

THE ENGLISH "COUNTRY TRADE" WITH MANILA PRIOR TO 1708

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IT IS THE AIM OF THIS PAPER TO EXAMINE HOW THE ENGLISH COUNTRY trade"¹ with Manila was developed and conducted prior to 1708. The term "country trade" requires some definition and explanation. It was applied by the English to the intra-Asian trade within the area from the east coast of Africa to China. The advent of the European East India Companies greatly stimulated development of this port-to-port trade as more and more channels of commerce were opened up. Quite naturally, the expansion of the direct Europe-Asian trade and the intra-Asian trade had an ever-increasing influence on the types of goods traded. These momentous changes re-oriented the traditional pattern of Asian trade. The European East India Companies were not alone in their deep interest in this lucrative intra-Asian trade; indeed their servants, too, participated in their capacity as private traders with the object of increasing their personal fortunes. In India, the servants of the European East India Companies reaped substantial incomes from the indulgence in the country trade.

The English East India Company servants engaged themselves as early as the 1620's in private trade, a practice which the Court of Directors had to recognize as a matter of expediency. Until the advent of the English "free merchants" the bulk of the country trade remained largely in the hands of the Company servants. The English free merchants, although not officially affiliated with the East India Company, were permitted to settle in the Company's settlements in India and to engage in

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¹ This "country trade" was commonly referred to as the Eastern or Malay Trade in the sense that the English merchants carried their trade from port to port as well as direct trade in the Malay Archipelago and China. The Manila-Madras trade or popularly known as the "Manilha trade" was an integral part of the Malay trade. See Holden Furber, *John Company at Work*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1949, p. 162. Consult also John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, Archibald Constable and Company, Edinburgh: 1820, Vol. III, p. 293.

private trade under special license. Among the free merchants were many former Company servants who had either retired or resigned from active service.

The ships employed by both the Company's servants and the English free merchants were known as "country ships." These ships, locally built in India, were either owned by the English Company servants and English free merchants, or were chartered from native ship owners. Moreover, the country ships were placed on an altogether different footing from the East India Company vessels (East Indiamen) in that they were not subject to the supervision of the Company administration.

BEFORE WE TRACE THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH COUNTRY trade with Manila in the period covering the years 1670-1708, it is essential to consider the early attempts of the Spanish at Manila to open commercial contacts with India. From the time of the establishment of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines up to about the third quarter of the 17th century, there was no serious effort made on the part of the Spanish government to open a new channel of trade between the Coromandel Coast and Manila. Referring to this apparent lack of Spanish interest, Casimiro Diaz, a Spanish historian remarked:

. . . This commerce with the coast of Coromandel had remained quite neglected by the Spaniards of the Filipinas—who never had maintained any other trade and commerce than that of China, Japón, and Macán . . .²

It was not until the time of Manuel de Leon, the Spanish governor-general from 1669 to 1677, that the establishment of another branch of Asian trade was undertaken in outright disregard of the Spanish spirit of exclusiveness and abhorrence of foreign intercourse.³ Again, Casimiro Diaz, observed:

The former lines of commerce were renewed and other new ones opened up—such as that of the coast of Malabar and Santo Tomé—called the Coromandel coast and those of Suratte, Macán, and Batavia.⁴

² Casimiro Diaz, "Augustinians in the Philippines," B and R Vol. 42, p. 155.

³ The law of 1593 passed by the *Consejo de Indias*, the highest governing body of the Spanish colonies, prohibited Spaniards from going to China and other Asian ports to fetch merchandise for transshipment, but they could freely buy what was brought by the Chinese. This law was not strictly enforced. "In the Philippines, the gap between the law and its observance was expanded by geographical isolation." See John L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison: 1959 p. 84; John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*, Scribner's Sons, New York: 1899, p. 273; see also Juan J. Delgado, S.J., *Historia General-Sacro-Profana, Política y Natural de las Islas del Poniente Llamadas Filipinas*. Manila: 1892 Tomo Unico, p. 220.

⁴ Casimiro Diaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

In 1674, the first known enterprising Spanish trader, Juan Ventura Sarra, a native of Catalonia, who later settled in Manila, made a voyage to Siam⁵ and Malabar. Another Spanish resident of Manila who made a commercial venture into the Coromandel Coast was Don Luis Matienzo,⁶ a daring merchant. The following year, bringing along with him a substantial amount of silver, he proceeded via Malacca and purchased goods, mostly cotton "piece goods," at Masulipatam.⁷ His purchase, which had been easily disposed of at Manila, gave him a comfortable profit to whet the interest of the citizens of the city to engage in this traffic. However, the first Spanish vessel to call at the port of Madras in June, 1678, was the *San Miguel*.⁸ The following year, she made a second visit to Madras, and her commander this time was not John Domingos, an Armenian, but Francisco Cornera. During the time of Streynsham Master, "the governour of Manila and other persons" consigned, through their agent, Francisco Carneiro de Alcassona, the sum of 10,064 Ryalls of 8/8, 600 Pagodas, 60 Ryalls of gold, and 85 chests of Copper"⁹ to Pedda Vencatadry, for the purpose of purchasing Indian textile goods of all sorts and descriptions. After the lapse of 8 years, another Spanish vessel, the *Jesús Nazareno*¹⁰ was dispatched to trade at Madras, under the command of William Nagle.¹¹ She was followed by two Spanish ships from "Manilha. . . with considerable stocks to buy cloth"¹² in January and February 1693. The last Spanish merchant to make his purchases at Madras came with Don Teraleo, the commander of the *San Jose* in 1694. He spent about four months completing her cargo "probably with connivance and concurrence of some of the joint stocks merch."¹³ When he was ready to leave Madras, he had bought "2000 bales of cloth for Manilha."¹⁴

⁵ In the early 1670's, a Spanish ship "from Manila had brought treasure in exchange for calicoes and etc., "John Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, K. Paul Trench Trübner & Co., London: 1890, p. 170.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁷ Sir Charles Fawcett, (ed.) *The English Factories in India 1670-1677*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1936 Vol. II, pp. 98-102.

⁸ *DCB*, 1678-1679, p. 69; 1679--1680, p. 76; 1680-1681, p. 93.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1681, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1686, p. 21.

¹¹ There is evidence of Irishmen in Manila in the 1680's and in the 18th century, but no information has so far been found telling that they were Irish Jacobite exiles of the English Revolution of 1688. William Dampier mentions a certain Irish Roman Catholic named John FitzGerald in Manila who was married to a Spanish mestiza. FitzGerald spoke fluent Spanish, taught "physics and surgery," and lived well there. "Dampier in the Philippines," B and R, Vol. 39, 1683-1690, p. 88. See also Pedro Murillo Velarde, "Jesuit Mission," B and R, Vol. 44, p. 29.

¹² *DCB*, 1694, p. 122.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *LFSG.*, 1694, p. 34.

There were also irregular and intermittent Spanish voyages from Manila to Macassar, Cochin-China,¹⁵ Cambodia, Tonquin,¹⁶ Batavia,¹⁷ and Siam.¹⁸ Before the breakdown of Portuguese Macao-Spanish relations, the Manila merchants went to Macassar to purchase "four sorts of white cloath"¹⁹ and a large quantity of pepper estimated to about 100 tons per annum. The Macassar traders realized a profit of 150% from the sale of cloth alone. The pepper was sold at "15 rialls of eight"²⁰ per picul. Casimiro Diaz, in his account of a goodwill mission from the King of Macassar in 1658, states:

It had a very rich trade with Philippine in former times, but it has entirely ceased since 1673 when commerce was first established with the coast of India.²¹

One significant effect of these early private ventures was the strong stimulus they gave to other adventurous Spanish citizens. Some Spanish merchants responded enthusiastically to the splendid opportunity of getting the finest cotton and silk fabrics directly from India at a price more reasonable than that which they actually paid to the Siamese, Chinese, or Macassar traders at Manila. Within a comparatively short time after the inauguration, the direct trade proved a boon to many citizens of Manila. So profitable and large in volume was the direct trade that further determined efforts were made to extend it to other directions. As time passed, the taste for Indian commodities was generally making its way through the luxury-loving Spaniards of Mexico via Manila.²² For many years, the

¹⁵ In the 1690's, the Spaniards from Manila used to have some of their galleons built at Cochin China. See "Thomas Bower to Nathaniel Higginson, April 30, 1696," Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, Printed by W. Ballantine, London: 1808 Vol. 1, p. 91.

¹⁶ An appreciable amount of "country trade" also existed between Tongking and Manila. See Ma Yi Yi, "English Trade in the South China Seas, 1670-1715," Ph. D. thesis, (University of London, 1958), p. 4.

¹⁷ The Sultan of Bantam undertook several profitable ventures in Manila and invited the Spanish Governor to trade at Bantam. The Spanish Governor returned the compliment by sending a small vessel to Bantam. "Bantam Letter to Surat, June 8, 1668" Fac. Rec. Ch. II, 1623-1683, Vol. I, fol. 423.

¹⁸ In the 1680's, the King of Siam sent annually a *somah* to Manila which was laden . . . "of Surat, and Coromandell, some raw and wrought silkes of China . . . Iron, and makes returns in Ryalls of eight" . . . , John Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

¹⁹ See William Foster, (ed.) *The English Factories in India, 1642-1645*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1913 p. 192.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, "The piece of eight" was a coin whose weight and intrinsic value was equivalent to eight reals of silver. "Various Documents Relating to Commerce," B, and R, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, f.n. 11, p. 73.

²¹ William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York: 1959, p. 143.

²² For nearly over two centuries, Manila played the role of a "way station," as C. R. Boxer describes it nicely, between Asia and Mexico. In this regard, Professor Holden Furber also cogently states: "Prior to 1760, the islands had been as it were, an appanage of New Spain trading solely with Acapulco in

liberal but unauthorized commercial policy of Governor Manuel de Leon was carried on by his successor Juan de Vargas Hurtado whose administration ended in 1684.²³ During the entire term of Hurtado, Manila maintained a flourishing trade "with foreign nations, as those of Coromandel Coast, Bengal and Surrate."²⁴

These early Spanish voyages, although successful, were never sustained over a long period, because of the heavy dependence placed on the periodic arrival of Chinese trading junks. In this regard Hosea B. Morse cogently states that:

The Spaniards were the second to enter into the China Trade, first visiting in 1575, but their carrying trade they left to the Chinese trading with Manila.²⁵

The Directors of the English East India Company, in spite of the repeated failures to obtain through diplomatic means the liberty to trade at Manila, never fully lost sight of the possibilities of trying every expedient way to enter the Manila market.

After the diplomatic rebuff at the Court of Madrid, the task of obtaining entrance into and the development of the exclusive Manila market was entirely relegated to the Company agents and later on to private merchants at the factories in India. With the loss of Bantam, the Directors gave up many of their projects for trade in the Far East and began to concentrate the power and resources of the East India Company on the Indian Sub-Continent. The calamity further afforded the Company servants and private traders ample opportunity to devise a strategem of approach to the restricted Manila trade that could be adopted with effectiveness and skill.

Mexico, by means of an annual galleon. Politically, administratively, financially, they were in the West not in the East and all communication with Spain took place via Spanish America." Professor Furber emphatically stresses the fact that "before that date the Spaniards were content to supply the European East India companies with silver for export to India and China." See C.R. Boxer, "The Closing of Japan in 1636-1639," *History Today*, Vol. 6, No. 2, December, 1956, p. 831; Consult also Holden Furber, "An Abortive Attempt at Anglo-Spanish Commercial Cooperation on the Far East in 1793," *Hispanic-American Historical Review*, November, 1936, Vol. 15, pp. 448-463. Cf. Holden Furber, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

²³ Governor Hurtado was also active in the constructions of vessels and the *Sto. Niño* was built during his term of office, 1677-84, "The Events of Manila, 1690-91," B and R. *op. cit.*, Vol. 40, p. 31.

²⁴ Casimiro Diaz, *op. cit.*, p. 152. Confirming this extensive trade of Manila, Murillo also states that trading vessels came "from Coromandel, Surrate, and other parts of the Orient," See Pedro Murillo y Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Pilipinas de la Compañia de Jesus, Que Comprehende Los Progresos de esta Provincia desde el año de 1616, Hasta el de 1716*, Manila: 1749, p. 300.

²⁵ Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Gilds of China with an Account of the Guild of Merchants or Cohong*, Longmans, Green, & Co., London: 1932, p. 66.

THE COMMERCIAL SUCCESS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN PREVIOUS TIMES AND THE Armenian ship *Hopewell* in 1668 in gaining access to the Manila trade provided an excellent impetus to employ non-English owned vessels and super-cargoes of foreign nationalities to establish trade contacts with Manila. When a report from the Surat Presidency telling that Khwaja Minas,²⁶ an Armenian, had for three consecutive years been engaged in a trade with Manila, the Directors' favorably reacted to the suggestion of trading indirectly by sending English and Coast goods on Armenian vessels. Before the Surat Presidency could do anything in that direction, the Company agents at Madras had already made a preliminary attempt to infringe upon the restricted but lucrative Manila market. Major William Puckle, in his diary, mentions that "the servants of the Company (Coromandel Coast) traded to the Philippines"²⁷ besides other Asian countries in the 1670's. The trade to Manila, of course, was done surreptitiously by utilizing the services of the Indo-Portuguese merchants of St. Thomas and Madras.

The Indo-Portuguese came to live in Madras shortly after the occupation of the town by the English in 1639. To induce other Indo-Portuguese settlers to Madras, the East India company not only granted them free exercise of religion but also accorded them the same commercial privileges and rights as those of the English private merchants. The exercise of the latter privilege was, however, contingent upon the payment of a bond and customs duties of 4% to the English. In 1680, the Madras Council submitted a report to the effect that "our greatest income arises from the customs upon their Portuguese commerce . . ."²⁸ Within a period of three decades, the Portuguese were able to build up an extensive and prosperous trade in India and the neighboring Asian countries. The prosperity of the Indo-Portuguese community in the 1670's and 1680's was also characterized by corresponding increase in the Indo-Portuguese population. The basis of this was the liberal English policy towards all alien settlers particularly the Portuguese.²⁹

However, the greatest single benefit the Indo-Portuguese rendered to the East India Company was their usefulness in the development of the

²⁶ Khwaja Minas appears to be the first Armenian to have attempted to trade with Manila. In 1668, the ship *Hopewell* sailed to Manila with "a cargo of £15,000 in Calicoes, etc." William Foster, *op. cit.*, 1668-1669, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1927, p. 195.

²⁷ Sir Charles Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 262. See also William Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

²⁸ K. J. Crowther, "Portuguese Society in India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." D. Phil. thesis (Oxford University), 1959, p. 274. See also Henry D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800*, Published for the Government of India, London: 1913, Vol. 1, pp. 279, 304.

²⁹ The Portuguese population in Madras around 1650 was estimated to about 500 or 600. K. J. Crowther, *ibid.*, p. 273. See also Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

“country trade” with Manila. Among the Portuguese who had well served the Company’s trade with Manila, Joao Caroon seems to be the most outstanding. He was first employed as an interpreter with a compensation of 5 pagodas per month, and later as a pilot of the Armenian vessel, *Conjevaron*.³⁰ Thomas Bowrey, writing about the invaluable service of the Portuguese to the Company and particularly to the Manila trade in the period between 1669 and 1679, says:

... Yet notwithstanding such vast quantities are yearly sent hence for England, great Stores are transported and vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China and the South Seas, more especially to Moneela one of the Molucca Isles, belonging to the King of Spaine, but are sent thither in the name and under the *Colours of the Portugals* borne and bred in India; noe others being admitted a free trade thither, and especially the English, haveinge the same prohibition as to trade to the Spanish Garrisons in Mexico and Peruana in America.³¹

Thus, we find that long before the entry of William Dampier into the territorial waters of the Philippine archipelago, the Madras Council had already made headway in the establishment of direct voyages to Manila. Concerning the manner in which the early phase of the “country trade” relations with Manila was conducted, William Dampier, who visited Mindanao and Sulu in 1684, observes:

... Sometimes the English merchants of Fort St. George send their ships thither as it were by Stealth, under the charge of Portuguese Pilots and mariners: for as yet we cannot get the Spanish there to a Commerce with us, . . . This seems to arise from a jealousie, or fear of discovering the Riches of these Islands, for the most if not all the Philippine Islands, are rich in gold.³²

Furthermore, Dampier, noting this attitude of the growing Spanish mercantile class toward the English trade, says:

The Spanish Inhabitants, of the smaller Islands, especially, would willingly trade with us, if the Government was not too severe against it, for they have no goods but what are brought from Manila (sic) at an extraordinary dear rate.

³⁰ *DCB*, 1695, p. 91; 1669, p. 47; 1700, p. 28. In 1689, the Honorable Company ship *Defence* commanded by Captain William Heath left for Canton via Manila after the monsoon had already set in. To insure the safe passage of the ship, the service of an experienced Portuguese pilot was enlisted, together with another English pilot. See *LTFSG.*, 1689, p. 36; *DCB.*, 1689, p. 63. See also Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 41.

³¹ Thomas Bowrey, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal 1669 to 1679*, Sir Richard C. Temple, (ed.), Hakluyt Society, Cambridge: 1905, p. 5.

³² William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Adams and Charles Black, London. 1937, Vol. I, p. 307.

. . . if any of our Nations could seek a trade with them, they would not lose their labour: for the Spaniards can and will smuggle (as our seamen call Trading by Stealth) as well as any Nation . . . and I have been informed that Captain Goodlud of London in a voyage which he made from Mindanao to China, touch at some of these Islanls, and was civilly treated by the Spaniards who bought some of his commodities, giving him a very good price for the same.³³

The practice of issuing passes to the English "Manilha Shippes" "to goe under Portugues coulers"³⁴ became an accepted procedure and continued to persist even after 1688, the year when the Treaty with the Armenians was signed.

THE ARMENIANS WERE THE OTHER GROUP OF SETTLERS WHO PLAYED A SUBSTANTIAL part in the development of the so-called "Manila Trade." Many of them, too, drifted to Madras and settled there in 1688, through the assistance of Sir John Chardin, a famous traveler.³⁵ It was Josiah Child who had long perceived the advantages to be gained in employing the Armenians within the existing rules prescribed by the Company. He had good reasons to ask his subordinates to "encourage the Armenians in lading Indian goods, to treat them with kindness, and to urge them to reside in the Company's settlements."³⁶ The Armenians were a people, as far as he is concerned, "profoundly skillful as well as careful, diligent and exceedingly frugal in their ways."³⁷ He had visualized what great benefits the Company would derive from transforming the factories into centers of Asian trade and enhancing the revenues, should his desire to employ the Armenians be carried out.

On the basis of an agreement entered into between Sir Josiah Child on behalf of the Directors and Coja Phanoos Khalanthar on June 22, 1688, the Armenians were granted the same privileges that were accorded the Indo-Portuguese and English free merchants. The right of the Armenians to carry on trade with Manila and other Asian ports is specifically stated in the fourth article of the treaty:

That they may voyage from any of ye Comps^a Garrisons to any ports or places in India, ye South Seas, China or ye Manillas, in any of ye Comps^a ships or any permissive free ships allowed by ye Comps^a, and may have the liberty to trade to China, ye Manillas, or any other ports or places

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³⁴ "Elihu Yale to Francis Martin, Director General for the Royal French East India Company, June 23, 1688," *LFFSG*, 1688, p. 34.

³⁵ F. E. Penny, *On the Coromandel Coast*, London: 1908, p. 127.

³⁶ Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century in its Political and Economic Aspects*, Oxford University Press, London: 1923, p. 249.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

within ye limits of the Compaschre upon equal terms, duties and freights with any free Englishman whatsoever.³⁸

On the nature of the treaty of 1688, H. A. Stark makes this comment:

This treaty of 1688 did not forensically possess all the binding force of an international Act for it had been negotiated with a single individual of a race which had ceased to exist as a political nation. But it had gathered validity by the sanction of usage . . . Whether binding or not as a treaty, this much at any rate was certain, that is, had been held out by the Company to encourage the resort and settlement of Armenian traders . . .³⁹

Under the said specific proviso of the treaty, the Armenians carried on a considerable trade with Manila either on their own account or in joint partnerships with the English private merchants. Some groups of enterprising Armenians owned a few trading vessels that plied with an astonishing degree of regularity between Manila and Madras. In hiring seamen, the Armenian ship owners showed partiality to the Europeans, particularly English seamen, owing to their conduct, courage, superior skill in the art of navigation.⁴⁰ They offered them attractive wages and privileges. The pilot of the *Cajetan*, Francis Davenport, received as much as "10-15 pounds per month," and the gunner, William Swan got "6-9 pounds"⁴¹ plus the privilege of bringing merchandise freight free. In the 1690's, the Armenians of Madras were not as numerous as the Portuguese, but "the bulke of their Trade doe very considerably contribute to the Revenue."⁴²

As free access to Manila was allowed only to traders of Asian origin, English-owned goods were freighted on vessels owned by Armenians, Moslems, Hindus, and Parsis. Charles Lockyer, who was a Company servant in 1702-1704, tells us in the following passage about the employment of Armenian "colours."⁴³

Trade they drive to all parts eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, that of China is most desired for the gold and fine goods brought thence; but the Company sending directly from England vessels of their own has quite

³⁸ *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1686-1692, p. 157. Cf., Mesroub Seth, *History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 49.

³⁹ Herbert A. Stark, "The Armenians in India," *Calcutta Review* January, 1894, Vol. XCVIII, p. 140.

⁴⁰ See William H. Coates, *The Old Country Trade of the East Indies*, London: 1911, p. 20.

⁴¹ *DCB.*, 1698, p. 52.

⁴² *Pub. Desp. to Eng.*, 1694-96, p. 35.

⁴³ Since there was no Armenian government, the Armenian vessels plying between the Coromandel coast and Manila used Moorish colors. Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 133. Mesroub Seth tells us that other Armenian vessels "were officered with Englishmen and sailed under European flags." Mesroub Seth, *The History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1937, p. 581.

spoiled it. *Manilha*, under Armenian colours is a profitable voyage; Batavia, and the coasts of Java, Jahore, Malacca, Quedah, Pegu, Arracan, Bengall and all the Coromandell Coast, are yearly visited, with Acheen, Priaman, Indiapore, Bencoolen, Bantall, etc., on the West Coast of Sumatra, . . .⁴⁴

On many occasions, coast goods were brought in English-owned bottoms which assumed Asian names and were provided with Portuguese or Armenian captains⁴⁵ and seamen. Actually, the English merchants from Madras trading at Manila found it advantageous to name their vessels after terms of Indian origin or places in India, such as *Tanjore*, *Annapourna*, *Trivitore*, *Triplicane*, *Conjevaron*. To appeal to the religiosity of the Spanish ecclesiastics as well as citizens, other vessels derived their names from individuals or saints, true to the character or religious background of the Portuguese captain, such as *Nos Senhora de Boa Vista*, *St. Thomas*, *St. David*, *St. Paul*, and *Nos Senhora de Rosario*. Still another ingenious way of concealing the identity or ownership of the vessel was by designating an "alias" to the English ship, as in the case of the *Trivitore*, whose name was the *Jaggernot*.⁴⁶ The proffer of "some suitable presents"⁴⁷ was another effective means of hastening and facilitating the business of the English merchants at Manila. Another clever device employed was to consign the goods to Manila in the name of a prominent Hindu merchant.⁴⁸

ALTHOUGH THE SPANIARDS IN MANILA HAD SHOWN A STRONG AVERSION TO "paganism" and the Islamic faith, they entertained a greater feeling of apprehension regarding the Dutch, the English, and the French. To relieve the Spaniards of their recurring fear of foreign aggressiveness, the East India Company preferred the Portuguese and Armenians who were religiously acceptable as well as politically innocuous to the Manila authorities.

The first voyage to be launched from Madras under the Portuguese flag was that of the *Triplicane* in 1674. Between 1675 and 1677, there was a brief interruption in the Madras-Manila voyages. The annual voy-

⁴⁴ Charles Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India*, (London, 1711), p. 15.

⁴⁵ Feodor Jagor, the famous German traveler who visited the Philippines in the years 1859-1860, says that after the British occupation of Manila, the English vessels trading with Manila assumed "Turkish (sic.) names and were provided with Indian (sic.) sham captains." Jagor's *Travels* in Austin Craig, (ed.), *The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes*, D. Appleton & Co., New York: 1917, p. 115. See Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia General de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento hasta nuestras días*, Tomo II, Madrid, 1894, pp. 120-121; see also "Viana's Memorial of 1765" B. and R., *op. cit.*, Vol. 48, p. 271.

⁴⁶ *DCB.*, 1690, p. 54.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1689, pp. 61-63.

⁴⁸ *DCB.*, 1699, p. 51.

ages were revived in 1678 with the dispatch of *Tanjore* under the command of Domingo Mendis de Rosario, a Portuguese pilot. Again in 1689 and 1680, manned by another Portuguese pilot, Thomas Perez, the *Tanjore* made her second and third visits to Manila from Madras. She was followed by the *Trivitore* in 1680, the owner of which was Elihu Yale. From then onward, there came a steady arrival of trading vessels at the port of Manila. Each year, two voyages were made to Manila. The ships were properly issued a "printed passes"⁴⁹ and usually departed from Madras in the months of February and March, or, at the latest, in June and July in order to sail with the prevailing winds and also to be in time for the trading season at Manila. A ship calling at Malacca took about ten and a half months, more or less,⁵⁰ to sail to and from Manila. Many of the "Manilha Ships" traded in one or more ports, either in going to or in coming back from Manila.

The pattern of the "country trade" with Manila, in the early phase of its development, was basically determined by the types of goods and products shipped. The items for export to Manila were amply guided by a list of goods suitable for the Manila market. From time to time, the list was modified to conform with the fluctuating Spanish demands at Manila. By 1680, the lists became very specific and became concentrated on a few highly prized commodities. As to the quality of the goods, the revised list included the following specifications in order of their preferences:

*Goods Proper for Manilha from Madras and the Coast of Coromandell Vizt.*⁵²

Long cloth ordinary 70 Cov^d long & 2 Cov^{broad}
Sallampores ordy 32 CI & 2 C

⁴⁹ DCB., 1679-1680, p. 76; 1680-1681, p. 93; 1697, p. 67.

⁵⁰ Charles Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

⁵² The old list included all "sorts of cloth required from the Coast propper for Manilha:

25 Bales	Slave Clouth
30 "	Cambays
15 "	Allejaes—red of 8 Fathoms
5 "	Chilles, blue or red of 4 Fathoms
200 "	Ormoce Long Cloth, white
50 "	Sallampores Cloth, blue
50 "	" " red

Iron, in bars, 5000 Pecull

50 Gobarrs—rich of several sort and flowers of the Gaud manner

40 Pieces Comillrs litto

20 Pieces chints very fine

20 Pieces Rumbuttors "

40 Pieces Tappy Sorzassors—ditto

Bantam Letters to Fort St. George, May 25, 1668, with postscript of June 8, 1668, Fac. Rec. Ch. 1623-1699, Vol. 13, fols. 326-328. See also Report in the Trade of India, Fort of St. George, 1680. B.M., Add MSS 84, 123, fol. 36.

Bettlelaes, a few ordy 40 c long & 2 c^{brd}
 Cambays ordinary
 Do fine
 Sallampores fine a few
 Diamonds cut that weight 3 Stones to a Mangelin
 Metchlepatam Romalls
 Alejaes 16 Co Co 2^{broad}
 Saltpeter⁵³

In the early 1670's, the quantity of cotton piece goods recommended for export to Manila did not exceed 500 bales. At the turn of the century, the shipments of cotton piece goods were increased six fold. The second article which held the greatest hope for profit was iron. The quantity expected to be exported ranged from 5000 to 6000 peculs.⁵⁴ In addition to Indian "piece goods," diamonds and pearls were the other important items of export to Manila.

AT THE OUTSET, THE EAST INDIA COMPANY DIRECTORS LAID DOWN THE PROGRAM for promoting the sale of English manufactures in Manila—a policy in keeping with the traditional desire to create a market for national woolen products in the East.⁵⁵ In 1681, the Company's eagerness to introduce "Coholecester Bayes"⁵⁶ in Manila was clearly manifested. The Company planned to invest annually 8,000 or 10,000 pounds worth of English manufactures, long cloth, Sallampores, and other proper goods,⁵⁷ and afforded as a form of incentive to the Company's servants a 5 per cent commission. The Spanish merchants at Manila ordered from Amoy "50 peces (of Coholecester Bayes) for a tryall,"⁵⁸ but it turned out that such goods did not sell well in Manila. In 1686, the Company Directors tried again but in vain to consign English woolen stuffs to Bartholomew Rodriguez, a Portuguese Jew at Madras.⁵⁹ As it turned out, there was no ready market in Manila for such English goods. Under these circumstances, they ordered the *Rochester* to carry the unsold English goods back to England. Hence, the Company's experiment in creating a market

⁵³ The sale of saltpeter, guns, anchors, and other naval stores to the Spaniards in Manila was subject to the approval of the Madras Council.

⁵⁴ Bantam Letters to Fort St. George, 25th May, 1688 with post-script of June 8, 1688, Fac. Rec. Ch., 1623-1699, Vol. 13, fols. 326-328.

⁵⁵ Earl H. Pritchard, *Anglo-Chinese Relations During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, University of Illinois, Urbana: 1930, p. 45. See also D. K. Bassett, "The Trade of the English East India Company in the Far East, 1623-1684," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Part II, April and October 1960, p. 148.

⁵⁶ *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1681-1686, p. 132; see also *LTFSG.*, 1682, p. 135.

⁵⁷ *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1681-1686, p. 7.

⁵⁸ *LTFSG.*, 1682, p. 135.

⁵⁹ Ct. Bk., April 1687—March 1690, Col. 35, fol. 236. See also *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1686-1692, p. 87; Henry D. Love, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 485.

for English goods proved a complete disappointment because of the climatic conditions in the Philippines and the high prices for the English goods.

The trade in calicoes undoubtedly was of immense value, being the chief export from Madras in the early phase of the country trade. This is clearly reflected in the "Report on the Trade of Siam" written in 1678:

The ships from Suratt, and Coromandell, bring cargoes of sev:¹¹ sorts of Calicoes propp. for ye:^{use} of yt: Countrey and Exportacion to Japon, China, and Manillah, wch: they barter for Tynn Copp., Tutinague, and Porcellaine, . . .⁶⁰

Calico was gradually displaced in importance by the "Long Cloth ordinary of Conimere"⁶¹ and other sorts of textiles such as Gurras, Chintz, and Salampores.

It is difficult to give a full record of the value of the year-to-year exportation because the exact figures are few. In a voyage sponsored by the Council in 1684, *Annapourna* carried a cargo worth only £15,000.⁶² Later on, the *Annapourna* would realize 100,000 pagodas per shipment from the sale of 3,000 bales of Long Cloth. A bill of lading and invoice of a small Armenian ship bound for Manila indicated the value of goods to about 39,662 pagodas.⁶³ As many as "1000 pieces of Long Cloth Ordinary"⁶⁴ were shipped to Manila towards the closing years of the 17th Century.

Sugar, sappanwood, brimstone, copper, tobacco, wax, deer nerves,⁶⁵ cowries, silver, and gold works, and leather constituted the Manila export—silver specie predominating. To take one commodity alone, in the trading season of 1686, between 10 and 13 maunds of "Manila Tobacco"⁶⁶

⁶⁰ John Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁶¹ A common complaint lodged against the "Manilha ships" by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George was the system of making advanced payment to the tune of 5000 Pagodas in ordinary cotton goods to the Indian weavers. This practice, according to the Council, tended to bring up the prices of the cotton piece goods and to cause a scarcity. On the contrary, Professor G. Unwin points out the system of advancing large sums of money to Indian weavers stimulated the production of all sorts of piece of goods in demand, increased their sale, and provided employment to thousands of native workers. *LTFSG.*, 1684, p. 69. See also G. Unwin, "Indian Factories in the 18th Century." Issued by the Manchester Statistical Society, January 1924, p. 57; *DCB.*, 1692, p. 38; *ibid.*, 1690, p. 37.

⁶² Sir Charles Fawcett, (ed.) *The English Factories in India*, (The East Coast and the Bay of Bengal) New Series, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1936, Vol. IV, p. 80.

⁶³ The bales of cloth designed for the Manila market bore the mark "L. C.M." *Pub. Desp. to Eng.*, 1694-1696, p. 27.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1700, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Alexander Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, p. 87. See also "Thomas Pitt's Report in the Trade of India," B.M. 24, 123, fol. 36.

⁶⁶ *LTFSG.*, 1686-1687, p. 130.

were purchased on a wholesale basis by Passancore Venketty Putty, a Hindu merchant from Conjeveram. The shopkeepers of Madras were kept well stocked with Manila tobacco, ganjee and betel leaves by a group of Hindu merchants whose right or "cowle"⁶⁷ to farm out such commodities was granted by the Deputy Governor. The other important article for "ye making of Countrey Powder" was brimstone.⁶⁸ At least 10 maund of brimstone was yearly carried to Madras by the "Manilha" ships. The current price of the brimstone ranged from 6.18 to 8 pagodas per candy.⁶⁹ In addition to the other articles that found ready sale at Madras were "silver philligrin works,"⁷⁰ Manila plates,⁷¹ silver trunks,⁷² fine gold chains and chests⁷³—all made by the Chinese craftsmen in Manila. Silver Manila trunks and gold chains were among the valuable items presented to many Indian or Moslem potentates like Nabob Dawed (doud) Cawn⁷⁴ and Abdull Labbey⁷⁵ as gifts by the Governor of Fort St. George. Besides the silver and gold products, Manila leather⁷⁶ for the use of the Fort St. George garrison occupied an important position.

THE "MANILHA TRADE" WAS HIGHLY VALUED NOT BECAUSE OF THE MANILA products already mentioned but because of the silver that formed the bulk of the return cargo. The growing dependence of Madras on silver coming from Manila was made evident in Nathaniel Higginson's letter to the Deputy Governor of York Fort in Sumatra. It reads in part:

. . . wee depended with great reason on a supply of Dollars from Manilha, but one ship lost her passage, another came by way of Macao, and another came directly, but neither of them brought a dollar, nor there is 1000 dollars to be bought in ye place . . .⁷⁷

The amount of Spanish dollars that was realized in outright sale of Indian goods at Manila varied from time to time. It usually ranged

⁶⁷ Upon the payment of 133 Pagodas and 12 fanams to the Company, the "cowle" for farming out tobacco and ganjee was granted for a period of one year to the following Chittees:

Upallapa, Naranda, Eram Raz, Guragaila Paupaia, Bundur Baulu, Punjele Tango, Veraugu Pilla, Naungalu Peria, Paupe Redde, Verapa Chema Nurte, and Vincaputtee Panura Ramana. DCB., 1693, p. 50., *LTFSG.*, 1693-1694, p. 16.

⁶⁸ *LTFSG.*, 1700, p. 4.

⁶⁹ DCB., 1696, p. 84; *LTFSG.*, 1699-1700, p. 11.

⁷⁰ DCB., 1687, p. 173.

⁷¹ E. B. Sainsbury (ed.) *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, 1671-1673, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932, Vol. 9, p. 103.

⁷² *LTFSG.*, 1694, p. 31.

⁷³ DCB., 1698, p. 34.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1700, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1702-1703, p. 22.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1693, p. 11.

⁷⁷ *LTFSG.*, 1698, p. 61.

from 10,064 to 100,000 Spanish dollars⁷⁸ per year. The Spanish dollars brought in by the "Manilha ships" like the *Annapourna* were sold "at the Buzar price."⁷⁹ In the early years of the 1700's the current price of Spanish dollars was between 16 and 16¾ for every 10 pagodas.⁸⁰ Aside from silver, an appreciable quantity of "copangs"⁸¹ brought from Manila, were taken to the mint to be coined. The weight of 324 copangs from Manila, after being minted, would produce the equivalent values of 1668 pagodas; the mintage duties being one-half per cent or 110 pagodas.⁸²

The country trade with Manila up to the closing years of the 17th Century was a virtual monopoly of the Company servants at Madras. The reasons for this are not far to seek. In the first place, the number of English free merchants actively participating in the Manila trade prior to 1701 was negligible. To verify this point, let us take a glance at an official estimate of the number of English residents living in the Coromandel coast in 1699:⁸³

<i>Gentlemen</i>	
Company's servants at Fort St. George	30
Company's servants at Fort St. David	13
Company's servants at Visagpatam	3
Freemen	35
Seafaring men not constant inhabitants	38
	—
	119

<i>Women</i>	
Wives	26
Widows	14
Unmarried	10

Charles Lockyer, who was a Company servant in 1702-1704, also testifies that "all private trade in Country Ships has been so long ingross'd by the Company servants that they really think they have a right to do it at their own Rates."⁸⁴ In the second place the passage of the Parliamentary re-

⁷⁸ *DCB.*, 1681, p. 56; 1692, p. 31.

⁷⁹ The Consultation and Dyary Booke of Thomas Pitt, Esq. Pres. and Gov. and Council. Their proceedings and Transactions in the Affairs of the Rt. Hon. English East India Company on the Presidency of the Coast of Choromandell, Januarie, B.M., 22. 843, 1700. fols. 65, 161, 166, 177.

⁸⁰ *DCB.*, 1687, p. 45.

⁸¹ *DCB.*, 1687, p. 45.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 56; Much of the gold exported from Manila to Madras came from the rich mines in Luzon. See *Man. Cons.* 1762-1763, Vol. 3, p. 11.

⁸³ J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times, being a history of the Presidency from the first Foundation of the Governorship of Thomas Pitt, 1639-1709*, Madras: 1861, Vol. I, p. 356.

⁸⁴ Charles Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

gulation in 1694 granting to all Englishmen equal rights to trade in the East⁸⁵ heralded the breaking up of the servants' control of the Manila trade. A comfortable latitude was allowed by the Court of Directors to the East India Company servants in the matter of private "country trade," mainly because their salary was pathetically low.

Many Company servants actually reaped a steady if not handsome income from the indulgence in the "Manila trade." The leading Company official in Madras who showed an active and keen interest in the early trade relations with Manila was Elihu Yale. He owned at least three or four ships⁸⁶ plying regularly between Madras and Manila. An idea of how much profit a Company servant might expect per venture is gathered from the "*Letter Book of Thomas Pitt*." The case of William Dobyms, a Company official in London, is an interesting one. He was able to realize a profit of 49 per cent⁸⁷ from his investment of 500 pagodas in one of the ventures of the *Santa Cruz*, an Armenian vessel, to Manila. Other examples were of Mr. E. Bridge and a Mr. Lowell, who sent their goods to Manila under the name of Gruapa,⁸⁸ a Moorish merchant. Another example which deserves notice was William Jearsey, who formed a business partnership with Hodge Abdull Goddar,⁸⁹ a moorish merchant. On one occasion, Jearsey together with his Moorish associate, had endeavored to load goods on a moorish ship⁹⁰ for Manila at St. Thome, but was dissuaded by the President and Council on the grounds that it would spoil the intended voyage designed for that port.

We cannot ascertain, however, the number of Company servants engaged in private trade with Manila, nor can we determine the total value of their share with exactitude. The Company servants were averse to the regulations requiring them to keep and send an annual register of private trade. The objection arose partly from the fact that the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese were not burdened with such requirements by their respective governments. The practice of registering private trade was not properly enforced after the time of William Langhorne.⁹¹ There was ac-

⁸⁵ Sir Evan Cotton, *East Indiamen, The East India Company's Maritime Service*, The Batchworth Press, London: 1949, p. 124.

⁸⁶ The *Annapourna* was formerly owned by Pedda Venkatadri, and she used to frequent the port of Manila even before she was sold to Elihu Yale. Sir Charles Fawcett, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁸⁷ Letters to William Dobyms, February 18, 1705, and John Affleck, February 19, 1765, in the *Letter Book of Thomas Pitt, 1704-1706*, Vol. 8, B.M. Add. MSS. 22, 849, fol. 20.

⁸⁸ *DCB.*, 1699, p. 51.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1681, p. 21.

⁹⁰ There were also two vessels from Surat owned by a group of Moors that frequented Manila in the 1680's *Ibid.*, 1687, pp. 9, 12, 27, 31, 34.

⁹¹ Charles Fawcett (ed.) *The English Factories in India* (Western Presidency) New Series, The Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1936, Vol. I, pp. 162, 180.

tually no Englishman in Madras who would "give a true account of the value of goods against his own interest."⁹² In the absence of extant records showing the total value of the servants' private trade with Manila, we can only say that it must have been a substantial source of income, for their salaries were extremely meager.

THE VOYAGES OF THE COUNTRY SHIPS TO MANILA AND BACK WERE ATTENDED with a certain degree of risk. The "Manilha Ships" had to encounter not only the vicissitudes of tropical storms, but also the danger of attacks arising from piracy and, in time of war, from French or Dutch men-of-war. Moreover, the pirates seem to have preferred to intercept native trading vessels. They took precaution against attacking the East India Company ships which were provided with better means of self-defense than the Armenian vessels. Prior to the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe, they were more liable to be attacked by European pirates than by the enemies' men-of-war. The Red Sea, the Mozambique Channel, the Persian Gulf, and particularly the Mediterranean⁹³ were the main theaters of pirates' operations. They sometimes extended their activities as far as the Straits of Malacca.

Along the Malabar Coasts, there was also the danger from local pirates. The ship *Santa Cruz*, for instance, an Armenian vessel, with considerable cargo under the care of Alvaro Carcella bound for "Goa, Suratt, Manilha and C(hin)a," was captured by the "Danes or Pyratts"⁹⁴ somewhere between Goa and Surat. The receipt of news from the Danes at Tranquebar about a pirate ship heading toward the Straits of Malacca to lie "in wait for the Manilha or China ships"⁹⁵ momentarily caused a delay in the schedule of departure and arrival of the vessels from their respective ports of embarkation. The pirate ship, belonging to the "island of St. Maries near Madagascar," carried "24 great guns, 70 Europeans and 30 cofferies."⁹⁶ Another trading vessel harassed by a pirate was the *Pembroke Frigate* belonging to the East India Company. On her return voyage from "Delagoa" in late May, 1702, she was fired at and her commander was seized to act as pilot for the pirate ship enroute to the Straits of Malacca. The appearance of this ship was sufficient to cause a virtual stoppage of "a ship going to Canton, a second to Tonqueen, a third to Manhilla."⁹⁷ It was the ship *Conjevaron*⁹⁸ that was ordered by her proprietors, who realized the great risks involved, to desist from proceeding to Manila. Again in 1706, a pirate ship lurking in the

⁹² Charles Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁹³ Sir Evan Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁹⁴ *DCB.*, 1690, p. 14.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1700, p. 40.

⁹⁸ *Desp. to Eng.*, 1703-1704, p. 9.

vicinity of Malacca almost succeeded in capturing a "Manilha Ship" owned by a group of "Armenians, Moors, and Gentues."⁹⁹ This time, it was a brigantine armed with sixteen guns and manned by about 50 Europeans under the command of an Englishman named Jones,¹⁰⁰ who was believed to have come from New England. The Governor and Council at Madras expressed their deep concern over this incident for two reasons: firstly, the owners were inhabitants of India and the vessel itself carried a pass duly issued by them; and secondly, to deny the Armenians the Company's protection might eventually result in their migration to other places where security of property might be fully guaranteed.

Another interesting feature to be considered is the indirect benefits the East India Company derived from the early "country trade" with Manila. Every "country ship" bound for Manila had to pay 4% sea customs;¹⁰¹ in addition to nominal anchorage fees. The growing importance of the "Manila trade" had been fully recognized as an additional source of income in revenues for the East India Company towards the closing years of the 17th century. The decrease in sea customs was keenly felt in 1699; its underlying cause was ascribed partly to the migration of Armenian and Moorish traders to Bengal and partly to the failure to send the annual ships to Manila and China.¹⁰² Since the yearly land and sea customs for the last quarter of the 17th Century are incomplete, it is impossible to get a clear picture of the close relationship between the Manila trade and fluctuation of the Madras customs revenues in the first phase of the "country trade."

THE OTHER SOURCE OF INCOME FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY WAS THE fee charged for the permission to load goods on the "Manilha ships." Local Armenians like Coja Gregoria and Coja Usuph had to secure a permit before they were allowed to ship "37 bales of goods"¹⁰³ to Manila. The Madras Council was not amenable to the request made by Ignatius Marcus, an Armenian, to freight a ship at San Thomé¹⁰⁴ on the grounds that it would not only lead to the advancement of San Thomé, but would also contribute to the lessening of the customs revenues of Fort St. George. Duties on both imports and exports undoubtedly formed the greatest source of the Company's revenues at Madras. The collection of imports was clearly stipulated in the Regulation of Customs of 1680 issued in Streynsham Master's time:

⁹⁹ *DCB.*, 1706, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 1707, p. 8.

¹⁰¹ *Ct.Bk.*, April 24, 1705—April 23, 1708, Vol. 42, fol. 31. See also K. J. Crowther, *op. cit.*, p. 274; *Desp. fr. Eng.*, 1686-1692, p. 87.

¹⁰² *DCB.*, 1700, p. 16.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1704, p. 115.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 1697, p. 17.

All goods (except planks and such bulky things of small value) going and coming by sea must pass through the Sea gate and there be searched examined and customed, and being chopt witt Red Ink. (p) may pass out or in without further question from $\left[\begin{array}{c} G \text{---} C \\ E \end{array} \right]$ any person.¹⁰⁵

To take one commodity, the Manila tobacco, its import duty was 20 pagodas per candy.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Pitt, in his report to the Company Directors, describes the manner in which the freight on goods was collected:

The freight of goods from Fort St. George Coast of Coromandel to Manila is 25% which is paid at Manila a specie on all sorts of goods, vizt. 18 per cent freight and 7 per cent to the supercargo to be clear of the charge customs and all. The returns are brought back freight free. The *Anna* of *Powrna* (sic.) may carry from the Fort 3000 Bales which amount to 100,000 pagodas the freight of which reckoning the advance made upon it there may amount to 36,000 pagodas some say above 40,000 pagodas.¹⁰⁷

As the 17th Century drew to a close, the "Manilha trade," although still clandestinely carried on, was established on a firm basis, through the initiative, resourcefulness, and persistent drive of the servants in the East for the silver wealth of Manila. The Court of Directors was pleased with the satisfactory result of the experiment conducted from its Madras settlement. It was after all, Madras, and not Surat, or Bencoolen, or even Amoy that finally became the base of penetration into the exclusive Manila market. The Court of Directors never lost sight of the potentialities of the "Manilha trade" and, as late as 1705 the idea of making further improvements in the conduct of the trade between Madras and Manila still lingered on. It was inspired by Thomas Pitt, the Governor of Fort St. George, who kept Arthur Moore of the Court of Directors informed of the thriving trade with Manila and asked his opinion as to what other ways and means could further improve that side branch of the Company's trade. However, because of the main preoccupation of the Court of Directors with the internal changes and pressing problems resulting from the agreement of 1702¹⁰⁸ which called for the union of the old and new companies, no opinion was rendered by the Committee of Buying,¹⁰⁹ to which was referred the matter relating to the Manila trade. A momentous event took place in 1708 when the two rival companies were formerly amalgamated by an act of Parliament. For the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,"¹¹⁰ as the company was

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1680, p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Pitt's Report on the Trade on India, B.M., Add. MSS. 34, 123, fol. 37.

¹⁰⁸ Earl H. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁹ Ct. Bk., *op. cit.*, fol. 31.

¹¹⁰ Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1958, p. 335.

officially known, it meant the opening of a new era of intense commercial activity and great expansion. This also ushered in a new phase of development for the "Manilha trade" during the subsequent decades.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

A. The Records of the East India Company, preserved at the India Office Library, London, England:

CT. Bk.	Court Book (Minutes of the East India Company)
Fac. Rec. Ch.	Factory Records, China
Mad. Pub. Pro.	Madras Public Proceedings
Mar. Rec.	Marine Records

B. The Published Records of Fort St. George (Superintendent of Government Press, Madras, India)

<i>DCB.</i>	Diary and Consultation Books
<i>Desp. fr. Eng.</i>	Despatches from England
<i>Desp. to Eng.</i>	Despatches to England
<i>FSDC.</i>	Fort St. David Consultations
<i>LFFSG.</i>	Letters from Fort St. George
<i>LTFSG.</i>	Letters to Fort St. George
<i>LTFS D.</i>	Letters to Fort St. David
<i>Man. Cons.</i>	Manilha Consultations
<i>PMC.</i>	Pleadings in the Mayor's Court

C. B. and R. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 55, Vols.. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-1909.

D. B.M. British Museum