

**Richard Craddock's Career
with the
East India Company**

ROUGH DRAFT

PREFACE

The following summary of Richard Craddock's career with the English East India Company is based mainly on volume nine (1651-1654) and volume ten (1655-1660) of *The English Factories of the East India Company* (EFI) edited by Sir William Foster (1863-1951). Starting before the first world war, Foster went through the India Office archives and extracted letters and instructions sent to and from the East India Company in London and its agents stationed throughout Asia and the Middle East. What follows are extracts from these extracts where the basis for the extraction is that either Richard Craddock is the author of the letter, or mention is made of him or to his situation. Where other sources have been consulted these are noted in the text.

Certain terms appear which may require elucidation. A factory is an establishment for traders carrying on business in a foreign country. A factor is one of the third class of the East India Company's employees, an Agent being the second and President the first. A banyan was a local (Hindu) merchant. Since the company was a monopoly any independent trader was a threat and the term 'interloper' was applied to such a merchant.

The spelling of place names and of individuals is very variable throughout the EFI and these have been kept where it is obvious to what or whom they are referring. The black and white illustrations are for the most part taken from books published during the seventeenth century. Likewise names of individuals, especially those of local officials, vary widely.

This document appears on the web site www.manfamily.org because of the genealogical connection between Richard Craddock and members of the Man family all of whom are direct descendants of Craddock's sister Susannah.

INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate Richard Craddock's career with the East India Company it is important to understand the economic, political, and social situation that prevailed in India and Persia at the time, as well the organization of the Company itself.

When we first meet Craddock in 1655 he is residing in Ahmadabad, one of the major mercantile centres of the Moghul empire. John Jourdain, the first Englishman to visit the city on behalf of the East India Company in 1611, describes it as follows:

This city is one of the fairest cities of all the Indias, both for building and strength as also for beauty and situated in a pleasant soil, and has much trade by reason of much clothing which is made within the city, as baftas [a general term for Indian piece goods] birames, pintadoes and all sorts of other cloth. Likewise it is in the heart of the country for Indigo... (From The Journal of John Jourdain, p. 173 quoted by B. G. Gokhale¹)

Nicholas Downton, another Company employee visited Ahmadabad four years later and related that it is:

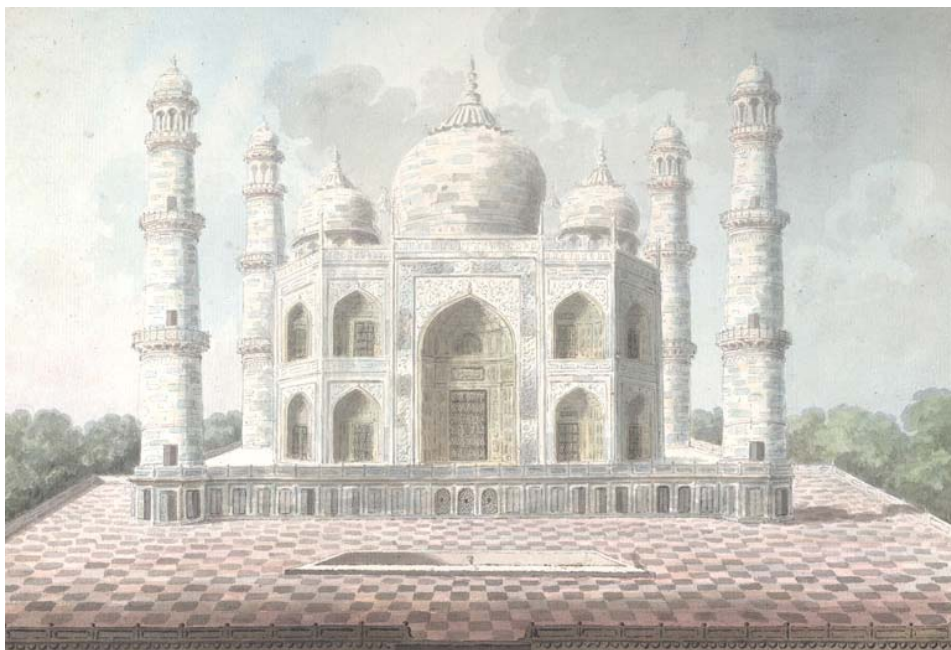
Famous for nobility and gentry, also for rich trade in variety, indigo especially, by means of a general confluence of most nations of the world, English, Dutch, Portugeese, Jews, Armenians, Arabians, Medes and Persians, Turks and Tartarians, cum multis aliis ... If please God, our trade continue in those parts, I think Ahmadabad the chiefest place for residence of four or five factors ... (quoted by B. G . Gokhale)

It was not just in textiles that Ahmadabad excelled but also jewelry and precious metals such as gold, silver, pearls and gem stones. An English traveler observed that there were found there: 'great pearls, very large emeralds ... and perfect colored rubies...' (Gokhale) It was also an important transportation hub linking Sind in the north, Surat to the south, Cambay in the west and Agra in the east. And it contained one of the four authorized mints of the Moghul empire.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the population of the city and its suburbs was about the size of London and Paris; in other words almost one million. It was the seat of the provincial government of Gujarat and during Craddock's time one or other of the sons of the Moghul emperor found themselves occupying the Governor's palace. However most of them used the post to accumulate great wealth and did not hesitate to employ bribery and extortion as instruments for their financial adventures as Craddock was to complain of frequently in his letters to the Company's headquarters at Surat.

The reigning Mogul Emperor was Shah Jahan, whose dominions stretched from Kabul on the west to the confines of Bengal on the east, and from Kashmir in the north to a line which may be roughly described as running from a point opposite Bombay to the Chilka Lake on the other side of the peninsula.

On the whole his reign had been one of peaceful prosperity. The details of administration were safe in the hands of the capable and upright Wazir, Sadullah Khan; and the Emperor himself was free to indulge his passion for building, the results of which are still seen in the Taj Mahal, in the additions to the fort at Agra, and in the New Delhi which he erected to the north of the ruined capitals of preceding monarchs and named after himself Shahjahanabad.





All the writers of the time extol the splendour of his court, the liberality of his rule, and his personal popularity. At the same time they do not conceal the fact that this splendid facade hid a crumbling interior. Such extravagant expenditure was a crushing burden upon the resources of the country while the venality of the officials, and the tyrannical caprice of the local governors, added to the misery of the people, who had little or no means of obtaining redress. Foreign merchants suffered in like manner from the greed of those in authority, and Craddock himself was to write on the subject as we have noted above.

[The illustration left is of Shah Jahan directing his troops.]

There was, moreover, an ominous cloud hanging over the Emperor and his subjects. This was the question of the succession, always a troublesome one in oriental states, and particularly so in the Mogul Empire. Shah Jahan had revolted against his father, Jahangir; and now it was his turn to see his sons dispute the succession even in his own lifetime.

He was at the time we meet Craddock over sixty years of age and in weak health; and it was notorious that each of the four princes was on the watch to secure the throne for himself. The Emperor had done his best to prevent their rivalries from breaking into open warfare by separating

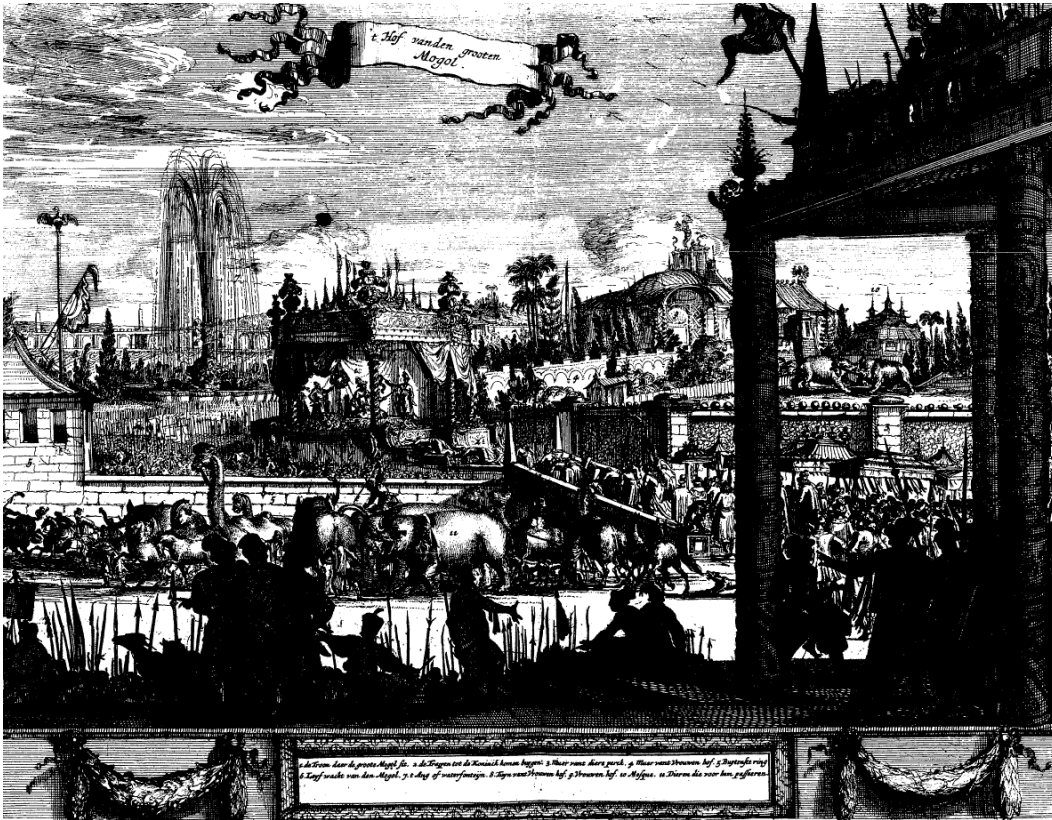


them as far as possible. Shuja, his second son, had been placed in charge of Bengal; Aurangzeb, the third, had been assigned the eastern frontier province of the Deccan; and the youngest, Murad Bakhsh, had been made Viceroy of Gujarat, wherein lay Ahmadabad. Dara Shikoh, the eldest, was nominally in charge of Kabul and Multan: but he governed those provinces by deputies, and remained himself with his father, who evidently intended him to succeed to the throne. Craddock had direct dealings with both of the last of these two sons.

Prince Dara was his own worst enemy, even though titles and honours were heaped upon him, and more and more the management of affairs was left in his hands. He was indiscreet and self-opinionated, and his pride and quarrelsome nature made more opponents than his generosity and frankness made friends. He was however generous toward Craddock with whom he signed agreements that permitted the East India Company generous trading conditions.

Of Dara's brothers, Shuja and Murad Bakhsh were pleasure-loving and indolent; and the far-seeing predicted the ultimate success of Aurangzeb, the youngest, who was as astute as he was able, and had moreover the reputation of being a zealous and devout Muslim, while all his brothers inclined to heterodoxy. [The illustration shows Aurangzeb preparing for one of his many battles.]

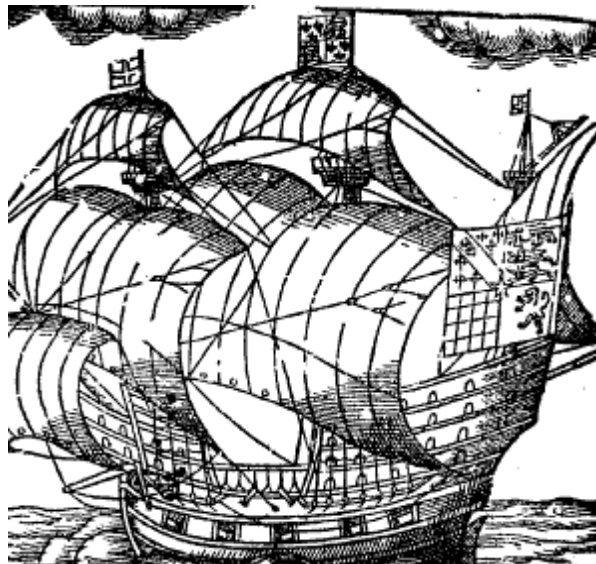




The European Traders

A number of European nations were competing with the English for the trade of the East, viz. the Danes, the Dutch, and the Portuguese. Of these the Danes had but one settlement in India - Tranquebar, on the Coromandel Coast, and their commerce was small. That of the Dutch, on the other hand, was much larger than the English. They traded wherever the English did - in Bengal, Golconda, Gujarat, Sind, and at Agra; they employed abundant capital and a large number of ships. One special advantage they possessed was their mastery of the trade of the Far East. This enabled them to supply India with goods from China and Japan, as well as with spices and pepper from Java and Sumatra, thus obviating the necessity of relying, like the English, mainly on the importation of money and European commodities. These included glassware, hides, coral, broadcloth and lead. In India itself their only territorial possession was at Pulicat, on the Coromandel Coast, 25 miles north of Madras. Here they had a fort outside the

local town, in similar fashion to Fort St. George; and this formed their head-quarters in that region.



In 1655 the Portuguese, though retaining in India their ancient possessions (e.g. Goa and Bombay), were rapidly declining in power and resources; and the renewal of the war with Holland rendered their prospects gloomy in the extreme.

Though the caution of the Dutch deterred them from employing force against the English factory at Surat, it did not prevent their sending Agents, to offer large bribes to the Governors of Surat and Ahmadabad, to induce them to obstruct the English factors in purchasing cloths, and other articles, for investment. At Ahmadabad, where Craddock resided, they completely succeeded for a while. The Governor there detained all the Company's saltpetre, which Craddock had so patiently collected for shipping the next season.

It may have been this experience with the Dutch that motivated Craddock to write to Sir George Oxenden some years later (April 1663) expressing the wish that there might be a war between England and Holland which Craddock called: ' ... a *National business* ... so that a year or two more we shall not only have a tug with the Hollanders, but I hope to see their butter boxes fly ... The Dutches wicked intentions [their] main drift, and utmost endeavours are to over run this coast and quite banish the English off the whole Indian trade' (British Library MS 40697, fo 14vⁱⁱ)

('Butter box' was a slang term for the Dutch as well as for sailing vessels and Craddock may have intended a pun).

We should also note that while Craddock was away from England that country was a republic under the rule of Parliament and Oliver Cromwell up until 1660 when the monarchy was restored under Charles II. Cromwell did much to promote the Company's strengths and as we shall see these were continued under the King.

THE SURAT PRESIDENCY in 1655

AT the beginning of this year, when we first meet Craddock, the English East India Company's factories in the East were still fairly numerous. They were organized under two Presidents, of whom one, seated at Surat, controlled the establishments in western and north-western India and in Persia, besides superintending such commerce as there was with Rajapoor in the Deccan, Mokha in the Red Sea, and Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf. The other was at Madras, which looked after trade on the Coast of Coromandel, Orissa and Bengal, and in the various settlements in the Far East. Craddock's career in India took place entirely under the Presidency of Surat although for historians have referred to him as a 'Governor of Bengal' which seems to be the traditional term used for any high ranking employee of the East India Company who had spent time in India.



Coming to details, the regular factories in the Surat Presidency were stationed in Surat itself (with its port of Swally), Ahmadabad, Agra, and Tatta (Sind) in India, and of Gornbroon (now Bandar Abbas) and Ispahan in Persia. Those under the Madras President were Fort St. George and Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast, Balasore in Orissa, Hugli in Bengal, Bantam in Java, Jambi in Sumatra, Macassar in Celebes, Syriam in Pegu, and Camboja in Indo-China.

Craddock's career can be divided chronologically and geographically into two: the first part being spent mostly in Ahmadabad (1655 - 1662) and the second part in Persia (1662 - 1664); both being under the Surat presidency.



Currency used in the Mogul Empire
in the Seventeenth Century

The list of factories given above, however, was in the process of curtailment, for, under pressure of its difficulties at home, the Company had sent out orders (received in May, 1654) that the factories in the Western Presidency (Surat) were to be reduced to Surat, Agra, Ispahan, and Gombroon, and those in the Eastern Presidency to just Madras and Masulipatam. This meant that the factory

at Ahmadabad under Craddock was to be closed.

Although these orders were not carried out immediately, it was clearly understood that, unless the situation at home improved, the Company's operations in the East could only continue, if at all, on a very reduced scale.

The United Joint Stock, which represented the Company at this time, had run out of its allotted span of five years, and was merely carrying on the trade until a new Stock could be raised. In view of the dislocation of commerce caused first by the English Civil War and then by the war with Holland, a new subscription was not likely to succeed unless an exclusive charter could be obtained from the Protector (Cromwell); and this he hesitated to grant, partly because an influential section of the London merchants interested in the Eastern trade was pressing for the abandonment of the joint-stock system in favour of a 'regulated' trade, while others were arguing for some form of State control.



Ahmadabad and its river Sabarmati.

Meanwhile, many of these London merchants were openly disregarding the monopoly granted by the existing charter and were sending ships freely to the East. Chief among these interlopers was Thomas Pitt grandfather of the Prime Minister William.

All that in fact held the East India Company together was the necessity, before dissolution, of realizing such assets as remained and the faint hope that the Protector would after all be induced to continue the trade on its old basis.



As a result frantic letters were sent from London urging economies and threatening closures. In one letter the Company wrote to Surat:

... we must still press upon you that all superfluous and unnecessary expences whatsoever be absolutely avoided, and that you seriously lay to heart our great sufferings in the many sad losses which, both in your parts and elsewhere, we have undergone.

In another sent out from London the Company wrote:

We do further order that you also, upon receipt hereof, make sale of your horses, plate, and all other things, reserving no more by you than what are absolutely necessary for a very private, civil, and



frugal living ... Had we not some hope that, before much time will be run out, that the trade to East India would be again settled in some way of honour and profit to the nation, we had at this time sent you our positive order for dissolving of all, both your and other, our factories... In the mean time let us prevail upon you that shall remain at Surrat, to live privately and frugally, putting us to no more charges in your expenses then need shall require, avoiding all manner of pomp or vanity whatsoever.



A Banyan and his servant

The office at Surratt replied to this letter as follows:

For what you are pleased to write concerning pomp and vanity, such things have been strangers unto us for many years,... but have rather lived a more private life. For attendants, we have but few that have not lived, some 20, some 30, years in your service; and as for horses, we have but three in our stable, two of them so old that both of them are not worth 200 ma[moodies].

The London office insisted that the Surat presidency take action and curtail operations severely as outlined in earlier letters or else pay the price:

We again hereby require the performance thereof; and if there shall be any found amongst you that shall refuse to return home, we do let them know that we shall not allow unto them any salary, but do absolutely discharge them from our employment. And though you write that there are many able young men that deserve our favour and are very loath to leave India, having spent much time and gained little, yet must not this be an argument for us to continue them at our charge without employment. Therefore let them be returned, or live upon their own expences; for we are

resolved not to admit of their remaining in India upon our account.

As we shall Craddock's career in India and Persia was shadowed by the constant need to make economies.

EVENTS IN PERSIA, 1655



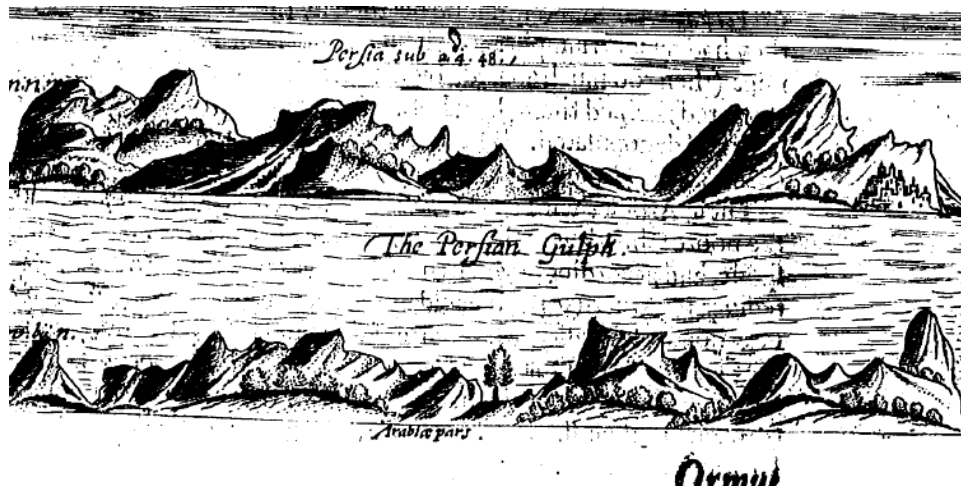
Persia had originally afforded a certain market for broadcloth and other commodities; but as the Company had now ceased to buy the raw silk (a royal monopoly) which was its chief product, the English factors' main concern was to secure their share of the Gombroon customs. Their claim to this was based upon the agreement made

at the time of the capture of Ormus from the Portuguese in 1622, when it was stipulated that, in return for English co-operation in that enterprise, the Company should not only be excused all import duties but should also receive half the net customs revenues.

Gradually, however, as the memory of that event faded and the need of English help against the Portuguese passed away, the Persian officials lowered the payment on this account to a mere fraction of what was really due, meeting all remonstrances with allegations that the original treaty had contemplated the maintenance of an English fleet for the defence of the Persian coast. Besides, the Gombroon revenues were being systematically defrauded by the English merchants and mariners passing off as their own property the goods of Asiatic passengers in their ships.

Complaints to the Shah were of little use, since the tendency at Court was to argue that the reigning monarch was in no way bound by so antiquated an arrangement, and that any payment made must be regarded as mark of the royal bounty, which ought to be reciprocated by liberal presents and by the purchase of the royal silk.

Doubtless the payment (of customs dues) would have been withheld altogether, but for the fear that in such case the English would destroy the customs revenue altogether, by blockading the port from the sea. Thus the Persian officials could do nothing but continue the policy of making each year at Gombroon an altogether inadequate payment, and referring the factors to Court for the balance; with the result that the latter found themselves in the dilemma of either making an expensive journey to the Shah's head-quarters, with the certainty of having then to spend a round sum in presents and bribes to secure an uncertain result, or of putting up with the underpayment, with a probability that in the following year the amount would be lowered still further.



The Persian Gulf

In spite of regular diplomatic missions to the King's court, the problems persisted so that the factors on Gombroon even put forward the idea of a show of force to compel the Persians to comply:

Abuses here in custom house are grown to such a height that, unless Your Worships do show yourselves by a certain number of ships appearing in Gornbroone very suddenly, its most certainly true we shall be turned out of custom house;

And the Dutch were not helping either:

for, what with the Dutch, who, every visit they tell them that it is a great discredit to the King that we should share in their customs (we being but their prisoners);

The only other recourse left the English factors was to adopt the local tradition of bribing officials as well as giving gifts to the King himself before anything can get done as letter to London describes:

In all places would your charge be much eased, if you laid out a considerable sum in England on such things fitting to be presented here to great men; who, since it hath been a custom, looks for it as a due debt, and, if you desire to speak with any of them, their servant will first ask whether you have brought a 'piscash'[bribe] If not, you are not welcome. It's that, or the buying of silk, that does any thing in this country.

And so it went on over many years; the English attempting to hold the Persians to the 1622 agreement under which they could collect customs dues and the Persians finding ways to not honor that agreement. Craddock's time in Persia followed a similar pattern to that of the Company's Agents that preceded him, as described above: constant negotiations, threats of the use of force, and bribery. It was probably this that has allowed some historians to describe Craddock somewhat inaccurately as an ambassador to Persia.

**RICHARD CRADDOCK AT AHMADABAD
1655 - 1661**



1655

In 1655 we find Richard Craddock at Ahmadabad where he faced a number of problems. First, there was a glut of poor quality indigo on the market and so he had been instructed by the Surat Presidency to defer purchasing any more indigo until the new season's production was ready. (EFI 55-60, p.14)

Second, the company required more supplies of saltpeterⁱⁱⁱ and although Craddock had carefully stockpiled a large quantity in the Company's warehouse he was unable to comply with the Company's order. The countryside all around him was in a state of civil war with Shah Jehan busily trying to suppress the revolts by his three sons and so for a while the supply of saltpeter was much reduced by Shah Jehan's efforts.

The King hath made it [saltpetre] his own commodity; who hath lying ready in Ahamdavad 10,000 double maunds, once refined, very full of salt, and ('tis reported) cost him 6 rupees the maund^{iv} ... we shall not be suffered to buy in this Kingdom. (EFI 55-60 p. 15 company letter 20 Oct 1655)

As a result of the dearth of saltpetre, Craddock was forced to smuggle out of Ahmadabad what supply of it he could find among the indigo that he sent down to Surat and which was later to be shipped to England. (EFI 55-60, p. 15)

By December 1655, the supply of saltpetre had reversed itself and there was now a glut of it on the market. As a result Craddock was confronted by Shah Khan's

representative in Ahmadabad, Rahmat Khan, who insisted that Craddock purchase the extra saltpetre but Craddock refused and it was reported to the Company that Rahmat Kahn was '... mad he cannot force neither the English nor the Dutch to take the King's saltpetre' [EFI 55-60, p. ?]



Three of Shah Jehan's sons



The Court of Shah Jehan

Despite Rahmat Khan's hostility a cargo of goods was prepared by Craddock and his colleague, Anthony Smith, and safely dispatched from Ahmadabad to Surat. Although, to protect it, it was sent under an armed escort of twenty-five soldiers, who were to be paid one rupee each on their arrival at the coast. (EFI 55-60, p.18)

Indigo, on the other hand, had become scarce and what there was of it was of poor quality ('made of half dirt') and hardly worth the Englishmen buying. But despite the poor quality the interlopers were driving up the price and so Craddock and Smith were forced to manufacture their own telling Surat that they had '*... bought a parcel of leaf, and caused it to be made into indigo ... which will be ready in two or three days, and will [we] suppose produce four and a half maunds of pure indigo*' (EFI 55-60, p.18)

1656

In March 1656 the East India Company in London experienced one of its occasional economic downturns '... the large quantities of East India commodities which are arrived in to England have much declined in value' (EFI 55-60 p. 61). This crisis prompted a letter to be sent out to Surat on the 27th of that month ordering the closure of all the company's factories except the one at Surat and the dismissal of all the company's factors except a handful who were to remain at Surat^v. Among those who were slated for dismissal was Richard Craddock although this was dependent on any of those who had been retained not being available in which case Craddock was to replace that person. However if all those who were asked to stay could stay then Craddock was not to be kept on in expectation of a vacancy. Indeed, all those who were dismissed, including Craddock, were to return to London at their own expense or were to be '*absolutely discharged and dismissed*'. (EFI 55-60, p. 60)

Long before the above letter was received (when?), Craddock had already decided to quit Ahmadabad which he did on February 25 1656. He did so because the Ahmadabad factory was experiencing one of the cyclical downturns in the price of indigo and it was no longer economically viable to continue there. Unfortunately he did not get far. Barring his way was a mob of indignant indigo makers who insisted that before Craddock left Ahmadabad he was to personally weigh the Indigo that he intended to send after him. What sparked the indigo makers suspicion we can gather from Craddock's letter:

Notwithstanding I told them that the brokers, after my departure, would have order to weigh it, yet they were not content therewith, saying that, while there was an Englishman here, there was some hope, but if I went, they then knew not what to trust to. (Letter from Craddock, EFI 55-60, p. 74)

As a result Craddock was forced to write to Surat for permission to remain at Ahmadabad until the indigo was weighed and packed. As a matter of fact he did not quit the city until the middle of June 1656, when he was relieved by Anthony Smith, whose principal business on behalf of the company was to recover debts. [see the letter from Ahmadabad to Surat 18 June 1656 - (J 124) in Factory Records, Surat Vol. 103]

Anthony Smith was shortly to quit the Company's service in consequence of the orders for reduction of staff (see above) although he remained in Ahmadabad on private business; although this decision was to cause Craddock problems later on. (EFI 55-60, p.75).

Before Craddock left Ahmadabad he had lent the factory at Thatta money in order to pay for merchandise purchased there by Nicholas Scrivener however an error had been made which Scrivener pointed out in a letter to the Surat office on 10 November, 1656:

In the Account sent you [Surat] of what money was received from Ahmadabad there is a mistake of 90 rups. For since counting with Sandr he tells me the last bill was 990 rups. Though at first he said but 900. Which error I have since rectified in my Account and given Ahmadabad factor [Craddock] credit of 990 rups^{vi}.

We know from a letter Craddock sent Surat that on 22 December 1656 he was in the city of Broach from whence he wrote:

Worshipful and my ever Honoured Friends

Having now made an end of the Company's business here, thought good to disped the bales [of cotton] towards you. An Invoice, where of is here enclosed sent, to which shall desire you to be referred, until the Broker shall be able to rend you a more particular Account.

You may please to take notice that at taking the Account from the Broker, I cost up the mds. [Maunds] at 18 pice and at framing the Invoices remembered not to alter it into book rate prices and must desire you to rectify that at Surat.

And now my request to you is to licence my 5 to 6 days longer stay in Broach, and then God willing I shall hasten to you. So hoping you will favour with the grant of this my desire, will only present to your acceptance and the most obsequious and respective salutes

*Your humble Servant
Richard Craddock*

(This letter is not found in EFI but rather in *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy*, by Rubi Maloni, p. 317)

1657

In 1657 a new president was sent to Surat, Edward Revington, one of whose first acts was to send a letter to London dated 28 January in which he re-appointed Craddock as agent and sent him back to Ahmadabad. One reason for this was that Craddock, being a young and a junior member of the company, was only paid £10.00 per annum and the company could afford to maintain a factory there on Craddock's low wages. (EFI 55-60, p. 114)



On 4 September 1657 Craddock sent to Surat one of his regular reports from Ahmadabad:

Worshipful and Honoured Friends

Your severals of the 22nd and 25th August I have received, the former whereof requiring more observance than response shall waive it, excepting that Clause which mentions the sudden dispeed [dispatch] of the last year's Books, and I can assure you, they are now finished, and Mr. Smith promised they shall be done as soon, if not before those. And you will perceive he hath received in his hands 3,000

Rupees upwards on account his salary, and not withstanding all my persuasions to the contrary, cannot alter his intentions [to resign]; so that I thought it necessary in compliance with your commands of the 20th July to give you notice thereof, supposing you will be able by some means or other to prevent him.

I should be glad to hear of a chapman [customer] for the Company's house in Ahmadabad; and you may be confident, if any one comes to treat about it, I shall not fail to make it theirs, in case they proffer any thing reasonable.

The Deryabauds [Dariabads - coarse white cotton] that came from Agra in Company with Torkersee's goods are in Coesumpore [Kasimpur - a suburb of Ahmadabad]. The much rain that hath fallen this year having filled the river [Sabarmati] that as yet is not passable, but doubt not in a few days it may, and then will cause the Cloth [Dariabads] to be brought to our house and my next Advice of its dimensions and goodness following likewise your order to disped it as soon as Possible to Baroch [the town of Broach to be dyed].

The new Governor [Shaikh Mahmud Amin] which is to be in Surat is arrived to this place and intends suddenly to set forward. He is generally reported to be a very honest man; and if he so prove, I suppose your change will not be bad.

Not else but the most respective and obsequious salutes of

*Your most observant friend to be commanded
Richard Cradocke*

(Letter from European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy by Rubi Maloni p. 326 also paraphrased in EFI 55-60 p. 118)

Shah Jehan meanwhile had fought the King of Bijpar to a standstill and the latter opened up negotiations for peace. But despite this the troubles within the Moghul Empire continued and once more we find one of the sons of Shah Jehan (Murad Bakhsh, the youngest) acting up. The company had again requested saltpetre from its factory in Ahmadabad but it was reported from there that:

What salteptre was provided ... at Ahmadabad is all seized by the Prince there [Murad Bakhsh], who took it from the English by force. [EFI 55-60, p. 121]

In fact so unsettled was the situation in the countryside around Ahmadabad that the company headquarters in Surat was advised that it would be unsafe to count upon procuring any goods from Ahmadabad in time for dispatch to England by the next fleet. (EFI 55-60, p. 121).

Craddock and his colleagues stationed in Ahmadabad faced considerable challenges some of which were described in a letter sent to Surat:

... all trade is laid aside ... and many robberies committed, and several armies abroad; which hath caused such distraction in the course of trade that there is at present nothing be done but calling in what cloth was delivered by the washers, and hiding and securing other goods from the danger of the times; and all persons so amazed that none think of anything more than to secure what they already have, by hiding it underground and flying away themselves with their wives and children, leaving only their walls in this city[Ahmadabad]standing to defend what they have within. And in this condition is this city at present; and for certain the king [Shah Jehan] is dead by the common report of all men[a rumor which proved not true]. What the event of these civil dissentions will be we cannot foretell, but thus much we know; if the three youngest sons will not subordinate themselves to the elder, it will not be a year, two or three that will end the difference; and then all trade will be spoiled, both inland and foreign. [Letter from Ahmadabad to Surat, EFI 55-60, p 121]



In spite of this, the business of trade continued and mention of Craddock at Ahmadabad is made in a letter sent to Surat by Nicholas Scrivener on 13 October 1657:

From Mr. Craddock I lately received a letter in which he advised that he had certified the difference of 3,500 rupees in Account between us, having caused the Broker to charge to the right owner's Account, so hope that business is ended.

(Letter from *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy* by Rubi Maloni p. 342)

In England at the end of 1657, the tide of events was going the company's way as it had managed to persuade Oliver Cromwell (pictured below) to allow it to raise a joint stock subscription worth hundreds of thousands of pounds. This effort was described in a letter sent by the company from London to Bengal:

It having pleased His Highness the Lord Protector, after sundry hearings before himself and his Counsel relating to the future carrying on of the trade for India, to conclude that the best way as to the honour of the nation and profit to the adventurers, would be to have it regulated and managed for the future in one Joint Stock, His Highness has therefore been pleased to give and grant a new charter, under the broad seal of England. For the incorporating of an East India Company, excluding all others whatsoever for

driving any particular trade in any part of India; and thereby hath given such encouragement that the drooping trade of India is again reviving and by the Almighty's assistance is resolved to be actively pursued. A large stock for that purposes is subscribed, amounting upwards of 600,000 pounds. (EFI 55-60, p. 144).

As a result of this massive injection of capital, along with the grant of a monopoly on trade, the company could assure its traders in India that they were free to borrow the money necessary for the purchase of calicoes, saltpeter, indigo and whatever else was needed.

Craddock and the other agents in India were thus instructed by the Company in London to:

'... engage us, either at Surat or Ahmadabad, upon the best terms it [cash] can be procured (which we hope will not exceed 7 per cent per annum) in the usurers books for such a sum of money as your occasions (in relation to our affairs) shall necessarily require, and to continue the same at interest till the arrival of our next shipping unto you, and no longer upon any pretence whatsoever; for by them you will be enabled to clear us from that eating canker [lack of capital], which hath been very prejudicial to some former Stocks, and therefore it shall be our careful endeavours prevent the like in future.' (EFI 55-60, p.145).



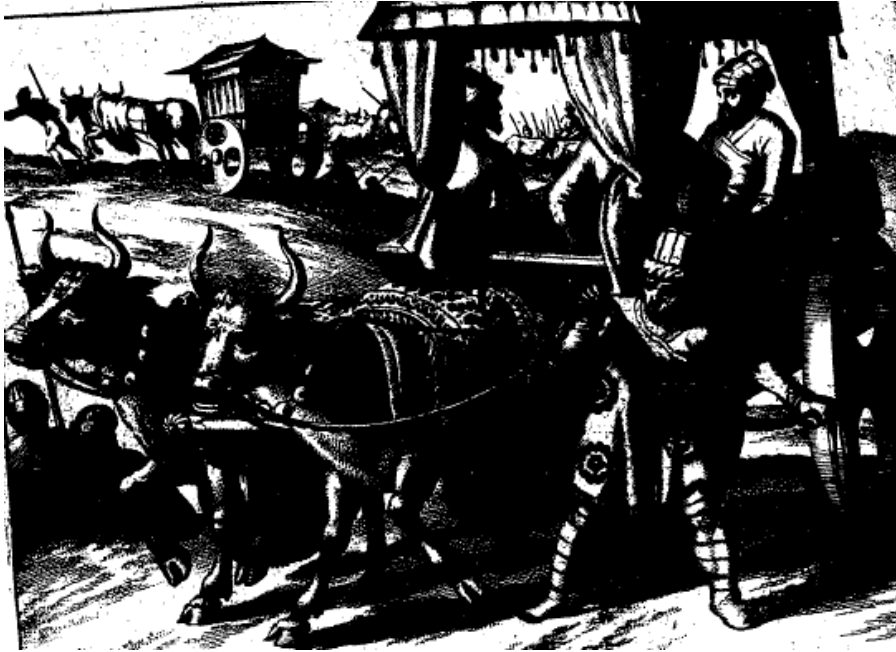
Richard Craddock was now assured of secure continued employment and his position at Ahmadabad was confirmed by the company in a letter dated 6 April 1658 (EFI 55-60, p. 146) where he was also given the salary of £30 and appointed assistant to Anthony Smith. There were no other representatives of the company at Ahmadabad at that time, other than Smith and Craddock.

The new charter under Cromwell not only infused capital into the company it also severely tightened the rules of employment, such that none of the company's employees from then on was allowed to trade privately. But it was as independent merchant adventurers that many of the company's factors were able to supplement their incomes. So it was no surprise that a few of the company's servants displayed some unwillingness to quit their independent positions (EFI 55-60, p. 162). Thus Craddock at Ahmadabad objected to signing the required indentures, on account of the clause prohibiting private trade; and he further expressed a reluctance to be bound for more than two years. However in a letter to Smith and Craddock on 9 November 1658 the President and Council took a firm line on both points. They pointed out that the company allowed all their men to send home their goods without restriction up to the end of January 1659, and at the expiration of that period the Company would take over any private stock of prohibited goods at a fair rate. As to the stipulated terms of service, they warned Craddock that if he did not agree to the usual five years, there were others ready to take his place. Thus admonished Craddock gave way and signed the bonds. (EFI 55-60, p. 162)

It is worth quoting at some length from some of the letters Craddock received from Surat as these tell us the kind of activities he would have been asked to engage in and so provide insight into his life as an East India Company factor.

"For chintz and quilts, though we have not the quantity required, the Company will be no losers, the glut of them, being so great in England that there is but little to be got by them ...If the Borahs bring down their refined saltpeter hither we believe they will get but little more by its sale here than if they had sold it you [Craddock] there [Ahmadabad] ... When the parcel [of saltpeter] you expect from Malore is arrived, you will do well to lay hold of it and begin providing what you can to be refined against the next year.... We do approve of what you have laid out for oxen to supply the place of [replace] those you furnished Mr. Scrivener with; and desire, if you can meet with a pair of good oxen..., you will furnish the factory, for here [Surat] are none but what are past use, being fitter to be killed than the employment they are put to".

[The use that they were put to was drawing the President's coach]



The letter then goes on to discuss the indigo crop:

You have quite dashed our hopes of providing any good indigo of last years crop. We will think of it no more, being you write there is none good to be had; and in hopes you may supply that want with new, to be here by the end of December at furthest; of which let your next [letter] satisfy us. (EFI 55-60, p.163].

The next topic the letter deals with concerns an unfortunate event reported by Smith and Craddock that had overtaken another factor, Mr. Scrivener, on his return to his post at Tatta after visiting Ahmadabad. Apparently Scrivener had been kidnapped by robbers and he had been forced to ransom himself for 500 rupees.

In an attempt to recoup the 500 rupees, Craddock is asked to consult with Shaw Nawas Ckaun [Shah Nawaz Khan] the governor of Gujarat and hence the person who had jurisdiction over the area in which Scrivener had been robbed. The Company advises Craddock of the governor's character.

We have been often with him, and find him to be a very great friend to our nation; but seem doubtful that what presents he received from any would be writ up of to the court and made far greater than they were, he returned what we gave him of value, and kept only what was of little worth. Therefore when he comes to town [Ahmadabad], you are to give him a visit; and when he is in the town, be not backward in seeing him. But you need not present him with anything, but make it your pleas that you had advice from us that he would accept of no present; so that we hoped to do him service some other way..

When Craddock had been appointed Agent to Ahmadabad and given the salary of £30 he was also instructed that the company would permit up to £100 for running expenses. However as it turned out these had been exceeded by as much as £50 and the company responded:

"Whereas you write that the Company's allowance of £100 per annum will be no more to satisfy for house expenses and cattle meat, they have appointed servants wages to be included, understanding that in their factories there are more servants kept for state than the occasions require; which they expect shall be rectified, and we desire that it may."

On 20 November 1658 the President and Council at Surat pointed out again that the monthly account expenses



received from Ahmadabad, converted at the rate of 2s. 3d. (two shillings and three pence) to the rupee, gave an annual rate of £150; though it included nothing for food. This far exceeded the rate sanctioned by the home authorities. However, they directed Craddock to place in a separate account certain '*charges merchant*'; to enter under the head of '*presents*' the cost of arrack given '*to the officers of the Durbar and Kotwal*'; and to reduce to just one the three peons employed '*for the quickening up of your dyers, washers, beaters, etc.*' If these changes were made, and the expenses of diet should prove '*not extraordinary*', they trusted the Company would allow the amount. They approved the purchase of new indigo, but desired that a preference should be given to the flat variety, as the round was not esteemed in England. (EFI 55-60, p.165)

(EFI 55-60 pp. 162-165. For details see Letters: October 18 1658 Surat to Ahmadabad (p. 244); Nov 9 1658 (p. 249); Nov 13 1658 (p.254); Nov 20 1658 (p. 260) in Factory Records Surat Vol. 84 part 3))

1659

Craddock's honesty, integrity and steadfastness were rewarded in 1659. On 31 January of that year Anthony Smith was called down from Ahmadabad and the factory there was placed under the superintendence of Craddock with injunctions that, until Smith returned, '*all the ceremonies that belong to the chief of your factory are not to be used*'. However this arrangement was altered by a letter from Surat dated 3 June 1659, notifying Craddock of his appointment as chief, with Nicholas Bladwell as his second.

We learn later (EFI 61-64 p. 22-23) that Smith had left personal debts behind in Ahmadabad which caused Craddock considerable trouble, as Smith's creditors would not allow Craddock to send down the Company's goods to Surat until they had obtained satisfaction.

But Smith's debts were not the only problems facing Craddock. In a letter sent by the Surat office to the company in London we learn more of Craddock's situation.

From Ahmadabad we can expect no indigo the next year, unless the crop proves great; for we hear [from Craddock] there will be very little or none of this year's stocks

remaining, though it has proved the worst been made in many years.(EFI 55-60, p. 196)

The civil war among Shah Jehan and his sons continued with unabated fury throughout Gujurat. In one battle (Deorai March 12-14, 1659) Shah Newaz Kahn was among the many notables who perished and Prince Dara, Shah Jehan's eldest son became a fugitive. Although Shah Dara had come to Ahmadabad to regroup and recruit an army to battle his brother, he still managed to find the time to negotiate with Craddock on the terms for Company's trading priveleges. And, before the Battle of Deorai, Craddock obtained from the Prince highly favorable terms for the company's continued trading priveleges and these he sent as a nishan (order) to Surat.

Unfortunately the contents of this agreement have been lost but it was significant enough for the Surat office to berate Craddock for not investing it with enough significance for Craddock had sent the order down by ordinary letter carrier and had not used one of the Company's own servants. The Surat office complained to Craddock:

The next morning [1 Feb 1659] came to our hands yours [Craddock's] of the 22nd [January] per a bazaar cosset [letter carrier] with Dorashaw's neshoun [the order (nishan) of Shah Dara]; which when we saw, could not but admire you should send it down so slightly, and not send it per a servant of your own, or at least likewise per an express that should have given us notice of it before it came to town. However, though you have been so remiss in sending it to us, we sent it to our Garden [?], and went thither to receive it, with the greatest ceremony that the shortness of our time would permit... [EFI 55- 60, p. 197]

Nine days later there is another letter from Surat to Craddock which says:

We take notice of a perwana that you have procured from your new Governor for the continuance of the Company's privileges. Pray let us receive the copy of it per your next. (EFI 55-60, p. 197)

1660

In 1660 Craddock was sent a quantity of gold to pay for a variety of goods that he was to purchase at Ahmadabad but Surat was dissatisfied with the amount of goods Craddock had sent down to them. Frustrated, the President and Council at Surat wrote to Craddock on November 21 1660 expressing dissatisfaction on that and other points:

Here, before we sent it [the gold] towards you, we might have had 1/8 rupee more on each tola; and therefore cannot but wonder at the price you write unto us, both of that and what remains unsold, being we know that gold will sell for more in Ahmadabad than in Surat, and silver also.... And make no doubt, when diligence is used, it may afford a better price than mentioned. You are earnest for moneys, and we as much want. Whose fault is it but the Company's, that will send out £10,000 to lade a ship of 500 tons? Yet we cannot but admire that Mr. Craddock cannot come down before all the debt be paid, Mr. Oldfield remaining. We are not a clearing the factory; though we shall do it, if we receive another such letter; for we know Mr. Craddock loves Ahmadabad, but the company's business without disputes requires him elsewhere, and require him down, either with goods or without. (EFI 55-60, pp 333-334).

Apparently Craddock persisted in his refusal to quit his post until the Company's liabilities were discharged, for a letter of 24 December 1660, written in a much milder tone, promises a remittance as soon as funds are available, and urges that the goods be sent down, 'though Mr. Craddock remain there'. (EFI 55-60, p. 334)

1661

At the beginning of 1661 the Company held a meeting of its London Committee in which it was decided to once more drastically reduce the numbers of factories and factors that were deployed in India. In a letter dated March 27 1661 the committee writes:

We having received many great discouragements by loss during this stock, and seriously considering with ourselves the vast charge that we are at, by continuing many unnecessary factories in your parts, to the enriching of factors and other our servants and to the impoverishing of our stock and disheartening of the adventurers (the Stock

now, after three years being sold at 85 per cent.) we have thereupon resolved, and do hereby order, that the factories at Agra, Ahmadabad, Mocha and Bussora {Basra} be immediately discerted [deserted], and that our houses and all remains in each and every of those factories be sold and disposed of to the best advantage of the Company. [EFI 61-64, p. 18]

In response to this letter the Company in Surat headed by President Andrews pointed out that of the various factories listed by the committee the one at Agra had not existed for some time and that Craddock and his assistants at Ahmadabad must be retained for a while although they would eventually be recalled in compliance with the Committees wishes. Too much had been invested by the Company into the Ahmadabad factory and time was needed to recoup. However the private debts that Smith had left at Ahmadabad were causing Craddock problems. Smith's creditors were preventing the Company's goods from leaving the city until they had obtained satisfaction. [EFI 61-64, p. 22-23] The Surat office tried to explain the situation to the London office as follows:

All that know India know that at Soorutt [Surat] neither Mercoolees (calico) or Eckbarees, nor any quantity of Deriabauds, is procurable, but by chance; and though we have writ to Banians to provide such goods, and we have fair words, yet we know none will venture so much money in those three sorts of cloth, upon an uncertainty and choice of ouras whether we like them or not; and if we positively agree to take them, experience too often hath taught us we shall be most unconscionably cheated. The factory's at both places [Surat and Ahmadabad] will quit their cost, for two ort here persons is enough in each; and if those sorts of goods are wanted, there, if to expectation (that is, if good, and lengths and breadths answerable), there they must be provided. For it hath been our business to seek out both for Mercoolees and Deriabauds; 20 corge we have not as yet attained of the former, and not a piece in Ahmadabad or Soorutt ... The factory in Ahmadabad cannot be dissolved, If you will have chints and quilts; unless you will put all in Banians' hands, and then you need no English neither in Soorutt. And if Eckbarees were procured in Agra and sent down to be chintzed in Ahmadabad, the chintz will come down far finer and cheaper ...



Included in this letter was a list giving particulars of the staffs of factories immediately under the control of the President and Council which included Richard Craddock and Ralph Lambton at Ahmadabad (see below for DNB entry for Lambton's son). (EFI 61-64. p. 27)

1662 PERSIA 1664

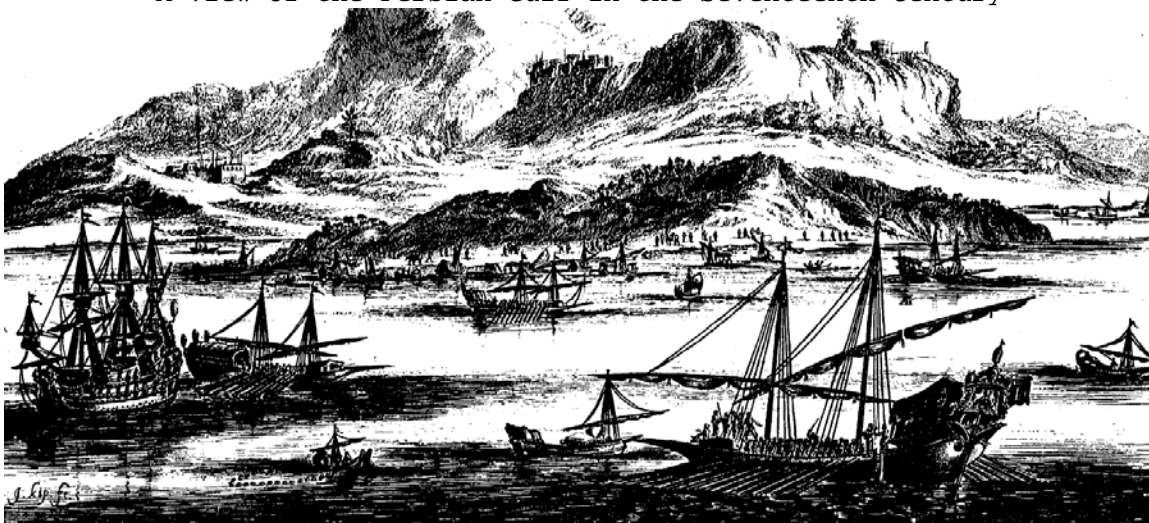
In a letter dated 11 January 1662 we learn that the office at Ahmadabad has been closed in compliance with the letter from the Company of 27 March 1661 and Richard Craddock and his colleagues had returned to the Company's headquarters at Surat. (EFI 61-64, p.30)

We next learn that there was a general meeting of the Company held in Surat on 21 January 1662 in which a number of individuals were re-assigned to different locations and among them were Richard Craddock who was to be sent to Gombroon (today known as Bandar Abbas) in the Persian Gulf

as Agent with George Cranmer as his second and William Rolt as his assistant. (EFI 61-64, p. 72)

However before leaving on board the ship *Hopewell* some business had to be taken care of regarding that ship's crew. On the 24 February 1662 President Andrews and John Lambton climbed aboard the *Hopewell* and held an inquiry into the Captain's complaints of the mutinous behavior of some of the crew '... with the result that one sailor was condemned to be ducked three times from the yard-arm, and another to be sent home in chains for trial. The crew having been cowed into submission, the vessel departed early in March [1662] for Gombroon carrying Agent Craddock and Cranmer as passengers.' (EFI 61-64, p.75).

A view of the Persian Gulf in the Seventeenth Century



A letter had been sent to Persia ahead of Craddock's departure advising those there of Craddock's imminent arrival as well as a change of broker:

Consultation held in Surat 23 January 1662.

We having been a long time sensible of the abuses and wrongs to our Masters by Tockersee [Thakersey, their Persian Broker], in them of their Customs, and of particular injuries done. The President here some years past thought him a person unfit to be employed in our Masters' affairs, and gave orders for the sending of him hither to render an Accompt [account] of his actions. Mr. Craddock, now voyagers thither [Gombroon] to the vacancy of the Agency, we have again revived those orders requiring

their punctual observance. And to supply the place of Broker there, Sauthckee [Santokh Becharaj] whom we confirm our Chief Broker there, and the other [Tockersee] no ways to be employed in our Master's affairs.

Mathew Andrews
Richard Lambton

(Letter from *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy* by Rubi Maloni p. ?)

Craddock sailed for Gombroon with instructions dated 5 March 1662:

"Commission and instructions given us by the President and Council of India, Persia, etc. unto our loving Friend, Mr. Richard Craddock proceeding as Agent in the negotiating of the Hon. Comp. affaires in Persia and are to be observed by him there".

Dated on Swally Marine the 5th day of March Anno Domini 1662.

We being sufficiently experienced in your abilities in the dispatch of our Masters' affairs in those employments you have been put upon, have now concluded and appointed you Agent in Persia, death having deprived us of those friends we sent thither the last year. We also order Mr. George Cranmer your Second and to keep the Accounts, yourself having constant inspection into them. Thus there may be no mistake or delays as the former years have produced nothing but promises, no performances. So that we are not ignorant of those passages most necessary to be known, which irregular course we desire for the future you will prevent to be practised that we have hinted first, because of so much concernments. It being thirteen years almost since we received any Account, though Mr. Flower who is at this time (we know nothing to the contrary) there resident; and hath but little of our Masters' business to hinder the accomplishing of the rehearsed (above enumerated facts) which is so material [important]. And though Mr. Flower may expect the quality of Second yet for this main reason, and some other, we confer it on Mr. George Cranmer; he [Mr. Flower] to succeed as Third, or leave Persia for Surat.



A European trader greeting a Persian merchant

We shall now come to acquaint you with what is useful in order to the answering of our Honourable Employers' desires and our expectations. The Hopewell we having full laden with Freight goods, the great Cabin is reserved for your and c. accomodation; therefore desire your repair on board, upon receipt of these. Hoping in a month's time it will please God to arrive you safe to the Port of Gombroon, upon which give notice unto Mr. Flower, requiring his repair aboard unto you, informing you how affairs attend. And that he return to inform the Governour, Shahbandar and c. and factors of the Town of our arrival, and in that quality that is accustomed they may give you a respectful reception. Which done, their vessel will follow, the custom being to be punctual in usual ceremonies, whereby you must be returned, and will be soon passed over. In the meantime you may be unlading the ship of her freight goods and if a considerable freight for Bengala and Metchlepatamtis procurable, to clear her at Ormuz and send her thither. We say a considerable freight, that is more than need be probably procured for Surat, which we would not have less value than [illegible word] of those proceeds to those parts. But if she returns hither you need not make her clean but dispeed her with what freight procurable, so soon as preferable, and hope in ten days she may be dispatched. You must not forget a large proportion of Wine to be

sent for.

On her we shall report a portion of Customs, so much as we can persuade the Shahbandar to part with. The practice of the Shahbandar for these many years has been always to cut off as much of what is Company's due as they could persuade our friends there. The Honourable Company resolved of another course to be taken with them, besides fair words, which yet hath not been put in practice [ie use force]. Yet they fear what they deserve, and hope it being civilly urged and the advantage made use of may cause them to comply, and beget a more open hand than formerly. So that we shall not expect less than 1000 Tomaunds(tumans), thence [from then on] get what you can; 400 or more on this ship we desire you to return.



European merchants travelling through Persia in the Seventeenth Century

Robert Manly we have now entertained into wages in the Company's at 6 Tomaunds salary yearly. He hath been a constant servant in the house and now we send him to wait on you, he being amply furnished with language enough that qualifies him for an employment as Interpreter. But experience in treating with the Khan, Shahbandar and Officers of this Town, enables him to tell you what hath been the practice of your predecessors, besides the factor's year's residence there will render him to be master of the custom of the place. Of both which you may make use, as you see occasion, desiring you to be as frugal both in presents and house expenses as possible.

So much hath been the villainies and baseness of Tockersee that long since, we turned him out of the Honourable

Company's employment and then sent him to repair hither so that he might have justice done him, as on the roll of the Honourable Company. But those we employed failed us; Mr. Buckerridge promised to bring him, but sickness prevailed. We therefore sent Captain Middleton to force him hither. But if our expectation be not answered and that you cannot procure his mission so much desired, we do by this present[instruction]discard him the Company's service, and forbid him coming into their house, or any employment in reference to their affairs. Having for the dispatch of what affairs of theirs of that nature as shall present, sent another along with you named Suntockee Vetcher. We have experience of his abilities, both here and there also, as good security for his truth [honesty], therefore shall recommend him unto you for his encouragement.

Death hath been so familiar in those parts caused by ill air staying so long in it in Gombroon, that to remedy it we cannot deny you licence of sending yourselves out of it, either to Shiraz or Espahaun (Isfahan). And where though there will be little of our Masters' affairs to be acted, that our presence will create respect unto the Nation, and in the spending of some few months in absence from Gombroon recovery of your health which may be obtained in that place. But as before we earnestly desire your frugality, so that the Honourable Company may not complain of a costly Factory.

Much we must leave unto your discretion, and therefore desire your frequent advice, that in what you may be wanting of information may be returned and supplied from us with what our experience can furnish you. Our Masters' Advices are daily expected, which do give you liberty to open and take Copies of, except very private, because we suppose affairs of great consequence will be supplied of in them, not fit for the view of all. What is here wanting, we hope your diligent endeavours after our Honourable Employers' benefit will prompt you to supply. Therefore wishing you health and a blessing on your endeavours subscribe

Your assured loving friends

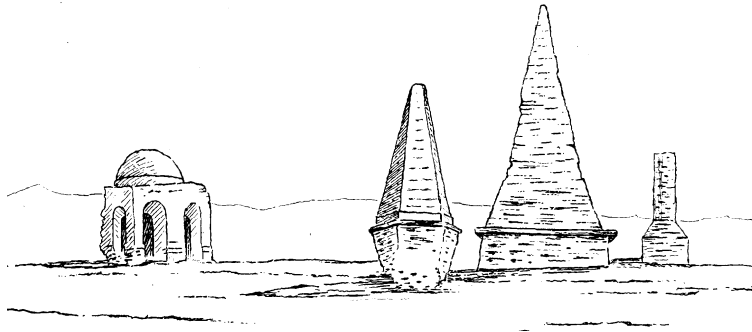
Matthew Andrews

John Lambton

(Instructions to Craddock from: *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy* by Rubi Maloni p.)

The early and later references to death in these instructions must not have been very encouraging for Craddock. His predecessor Matthew Foster had made the same journey two years previously but on 10 May 1661 had died and in that same month Foster's assistant Richard Brough had succumbed two weeks later.

Below is a sketch of the East India company graveyard lying a quarter a mile out of the Gombroon by Arthur Stiffe^{vii} which consisted of large stone pillars, most of which had crumbled away by the time of Stiffe's sketch.



Of the business that Craddock was engaged the instructions tell us that those in his position before him had been given 'nothing but promises, no performance'.





His task was to make the agreement between the Company and the King of Persia work. This agreement, as we have seen, concerned the amount the Company was allowed to levy in the form of customs duties on freight carried through the Straits of Homus. This was calculated at the rate of 15,000 -

16,000 tumans and Craddock's predecessor, Nicholas Buckeridge had managed in 1660 to squeeze out 600 tumans from the King of Persia. However the English also had to deal with Shah banda (Mahmud Amin Beg) who it was reported had embezzled about four thousand tumans. As a result of the shabanders extortions, Gombroon was being deserted by shipping, in favour of other ports.

Craddock was thus engaged in trying to obtain from the Persians, the company's share of those custom duties as well as the King of Persia's agreement to curb the activities of the shahbander [harbour master].



And it appears that Craddock succeeded, as we know he managed to obtain from the King an order to the shahbander to pay the Company that proportion of the customs duties that were owed it. We learn this from a letter from Surat to Craddock where the Company asks Craddock to send them a:

'... copy of the King of Persia's command to the Shabander, requiring him to make payment to

us of the full moiety of the customs, and that the English be respectfully used'. (EFI 61-64, P. 77)

Unfortunately, Craddock was not to keep his assistant Cranmer for long as a letter arrived on board *The Vine* addressed to Craddock (EFI 61-64, p.80) explaining the reasons why it was necessary for Craddock to send Cranmer to Basra, one of which was that:

"The Cuttaries (local merchants) have promised large quantities of freight moneyes to return it [i.e the freight cargo] upon her [The Vine], therefore think fit he [Cranmer] should proceed to assist in making the freight and ladding of the ship".

A commission of appointment by the Company of Captain Edward Mason to the ship *Royal Welcome* dated 27 March 1662 contains a brief reference to Gombroon at the time of Craddock's residence there as follows:

The ship now being full laden, we order you (Capt. Mason) ... to weigh anchor and set sail for speedy attaining of the Port of Gombroon.



Where when arrived send on shore our Advices herewith delivered you unto the Agent [Craddock], desiring our sudden sending of boats, to take out what freight goods are laden on board her, being wholly on Account freight. And this to be dispatched so soon as possible.

(Commission from *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy* by Rubi Maloni p. 403)

1663

We next here of Craddock, still at Gombroon, on 10 June 1663 answering letters received from London on board two ships the *Seaflower* and the *Hopewell*. In his letters Craddock announced that he had succeeded in getting 650

tumans from the Shahbanda as the Company's share of the 1662 customs, and that he and his colleagues were to proceed to Isphahan to escape the hot weather. (EFI 61-64, pp. 195-196) Few Europeans could survive Gombroon's pestilential weather and most spent only a few months there (December to March).

1664

Craddock is mentioned in a letter from the President of the Council at Surat to London dated 28 January 1664 in which he seems to have taken up animal husbandry - *'The sheep we have wrote to Mr. Craddock to procure, male and female, from Persia, of those that have curled wool; which shall be sent by the next ship, and deer also.'* (EFI 61-64, p. ?) There seems to have been little that the East India Company was not interested in either exporting or importing.



Isphahan in the 1660's - where Craddock and his colleagues would go to escape the summer heat of Gombroon.

However the main purpose that Craddock was at Gombroon for was to negotiate with the King of Persia on the proportion of customs duties that the Company was owed. Unfortunately, like his predecessors, he was stymied at nearly every turn and after a time he wrote to Sir George Oxenden in frustration suggesting the use of force to settle the company's claims; but Oxenden doubted the expediency of such a course. It seemed to him improbable that the Persian King would be brought to reason by a blockade of his ports, for 'he hath no shipping' and the merchants engaged in the trade to Gombroon were mostly Indian. In the second place, the Dutch would be likely to step in to the breach and carry all freight goods, thus rendering the blockade nugatory. Thirdly, the Mogul Emperor would almost certainly resent any restriction placed on trade between India and Persia. Craddock was advised that the Persians would not be sorry to find an excuse *'to out you of your royalty of customs'* and it would be better to suffer patiently the present grievances. Craddock was also advised to no longer travel to the Persian capital (Isphahan) in the hope that

the Persians would notice his absence and thereby draw attention to their wrongs and pave the way for a reconciliation. Whether or not this course of action succeeded we do not know. (EFI 61-64, pp. 213-214)



The East India Company had always found

Gombroon an unappealing place both because it was hazardous to the lives of those residing there and its continued lack of commercial success. In a letter sent by the Company to Surat dated 10 August 1663, Sir George Oxenden and his colleagues were given two choices as to what to do with the factory at Gombroon.

The first was that a few persons should be found who would be willing to reside there at their own expense in order to

receive the Company's share of the customs and to sell any goods sent to them on the Company's behalf. As for remuneration, they might be given 5 per cent on the amount recovered from the customs. The second alternative was to close down the base altogether. Oxenden forwarded this proposal from Surat to Gombroon in a letter dated March 4 1664 which also contained the welcome news for Craddock that he was to return to Surat at the first opportunity. From there he was to return home to London. (EFI 61-64, p.320)

The last we hear of Craddock in India is in the form of a short letter he sent from the Port of Swally to Gerald Aungier^{viii} on 22 February 1664/65. The letter is also signed by John Goodier^{ix} and Sir George Oxenden^x (pictured below).

This morning early came yours to hand of yesterday's date, to which we answer that the parcel of Cojah Minasses be either very bad or unreasonable in price, meddle not with it, we would willingly know what the quantity is. If that Cojah Deylaune yet speaks truth in that his goods are at this side Broack, they may arrive time enough for our occasions, so that you may proceed to buy them provided they are good in their qualities and reasonable in their price, according to those sortments we have already bought, and this let be done with all possible expedition.

(G/36/86 EXTRACT FROM F. 88V Letter 70 from: Armenian Merchants of the 17th and 18th Century edited by Vahe Baladouni and Margaret Makepeace (1998)).



Sir George Oxenden

LONDON

After Craddock's arrival in London the source of information we have on him is mostly *The Court Minutes of the East India Company* (CMEIC) also edited by Sir William Foster. These are much more limited in content and without the detail provided by the earlier letters quoted in *English Factories in India* (EFI) it is not possible to follow events so easily.

It took Craddock almost a year to reach London arriving there on 20 December 1664. He had spent much of the time at Isphan where his old colleague William Rolt had died in the summer. His journey back to England had included stopping off at Aleppo and picking up a letter from the Consul there dated 26 September. At the East India House in Leadenhall Street on 22 December a consultation was held at which Craddock was admitted to the Council (where he took rank after Goodier.) (EFI 61-64, p.321)

It is not surprising that the Court Minutes indicate no activity from Craddock during 1665 as the Companies attentions were diverted by the Great fire that swept through London ...

The first mention of Craddock in London occurs on 6 February 1666 and is as follows:

Richard Craddock to be permitted to have cloths and edibles which he brought back in the London from Surat, but nothing else until further order. (CMEIC p. 294)

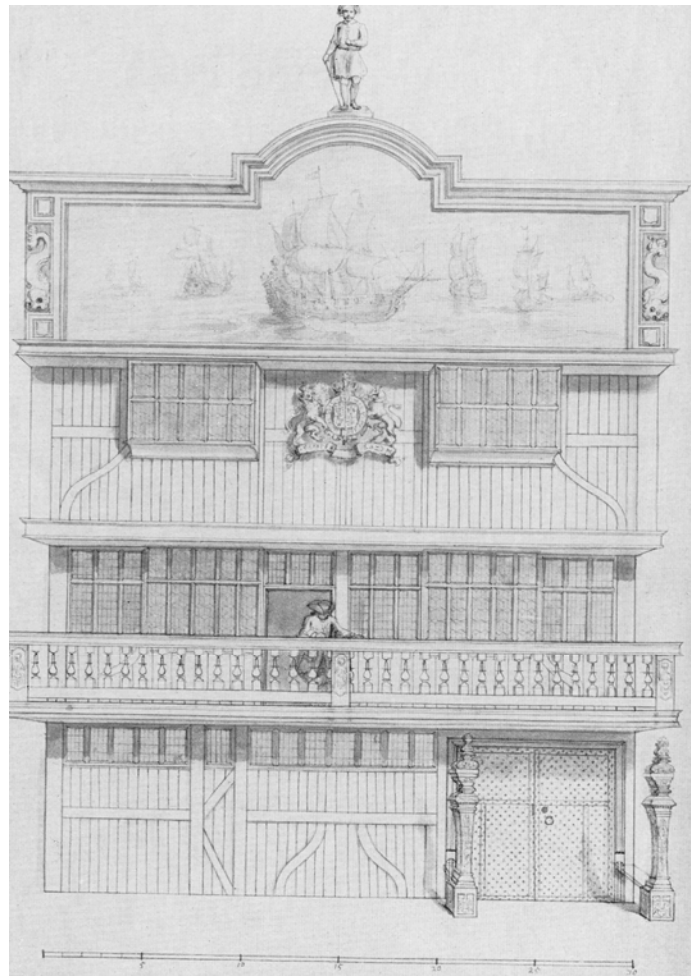
This would suggest that Craddock is being given permission to trade some of the products that he had brought with him after his return to England.

A week later on 14 February 1666 Craddock appears to have run into some trouble as the following entry implies:

The accounts of Mr. Richard Craddock, lately returned from Persia, against whom there are complaints in the last overland letters from Surat, to be examined by certain Committees, who are also looking into the state of affairs in Persia and [to] report. (CMEIC p.

Some months later on 30 May 1666 we find Craddock requesting his business before the Court to be sent for arbitration as follows:

Richard Craddock, lately returned from Persia, desiring to refer his business according to the usual custom, four arbitrators are named to settle the same. (CMEIC p. 229)



The East India House in London at the time of Richard Craddock

And we learn from the minutes for 27 June 1666 that a date has been set:

April 10 [1667] is appointed to be entered in Richard Craddock's covenants for the determination of his business. [CMEI, p. 235]

Almost a year passes and from the 3 May 1667 minutes we gather that:

Richard Craddock's business to be determined by the referees formerly appointed. (CMEIC, p. 324)

Four days later (7 May 1667) other business between the Company and Craddock is mentioned:

The Company's seal to be affixed to the indenture of covenants between them and Richard Craddock. [CMEIC, p. 326]

This would suggest that whatever problems Craddock faced they were not severe enough to prevent the Company from continuing to do business with him.

On 7 August 1667 A 'Court of the Committees' reported its finding on the dispute between the Company and Craddock as follows:

The award in the case between the Company and Richard Craddock is read, by which the Company are to retain as their own £150 formerly deposited with them by Craddock, and the latter to pay the Company £200 by September 1 next. [CMEIC, p. 361]

It would appear however that Craddock decided not to pay the company the £200 and so the Company decided on September 18, 1667 to sue:

It is also resolved to sue George Day, Humphrey Broome, Peter Ashurst, William Gifford and Richard Craddock. [CMEIC, p. 374].

Two days later 'A Court of Committees' reports that:

The Committee for Lawsuits to consider how best to proceed against Richard Craddock and William Gifford for recovery of what is due from them to the Company. [CMEIC, p. 375].

A further reminder of Craddock's debt to the company occurs on 22 January 1669 '*Richard Craddocke to be desired to pay in his £200*' (CMIE 1668 - 1670, p. 148). It would appear that Craddock must have paid the Company what it believed he owed as no more mention of his debt occurs in the minutes after this date.



On 18 June 1669 an entry mentions Craddock in passing '*A warrant to be made out for payment of £112 10 s. to Richard Craddock, he giving bond to repay it if the Company shall receive any loss from the creditors of John Lambton, in accordance with a report now read and approved*' (CMIE 1668-1670, p. 209)

An entry dated 10 August 1669 (p. 252) is interesting for two reasons. First, Craddock is '*admitted to the freedom through Service*' (CMEIC 1668 - 1670, p.252)

Second, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Gilbert Sheldon (above)) has asked to speak to the Company about: '*two ministers lately sent to the Fort [St. George]. Lord Berkeley^{xi}, Sir Andrew Riccard^{xii} and others are desired to wait on his Grace on Tuesday morning*'. (p. 232)

This meeting was '*intimated through Daniel Sheldon*'. Daniel who was a member of the Company, was also the nephew of the Archbishop and Daniel's daughter Mary was to marry in 1715 Richard Craddock's son William.

On 30 August 1669 the minutes record that: '*Richard Craddock diamond bort and seed pearls which came in The Return to be delivered to Mr. Craddock, he having paid permission.*' (CMEI 1668 - 1670, p. 2370. And further permission is granted Craddock '*to export certain goods*' on 2 March 1670 (CMEIC 69-70, p. 310). This is the last entry on Craddock from this source.

MORE SOURCES OF CRADDOCK:

National Archives Attestation D-DR/6/4 23rd November, 1666

Contents: Dumbas

By George Oxindon, Gerald Aungier, and Matthew Gray concerning delivery of gold ingot to Richard Lambton, it being the property of Richard Cradock, merchant, then residing in Persia. National Archives"

Letter from John Lambton to Richard Cradock D-DR/6/3 10th November, 1662

Contents:

Suratt

"Sir Geo. Oxinden that worthy person is arrived here President, who brought for your account from Sir Geo. Smith in gold to the amount of £290.19.6. which I have received and by the Ormoz shall give you an account of its saile, as also send you your Europe letters."

National Archives; Note D-DR/6/2 26th March, 1662

Contents:

Contents of one bag marchandiz to be laden aboard the *Richard and Martha* of London Captain Edmond Scamen, and recommended to the honord Sir George Oxinden Kt. and President at Surrat, for Account of Me Richard Cradock merchant at Ahmadavad ...



A medal struck in 1670 showing Charles II and Queen de in commemoration of the charter of the East India Company. "ENGLAND, Charles I (1625-1649), British Colonization, 1670, Silver Medal, 47mm, by John Roettier, conjoined busts of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza (who brought Bombay in her dowry) right, he cuirassed, her draped, CAROLVS ET CATHARINA REX ET REGINA, rev., a globe, showing South America, the Eastern Seaboard of North America, Africa, Western Eurasia, India and the Southern Continent (Australia and Antarctica as one landmass), DIFFVSVS IN ORBE BRITANNVS 1670 (The Briton spread over the world)."

NOTES: Anne Lambton married a Nicholas Chaytor and their son William married Peregrina Craddock daughter of Sir Joseph Craddock but how Anne

connects with the Lambtons here has yet to be figured out. Joseph was the uncle of Richard Craddock. Anne was the daughter and co heir of William Lambton so the relationship is tenuous.

DNB Entry for John Lambton son of Ralph who was with Craddock in Surat. I believe there is a Craddock-Lambton connection through Durham

Lambton, John (1710-1794), army officer, born on 26 July 1710, was the fourth and youngest son of Ralph Lambton (d. 1717), landowner, and his wife, whom he married in 1696, Dorothy, daughter of John Hedworth of Harraton, Durham. His elder brothers were Henry Lambton (1697-1761) and Major-General Hedworth Lambton (d. 1758), who was an officer in the Coldstream Guards from 1723 to 1753 and in 1755 raised the 52nd (originally 54th) foot at Coventry. Educated at

Westminster School, John was appointed ensign in the Coldstream Guards on 12 October 1732, became lieutenant in 1739, was regimental quartermaster from February 1742 to January 1745, and became captain and lieutenant-colonel on 24 January 1746. On 28 April 1758 he was appointed colonel of the 68th foot (later 1st Durham light infantry), then made a separate regiment. It had been raised two years previously as a second battalion of the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers, but had been chiefly recruited in Durham, a local connection subsequently maintained. During the Seven Years' War Lambton commanded the regiment in the unsuccessful attack on St Malo, Brittany, in September 1758.

When county titles were bestowed on line regiments in 1782, it was styled the 'Durham' regiment. Lambton, who became a full general, retained the colonelcy until his death. He succeeded to the

Lambton estates after the deaths of his elder brothers. In the second half of the eighteenth century the freeman franchise Durham city was represented in parliament by members of the Lambton and Tempest families. Following the death on 26 June 1761 of his brother Henry, MP for Durham city since 1734, Lambton stood. He was opposed by Ralph Gowland, the candidate of Henry Vane, first earl of Darlington, and his party, who by creating new honorary freemen, mostly unconnected with the city, gained a majority. However, on petition Lambton, who asserted the rights of the historic resident freemen, was seated in May 1762. An independent, he voted sometimes for and sometimes against the government, and there is no record of his speaking in the house. He represented the city in five succeeding parliaments until his acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds in February 1787, and was said to be popular with the citizens for the stand he made for their rights and privileges. Reportedly in 1793 he refused a peerage. Lambton married on 5 September 1763 Lady Susan Lyon (d. 1769), daughter of Thomas, eighth earl of Strathmore, and they had two sons and two daughters. He died on 22 March 1794. His elder son, William Henry Lambton (1764-1797), MP for Durham city (1787-97), was father of 'Radical Jack', John George Lambton, first earl of Durham (1792-1840).

Description of making indigo in the 17th century:

The indigo we bring thence, is a good and rich commodity. It is there made of little leaves, not bigger than those on our gooseberry bushes, and the shrubs that bear those leaves are about their bigness. These leaves they strip off from the small branches of those bushes, which grow with round and full heads without pricks. The leaves thus stripp'd off, are laid in great heaps together certain days, 'till they have been in a hot sweat, then they are removed, and put into very great and deep vessels fill'd with a sufficient quantity of water to steep them in, where they leave their blue tincture, with their substance; this done, the water is drain'd out into other exceeding broad, but very shallow vessels or vats, made of plaster, (like to that we call plaster of Paris) which will keep in all the liquor 'till the hot fun in Short time extracts the moisture from it; and then what remains in the bottom is a cream about a quarter of an inch thick, which suddenly becomes hard and dry, and that is our indigo; the best sort whereof comes from Biana, near unto Agra, and a coarser sort is made at Cirkeese, not far from Amadanaz [Ahmadabad]; about which two places are a very great number of those shrubs planted which bear those leaves. From: Terry, Edward. *A voyage to East-India; wherein some things are taken notice of, in our passage thither, but many more in our abode there, within that ...* London, 1777 (based on the 1655 reprint)

ⁱ Gokhale, B. G. (1969) Ahmadabad in the XVIIth Century. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. Vol 12., No 2 pp 187-197.

ⁱⁱ This passage is quoted by Steven C. A. Pincus (1992) 'Popery Trade and Universal Monarchy; The ideological context of the Outbreak of the Second-Anglos Duct War in *The English Historical Review* No. CCCCXXII.

ⁱⁱⁱ Saltpetre is a white crystalline substance and is the chief constituent of gunpowder.

^{iv} In south and west Asia, a maund was a unit of weight, varying greatly in value according to locality. In 1665 one maund was worth £6.

^v The letter did not arrive in Surat until 22 November 1656.

^{vi} The source for this is not EFI but *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy* by Rubi Maloni pp.287-288

^{vii} See Stiffe, A.W. (18??) *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf VI Bandar Abbas*. P. 212.

^{viii} Aungier, Gerald (1635x40-1677), administrator in India, was born in Ireland, probably in Dublin, the second son of Ambrose Aungier (c.1597-1654), at various times prebendary, treasurer, and chancellor of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and Griselda or Grizel (d. 1666), daughter of Launcelot Bulkeley, archbishop of Dublin and primate of Ireland, and brother of Francis Aungier, later first earl of Longford (c.1632-1700).

Aungier was admitted to the East India Company (1 November 1661) as a factor for Surat, on a salary of £30 per year. He arrived in India (18

September 1662) with the third earl of Marlborough, who had been sent out to claim Bombay on behalf of King Charles II. The king had been given Bombay in the marriage settlement with Catherine of Braganza (23 June 1661) and it was leased to the East India Company in 1668. The Portuguese in India refused to surrender Bombay to the English, despite constant English demands, until 1665. The events around this refusal and their continuing repercussions added to the difficulties Aungier was to face when he became president at Surat and governor of Bombay on the death at Surat of Sir George Oxenden (14 July 1669).

Aungier's outstanding abilities and his recognized and acknowledged personal qualities—energy, initiative, tact, firmness under pressure, a deep sense of justice and impartiality, and his grasp of wider issues not only of commerce, but also of strategy—quickly recommended him to his superiors. His rise through the ranks in the factory at Surat, from a factor to second in council (1668), was rapid.

On becoming president and governor Aungier confronted a number of grave and continuing problems. The remnants of the king's forces in Bombay had split into two hostile factions, and still resented the company's authority; the king's and the company's administrations were in constant disagreement; the Portuguese and Indian inhabitants were in constant contention with each other and with the British administrations; the Mughal governors of Surat made continual demands on the British settlement in the town; the Mughal admiral, the Sidi, harassed Bombay and the surrounding territories; the Marathas under Sivaji attacked the Mughals and the European settlements; the Malabar pirates roamed at will around Bombay; the Dutch wars resulted in fleets harrying English settlements and shipping; alliances and agreements were continually made and broken at whim. The company's trade languished.

In the face of all these problems, Aungier's achievements were extraordinary by any reckoning. In the three years he resided permanently at Bombay (June 1672–September 1675) he established the framework for the settlement's future success. He established an impartial English legal system with courts operating in various jurisdictions; Indians, Portuguese, and Englishmen were treated alike. Although this action created some dissension among some English and Portuguese inhabitants, who lost their privileged positions, he managed to create markedly harmonious relationships between previously opposed groups. His famous convention established a firm system of land tenures for all the groups. It involved the return of some lands seized by a previous English governor in return for fixed rents, governed by the same rules as for English landholders. He set in train the building of much stronger fortifications and the creation of a more flexible marine force. He was strong in his negotiations with the Indian rulers, and formed much more peaceful relationships during his lifetime. His activities attracted a rapidly growing population to the island and its contiguous territories. He initiated a town plan, with a building programme to house the immigrants, started to drain the inundated lands, established the mint, and reformed the revenue system. He also organized a hospital, developed George Oxenden's idea for the first protestant church on the island, calmed two mutinies in the Bombay garrison, and promoted trade and attracted weavers to the island. He established procedures for autonomy among the different local

communities, and ensured their formal representation to the Bombay administration.

Aungier achieved all this despite his comparative youth and the regular conflict which surrounded the island during this period. The quality of character and personality in his administration was clearly demonstrated by the inability of his immediate successors to continue his management of the contending forces around Bombay. His successful approach to sophisticated political negotiation on the one hand while carrying a sword in the other died with him. For several years Bombay could only watch the mayhem in its region and suffer humiliation at the hands of the Indian powers. For a while it appeared that Bombay would be lost to the British.

Aungier was held in high regard by most of his contemporaries, including some of those with whom he experienced early difficulties. One of these, Henry Gary, in a letter to Lord Arlington (23 January 1670) remarked on Aungier's 'wise and prudential counsels' that 'all this island are happy in', and that Aungier was a 'worthy gentleman, who is above any character I am able to give him and will by his merits surmount the malice of his enemies' (TNA: PRO, CO 71, vol. xi, fol. 185). On hearing of Aungier's death (in Surat, early on Saturday morning, 30 June 1677) the council at Bombay wrote to Surat (11 July 1677) that 'multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depict his greatness' (Forrest, 1.133). The Surat council informed the company's directors (31 August 1677) of Aungier's death with expressions of great sorrow, not only among his colleagues but also in 'all those parts of India that know him'. The council remarked that 'his wisdom, eminent perfections and care of your affairs will better commend his worth than we can tell how to describe him' (Fawcett, *English Factories*, 1.279). He was buried in the English section of the cemetery at Surat (presumably on Monday 2 July 1677).

Notwithstanding local impressions, malice and enmity found ready ears among the directors in the East India House, where the costs of Aungier's activities had become a matter of concern. The directors forgot the need in India for diplomacy to be carried out in some state by the senior British officials, whether with Indian rulers or Portuguese, Dutch, or French officials, and they took issue with what they termed Aungier's weakness for vanity and grandeur, and his reported success as a private trader. Despite his extraordinary achievements, he was very shabbily treated by the directors of the East India Company. They criticized him for the unavoidable expense of making Bombay a secure and comparatively tranquil English settlement; they ignored, until 1684, his proposal to move the seat of English administration in India to Bombay; they obstructed the finalization of his estate after his death; and they sought for him none of the honours and rewards they obtained for far less worthy employees.

Gerald Aungier lives in history as the visionary who saw the potential, and worked assiduously—against numerous difficulties—to establish the foundations for the English settlement of Bombay. He achieved this with a clear commitment to equity between the various contending interests in and around Bombay in the middle of the seventeenth century. His personal views and his actions realized the fundamental principles and

procedures of government and law which were developed over time to make Bombay one of the great cities of India.

^{ix} He was the uncle of Sir John Child who rose to a high rank in the East India Company (see DNB for details on his life).

^x Oxenden, Sir George (1620-1669), administrator in India, was the third son of Sir James Oxenden of Dene, Kent, and Margaret, daughter of Thomas Nevinson of Eastry, Kent. He was baptized at Wingham, Kent, on 6 April 1620. His older brother was Sir Henry Oxenden, first baronet (1614-1686), and his nephew, George Oxenden (bap. 1651, d. 1703), was a notable lawyer and politician. In 1632 he went to India in attendance upon the Revd Arthur Hatch of Wingham. During the following six years he became fluent in the languages used in north-western India and made himself invaluable, mostly at Ahmadabad, to the East India Company's factors. In their letter to the company (4 January 1639) the president and council at Surat praised the young man's activities and his character and recommended him to the directors for more formal and better-paid employment in the company.

In 1639 Oxenden returned to England, where the Surat council's recommendation for 'his civil carriage and expert knowledge of the Industan language' resulted in his formal employment by the company as a factor for Surat on a salary of £25 per year (29 Jan 1641, Sainsbury and Foster, 2.137). Back in India between October 1641 and January 1653, he continued to demonstrate the linguistic and commercial skills which had so impressed his colleagues. He was entrusted with ventures to Goa, Cape Comorin, and Macau, but mostly to Mocha (Yemen). He also demonstrated a willingness to advocate strong measures against local rulers who attempted to expropriate the company's property, and a constant loyalty for the company's senior officers. These aspects of his character gained him a continuing respect and affection from indigenous merchants and governors and Englishmen alike, throughout his career in India.

In 1653 Oxenden returned to England. Between 1656 and January 1659 he pursued private stock ventures to the East, taking advantage of the East India Company's loss of its old monopoly (1654-7). The ventures do not appear to have been very successful, and when offered the post of president at Surat, Oxenden accepted (25 October 1661). On 24 November 1661 he was knighted at Whitehall. His commission of employment (19 March 1662) described him as 'President and Cheife Director of all our affaires at Suratt and all other our factories in the north parts of India from Zeilon to the Redd Sea'. Excluded from his control were Madras, Bengal, and Bantam, areas of which he had little experience. It was also thought that his responsibilities in north-western India would take all his time. His salary, £300 plus a gratuity of £200 per year, reflected his great experience and value to the company.

At the end of March 1662 Oxenden sailed for India, accompanied by the third earl of Marlborough and royal troops intending to take over the old Portuguese possession of Bombay, ceded to Charles II in his marriage settlement with Catherine of Braganza. He arrived at Surat on 18 September. At this time he focused his attention on re-establishing amicable relationships with local powers; trying to secure the release of Englishmen held captive by the Maratha chieftain Sivaji at Rairi;

reorganizing the company's trade following the royal charter given to the East India Company; and suppressing private trading activities. Affairs at Bombay were in the hands of the crown's forces. When the Portuguese refused to surrender Bombay, causing great difficulties for the English personnel, Oxenden was forced to take a greater role, especially in supplying the dwindling numbers of men with provisions and shelter. This was made more difficult by the Mughal fears that Bombay would take trade from Surat, and their concern about armed foreigners landing in their dominions. Oxenden skilfully balanced the different contending demands and responsibilities.

Sivaji raided Surat on 6-13 January 1664 and only the English and Dutch factories held out against him. The town itself was severely damaged and looted. The English actions gained the Mughal governor's gratitude and friendship, and the more tangible benefit of a reduction in the customs duties to which English trade had been liable at Surat. For the employees' heroism in protecting the company's substantial possessions the directors expressed their gratitude through a reward of £200 and a gold medal worth £20 for Oxenden, and various much smaller sums of money for other employees at Surat. These were not sent to India until 1668.

In 1665 Oxenden's attention was taken by consequences in India of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (March 1665-July 1667); the transfer of Bombay to the English, and the reprehensible activities of the crown's personnel at Bombay in seizing Indian ships, causing retaliation by the Mughal governor at Surat; and the problems created by Sir Edward Winter's usurpation of the English settlement at Madras. He was also increasingly disturbed personally by the company's willingness to listen to accusations against him of trading privately outside the company's indulgence to him. In 1666 he asked the company to nominate his successor, so that he could return to England according to his contract (1 January 1666). His increasingly poor health, the difficulties in India, and the death of his sister Elizabeth (Dallison), who was also his agent in England, caused him to renew his request on 26 March 1667 to return to England.

This request caused the directors to state their appreciation of, and total support for, Oxenden's administration. The directors realized that they needed Oxenden's experience, abilities, and skills more than ever. The grant of letters patent making Bombay over to the East India Company (27 March 1668) removed the basis for the conflict between the two sets of English authorities in western India, and the directors asked Oxenden to stay in India to secure the company's authority at Bombay (dispatch to Surat, 27 March 1668).

Oxenden made his only visit to Bombay on 2-29 January 1669, where he made clear his hopes for an orderly and efficient settlement under the company's administration. The commission appointing him 'Governor and Comander in Cheife of our port and island of Bombay' was sent to India on 10 March 1669; it arrived at Bombay on 4 October 1669, after Oxenden had died. His long struggle with various debilitating illnesses succumbed to a consumptive disease at Surat on 14 July 1669. He was buried the following day in the English cemetery alongside his brother Christopher, who had died at Surat in February 1659. A large mausoleum

was erected over their remains, probably by their nephews Streynsham Master and Henry Oxenden.

Reports of his death and funeral demonstrate clearly the high regard in which Oxenden was held among all the communities in Surat. The letter from the council at Surat to the company (26 November 1669) records that he departed this life the 14 July last, to your and our unvaluuable loss and the unspeakable greife of the Governor and all the officers and merchants in Surat, among whome his language, wisdom, and obliging deportment hath rendered him highly honoured. The next day he was entered with all possible solemnity; the French Director and Dutch Comandore attending the corps on foot, with an incredible number of people, so universally was his loss apprehended by all. (Foster, 13.182)

In England, despite all its protestations of appreciation, the company scrambled to audit Oxenden's accounts and liabilities for permitted trade, and only allowed Oxenden's estate to be finalized in July 1675. ^{xi} Berkeley, George, first earl of Berkeley (1626/7-1698), politician, was the second, but eldest surviving, son of George Berkeley, eighth Baron Berkeley (1601-1658), and Elizabeth (b. 1604), daughter and coheir of Sir Michael Stanhope; his elder brother, Charles, died while crossing the channel in January 1641. He may have followed his father as a canon-commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, but he did not take a degree. On 11 August 1646, at Morden, Surrey, he married Elizabeth (d. 1708), eldest daughter and coheir of John Massingberd, treasurer of the East India Company. They had two sons and six daughters, including Lady Henrietta Berkeley. This marriage was the result of the disastrous state to which the patrimony had been brought by the profligacy of his predecessors and the effects of the civil war—his steward, John Smyth, had advised him in 1645 that finding a rich wife was vital to preserving an estate which would soon be worth 'less than your great-great-grandfather yearly expended in livery cotes and badges' (Gloucester Public Library, Smyth of Nibley MS XI, fol. 36). It also began a lifetime's close involvement in trade and colonial matters.

Although Berkeley took far more interest than his father in the estates and in local as well as national politics, he spent most of his time in London, especially after 1660. He was named a JP in Gloucestershire in 1655 and was elected for the shire in the protectorate parliaments in 1654 and 1656. Both elections were disputed between conservative county gentry and the radicals who dominated county life at the time, but Berkeley stood apart from these squabbles. He was named to the committee of trade on 30 January 1656 and was quite active in the Commons between April and June 1657. He succeeded his father on 10 August 1658.

In 1660 Berkeley promoted in the Lords the restoration of Charles II, moving for a supply to be voted, and he was one of the commission which went to The Hague and invited Charles to return. James, duke of York, said that Berkeley 'hath so much endeared himself to me by his services to the King my father and the King my brother and my selfe with so much honour and success' (Jeayes, 325). Berkeley strongly and successfully promoted the candidatures of Sir Matthew Hale and of Sir Baynham Throckmorton in the Gloucestershire elections for the Convention and Cavalier parliaments (1660 and 1661 respectively). He became a knight

of the Bath and joined the council for foreign plantations in 1661. In 1663 he was a founder member of the Royal African Company and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1667 he was added to the council of trade and sworn of the privy council. He joined the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1678, then became governor of the Levant Company in 1680 and master of Trinity House in 1681, as well as a member of the East India Company; speeches made to these institutions were published in 1681.

Berkeley was well known to Evelyn, who called him 'my old and noble friend' (Diary of John Evelyn, 708), and to Pepys, who often encountered him on trade and colonial matters. Both mention his fine country house, Durdens, near Epsom. He also inherited residences in St John's parish, Clerkenwell, and Cranford, Middlesex. Berkeley comes across as intelligent—his *Historical Applications and Occasional Meditations* (1666) went through several editions and was translated into French (1667)—but coarse, arrogant, and unscrupulous. His touchiness emerged in a long-running squabble over precedence with Lord De La Warr between 1660 and 1679, and was also exemplified by his writing in 1660 that he would not have any superior commander in the Gloucestershire horse regiment. On one occasion, Wren told Pepys, Berkeley creamed off £800 from the £1500 paid by wine licensees to the duke of York to surrender bad licences.

By 1677 the family fortune had been secured and Berkeley's personal estate was then worth £26,000, including £8000 in East India Company stock. On 11 September 1679 he was created Viscount Dursley and earl of Berkeley. He was sworn of the privy council for the second time on 17 July 1678, and for a third time on 21 July 1685. He also became *custos rotulorum* for Gloucestershire in 1685 and in Surrey in 1689. When James II fled, Berkeley was among those lords who assembled at the Guildhall on 11 December 1688 and constituted themselves a provisional government until the arrival of the prince of Orange. Sources differ as to whether or not William III reappointed him to the privy council; certainly, Berkeley had not taken up arms for him. Although never a party politician, he used his influence on the whig side in his later years and had always inclined to toleration for dissenters. He died, aged seventy-one, on 10 October 1698 and was buried at Cranford. He was survived by his wife, and succeeded by his elder son, Charles Berkeley (1649–1710).

^{xii} **Riccard, Sir Andrew** (1603/4–1672), merchant, was the son of Walter Riccard of Dorset. He appears to have come from a poor family, possibly in Dorchester or Swanage, and to have moved to London to learn the trade of a merchant. He duly became involved in the East Indies trade as the apprentice of John Watkins, a middle-ranking official in the East India Company, and he drove himself to become successful and prosperous. He married Catherine, daughter of Robert Bateman, a leading company figure (he was treasurer from 1619 to 1644), and the representative in parliament for Weymouth in 1614 and for the City of London in 1621, 1624, and 1626. Riccard had set up house in the parish of St Olave, Hart Street, in London, where he was one of the highest-rated residents, by 1647; becoming involved in the Levant trade as well, by 1634 he could afford to purchase a coat of arms, whose embellishment of a turbanned head referred to his Eastern trading activities. Riccard's wife died in March 1639, following the birth of

their second and only surviving daughter. He later married Susannah (d. 1687).

The Levant Company admitted Riccard as an assistant at their court in 1639, and his industriousness and reputation in the East Indies trade was rewarded when on 27 February 1641 he was admitted to that company by service. Royalist in political sympathies, he joined other leading City figures in signing the petition to parliament of July 1641 in favour of the authority of the lord mayor and aldermen against the claims of the radical-dominated common council. On 16 February 1642 he also signed the royalist merchants' petition against the committee of safety taking control of the city militia, but he took no further part in City politics during the civil war and instead concentrated on augmenting his fortune, in due course becoming a shipowner and also lending vessels in the Mediterranean to Venetian service. On 1 July 1646 he was elected to the East India Company committee and, apart from a year's withdrawal from that body from July 1648, he was thereafter one of their most active members. Accepting the new political order, and indeed benefiting from the withdrawal or exclusion of more established City figures, he became treasurer of the Levant Company from 1650 to 1652, and he was created an alderman and was admitted to the Drapers' Company in September 1651 in the preliminaries to his year as sheriff of London in 1651-2, his sponsor being his mercantile associate William Williams.

The Drapers' Company was sufficiently impressed with Riccard's abilities to make him master in 1652-3, but his principal concerns lay in Eastern trade, though he also invested in the Caribbean and, in January 1654, led a deputation of the Barbados merchants to Cromwell's council to present a petition concerning the colony's governance. On 7 February 1654 he was elected governor of the Levant Company, and he served in that office for an impressive eighteen years, under both the protectorate and Charles II. In his capacity of governor he had to steer the company through the political dangers of endeavouring to counteract Cromwell's desire to assert his supremacy over the appointment of the ambassador to Constantinople, the post held by the long-standing but royalist envoy Sir Thomas Bendish. He could not prevent Cromwell sending out his own ambassador, Richard Lawrence, in 1654, but Bendish stayed put and the company starved Lawrence of funds and support until he duly returned.

In June 1654 Riccard secured election as MP for London, but he was not prominent in parliament. His reliability and reputation as an administrator was such that, in August 1654, Cromwell called upon him to join the protectorate's leading mercantile supporters—Maurice Thompson, Martin Noell, and William Williams—on the committee planning the 'Western design'. Riccard's knowledge of conditions in the Caribbean and his experience in overseeing the fitting out of ships were both important factors in his appointment. The committee duly advised the government on whom to appoint to govern the various Caribbean islands and the supplies necessary for an expedition of the size and timescale that the regime desired. As such Riccard was one of the signatories to the expedition's instructions to attack the Spaniards on land and sea without a declaration of war and to arrest foreign shipping trading with the colonies in defiance of the Navigation Acts, asserting the theory that there was 'no peace beyond

the Line'. Whatever his personal support for the venture, it is clear that his Cromwellian sympathies did not extend to religion—when his daughter Christian married John Geare at St Olave, Hart Street, in March 1656 the civil ceremony, conducted by the powerful Alderman Ireton, was followed by a private episcopal Anglican blessing.

Riccard was appointed in July 1655 to the government's committee for trade, and in November to the trade and navigation committee. He was also chosen on 15 November to help evaluate Manasseh ben Israel's proposal for the readmission of the Jews, and he served as a commissioner for securing peace in the City in March 1656 and for the assessment in June 1657. In his home parish he generously purchased the advowson and in June 1655 gave it in perpetuity to a trust run by five householders, an arrangement that lasted until 1879. In July 1655 he and Thomas Vyner were entrusted by the government with the custody of the £85,000 that the Dutch had paid in compensation for past East Indies depredations under the 1654 treaty. A loan of £50,000 of this money was duly made to the government, which proved notably tardy in returning it or even finding interest payments; Riccard and Vyner were paid £100 for their services on 24 August. Riccard's other main involvement now became the East India Company, where he was deputy governor from 1653. The company was seeking the renewal of its charter, and Maurice Thompson led a group of merchants in arguing that the next joint stock should be opened to far more investors to enable greater participation instead of control by a small group, a move that was resisted by William Cokayne and the current leadership. Riccard supported Thompson and he signed his second petition to the council of state for a wider joint stock on 21 September 1654, but he did not play a leading role in the negotiations surrounding the reformation of the company under the new charter in 1657. The election court of 10–14 December 1657 elected Thompson governor; Riccard was one of the defeated candidates, but he secured a place on the committee, and in July 1659 he became deputy governor in succession to Thomas Andrews.

Riccard's closeness to the protectorate was cemented when his widowed daughter Christian married on 14 February 1658 Henry, son of Robert Rich, Lord Kensington, who was great-nephew of the earl of Warwick and cousin to Cromwell's son-in-law Robert Rich; the bridegroom, however, died in 1659. Beyond acting as commissioner for assessment in London in January 1660, Riccard took no part in the upheavals of 1659–60, and at the Restoration he was rewarded with a knighthood on 10 July 1660. He served as governor of the East India Company in 1660–62, 1666–8, and 1670–72, combining that role with his similar eminence at the Levant Company. Involved in planning East India Company representation at Macau and the exploitation of the new acquisition at Bombay, he continued his private ventures and was an investor in the new Royal African Company to trade in Guinea. Pepys, a fellow parishioner, called him 'one of our ablest merchants', and on a more domestic level he reported in May 1663 how Riccard's young ward Christian Hawkins, his second wife's heiress niece, was abstracted from Riccard's house and was married by her admirer John Dawes, without Riccard's consent but with that of her aunt.

Riccard's last appearance in national affairs came as an unwilling participant in the confrontation between the Commons and Lords of 1668 in the case of Thomas Skinner, a merchant seeking compensation for

goods seized by the East India Company in 1659 who had petitioned the king after refusing derisory damages. Charles passed the matter to the Lords who decided in favour of Skinner's £17,000 claim, but the company persuaded the Commons to deny their jurisdiction. The dispute saw Riccard, as governor of the company, and his officers being summoned on their knees to the bar of the Lords on 8 May 1668 and threatened with the Tower for contempt; he escaped that but spent some days in black rod's custody. He remained active in company affairs until he died in the parish of St Olave, Hart Street, on 6 September 1672 at the age of sixty-eight, having made his will on 23 July. He was buried on 17 September at St Olave, where a statue was later erected of him dressed as a Roman senator; its inscription commended his 'active piety, inflexible integrity and extensive abilities' and praised his 'many instances of love to God and liberal spirit towards Man'. His widow Susannah died in 1687; his daughter Christian became by her third marriage ancestor of the lords Berkeley of Stratton.