An Intangible Legacy: The Scarth Family of London and Ilford
By Doreen Skala

Please note that this case study was first published on blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah in July 2014. For citation advice, visit: http://blogs.uc.ac.uk/eicah/usingthewebsite.

Introduction

The Scarths of London and Ilford were a family with two generations of trade connections with the East India Company during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Scarths were not nabobs; they were wealthy Quaker merchants. They left no surviving grand country house or any other trinkets or treasures. In fact, they left no material evidence of their lives or their connections with the East India Company, but both the family and its East India Company connections can be traced through historical documents which allow us to create a Scarth family portrait. This case study shows the economic, social, and domestic history of this family and how three generations of Scarths were affected by the family’s connection with the East India Company. One generation bought goods from the East India Company and traded them westward across the Atlantic, and the next engaged in trade for the East India Company in the East. Partly as a result of his connections with the East India Company, the elder Jonathan amassed a family fortune, including a country house in Ilford, Essex, now gone. His son Jonathan’s deeper connection with the East India Company disrupted his family life so that at the age of forty-one he left his daughter an orphan after being away on company voyages for years at a time. With risk can come great reward, but also calamity. This family experienced both as a result of their connection with the East India Company. The Scarth family represents the thousands of nameless English families whose homes were touched by this grand enterprise.

Jonathan Scarth the Elder (1668–1743)

Jonathan Scarth (1668–1743) was born into a Whitby, Yorkshire, family of Quaker merchants and mariners. He married Ann Warren (1670–1746) of Scarborough in 1690, before relocating to London to start his own mercantile business.¹ Jonathan and his wife became members of the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, held at the Gracechurch Street Meeting in London,

remaining members over three decades. According to Quaker critic Charles Leslie, some of the ‘richest trading men in London’ were members of the Gracechurch Street Meeting, located in the heart of the Quaker mercantile community. Jonathan and Anne Scarth had six children who survived infancy, three daughters and three sons. Ann (1701–1753) married eminent merchant Joseph Adams. Miriam (1710–1774) married haberdasher Henry Hayter. Jane (1706–1787) married Surrey carpenter Robert Watts. Isaac (1701–1728) married Ann Perkins and became a mariner, dying in Virginia. Jonathan was a supercargo for the East India Company. There is no record of Joseph other than his birth in 1715 and a mention in sister Ann’s will in 1727. He is not mentioned in Jonathan the younger’s will in 1743, suggesting that he, like Isaac, was already dead.

The Scarths had a house in George Yard on Tower Hill and by the mid–1730s a country house in Ilford, Essex. Jonathan Scarth’s London property was assessed at 5 shillings for his personal estate and 5 pounds for his rent in 1735, documenting his financial

---

2 The Scarths remained members of the Devonshire House Monthly Meeting—Jonathan the elder signed a memorial for George Whitehead in 1723, and his daughter-in-law Ann bequeathed ten pounds to the Meeting’s poor in 1728. William Penn and George Whitehead, The Christian Quaker, and His Divine Testimony Stated and Vindicated (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Joseph Rakestraw, 1824), 64; Ann Scarth, will dated 10 January 1728, PROB 11/619/95, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PRO, TNA.


success. By 1736, Scarth had rented his London property to merchant Samuel Wragg, suggesting that by the age of 68 he had permanently retired to Ilford. Sources suggest that the Ilford house was located along the edges of the Hainault Forest, in the area now called Barkingside, to the north of Ilford center, and that it was modest in comparison to contemporary London merchant Robert Surman’s estate Valentines, which features in Georgina Green’s case study. Sometime in the spring of 1743, Scarth moved into a larger property in Ilford Town. Scarth likely resided along the main east-west road between London and Colchester, upon which several coaches passed every day.

There are no records extant for support, but it is possible that Jonathan the elder bequeathed his house in Ilford to his wife Ann Scarth when he died in 1743 for her to use for the remainder of her life, as was usual in his day. At the time of his death, both his wife and spinster daughter Jane were residing at the house in Ilford. It is also likely that his granddaughter, Elizabeth, daughter of only surviving son Jonathan, also lived at the Ilford house, as his son traveled frequently to Asia for the East India Company. There is no record to show what happened to the Ilford property, but it is probable that Ann had possession of the house until she died intestate in September 1746 and that after her death, granddaughter Elizabeth moved into the house of her paternal aunt, Miriam Hayter, and daughter Jane moved into the house of her sister Ann Adams in Edmonton. If this is the case, the Ilford house would have been vacated sometime in late 1746 and would have been available for sale or occupation by others in early 1747. The Ilford property remained listed in the rate books as belonging to Mr Scarth until March 1748, at which time a Mr Crump was listed at that location. Though there is no evidence to substantiate this, it is possible that his brothers-in-law Silvanus Grove or Henry Hayter placed the advertisement that appeared in the London General Advertiser in May 1747 for a house to be sold or let in Ilford. The ad describes the property and asks that interested parties contact the proprietor of the Blue Boar Inn in Great Ilford.

9 The rate books show a Mr Scarfe, which appears to be a common misspelling of Scarth. Ilford Ward Parish Rate books IPR1 1737, IPR2 1738, IPR3 1739, IPR4 1740, IPR5 1741, IPR6 1742, IPR7 1743, IPR8 1744, IPR9 1745, IPR10 1746, IPR11 1747, IPR12 1748, and IPR13 1749, Parish Rate Books, The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham, Barking and Dagenham Archives and Local Studies Service; I wish to thank historian Georgina Green for her invaluable research assistance.
11 Ilford Ward Parish Rate books IPR12 1748 and IPR13 1749, Parish Rate Books, The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham, Barking and Dagenham Archives and Local Studies Service.
In the late 1690s and early 1700s, Jonathan was a London-based transatlantic merchant. He was accepting hogsheads of tobacco from Maryland planters in payment for goods sold. He was also purchasing Maryland tobacco for resale along with John Hyde, John Hanbury, Tobias Bowles, and Joseph Adams.\(^\text{12}\) In April 1703, Scarth and other London merchants petitioned the Board of Trade and Plantations for permission to ship badly needed ‘cloathing’ to the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland with the convoy of government ships.\(^\text{13}\) The Board responded in June. They acknowledged that the colonists were ‘destitute of necessaries,’ and the Board ordered ships to sail in July.\(^\text{14}\) In January 1708, London merchants petitioned the Privy Council to grant permission for the ships, including Scarth’s Maryland Factor, to travel to Virginia rather than be detained any longer in Maryland.\(^\text{15}\) Scarth was named as either plaintiff or defendant in a number of litigations between 1713 and 1739.\(^\text{16}\)


\(^{13}\) *English Duplicates of Lost Virginia Records*, compiled by Louis Des Cognets, (Princeton: Louis Des Cognets, 1958), 268.


\(^{15}\) ‘Petition of John Hyde and other ship owners that the following ships should not be detained in Maryland ...,’ 19 January 1708, PC 1/3140/1, Maryland, Colonies; North America, PC 1 Records of the Privy Council and Privy Council Office: Miscellaneous Unbound Papers; Records of the Privy Council; PC 1 Records of the Privy Council and other records collected by the Privy Council Office 1481–2002, TNA.

For most of the eighteenth century, all tea came from China, and the East India Company imported both the green and black varieties from Canton. According to a sale catalogue, Jonathan Scarth was purchasing tea and coffee from the East India Company in 1719. As Scarth was a transatlantic merchant, it is likely he was selling the tea and coffee in the mid-Atlantic colonies. This aspect of his trade reminds us of the many intersections between eighteenth-century Atlantic World and Indian Ocean trade. In addition to his mercantile business in the colonies, Scarth invested in land. The Land Company of Pennsylvania in London, a joint stock association created in 1699, had grown by 1720 to include Scarth and more than 300 others, including other London-based merchants, who purchased shares of land in Pennsylvania.

Scarth, along with others such as London merchant Joseph Hoare, was also trading directly with Philadelphia merchants. Scarth’s transatlantic connections were not just purely business. Scarth’s son Isaac as captain of the Jonathan and Anne made numerous trips between London and Virginia and Maryland from 1714 to 1726, likely carrying goods from London to his father’s customers and returning with tobacco, as well as shuttling government papers between the Maryland Assembly and Parliament. Correspondence between merchant Isaac Norris (1671–1735) in Philadelphia and Scarth the elder in London shows that these two men were fellow

---

17 On this one day, Scarth purchased 42 bales of coffee from the Cardonnell captained by William Mawson. He also purchased tea from the Carnarvan captained by Thwaites and having traveled with the Hartford to Canton in early 1719, 6 chests of Singlo tea, 2 chests of Bohea tea, and 4 chests of Congou tea; from the Hartford captained by Newsham, 6 tubs of Singleton tea and 3 chests of Bohea tea. The East India Company Sale, September the First, 1719 (London: Printed by D. Bridge for Sam Proctor), 1719, pp. 144, 36, 37, 123, 35, 171, 154, 40, 158, 1285, 149, 156, 175; In the East India Company 1719 Sale, a Mr Grove is listed as having purchased blue and white plate, chocolate cups with handles, and tea. Ibid., pp. 230, 224, 138.

Quakers, friends, and business associates. Their friendship had developed during Norris’s trip to London in 1706. Norris wrote a number of letters to Scarth between 1716 and 1729 in which he discussed everything from business accounts to family matters. Some of the letters included updates on children’s health, local Quaker meetings, news about mutual friends and Friends, and general musings about life. The letters indicate that Norris was Scarth’s colonial agent, and many of them included payments for outstanding accounts on behalf of his customers and orders for goods, such as wine, stockings, and hats. Scarth also sent items for Norris’s personal use. In a 1718 letter, Norris asked Scarth to send a copy of Richard Mead’s *Discourse of Poisons* (1708), the second volume of Lord Shaftsbury’s *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1711), and a copy of Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. In 1729, Norris wrote to Scarth that the stockings he sent were ‘the dearest I ever had’.

Jonathan Scarth the elder died in October 1743 and on the seventeenth of that month was buried in the Quaker cemetery in Whitechapel, London. The death notice described him as an ‘eminent’ Virginia merchant. He had been in the ‘Maryland trade for 34 years for the first two as a ship’s master but since as a merchant. He has freighted several ships to Maryland. In addition to the listing of his death and burial, the notice gives an anecdote, allowing us to gain a better impression of this man. Some years before his death, Scarth had purchased lottery tickets. An associate who had recently arrived from Holland wished to play the lottery, a novelty to this foreigner, and Scarth gave him whichever ticket he might want, which ended up being the lucky ticket, and the foreigner received 10,000 pounds.

---

22 Isaac Norris’s father, Thomas, was a London merchant and an early Southwark Quaker when Isaac was born in 1671. He and his family moved to Port Royal in Jamaica in 1678. Young Isaac was sent to Philadelphia in 1692 to investigate the town and determine its suitability for the family business. By the time Isaac returned to Jamaica to report his findings, his family was dead as a result of the 1692 earthquake that destroyed Port Royal. Isaac returned to Philadelphia, married, and settled into the merchant business of his wife’s family, the Lloyds. Townsend Ward, ‘The Germantown Road and its Associations, Part One,’ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 5, no. 1 (1881), 1–18.

23 From 1706 to 1708, Isaac and his son, also Isaac, went to London where they made many Quaker contacts, including Scarth the elder and Henry Gouldney. Townsend Ward, ‘The Germantown Road and its Associations, Part One,’ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 5, no. 1 (1881), 10; ‘Notes and Queries,’ *The Journal of the Friends’ Historical Society* 17, no. 4 (1920): 135.

24 Isaac Norris, Norris Letterbook 1716–1730, Norris Family Papers, Collection 0454, HSP.

25 Isaac Norris to Jonathan Scarth, letter, 4 July 1718, Norris Family Papers, Collection 0454, HSP; Isaac Norris to Jonathan Scarth, letter, 12 October 1716, Norris Family Papers, Collection 0454, HSP.

26 Isaac Norris to Jonathan Scarth, letter, 4 July 1718, Norris Family Papers, Collection 0454, HSP.

27 Isaac Norris to Jonathan Scarth, letter, 8 May 1729, Norris Family Papers, Collection 0454, HSP.


Jonathan Scarth the elder has attained fame in the United States for his inadvertent (and posthumous) role in the history of American jurisprudence, in a case that helped define the respective jurisdictions of the federal and state courts. The facts and actors in the case are numerous, but in short, Marylander Aaron Rawlings borrowed £800 from Scarth in 1706, using a plot of land as collateral. When the loan was not paid back in full, Scarth became owner of the property. In *Owings v. Norwood’s Lessee*, Chief Justice John Marshall found that though Jonathan Scarth’s claim to a tract of land known as Brown’s Adventure in Baltimore County, Maryland, had indeed been terminated by the Maryland Confiscation Act of 1780, the federal courts had no jurisdiction in deciding the case, as Mr Scarth’s heirs had not brought suit under the Treaty of Paris. It remained, therefore, a matter of state jurisdiction between two Maryland citizens.  

**Jonathan Scarth the Younger (1704-1745)**

Jonathan Scarth the younger was born at his parents’ house in George Yard on Tower Hill on 31 May 1704. There is no record of young Scarth until his marriage in 1729, but surely he was learning the merchant trade under his father’s tutelage. In his late teens, Jonathan entered the service of the East India Company having been nominated by a company director, likely Samuel Hyde or Quaker Henry Lascelles, both neighbors and associates of his father. He would have been sent to the East Indies to train under a Company merchant for a period of five or more years, before becoming an apprentice merchant. After about three of those years, and having satisfactorily completed his training so far, Jonathan would have graduated to junior merchant, and then lesser supercargo, for which he would have received a small wage and been given limited private trading permission.  

31 Before more modern forms of international trade with a common currency, supercargoes performed the purchasing, selling, and shipping functions for their respective companies. A supercargo was a temporary travelling merchant, restricted to a particular cargo on a particular ship in the employ of a particular company. A supercargo accompanied his employer’s cargo to a foreign land where he was expected to sell the product for the highest price available, and then to purchase goods that would produce high profits for the company when sold back home. A supercargo was usually paid by commission, providing incentive for profitable sales and purchases and safe and secure shipping. Scarth, as an East India Company supercargo, travelled back and forth to Canton, managing financial transactions for his assigned ship’s cargo.


Jonathan Scarth married Ruth Grove (1713–1735), the daughter of eminent Quaker merchant Silvanus Grove, in November 1729 in St Katherine by the Tower Parish, London. Before entering into the marriage, Scarth had made a marriage agreement with Grove. After Grove and his wife Elizabeth died intestate, Scarth and Ruth brought a suit in 1730 for their share of the Grove estate based on the marriage settlement. It appears that Joseph Adams and Edward Walburge were called as defendants and testified to the facts that Ruth and Scarth were married, that the parents had died intestate with a considerable personal estate, and that Jonathan had entered into the marriage agreement for which an indenture was executed. About a year later, Scarth and Ruth welcomed a daughter, Elizabeth. Just a few years later, in April 1735, Ruth Scarth died at the age of 22 of consumption.

In 1739, Scarth was named as a supercargo for the East India Company’s 1739–40 season and again for the 1741–2 season. Scarth was on the petition to be a supercargo for the 1743–4 season, but he was not selected. Having been away for almost four years, Scarth spent 1743 with his family and friends. It is likely that Jonathan used his time off to be with his daughter and his father who at the age of 76 was in failing health. In October 1743, Jonathan Scarth the elder died, leaving Jonathan in charge of the family. There would have been much to do to get his father’s affairs settled, but Jonathan did take time for relaxation. He joined his brother-in-law, the junior Silvanus Grove, and the American colonial Benjamin Chew at his family’s Ilford house for a couple of days of fox hunting in mid-December 1743.

Even after inheriting his father’s mercantile business, Jonathan chose to continue his employment with the East India Company as supercargo. On 3 January 1744, Jonathan Scarth wrote his will, just weeks before he set sail on his final journey to the East Indies, listing himself

34 According to the OED, a marriage settlement is a ‘legal arrangement which secures certain property for an intended wife and sometimes also for any children of an intended marriage; a deed by which such an arrangement is effected,’ ‘marriage, n.’ OED Online, September 2013, Oxford University Press http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/114320?redirectedFrom=marriage+settlement (accessed 19 November 2013).
35 Scarth v. Adams, C 11/1482/35, Zincke Division; Records of Equity Side: the Six Clerks; CoC, TNA; Scarth v. Grove, C 11/1480/24, Zincke Division; Records of Equity Side: the Six Clerks; CoC, TNA.
37 Scarth applied for the post of EIC supercargo for 1742–1743, but was not selected. East India Company, Court Minutes 7 Apr 1742–4 Apr 1744, IOR/B/67, Court Minutes of the Old, New and United Companies 1599–1858, Minutes of the East India Company’s Directors and Proprietors 1599–1858, Minutes of the East India Company’s Directors and Proprietors, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library.
38 Benjamin Chew, London Journals, 1743–1744, Chew Family Papers Collection 2050, Series II, Box 18, folder 7, HSP.
as late of Ilford, Essex, and as a merchant in Lothbury. The family mercantile business was likely administered by Jonathan's brothers-in-law, Joseph Adams and Silvanus Grove, both successful London merchants in their own right; Adams had a country house in Silver Street, Edmonton, and Grove's country house still stands in Woodford on the A1199. Jonathan Scarth never returned to England.

**Journeys as Supercargo**

According to the *London Daily Post*, Scarth was a ‘supra cargo’ on the *Augusta* bound for Whampoa (Canton or Guangzhou), under Captain Augustus Townsend. However, the *Evening Post* and East India Company records show that Scarth was actually the fifth supercargo on the *Houghton* captained by Philip Worth. The *Houghton*, which first began service for the East India Company in 1738, was a 460-ton ship, with 30 guns and a crew of 92. The *Houghton*, carrying 1,339 piculs of lead and 1,000 pieces of perpetuano (coarse, durable woolen fabric, sometimes used for coat linings), departed London on 16 January 1739, and the Downs on 7 February 1739, but was still near Deal on 22 February. The *Houghton* left Spithead on 11 March (left English shores 30 March) and arrived at Whampoa on 20 July, having made the outbound journey in a record time. The 15,689-mile trip from Portsmouth to Whampao, travelling through the straits of Sunda and Banca, took 138 days. In China, the *Houghton’s* supercargoes relied on the services of Teinqua, a Hong merchant, and sold their cargo quickly, using their funds to purchase as much of the preferred Hyson green tea as they could. During the course of the trading season, the supercargoes of the *Houghton* and *Walpole* purchased more goods than they were able to transport back to England and had to put some of their tea

---

39 Jonathan Scarth, will dated 31 October 1751, PROB 11/790, Public Record Office, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, TNA.
42 Ibid.
44 *London Daily Gazette*, 22 February 1739, issue 1146; A picul was 133.5 pounds or 60.5 kg on average; The Downs were an area of sea eight miles north-east of Dover and where ships waited for an easterly wind to carry them through the English Channel.
45 *Records of Fort St George, Letters from Fort St George, 1739*, vol. 23 (Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, 1931), 35.
46 Morse, *Britain and the China Trade*, 266.
47 Hong merchants were a group of Chinese merchants authorized by the Chinese government to act as liaison to British traders in Canton; Morse, *Britain and the China Trade*, 266.
on the *Augusta*.\(^{48}\) Near the end of the trading season, on 7 December 1739, a mob assembled outside the East India Company factory at Whampoa. One man tried to force himself into the factory, and when the guard prevented him, the man began throwing bricks. The guard, fearing for his safety, drew his cutlass and brought it down upon the man’s head, the cutlass cutting through the bone. For the next two weeks tensions ran high. This incident reminds us that Company trade in China was highly fraught in the years before Commodore Anson’s celebrated exploits in Canton, discussed in [Stephen McDowall’s case study].\(^{49}\) The supercargoes gratefully left Whampoa on 26 December.\(^{50}\) The *Houghton* and the *Walpole*, carrying 6,307 piculs of tea, 7,295 pieces of woven silk, 20 piculs of raw silk, 513 piculs of cotton cloth, 425 chests of chinaware, and 595 piculs of tutenague (crude zinc), departed Whampoa in the company of the *Duke of Lorrain* and the *Augusta*, East-Indiamen all, for the return voyage to London on 26 December 1739.\(^{51}\) The *Houghton* was reported to be at St Helena from April until its homebound departure on 13 July 1740.\(^{52}\)


---

\(^{48}\) In 1743, Scarth requested an advance on his commission for the 1743–1744 season in order to settle his accounts against the loan he had received against the cargo of tea shipped on the Augusta. Morse, *Britain and the China Trade*, 276.


\(^{50}\) Ibid., 270.

\(^{51}\) Ibid.

In December 1740, Jonathan Scarth was appointed as a supercargo for the 1741 season by the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Abuses of trading privileges by Company employees were frequent, but Scarth did request in early February 1740 ‘permission to carry out £60 worth of gold stone and £15 worth of plate glass’ for his own private trade while in the East. The York, under captain Henry Lascelles with Jonathan Scarth as supercargo and with a cargo of 1,348 piculs of lead and 997 pieces of perpetuan, departed Spithead on 14 March 1741, in the company of the Northampton for China. The Princess Mary, carrying Scarth’s chief council, Richard Oliver, had been sent to Whampoa ahead of the York to begin advance stockpiling of Hyson tea, but near latitude 15 the Princess Mary ran into a typhoon and lost its masts, not reaching Macao until July 1742. Meanwhile, the York had sailed to Batavia and in July 1741 was there awaiting the Princess Mary and Oliver. The York arrived in Whampoa in mid-August, and by November 1741, the York was making its final sales and purchases for its homebound departure. The York sailed in company with the Godolphin from China, reaching the Cape in April, St Helena in May, and the Downs in September 1742.

In early January 1744, Jonathan Scarth and Richard Oliver were named as supercargoes of the York for the 1744–5 season. According to a letter written by Captain Lascelles on 24 January 1744, Jonathan Scarth was aboard the York when it departed England for Whampoa in the company of the Stafford. Scarth brought the following items for his personal use: twelve half chests of wine; three chests and a bureau of apparel, ‘necessaries’, and books; two half chests and nineteen hampers of water; two boxes of lemons; one box of medicine; one chair; and a

53 London Evening Post, 4 December 1740 – 6 December 1740, issue 2039.
54 Lawson, History, 81; J. G. L. Burnby and T. D. Whittet, ‘Plague, Pills, and Surgery: The Story of Bromfields,’ Occasional Paper, New Series 31 (Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, 1975); ‘Letter 39 Jonathan Scarth to the Court requesting permission to carry out £60 worth of gold stone and £15 worth of plate glass as part of his private trade allowance,’ letter, February 3, 1741, IOR/E/1/30 ff. 79-80v, Miscellaneous letters Received, Home Correspondence 1699–1859, East India Company General Correspondence. 1602–1859, India Office Records and Private Papers, British Library; Scarth probably brought Cornish yellow topaz, which was sold in large quantities in India by the East India Company during the 1700s. Samuel Parkes, The Chemical Catechism: With Notes, Illustrations, and Experiments (New York: Collins and Co., 1818), 305.
56 Morse, Britain and the China Trade, 276.
57 Ibid.
58 London Daily Post, Tuesday, 7 September 1742, issue 7178.
60 Records of Fort St George, Letters from Fort St George, 1744, vol. 26 (Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, 1932), 41.
bundle of bedding. He also brought a box of pictures and three cases of glassware ‘for his indulgence’. The York safely departed Madeira in February and arrived at Fort St George in Madras on 4 June 1744. A letter dated 6 June 1744 written to the East India Company Directors informed them that the York was being loaded with lead, tin, redwood (probably Indian sappanwood) and silver for China. The letter also stated that supercargoes Jonathan Scarth and Richard Oliver had been given orders for Whampoa to purchase tea, silks, chinaware and saltpetre. Scarth’s pay was to be three-quarters of a percent of the cargo’s sale. On 17 June 1744, the York sailed for Whampoa with Scarth and Oliver aboard. Twenty months later, in early August 1745, Richard Oliver returned to England, arriving in Plymouth, having found passage on a Swedish ship from India. He reported to East India House that the York, among other ships, had been at St Helena in May 1745 preparing for her homeward-bound journey along with 11 other ‘Coast and Bay’ (Coromandel Coast and Bengal Bay) ships. He also reported that York supercargo Jonathan Scarth was dead.


61 Scurvy killed. The preventive effect of citrus fruits was known in the 1740s but not universally believed. The British Navy did not institute the lime juice ration until later, in the 1790s. M. Bartholomew, James Lind’s Treatise of the Scurvy (1753), Postgraduate Medical Journal 78, no. 925 (November 2002): 695–698.
62 Despatches, 60.
63 Ibid, 16; Fort St George, Letters, vol. 26, 42.
64 Records of Fort St George: Diary and Consultation Book of 1744, Madras (Madras: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, 1931), 128.
65 Fort St George, Letters, vol. 26, 43; Despatches, 10.
66 Ibid.
The York’s story continues. In August 1745, newspapers reported that the York was in a convoy in the Straits of Banka and that she carried several French prisoners of war seized in the Straits of Malacca. In mid-September, newspaper reports claimed that the York was among thirteen other ships that had arrived safely in Galway. They had departed St Helena without convoy on 6 July. Ships generally travelled in convoy for safety, especially during wartime, and war with France had been declared the previous March, but the port’s supplies had begun to grow sparse, and the ships’ captains feared they would be unable to find adequate provisions for the return home if they stayed any longer in St Helena, and so departed without convoy. On 16 December 1745, the York, captained by Lascelles, passed the Downs on its return from India.

Jonathan Scarth died in Canton in October 1744. He was declared deceased in England in December 1745. This suggests that Jonathan could not be officially declared dead before the return of the York to London. There is no record of Jonathan Scarth’s body’s being returned to or buried in England. As was the customary practice at the time of his death, Jonathan was likely buried on a hillside on one of the many islands surrounding Whampoa, and there are no extant records of the graves of the countless foreigners in those hills in the early–to–mid 1700s. There is also no indication of how Jonathan died. Mortality rates in China were especially high for Europeans during this period due to climate and disease.

Elizabeth Moore

Jonathan Scarth’s only child, Elizabeth, had lost both her parents by her sixteenth birthday. At the time of Scarth’s death, a search was made for his will by Henry Hayter and Silvanus Grove, but they not having found one, Scarth was declared to have died intestate. Joseph Adams and Silvanus Grove were appointed administrators of Scarth’s personal estate, and Adams was appointed guardian of the minor child Elizabeth by the court. As her father had been traveling overseas for years prior to his demise with only short respites in England, it is likely that Elizabeth was raised by her grandmother Ann Scarth and her aunt Miriam Hayter. Joseph

---

69 *London General Advertiser*, Wednesday, 7 August 1745, issue 3347.
70 *London Evening Post*, 21 September 1745 – 24 September 1745, issue 2790.
71 *Penny London Post or the Morning Advertiser*, 20 December 1745 – 23 December 1745, issue 414.
72 Moore v. Grove, C11/1661/2, 1752, Pleadings C11/1661; Zincke Division, Pleadings 1714 to 1758; Six Clerks Office, CoC, TNA.
73 Jonathon Scarth, will 1751.
75 Moore v. Grove, C11/1661/2, 1752, TNA.
76 Ann Scarth died at the Hayter house on King Street in September 1746 and was buried at the Friends burying ground in Whitechapel. *Devonshire House Burial Record*, p. 552, RG6/330, Society of Friends’ (Quakers) Registers, Notes and Certificates of Births, Marriages and Burials ranging from 1578–1841, BMD register.
Adams died in 1748, and Silvanus Grove, Andrew Grote, and Samuel Reeve were named as Adams’s executors, and Grove became Elizabeth’s legal guardian, though it remains likely that she continued to live with the Hayters.\textsuperscript{77} In 1749, in advance of Elizabeth’s upcoming nuptials, Scarth’s estate was evaluated and estimated by Grove, Hayter, Grote, and Reeve to be somewhat more than £7,000, which was based on the 1729 Scarth-Grove marriage agreement and known stock holdings. The fortune consisted of £1,600 bank stock, £1,500 South Sea annuities, £3,100 bank annuities, and a portion of her paternal grandfather’s Barbados planation.\textsuperscript{78} It was agreed by all parties—Grove, Elizabeth, and her fiancée, Francis Moore the younger—to the marriage agreement that one third of Elizabeth’s fortune would be given to Francis Moore with the intention that he would use the funds to further his trade. The other two thirds would be held in trust and invested in public stocks by the administrators, with annual dividends paid to Elizabeth.

On 29 September 1749, Elizabeth was married to Francis Moore at St Gregory by St Paul. Both listed their age as 21.\textsuperscript{79} Moore was a haberdasher in King Street as was Elizabeth’s uncle Henry Hayter (1713–1766).\textsuperscript{80} It is possible the Hayters and Moores were business partners in addition to neighbors. It was a common practice for a daughter, or in this case niece, to be married to the son of one’s business partner. Jonathan Scarth’s will was eventually found by Silvanus Grove in Joseph Adams’s papers, and after his funeral expenses, debts, and bequests had been satisfied, Scarth’s estate was actually worth about one half of what was originally estimated. Jonathan Scarth provided legacies of varying amounts to his mother, sisters, nieces, and nephews, and to his friend the widow Jane Hill. Scarth’s will specified that a trust was to be established for any children of Elizabeth. Elizabeth and Francis Moore had one child, Frank Moore (1751–1828). The will also stipulated that if the balance of his estate was not enough to pay the legacies in full, all the legacies, including Elizabeth’s, were to be reduced proportionally. Grove and Hayter, administrators of the Joseph Adams, Jonathan Scarth, and Ann Scarth estates, and Hayter as guardian of Elizabeth’s son, were requesting that the monies paid to Elizabeth and her husband be partially returned to the estate so the legacies could be paid. This

\textsuperscript{77} Silvanus Grove and Andrew Grote were Joseph Adams’s sons-in-law and Samuel Reeve was his bookkeeper. Joseph Adams, will dated 16 December 1748, National Archives of the UK: Public Record Office, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/766.

\textsuperscript{78} Moore v. Grove, C11/1661/2, 1752, TNA.


\textsuperscript{80} The OED defines a haberdasher as ‘a dealer in small articles appertaining to dress, as thread, tape, ribbons, etc.’ ‘haberdasher, n.’, OED Online, September 2013, Oxford University Press, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/82962?redirectedFrom=haberdasher (accessed 3 November 2013).
created a hardship for Elizabeth and her husband. They had been paid one-third of the total estate at the time of their marriage in 1749 when her father was thought to have died intestate. They filed complaints with the courts in 1752 arguing that they would have to take funds from the business in order to reimburse the estate for the overpayment. They claimed that this would be a hardship now and would limit future profits from the business. A new agreement was created and presented to the court in 1752 for approval.  

Francis Moore the younger was declared bankrupt in May 1756. There is no way to know if the reduction of the marriage settlement and the subsequent payment was the cause of the bankruptcy, though it seems likely that it contributed. Soper Hayter, one of the King Street haberdasher Hayters (Soper, Henry, and Walter) and Henry Hayter’s brother, was also declared bankrupt. Records indicate there were a number of haberdashers on King Street in Cheapside in the 1750s, but there is no indication why the Hayter-Moore business foundered, though the tax records show the Hayter’s personal estate value declined by half between 1745 and 1754. Just a few years later, at the age of 31, Francis Moore died in May 1759, presumably intestate.

Elizabeth Moore died three years after her husband, in June 1762. In her will, she named Edmund Pepys of Gerard Street, Westminster, as executor of her real estate and Isaac Mendes Furtado of Cornhill, London, as executor of her personal estate. She bequeathed to her son three pounds and any monies that were left after the sale of her real estate and the bequests to her executors. This suggests that Elizabeth had become somehow estranged from her son, who would have been ten or eleven years old at the time of her death. The 1752 lawsuit and Elizabeth’s will suggest that Elizabeth Moore did not have custody of her child. It seems likely that Miriam Hayter, Elizabeth’s aunt, had him. Miriam Hayter died in May 1774 and left young Moore all her ‘Plate and China,’ and she made no other bequests to nieces or nephews.

Frank Moore joined the military as a young adult. He rose through the ranks from cornet to major through purchased commissions in the 11th Regiment of Light Dragoons. He retired to

---

81 Moore v. Grove, C11/1661/2, 1752, TNA.
83 London Evening Post, 15 June – 18 June, 1754, issue 4150.
85 Elizabeth Moore, will dated 30 June 1762, PROB 11/877/436, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PRO; Miriam Hayter, will dated 2 May 1774, PROB 11/998/2, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PRO.
86 Frank Moore the younger purchased a commission as cornet in the Queen’s Regiment of Dragoons. London Gazette, 22 June 1773, issue 11364, p. 1; Frank Moore was promoted from cornet to lieutenant by purchase in the Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons. London Gazette, February 10, 1776, issue 11639, p. 1; Frank Moore was promoted from lieutenant to captain in the Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons. London Gazette, 24 June 1780, issue 12095, p. 2; Major Frank Moore retired from the Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons. London Gazette, 8 May 1792, issue 13413, p.
his house in Northchurch, just outside Berkhamstead in north-west Hertfordshire, where he died in 1828. In his will, he bequeathed £4,500 East India stock to his wife Hannah and son Frank John Moore (1806–).

Conclusion

The Scarth family had a multi-generational connection to the East India Company, each generation’s experience different in substance and in result. The Scarth family’s story shows an early ‘swing to the east’, perhaps earlier than many of their countrymen, trading first with the American colonies and then with China.\footnote{Peter Marshall, ‘The First And Second British Empires: A Question Of Demarcation’, History 49, no. 165 (January 1964): 13–23.} Scarth the elder spent his life trading East India Company tea and coffee, among other goods, to the colonies and securing a family fortune, with a city house in London and a country house in Ilford. His son spent his life in the employ of the East India Company, leaving his family in England while traveling to China to purchase tea and other goods. His orphan daughter, Elizabeth, never had the full advantage of her share of her father’s East India Company stock and commissions, due to her husband’s bankruptcy and her own early death. Her son, Frank Moore, Jonathan Scarth the elder’s great-grandson, however, had a highly successful military career, and in addition to his estate in Northchurch, he owned £4,500 of East India Company stock when he died, leaving his son the Scarth-East India Company legacy.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{tea-canister.jpg}
\caption{The Scarth family had a multi-generational connection to the East India Company, each generation’s experience different in substance and in result. The Scarth family’s story shows an early ‘swing to the east’, perhaps earlier than many of their countrymen, trading first with the American colonies and then with China.}
\end{figure}

\footnote{Frank Moore, will dated 24 March 1828, PROB 11/1738/237, Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PRO.}