pepper, though he had been more than paid for it. It was only after several days that he was forced by the King and the Governor to deliver it, whereupon he instigated the Third Raja to send some Nairs to demand payment of customs on the pepper in the Zamorin's name. This delayed its shipping for three or four days till the Tanur ruler came with his Nairs and drove them off. The *Scipio* then took in the pepper and returned to Calicut. There more difficulties arose. The Governor prohibited their shipping any pepper until customs had been paid on all the pepper ever shipped at Tanur. The *Scipio* consequently had to leave about 11 November without getting any additional cargo. Bowcher persuaded the Governor to go to Ponnani

[1] Ibid., ff. 1, 2, 4. [2] Ibid., ff. 2, 5.

and discuss the matter with the Third Raja;[1] but this was useless, for the latter was so determined on having these customs that he went to war about it with the King of the small territory in which Tanur lay, and after burning some of his places reduced him to compliance. The factory was, therefore, forced to pay 3,500 fanams before it was allowed to ship a single bale on the *George*, which reached Calicut early in November. Not content with this, the Governor forbade their taking the ship to Tanur to collect the rest of the pepper there, or even their bringing it in boats to Calicut, unless they agreed to pay customs to the Zamorin. If they took the ship there, he said, they might all go on it and should not return to the factory or carry anything out of it. A surreptitious attempt to ship the pepper failed, and in the end they had to yield, in order to get their stuff aboard.*

The *Scipio* brought to Swally 434 candies of pepper, and the *George*, which left about 27 November, 803 candies, as well as 103 bales of cinnamon and 26 bales of cardamoms. The trouble about the Tanur customs prevented an equal lading of the two ships, and the *George* was so full that some of the pepper had to be 'shot' into her hold, contrary to the Company's orders, and over 200 bales were left behind.[2] The *Scipio*'s load was disappointing, and the total quantity provided was far behind that ordered, viz. 400 tons of pepper, 300 bales of cinnamon, and 200 bales of cardamoms.[3] The latter commodities, however, were scarce and dear, while cinnamon could only be procured with difficulty from places under Dutch influence.[4]

By July Bowcher had been able to sell his stock of broadcloth and coral, though the former only fetched the low rate of Rs. 2¾ a yard, but his copper and tin had no sale and ready money had to be paid for all bargains in cinnamon and cardamoms, so the factory needed replenishment of its funds in October. The *Scipio* brought down 12,000 sequins and some lead, but the latter was returned, as the

[1] Cal. let. 12 Nov., O.C. 4297, f. 1.

* Cal. let. 27 Nov., O.C. 4300. The ultimate arrangement was that all goods at Tanur should pay the same customs as at Calicut, out of which the King of Tanur was to take what he used to get, and the Zamorin was to have the surplus (Cal. let. 9 Feb. 1678, 107 Sur. 63).

[2] O.C. 4297, f. 1, & 4300, ff. 1, 2; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 25.

[3] Sur. con. 9 May, 4 Sur. 54–7; Child's let. 18 Dec., 107 Sur. 16; Sw. let. 21 Jan. 1678, 89 Sur. 16.

[4] O.C, 4286, f. 5.

hostility to the factory made it unsafe to keep it.[1] The *George* also supplied some broadcloth, coral, and presents.[2] The factory was thus well provided. Its accounts, however, continued to be in an unsatisfactory state, and Petit, M. Smith, and Bowcher were at loggerheads about their proper adjustment.[3] Ali Raja also remained in possession of property of the Company without accounting for it.[4] His chastisement had, as already stated, had to be postponed.

No direct trouble from Dutch interference is reported during the year; but the Commandore of Cochin went on a tour up the coast, in the course of which he paid a visit to the Third Raja, who was so much under Dutch influence that Bowcher said, 'if he durst, he would turn us out'. He was also ready to let the Dutch settle a factory at Calicut.[5]

[1] Ibid., ff. 3, 4, 5; O.C. 4287, f. 5, 4297, & 4300; Sur. con. 30 July & 21 Aug., 4 Sur. 74, 76.
[2] O.C. 4287, f. 5.
[3] Sur. let. 14 July & 27 Oct., 89 Sur. 47, 72; Bom. let. 8 March, 8 Bom. 21 (For. 126); Petit's memo. 19 March 1678, O.C. 4371; Smith's let. 21 Feb. 1678, 107 Sur. 49–52.
[4] Cal. let. 27 Nov., O.C. 4300, f. 1.
[5] O.C. 4286, ff. 2, 5; Cal. let. 9 Feb. 1678, 107 Sur. 64.

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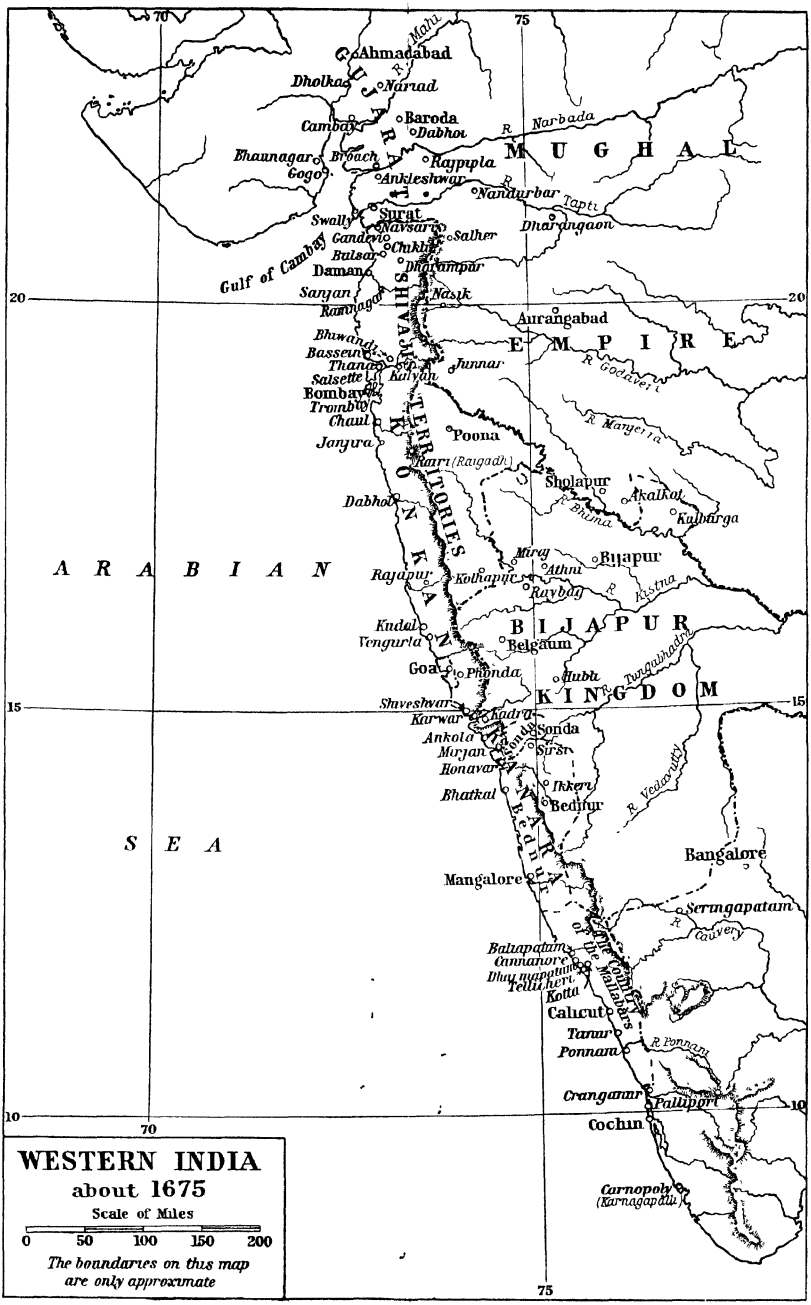
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Scale of Miles
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20
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SHIVAJI'S TERRITORIES
BIJAPUR KINGDOM
Gulf of Cambay
Ahmadabad
Dholka
Nariad
Cambay
Baroda
Dabhoi
Bhaunagar
Broach
Rajpipla
Gogo
Ankleshwar
Nandurbar
Swally
Surat
Navsari
Dharangaon
Gandevi
Chikli
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Balsar
Dharampur
Daman
Sanjan
Nasik
Ramnagar
Aurangabad
Bhiwandi
Basseen
Thana
Kalyan
Junnar
Salsette
Bombay
Trombay
Chaul
Poona
Jonjura
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Sholapur
Akalkot
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