THE CIVIL AND MILITARY PATRONAGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1784-1858

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Being a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Leicester, 1977.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the role of East India patronage in British social history. It is a study of the recruitment, social origins and training of the East India Company's civil and military servants, and of the men who recruited them.

The Directors of the East India Company presided over a great reservoir of middle-class patronage in a society where access to genteel employment was monopolised by the landed political establishment. The patronage system which, after due regard for their own personal and family interests, they administered with a surprising degree of disinterestedness and integrity, became the means by which the poor and humble were able to realise aspirations to gentility and obtain social status for themselves and their families. India offered few attractions in its own right; its appeal to recruits to the Indian army and civil service lay in the social and economic realities of British middle-class life. In face of these facts the East India Company's attempts to instill in its servants an understanding and appreciation of Indian society and culture proved hapless. The remarkable institutions of Haileybury and Addiscombe serve only as a reminder of a great opportunity tragically missed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All scholars incur debts. Mine are greater than most. I owe much to my schoolmasters, Frank Salt, who introduced me to the history of British India, and Arnold Gibson (himself a pupil of J. Steven Watson), from whom I first learned the ideas of Sir Lewis Namier. My tutor at the University of Leicester, Professor John McManners, did more than anyone to deepen my appreciation of history and to stimulate my interest in an academic career. Not the least of his contributions was to introduce me to Dr. John Pemble, who was primarily responsible for channelling my vague notions about imperial history towards the incredibly rich source of the records of the East India Company. My greatest debt, however, is to my supervisor, Professor Jack Simmons, whose kindness has been legion and far beyond anything I deserved.

I am grateful to the following for valuable discussions: Dr. Christopher Dandeker, Dr. Clive Dewey, Mr. John Dunne, Professor H.J. Dyos, Professor Alan Everitt, Dr. Aubrey Newman, Dr. John Pemble and Professor Jack Simmons of the University of Leicester; Mr. Anthony Farrington and Dr. Richard Bingle of the India Office Library and Records; Dr. Ross McKibbin and Sir Richard Southern of St. John's College, Oxford; and Miss Mary Thatcher of the Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.

The staff of the following libraries and record offices are especially deserving of my gratitude: the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the British Museum; the Cambridgeshire Record Office; the Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge; the Gloucestershire Record Office; the Guildhall Library, London; the India Office Library and Records; the John Rylands Library, Manchester; Leicester City Reference Library; Leicester University Library; the Library of St. John's College, Oxford; the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies; the National Library of Scotland; the National Register of Archives; the Probate Registry, Somerset House; the Public Record Office; the Scottish Record Office; and the Staffordshire Record Office.

The late Earl Spencer, the Earl of Harrowby and Mrs. Christina Colvin were kind enough to grant me access to papers in their possession.

Dr. John Pemble and Professor Jack Simmons read the manuscript and made many improvements.

Finally, I must express my sincere gratitude to the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, for providing me with a perfect environment in which to conclude my research.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add. Mss. - Additional Manuscripts.

BM - British Museum.

Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. - Copy Minutes of the Political and Military Committee.

DNB - Dictionary of National Biography.

E.H.R. - English Historical Review.

Econ. H.R. - Economic History Review.

Eur. Mss. - European Manuscripts.

Glos. R.O. - Gloucestershire Record Office.

H.L. - House of Lords.

H.M.C. - Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Home Misc. - Home Miscellaneous Series.

IOL - India Office Library.

IOR - India Office Records.

NLS - National Library of Scotland.

P.P. - Parliamentary Papers.

RMSC - Reports of the Military Seminary Committee.

SRO - Scottish Record Office.

Staffs. R.O. - Staffordshire Record Office.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The materials for a study of East India patronage are extensive. The development of the recruitment system and its attendant bureaucracy can be traced in the Court Minutes,[1] the 147 volumes of Cadet Papers,[2] the 14 volumes of Registers of Cadets,[3] the 19 volumes of Writers' Petitions,[4] the 70 volumes of Committee of College References and Papers,[5] the 4 volumes of Haileybury Nomination Certificates and Testimonials[6] and the Register of Haileybury Students' Admissions[7] contained in the India Office Records. Information regarding the recruit's name, his place of birth, his age, the nature of his education, the occupation of his parents, the name of the Director who nominated him, and of the person who recommended his nomination, can be derived from these sources, making possible not only a detailed examination of the patronage system but also of the social and economic background of the recruit.

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/122-B/236).
[2] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/107-254).
[3] Registers of Cadets (IOR: L/MIL/9/255-269).
[4] Writers' Petitions 1749-1805 (IOR: J/1/1-19).
[5] Committee of College References and Papers 1806-1856 (IOR: J/1/21-90).
[6] Haileybury Nomination Certificates and Testimonials 1823-1827 (IOR: J/1/91-94).
[7] Register of Haileybury Students' Admissions 1812-1856 (IOR: J/1/95).

The sources are least satisfactory in relation to the Directors of the East India Company. Not until Professor and Mrs. Philips's thorough and invaluable work[1] was there even a reliable list of Directors. Modern scholarly accounts are few.[2] Dame Lucy Sutherland's East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics[3] and Philips's East India Company 1784-1834[4] are important studies of the Directors' corporate actions and of their relations with the State, but contain comparatively little personal information. Dr. Richard Tate's doctoral thesis, 'The Home Government of India, 1834-1854',[5] is more rewarding, but remains unpublished. Only three Directors have found biographers,[6] though a further twenty-seven have entries in the Dictionary of National Biography. Collections of private papers are rare. The British Museum has a handful of the correspondence of Sweny Toone[7] and Robert Thornton.[8] The record of the

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[1] C.H. & D. Philips, 'Alphabetical list of the Directors of the East India Company from 1758 to 1858', Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Oct. 1941) 325-336. This replaced the list published in 1885 by Charles Prinsep in The Services of Madras Civilians, which was extremely inaccurate.

[2] Mr. J.G. Parker of the University of Edinburgh is at present preparing a Ph. D. thesis on 'The private lives and the political careers of the Directors of the East India Company, 1754-1790.'

[3] L.S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics (Oxford, 1952).

[4] C.H. Philips, The East India Company 1784-1834 (Manchester, 1940).

[5] R.F.S. Tate, 'The Home Government of India, 1834-1854,' unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (1972).

[6] Charles Grant (who has attracted two biographers), Henry St. George Tucker and Sir George Pollock.

[7] Add. Mss. (BM) 29177.

[8] Add. Mss. (BM) 38257-8.

Directors' deliberations, preserved in the Court Minutes, reveals nothing of their private lives, or even of their personal opinions.[1] The India Office Records' collection of Directors' private papers is disappointingly meagre.[2] The National Register of Archives identifies two collections in private hands.[3] The only other family papers I have been able to trace are those of John Thornhill, in the possession of Martin's Bank. These formed part of the material for Barbara Kerr's interesting and melancholy study of the Thornhill family.[4] A few other families, such as the Chicheley Plowdens, the Cottons, the Lindsays and the Willocks also have histories which can be ransacked for hidden treasure.[5] Hodson's and Dodwell and Miles's splendid

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[1]The Minutes of the Court of Directors record the acts of the Court as a whole. The personal opinions of the Directors on questions of policy must be sought in the India House Debates, in parliamentary reports, in their private correspondence, and in their dissents from the decisions of the Court as a whole.

[2]Collections of Directors' private papers in the India Office Records are: Elphinstone Collection (IOR: Eur. Mss. F.89); Plowden Papers (IOR: Home Misc., Vol. 820); Willock Letters (IOR: Eur. Mss. D527) and the Cotton Genealogy (IOR: Photo Eur. Mss. 29). Dr. Richard Bingle of the IOR informs me that a collection of the papers of Sir James Weir Hogg has recently been deposited, but that these are not yet available for consultation [December 1976].

[3]Thirty-four letters of Joseph Cotton, in the possession of Earl Spencer at Althorp, Northants.; and the letters and diaries of W.T. Money, in the possession of the Earl of Harrowby at Sandon Hall, Staffordshire.

[4]Barbara Kerr, The Dispossessed (1974).

[5]W.F.C. Chicheley Plowden (ed.), Records of the Chicheley Plowdens (1914); Sir H.J. Cotton, Indian and Home Memories (1911); Lives of the Lindsays (1849); 'Notes on the Willock family', (IOR: Eur. Mss. D527.)

service lists[1] are useful for plotting the careers of those Directors who served in India, but for the rest there remains only a slow and unrewarding examination of diverse volumes of memoirs and autobiography and of publications such as the Annual Register,[2] the Asiatic Annual Register, the Asiatic Journal, the Court and City Register, the Gentleman's Magazine, the India Register,[3] the London Chronicle and The Times. Even so, many of the 135 Directors who served the East India Company between 1784 and 1858 remain shadowy and insubstantial figures.

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[1] V.C.P. Hodson, A List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834, 4 vols. (1927-46); E. Dodwell & J. Miles, Alphabetical List of the Hon. East India Company's Bengal Civil Servants 1780-1838 (1839), and Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army 1764-1837 (1838).

[2] The Annual Register was edited 1822-27 and 1837-38 by Alfred Lyall, the brother of George Lyall M.P., a Director and Chairman of the East India Company.

[3] The India Register was the official directory of the East India Company.

INTRODUCTION

English society, during the period of this study, was firmly based upon the principle and the reality of property. Commercial and industrial wealth and the extension of the franchise barely dented the superstructure of aristocratic, landed power.[1] Second in importance only to property, and emanating from it, was patronage,[2] 'the instrument by which property influenced recruitment to those positions in society which were not determined by property alone'.[3] Patronage was the key to employment and advancement in the public service, the armed forces and the Royal Navy;[4] it oiled the political machine at Westminster and in the shires; it provided an effective means of social control in

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[1] See Norman Gash, Politics in the Age of Peel (1953); D.C. Moore, 'The Other Face of Reform,' Victorian Studies, 5, (1961-2) 7-34, 'Concession or Cure? The Sociological Premises of the First Reform Act,' Historical Journal, 9 (1966) 39-60, and The Politics of Deference: a Study of the Mid-Nineteenth Century English Political System (1976).

[2] The Oxford English Dictionary defines patronage thus: '1. Ecclesiastical - the right of presenting a qualified person to an ecclesiastical benefice. 2. Guardianship, tutelary care, as of a divinity or a saint. 3. The action of a patron in giving influential support, favour, encouragement, or countenance, to a person, institution, work, art, etc. Originally implying the action of a superior. 4. The right of control of appointments to offices, privileges, etc. in the public service.' To this may be added Professor Perkin's definition of patronage as 'the system of personal selection from amongst one's kinsmen and connections', H.J. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society (1969) 45.

[3] Perkin, 45.

[4] I am grateful to Dr. Christopher Dandeker of the University of Leicester for discussions on the role of patronage in the Royal Navy.

an age of industrial revolution and class violence; it supported the pleasures of the hunting field, the salon, the gaming room and the brothel; it stimulated technical, scientific and commercial achievement; it encouraged the forces of culture and religion; it was a fact of life. Though its role was often abused,[1] its predominance was never seriously challenged during our period until the Northcote-Trevelyan Report of 1854, and the military and administrative disasters of the Crimean War which came in its wake, sounded a clarion call to the forces of change.

During the eighteenth century political patronage was central to the working of the constitution. Crown and government offices, ecclesiastical benefices, and financial favours were systematically jobbed in order to create and maintain a parliamentary majority. In the age of Walpole, Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle the pervasive demand for patronage made all but the mildest reforms difficult to contemplate. Modern research has put the modest achievements of Burke, Shelburne and the economical reform movement into their proper perspective.[2] Only under the impact of the French wars did Parliament begin to take seriously the case for administrative reform. It is from then

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[1]Patronage was the target for radicals of the right and the left, including Burke (himself a prime beneficiary of it), William Cobbett, Francis Place and Joseph Hume. East India patronage found its most vociferous opponents in Lord William Bentinck, John Bright and The Times. An informative and entertaining account of contemporary attitudes to patronage may be found in Maria Edgeworth's novel, Patronage (1814).

[2]D.L. Keir, 'Economical Reform,' Law Quarterly Review, 50 (1934) 368-85; Archibald S. Foord, 'The Waning of "the Influence of the Crown",' E.H.R., 62 (1947) 484-507.

that the 'waning of the influence of the Crown' must be dated.[1] A series of committees recommended sweeping changes in the conduct of government, including the complete abolition of sinecures.[2] After the wars had ended, the work of reform was forwarded by Lord Liverpool. In 1816 the salaries of officials in public offices were made subject to Parliament;[3] in 1817 a mass of sinecures was swept away, leaving very few in the civil offices;[4] in 1821 Liverpool abandoned the First Lord of the Treasury's patronage in the Customs to the heads of the Department;[5] and in 1830 the distinction between political and administrative offices was clarified. Despite these substantial advances towards the

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[1]Foord, 507: 'The destruction of the influence of the Crown occurred, not in the 1780s nor in 1832, but in the period lying in between. It was effected, not by any enactment or group of enactments, but by a long train of legislation, administrative reform, and changed attitudes to public life. The forces motivating these alterations were the constant pressure of opposition parties striving to reduce ministerial power, the need for economy and retrenchment during and after the wars of the French revolution, and the social and economic changes in British life as reflected in the growth of public opinion through a cheaper and more influential press.'

[2]H.J. Hanham, The Nineteenth Century Constitution (Cambridge, 1969) 314.

[3]ibid. This was the first step towards a unified civil service.

[4]Hanham, 314; P.P. 1817, Nos. 405, 406, 407; Hansard, 2nd. Ser., vii, 1304-6.

[5]Hanham, 314.

[6]ibid, 315, 320.

creation of a career civil service based on merit, government patronage remained very extensive. Though the Crown's 'fund of influence with which nobody could compete'[1] was insufficient to provide the foundation for Victorian parliamentary majorities, patronage continued to be the key to employment in the public service.[2]

Nomination to these offices was overtly political. 'It is scarcely to be expected, and perhaps not to be wished, ' wrote J.C. Parkinson, 'that the pressure of the political party which is the ascendant should not make itself felt in the first choice of candidates for government

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[1] Sir William Holdsworth, History of English Law, 16 vols., (1903-66) X, 508.

[2] W.C. Costin and J. Steven Watson, The Law and the Working of the Constitution (1952) II, 464: 'The civil service of the United Kingdom ... may be said to date from 1855. Before that date, the administrative and clerical staffs presented no unity of organisation, no regularity of recruitment, and (save as to the expenditure of public money) no common principle of control. Moreover, there was not any limitation, whether imposed by formal regulation, or by public opinion, on the appointment of public servants by political patronage.' See also J.C. Parkinson, Under Government: An Official Key to the Civil Service of the Crown (2 nd. ed., 1859) 1-10. SEE APPENDIX ONE.

appointments.'[1] Liverpool's cautious reforms had been bitterly opposed by the party managers who continued to obstruct all further attempts at reform right down to the 1890s. They took a dim view of altruism. Sir Thomas Fremantle[2] patiently reminded the young Gladstone of the essential character of Treasury patronage in 1843:

> I hear that your application in favour of young Mr. Walker is not founded on strong political claims. It is more a case of kindness and charity - such as I should more readily consider than any others if I were at liberty to do so - but at the Treasury we must look first to the claims of our political supporters & our patronage is, as you know, quite inadequate to meet the application of members of the H of C in favor of their constitutents who naturally consider all our patronage as theirs.
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> The son of a good voter at Newark would stand a better chance under your recommendation than the son of a poor clergyman who probably made it a point of duty not to interfere with politics.
>
> If, however, I have misunderstood the case, let me know and I will note the name & pray excuse me for my frankness in explaining to you how these things are viewed within the corrupt walls of a Sec[retary of the] Treasury's room. 3

Parkinson was equally frank about the way in which government situations were obtained:

> A Member of Parliament, whose political opinions coincide with those held by the party in power, is asked by an influential constitutent to get a place in a government office for a relation or friend. The Member of Parliament applies to the Parliamentary Secretary of the Treasury, who has the distribution of patronage, or to the political head of some

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[1] J.C. Parkinson, Under government, 4.

[2] Sir Thomas Fremantle (1798-1890), 1st. Baron Cottesloe, Patronage Secretary, 1841-44.

[3] Quoted in Edward Hughes, 'Sir Charles Travelyan and Civil Service reform, 1853-5,' English Historical Review, 64 (1949) 67. For a list of the Patronage Secretaries, 1801-1886, see J.C. Sainty, 'The evolution of the parliamentary and financial secretaryships of the Treasury,' English Historical Review, 91 (1976) 566-85.

> department. The Secretary to the Treasury, or the head of the department, willing to gratify a parliamentary supporter, accedes to the request, and presents the Member's protégé with a nomination to one of the junior clerkships in his gift. 1

The demands made upon government patronage were enormous. 'Such is the number of applications addressed to me for employment in the Civil Service,' wrote Sir Robert Peel a few weeks after he became Prime Minister in 1841, 'that I should be only deluding candidates .... by holding out expectations which it will never be in my power to realise.'[2] In the first weeks of office he spent six hours of every day, including Christmas Day, at his desk replying to applicants for jobs.[3] Party managers continually bemoaned the lack of patronage available to them for political

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[1]Parkinson, Under government, 4. After 1855 nominees had to obtain a certificate of fitness from the Commissioners of the Civil Service. The Commissioners sought to ascertain: 1. that the nominee was within the age limits prescribed by the department for which he desired to be admitted; 2. that he was free from any physical defect or disease; 3. that he was of good character; 4. that he possessed the necessary knowledge and ability for the proper discharge of his duties. Examples of the required examinations are given in Parkinson, 11-165, and Walford, 23-58. Walford gives examples of actual examination papers, 58-141.

[2]Edward Hughes, 'Civil Service reform, 1853-5,' History, 27 (1942) 56-7. Wellington was so beset by a flood of requests for patronage from strangers that he invented, in 1842, printed slips or lithographs to answer his persistent correspondents, Elizabeth Longford, Wellington: Pillar of State (1972) 352.

[3]Hughes, 57. A similar situation had occurred in 1835 when Peel hurriedly returned from Italy to try and form a government: 'Outside Macon they were met by a special messenger carrying various communications .... including .... the first few scattered letters requesting employment and patronage that heralded the shoal of applications ready to pour in on him after his arrival,' Norman Gash, Sir Robert Peel (1972) 83.

purposes. Fremantle wrote to Peel in 1843:

> I mean to advert generally to the difficulty which exists in making provision for a person of his situation [referring to a certain Mr. G. Edwardes, a candidate for civil employment whom Fremantle described as 'a very gentlemanly man with good abilities'], as very few opportunities of doing so present themselves in any Department of the Government and within the limits of Treasury patronage. I hardly know that any place has been at your disposal since you came into office to which he could have been appointed. These circumstances are not generally known: on the contrary, the impression is that you have constantly at your disposal offices to suit the wants of Mr. Edwardes or any other applicant. [1]

Small wonder that Peel and his harassed Patronage Secretary fell back upon the maxim of discovering if the 'skin is ours' before allocating the precious spoils.[2] For those not of the same skin the prospects of preferment were slim. 'The political "Upper Ten Thousand" ... composed of Tories, Whigs, and a few Peelites, have hitherto monopolised every post of honour, trust, and emolument under the Crown,' protested 'Jacob Omnium' in 1855. 'They have taken what they wanted for themselves; they have distributed what they did not want among their relations, connections, and dependants. They have all in turn paid their debts of friendship and of gratitude, they have discharged their election bills, they have provided their younger sons and their worn-out servants with appointments in the public service. The rest of Her Majesty's subjects have been able to serve their country only through the

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[1] Hughes, 57.

[2] ibid. There were exceptions, of course. Elgin was appointed to the Governor-Generalship of Canada in 1846 by his political opponents.

favour of some patron amongst these "Upper Ten Thousand"; without that patronage, health, vigour, bravery, talents and industry availed an applicant nought at the Horse Guards, the Admiralty, or the Treasury; with it, he had no need whatever of any of these qualifications.'[1]

Nor was government patronage[2] an isolated phenomenon, 'but the visible topgrowth of a plant whose roots and branches ramified throughout society, the political aspect of a personal system of recruitment which operated at every level and served to articulate the rigidities of a structure based on property.'[3] Private patrons had within their gift 'most church livings, salaried county, borough and parish offices, merchants' and lawyers' clerks, estate agents, chaplains, secretaries, tutors and governesses, and the whole pyramid of domestic service, sometimes extending to the very labourers on the estate or home farm'.[4] The

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[1] 'Jacob Omnium' [Matthew J, Higgins], A Letter on Administrative Reform (1855): 'Let any man of the middle classes, anxious to obtain a commission for his son, say, whether he will best further his object by giving the boy a good military education, or dexterously helping one of the "Upper Ten Thousand" win a contested election by illicit means.'

[2] Government patronage was often difficult to distinguish from private patronage. 'Since there was no central organ or policy of government appointments, and no distinction between the official and personal influence of individual ministers and their subordinates, public and private patronage were dovetailed at many points.' (Perkin, 45) The Duke of Wellington, writing to Sir Robert Peel in 1829, complained that the customs and other appointments which were held locally were claimed as the patronage of private members and not of the government. 'The whole system of the patronage of the government,' he wrote, 'is in my opinion erroneous. Certain members claim a right to dispose of everything that falls vacant within the town or county which they represent, and this ... whether they support [the government] upon every occasion, or now and then, or when not required, or entirely oppose,' C.S. Parker, Life of Sir Robert Peel (1891-9) II, 140.

[3] Perkin, 44.

[4] ibid.

beneficiaries of this cornucopia were found among the patron's nearest relations, his extended family, his tenants and villagers, and his political supporters. The patron was not only expected to look first among his 'friends', but was actively encouraged by them to do so. This was, according to Professor Perkin, 'neither surreptitious nor shame-faced, but a matter of pride and principle'.[1] The bestowal of patronage contrary to the perceived interests of the patron was an occasion for astonishment.[2]

The single major source of patronage which was not monopolised by the landed, political establishment and its adherents was that exercised by the East India Company. For those outside the circle of power and influence it shone like a beacon of hope in a hard

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[1]Perkin, 45.

[2]This aspect of patronage did not escape the notice of Jane Austen:

'It is perfectly true, Colonel Brandon has given the living of Delaford to Edward.'

'Really! Well, this is very astonishing! no relationship! no connection between them! and now that livings fetch such a price! what was the value of this?'

'About two hundred a year.'

'Very well - and for the next presentation to a living of that value - supposing the late incumbent to have been old and sickly and likely to vacate it soon - he might have got, I dare say - fourteen hundred pounds.'

'It is truly astonishing!' he cried .... 'what could be the Colonel's motive?'

Sense and Sensibility (Spring Books edition, The Collected Works of Jane Austen, 1968) 142, 143.

and dismal world and lit the way to 'the glorious, glowing land'[1] for the needy and the humbly born.

The distribution of this vast reservoir of 'middle-class patronage' was in the gift of the Directors of the East India Company, and it is with these men that a study of East India patronage should rightly begin.

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[1]Barbara Kerr, The Dispossessed (1974) 17.

THE PATRONS

'The twenty-four kings of Leadenhall Street.'

SIR CHARLES NAPIER

'The ignominious tyrants of the East.'

LORD ELLENBOROUGH

The Directors of the East India Company are chiefly commemmorated in the famous and misleading phrase 'the cheesemongers of Leadenhall Street', yet in their day they had nominal control over a vast empire, and through their patronage, which 'princes envied',[1] actual control (untrammelled until 1854) of the recruitment of the men who wielded British power in the East. To this task they brought a wide range of talent and experience. The Court of Directors contained men of great culture and erudition; it also contained a mutineer, two convicted felons and a rapist.

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[1] East India House Debates (IOL: T12285) Sept. 1813 - Mar. 1814, 161.

Many regarded membership of the Court as a career; others as a diversion. Most were conscientious; some were ingenuous or even stupid; a few were certainly rogues. All, ultimately, were prisoners of the patronage system which they operated and which, even in the most disinterested among them, produced a fundamental ambivalence bordering on hypocrisy. The contribution made by the Directors to the 'dual system' of Indian government and their role in the formulation of policy has been the concern of other scholars, notably Professor Philips[1] and Dr. Tate.[2] This chapter, though owing much to their work, is only marginally concerned with the organisation of the East India Company and its relationship with the State. Its purpose is not to describe the Directors' political acts, but to examine their private lives and personal connections - the key to an understanding of East India patronage.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY 1784-1858

The East India Company never lacked champions to advocate the merits of its singular government. The Company's rule was esteemed as perfectly suited to the exigencies of English politics and to the needs of the Indian empire. The eminence of its servants was widely

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[1] C.H. Philips, The East India Company 1784-1834 (Manchester, 1940).

[2] R.F.S. Tate, 'The Home Government of India, 1834-1854,' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (1972).

recognised; its disinterested exertions on behalf of science was acknowledged.[1] Many owed their careers to the Company's benevolence;[2] others created comfortable niches for themselves in the interstices of its bureaucracy; its passing caused much regret. But this must not obscure the reality of the period 1784-1858, during which the Company was forced to retreat before mounting pressure from inside and outside Parliament. The Indian Mutiny was the occasion, not the cause, of the Company's political extinction.

Legislative interference in the East India Company's affairs was infrequent and cautious; but from the late eighteenth century the trend became clear. The India Act of 1784[3] subordinated the Company to a Board of Commissioners[4] appointed by the Crown and began the process of slow strangulation, culminating in the India Act of 1858,[5] which transferred political sovereignty over the Indian empire to the British government. The Charter Act of

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[1]The East India Company was concerned with much scientific activity in the East. It helped to subsidise Matthew Flinders's expedition, in the Investigator, to Australia, in 1801. Flinders named a group of islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria 'the East India Company group' in the Company's honour. [I am indebted to Dr. David Mabberley of Wadham College, Oxford, for this information.] Two of the greatest explorers of the nineteenth century, Sir Richard Francis Burton and John Hanning Speke, were officers in the Company's Bombay Army.

[2]Besides the employment which it dispensed, the Company maintained throughout the period a more traditional charitable function. Beneficiaries of its bounty included the Whitechapel Free Schools; the London Institution for the Prevention and Cure of Fevers; the London Eye Infirmary; Bethnal Green School for the Poor; the Philanthropy Society, Mile End; the poor of Bishopsgate, St. Katharine Coleman, and the Ratcliffe Highway; and the London Rupture Truss Society, Court Minutes (IOR: B/passim).

[3]24 Geo. III c.25. [4]The Board of Commissioners was usually known as the Board of Control.

[5]21 and 22 Vict. c.106.

1813[1] ended the Company's monopoly of the India trade. The Charter Act of 1833[2] wound up its commercial activities, threw open the China trade and deprived the Company of its right to restrict European emigration to India. The Charter Act of 1853[3] reduced the number of Directors from twenty-four to eighteen (one-third of whom were to be government nominees), removed their civil patronage and vested it in the President of the Board of Control for distribution to candidates chosen by public examination.

Extra-parliamentary pressure was more consistent. The very existence of corporate bodies seemed increasingly inimical to the political climate of post-Reform Act England, a climate in which the municipal corporations soon succumbed, leaving the East India Company isolated on a pinnacle of abuse. Industrialists complained that the Company had presided over the ruin of Indian prosperity, destroying in the process a potentially lucrative market for British manufactures. Evangelicals abhorred its refusal to interfere in Indian religions or to encourage the propagation of the Gospel and the conversion of the sub-continent to Christianity. The Times, an inveterate opponent, accused the Company of waste, extravagance, and jobbing, and portrayed the Court of Directors as a corrupt and cynical junta, lacking in vigour and riddled with nepotism.

The East India Company's survival in face of

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[1] 53 Geo. III c.155.
[2] 3 & 4 William IV c.85.
[3] 16 & 17 Vict. c.95.

such widespread hostility was remarkable. The enduring mystique of prescriptive rights in a society obsessed by the sanctity of property provides a partial explanation; but chartered privileges failed to save the rotten boroughs in 1832 or the municipal corporations in 1835. Parliament's fickle interest in Indian affairs[1] re-inforced its reluctance to challenge the East India Company on a question of principle and the extinction of the Company's commercial monopoly defused much resentment. The Company's strongest bulwark, however, was the patronage which it dispensed:

> The political control of one hundred and thirty millions of orientals has been entrusted to a select body in order to prevent an accumulation of patronage and an abuse of power which no man was willing enough to trust to any one minister alone, or to members of any faction whatsoever, who ruffled by party animosity and beleagured by political partizans, would never regard the interests of India in any light save that of a provision for needy dependants and unscrupulous applicants. 2

The essentially eighteenth-century belief that a vast increase in governmental patronage would result in the

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[1]This observation was a commonplace: 'The Indian empire bores the House of Commons,' J.G.A. Baird (ed.), The Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie (2nd. Impression, 1911) 202; 'The House of Commons' deliberations on the affairs of India have commonly alternated between passion and indifference,' Edinburgh Review, 217 (1858) 49; Lord Ellenborough declared (5 March 1834) that 'he was aware of the little interest felt in the House upon any subject connected with the affairs of India, and he knew therefore that it would be irksome both to him and to them to address them at length on such a subject,' Hansard, 23 (1834) 476; a recent scholar has described India as 'a kind of dinner-bell which cleared the House of Commons', G.D. Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858 (Oxford, 1961) 36.

[2]Anon (J. Madden), Deficiency of European Officers in the Army of India: By One of Themselves (1849) 60.

subjugation of Parliament and the subversion of the constitution had an 'extraordinarily long life'.[1] Even in John Stuart Mill's lament that the India Act of 1858 had converted the administration of India into 'a thing to be scrambled for by the second or third rank of English parliamentary politicians' there is an echo of Burke.[2] The patronage bogey provided the Company with a weapon which it knew well how to wield in its own defence. Robert Grant exploited the fear to the full during the debate over the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813:

> It remains to be examined what benefits are promised by the arrangements which would transfer to the ministers of the Crown the political functions and the patronage, civil and military, now appertaining to the Company. What shall here be made prominent is the constitutional danger that may be apprehended from the annexation, to the Crown, of so large a mass of influence. This point is one of ordinary agitation in the controversies respecting the present Indian system; but it has not, perhaps, been elucidated in so full and detailed a manner as might exhibit it to be, what it really is, conclusive. 3

It was difficult even for hostile contemporaries to see an

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[1] P.J. Marshall, Problems of Empire: Britain and India, 1757-1813 (1968) 23.

[2] John Stuart Mill, Autobiography and Other Writings (ed. Jack Stillinger, Boston, Mass., 1969) 144; Burke prophesied that the Ganges would 'pour forth a new tide of corruption' into the mainstream of English political life, Parl. Hist. XVII, 672.

[3] Robert Grant, The Expediency Maintained of Continuing the System by Which the Trade and Government of India are Now Regulated (1813) 260-61.

alternative to the Company's existence.[1] Grant took their dilemma as his opportunity:

> The power and patronage of India, if wrested from the Company, either must be conferred on some independent authority in India, or must be abandoned to the executive government in England. If that power and that patronage are to reside, either wholly or partially, in England, they must reside with the ministers of the Crown, subject, of course, to the responsibility under which those ministers necessarily act. Were the political functions of India conferred on some other person or persons in England, no reason can be given why those persons should not be the Court of Directors, new modelled, perhaps, according to the imagined expediency of the case. One of the fiercest and most powerful enemies by whom the government of the Company has ever been assailed [Edmund Burke], declared that he would never lend his hand to the destruction of that or of any established government, unless it could be proved 'absolutely incorrigible', a condition, the fulfilment of which no man will now undertake with respect to the government of the Company. In truth, if the executive power and patronage of India were vested in any other authority at home than the Crown, that authority would to every practical purpose, be the Company revived under a different form. 2

Only when the concept of competitive examinations became a realistic alternative to appointment by patronage, in the 1850s, was the East India Company's position fundamentally undermined. Patronage was the major preoccupation of the Company in its London aspect. The Directors spent much of their time in the discussion and exercise of patronage and developed into a resolute and effective body in order to

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[1] HMC, Fortescue Mss., X, 325, 328, 329. The Whigs twice attempted to annex the Company's patronage. The most celebrated occasion was in Fox's India Bill of 1783 which proposed to place the appointment of the Company's servants in the hands of seven Crown Commissioners. Under the Act of 1833 four candidates were to be chosen for each vacancy and compelled to sit an examination to find the best. The system never came into operation because of the united opposition of the Directors: it was postponed then suspended by act of Parliament.

[2] Grant, Expediency Maintained, 252-53.

retain the lucrative privilege. In the atmosphere of political hostility which enveloped their actions, the selection of the soldiers and civil servants who administered the Indian empire emerged as one of the Court of Directors' most important activities, crucial not only for the future of the empire but for the existence of the Company itself.

The basic structure of the East India Company changed remarkably little between 1784 and 1858. It was governed by a Court of Proprietors and a Court of Directors. In 1784 the Proprietors lost the power to interfere in the 'origin or progress of measures connected with the government of India', which they had previously exercised to the confusion and instability of the Company's affairs,[1] but retained the important right of electing to the Court of Directors.[2] The quarterly meetings[3] of the Proprietors also provided a forum in which the proceedings

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[1]Philips, East India Company, 3.

[2]The Court of Proprietors also retained the right to frame bye-laws, to declare the dividend on East India stock, and to veto the grant of gratuities in excess of £600 and salary and pension increases of over £200 a year, Peter Auber, Analysis of the East India Company Constitution (1826) 349, 351.

[3]In the early part of our period attendance at these meetings might, on controversial occasions (of which there was no shortage), reach 1,000 people. The normal turn-out was nearer 4-500, C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813 (Cambridge, 1937) 11. Philips, p.3, gives a figure of 2-300 as a representative figure for the period 1784-1834. Later there was a marked decline: the Debates at the India House 1848-1858 (IOL) show divisions of between only 30 and 70 votes, even on important questions, Tate, 19.

of the Indian administration could be openly discussed, and in which public opinion[1] could be invoked and informed.[2]

The Court of Proprietors consisted of all holders of East India stock to a value exceeding £500, but no proprietor could vote unless he had possessed £1,000 of stock for twelve months.[3] Those with £3,000 of stock were entitled to two votes, those with £6,000 to three votes and those with £10,000 to four votes which was the maximum.[4] The number of shareholders who were qualified to vote remained fairly constant. Printed lists in the India Office Library[5] give the following approximate figures: 1773 - 2,150; 1795 - 1,500; 1806 - 1,800; 1825 - 2,100; 1837 - 1,700; 1852 - 1,700; 1856 - 1,400. East India stock was the equivalent of a gilt-edged security.[6] It endeared itself to purchasers who wanted a sound investment and an assured dividend; but this was perhaps the least of its attractions.

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[1]Journalists were allowed to attend and the proceedings were reported in detail in the Asiatic Journal and the Indian News.

[2]The Proprietors' debates were especially attractive 'to the more outspoken critics of the Indian administration', including the 'ubiquitous radical Joseph Hume', Tate, 20.

[3]Auber, East India Company Constitution, 349.

[4]ibid.

[5]A list of the names of the United Company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies ..... for 1794 (1795); A list .... &c. ..... 1825 (1824); A list .... &c. ..... 1856 (1855). The figures for 1837 and 1852 are based on Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 29.

[6]Sutherland, East India Company, 42.

It also allowed the holder to pursue an active interest in Indian affairs and conferred a certain amount of status. (If there was nothing else to say of a man, it could at least be said that he was an East India Proprietor.)[1] Above all, membership of the Court of Proprietors afforded a prospect of 'participating in the patronage in some measure'.[2] East India stock was characterised by the large number of medium-sized holdings of between £1,000 and £5,000.[3] Of the 1,395 people entitled to vote in 1856, only 372 held more than £3,000 of stock, and only 97 held more than £6,000.[4] The number who held more than £10,000 of stock was always small: 49 in 1799; 40 in 1856.[5] Institutions such as banks and insurance companies did not invest in the East India Company. It was the bargaining power, bestowed by the possession of a vote, rather than the opportunity of financial reward

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[1]See The Times' comments on the M.Ps. in the new Parliament of 1837, 25 September 1837.

[2]P.P. 1831-32, IX, 150-51.

[3]Marshall, Problems of Empire, 25.

[4]A list of the names of the Proprietors of East India stock qualified to vote at the general election, 9 April 1856 (1855).

[5]Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas, 11; A list ..... &c. ..... 1856.

accruing from a large investment, which attracted purchasers. A thousand pounds of stock gave, in the acid words of Adam Smith, 'a share not in the plunder, but in the appointment of the plunderers of India'.[1]

The composition of the Court of Proprietors changed significantly during the nineteenth century. At the beginning of our period the Court of Proprietors had been a cosmopolitan body;[2] but the French wars effected a dramatic change. Throughout the nineteenth century the Proprietors were overwhelmingly, if not entirely, British. They were also increasingly Anglo-Indian.[3] Between 1837 and 1852 the number of Proprietors having a direct connection with India rose by almost 30% from 345 to 458, a third of the total.[4] The consequences of this development for the composition of the Court of Directors and for the distribution of patronage were profound.

The Court of Directors was the executive body of the East India Company. Until 1774 the Directors were elected annually, in April, by the Court of Proprietors, but Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 prevented any Director who had served for four years from being re-elected until he had been one year out of the Direction.[5] 'If this

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[1] Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (1776) I, 72.

[2] Holden Furber, 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, 1783-1796,' Econ. H.R., 10-13 (1939-43) 142.

[3] 'Anglo-Indian' is here used in the contemporary sense to mean British people who had served or lived in India. Later, it came to mean Eurasian - people of mixed race.

[4] Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 29.

[5] Auber, 199.

system was designed to prevent the Direction from becoming a profession,' wrote C.N. Parkinson, 'it scarcely attained its end. Despite free and open elections, the Court was and always remained, very largely co-optive.'[1] Though all six seats vacated annually might legally be contested, the custom was to re-elect the old members (who had vacated their seats the previous year and were said to be 'out by rotation') without opposition. Each year, in March, the Chairman of the East India Company drew up the 'House List' of recommended names, signed by all the members of the Court of Directors.[2] The Directors, in effect, elected one another and the only real chance of entering the Direction occurred on the death or retirement of a member.[3]

A candidate aspiring to a seat in the Court of Directors required wealth, influence and patience in order to succeed. He had to be a British subject and have £2,000 or more of East India stock.[4] Any Director whose stockholding fell below this level was automatically disqualified.[5] The amount of stock held by Directors, in excess of this legal minimum, was significantly small.

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[1]Parkinson, 12.

[2]Philips, 3.

[3]ibid. Opportunities for entry into the Direction arose at the rate of about one a year.

[4]Auber, 205.

[5]ibid. Disqualification was the accepted mode of resignation.

Professor Furber's figures, based on an examination of the stock ledgers of the East India Company in the Bank of England Record Office, show that during the years 1783-96 the amount held by all Directors was £176,000, a mere 3% of the total.[1] The thirteen Directors who served as Chairman or Deputy Chairman never owned more than £36,000 of stock.[2] Only thirteen[3] out of fifty-five Directors owned over £5,000 each.[4] Similar figures obtain for the rest of the period. Sixteen of the eighteen men who composed the Court of Directors in 1856 possessed no more than the bare minimum for their holding office and none held more than £6,000 of stock.[5]

The candidate had to undergo an arduous and expensive canvass of the Proprietary body.[6] 'An active canvass is the first thing; and the second thing; and the third thing,' declared the Calcutta Review in 1852. 'The highest public character and the most distinguished public services, if accompanied by inactivity in the field of competition, will not prevail against the active canvass of an opponent.'[7] In the early part of our period, however, the

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[1]Furber, 145.

[2]ibid.

[3]Professor Furber mistakenly gives the number as fifteen.

[4]Furber, 145.

[5]A list ..... &c. ..... for 1856.

[6]The expense of the canvass steadily increased: in 1786 W.F. Elphinstone spent £60 on his canvass; in 1817 he spent £1,000 (Philips, 7); W.H. Sykes spent £2,228 on his canvass in 1840 (P.P. 1852, X, q.1735). The chief items of expenditure were travel, maintaining an election agent, printing testimonials, and a certain amount of treating.

[7]Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 3.

canvass was something of a charade. Without the support of powerful interests it was impossible to enter the Direction. To collect individual votes was 'to gather water in a sieve'.[1] The most important source of approbation was the sanction of a majority of the Directors. The approval of the President of the Board of Control could also be decisive. Charles Grant was elected in May 1794, after an unprecedentedly short canvass of two months, owing to the influence exercised in the Court of Propreitors on his behalf by Henry Dundas. In later years the intervention of the Board of Control was more discreet: events were allowed to take their course, provided that none of the contenders was totally unacceptable to the government.[2] The backing of various amorphous commercial groups was another determinant of electoral success. In the late eighteenth century the banking and shipping interests of the City of London were the most well organised and active, but later their dominace was challenged by an ambitious Anglo-Indian lobby based on the East India agencies. From 1834 onwards, however, Proprietors were permitted to vote by letter of attorney and this profoundly affected the nature of the

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[1] Sir J.W. Kaye, The Life and Correspondence of Henry St. St. George Tucker (1854) 341.

[2] Lord Ellenborough, A Political Diary, 1828-1830 (2 vols., ed. Lord Colchester, 1881) I, 332-33, 402; II, 23, 34, 59-60.

canvass and gave validity to the Calcutta Review's declaration. The time was gone when 'the united interests of influential London merchants and bankers could secure an election. Every one of the .... Proprietors had to be solicited in person or by letter'.[1] The uncommitted Proprietor was remorselessly pursued:

> An unhappy individual, possessor of an unpromised vote, is hunted mercilessly night and day by rival candidates. His breakfast table is daily broken in upon by them: his letter-box is daily obstructed by reams of testimonials, drawn up in the precise pattern of those circulated by Eisenberg and other eminent corn-doctors; his female friends - nay, his very medical man - turn against him, and, in his most confidential moments, commence pleading on behalf of 'poor young Graspall', or 'dear Colonel Currie' to whom he has refused his votes personally and other wise a dozen times before; and when he has repeated that refusal personally and otherwise a dozen times more, he is again and again aroused from his morning tea and The Times by the announcements of his servants, that Mr. Graspall and Colonel Currie are once more at his door, vowing, if he will but consent to see them, they will detain him a moment, they having just called to know from his own lips (for a note or a message will not satisfy them) whether he has not reconsidered his former harsh decisions against them. 2

The defeated candidate was generally considered favourite for the next election, a sort of 'Buggins's turn',[3] but competition was so fierce that

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[1] I owe this refernece to Tate, 21. See also P.P. 1852, X, q.1149.

[2] The Times, 8 April 1853.

[3] Thus, Charles Mills, defeated in 1821, was elected in 1822; Col. John Baillie, defeated in 1822, was elected in 1823; John Masterman, defeated in May 1823, was elected in November of the same year; John Petty Muspratt, defeated in 1823, was elected in 1824.

Proprietors regularly announced their intentions four or five years before they expected to gain election.[1] It was sometimes argued that this process, especially the necessity of enduring at least one rebuff at the ballot-box, was instrumental in deterring distinguished men from seeking a seat and led to the Court's being staffed by the second rate.[2] Field Marshal Sir George Pollock, the hero of the First Afghan War, confessed to Sir John Kaye, that he could never undergo 'the fatigue and worry of the canvass'[3] and only obtained a seat in the Court through an unsolicited government nomination in 1853.[4] It would be quite wrong, however, to suggest that personal merit played no part in the selection of a Director.[5] The East India Company was

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[1]Henry St. George Tucker, who first declared his intention of standing in 1821, was not elected until 1826; Colonel William Henry Sykes's campaign, begun in 1833, took seven years before coming to a triumphant conclusion; that of Major General Archibald Robertson, also begun in 1833, took eight.

[2]Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 4.

[3]Charles Rathbone Low, The Life and Correspondence of Field Marshal Sir George Pollock (1873) xvii-xviii.

[4]Wood Collection (IOR: Eur. Mss. F.78/4). The twenty-five applications for government nominations to the Court in 1853 testify to the continued attractions of a seat.

[5]Tate, 23.

jealous of its reputation. The services of the great Indian administrators were actively sought and there was always room for men of acknowledged integrity and ability, such as Neil Edmonstone, Wellesley's ubiquitous right-hand man, or Richard Jenkins, the first Indian civil servant below the rank of governor to receive the G.C.B. Men of outstanding ability often had their own reasons for abstaining from a political career in the Company's home government. Not even the Governor Generalship could tempt Mountstuart Elphinstone[1] to sacrifice his literary leisure.[2] That ugly, brilliant and embittered man, Charles Metcalfe,[3] loathed India and cursed the fortuitous circumstances which had sent him there.[4] Once he had made enough money to leave India (the major preoccupation of his life for a quarter of a century) he seized the opportunity to get as far away as possible.

A tiring round of balls and dinner parties constituted the 'legitimate allurements of any campaign'.[5] Illegitimate allurements were few. The standard of morality

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[1]Mountstuart Elphinstone (1799-1859), Governor of Bombay, 1819-1827; nephew of the Director, W.F. Elphinstone; he retired to Hookwood, a secluded country house in Surrey.

[2]J.S. Cotton, Mounstuart Elphinstone (Oxford, 1892) 29.

[3]Charles, Lord Metcalfe (1785-1846), Temporary Governor General of India, 1835-36, Governor of Jamaica, 1838-42, Governor General of Canada, 1842-45; son of the Director, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe.

[4]Edward Thompson, The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe (1937) 181.

[5]Kaye, Tucker, 335.

in East India elections was superior to that current in contemporary political life. But there were blemishes. Promises of a future bestowal of patronage were often made in order to obtain votes, a situation which numerous Proprietors were willing to encourage and exploit. Though the India Act of 1784 had destroyed the power and influence of the Proprietors, at election time they could indulge the opportunity for truculence to the full. 'A man with a vote in his pocket rides the suffrage like a high-horse,' wrote Sir John Kaye. 'He is as extortionate as a Chief Inquisitor, and as presumptuous as the Grand Turk.'[1] The Proprietors had to be solicited. They never went out of their way 'to carry a man on their shoulders into the Direction with a burst of enthusiastic applause'.[2] Every man who obtained a seat at the India House had to go through the ordeal, had to 'pass over the hot plough shares with his bare feet'.[3] The determination of the Directors to hang on to their posts at all costs and to enjoy their hard-won privileges to the full was the inevitable result of such an arduous and expensive proceeding.

Once elected, the Director became, in theory, the twenty-fourth part of a king - 'one of the greatest sovereigns in the world'.[4] The reality was less impressive.

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[1]Kaye, 330.
[2]Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 4.
[3]ibid.
[4]Kaye, 325.

The powers granted to the Court of Directors by Pitt's India Act were considerable. 'A [properly constituted] Court,' wrote Peter Auber[1] in 1826, 'posesses full power and authority to direct all matters connected with the affairs of India, both at home and abroad.'[2] The Court could frame and originate despatches and instructions and had the power of nominating to posts in India.[3] All appointments of writers, cadets and assistant-surgeons rested in its hands.[4] But these powers were circumscribed by the existence of the Board of Control. The Board had access to all papers.[5] The Directors had to communicate copies of all proceedings, both of their own Court and the Court of Proprietors, relative to all civil, military and financial affairs.[6] Copies of all despatches proposed to be sent to India and of all despatches from the Company's servants there had to be transmitted to the Board.[7] If serious conflict arose, the President of the Board of Control had the power to order despatches to be signed by the Secret Committee and sent to India without the knowledge of the rest of the Court.[8] In exceptional circumstances, the Directors could be compelled to affix their names to a despatch from which they entirely dissented

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[1]Peter Auber was Secretary to the East India Company.
[2]Auber, East India Company Constitution, 205.
[3]ibid, 200.
[4]ibid, 201.
[5]ibid, 209-11.
[6]ibid.
[7]ibid.
[8]Philips, 11. The Secret Committee consisted of the Chairman, Deputy Chairman, and a senior Director, bound to secrecy. The Board of Control succeeded in establishing a 'very wide definition of the [Committee's] competence, Marshall, 48.

by mandamus. Confronted by this evidence, a writer in Blackwood's Magazine concluded, in 1857, that the East India Company was the merest cypher in the government of India, and that the only real power that the Directors possessed was to submit their opinions to the consideration of the President of the Board of Control, a minister whom the exigencies of party politics often placed at the head of a department of which he was wholly ignorant.[1] Did the Court of Directors serve any useful purpose? Many thought that it did. General John Briggs, a leading member of the Court of Proprietors for over thirty years, agreed with John Stuart Mill that the Court 'formed an almost ideal body of local experience and intermediate authority [capable of] taking the initiative and retaining to the last the right of remonstrance and protest as a check on the hasty and inconsiderate action into which a minister or Cabinet might easily be misled'.[2] Sir John Kaye, the East India Company's hagiographer, eulogised the Court of Directors as a 'deliberative body of four-and-twenty English gentlemen, a large majority of whom have studied India under an Indian sky - who are experienced in the languages and uses of the people and to whom the system of administration is as familiar as household words - who have, as a body, no connection with party, no dependence on the fate of ministries, whose

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[1] Blackwood's Magazine, 82 (1857) 616-18.

[2] Major Evans Bell, Memoir of General John Briggs of the Madras Army (1885) 327-8. John Stuart Mill, who served the Company for many years, was its most eloquent and persuasive champion, On Representative Government (Everyman ed.) 388-93.

official lives do not hang upon an adverse vote, and who can, therefore, pursue from year's end to year's end a consistent course of administrative conduct.'[1] The relationship between the Company and the state was more subtle than the theoretical powers of the Court of Directors or the actual powers of the Board of Control might lead us to believe. The Chairman of the East India Company, 'the great gun of the India House',[2] supported by a wealth of experience and a large efficient bureaucracy,[3] was in a strong position to exercise influence, counsel restraint[4] and, if necessary,

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[1] Sir J.W. Kaye, The Administration of the East India Company: A History of Indian Progress (1853) 133.

[2] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/170) f.176.

[3] Before 1833 the Company employed about 350-400 clerks (SEE APPENDIX TWO), but after the reduction of staff and the consolidation of departments consequent on the cessation of trade the average number was nearer to 250, P.P. 1839, XXXIX, 342, no.4. Even the Company's sternest critics acknowledged the excellence of the clerical staff, P.P. 1852, X, q.2346. Their quality was confirmed when, following the merger with the India Board in 1858, nearly all the senior secretarial posts were given to Company men, Tate, 52. The East India Company was a generous employer even to its humblest servants. A clerkship at the India House was much in demand. It offered a good income for a moderate amount of work, and a handsome retiring allowance, Sir William Foster, The East India House (1924) 229. An established clerk could expect to earn £400 a year at a time when his counterparts in commerce or government service were earning only half that amount, W.L. Burn, The Age of Equipoise (1964) 141, 142; and G.F.A. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (Panther, 1973) 109, 110. Salaries paid to the highest officials at the India House more than matched the pay of senior civil servants in Whitehall, List of Establishments (IOL); and Burn, ibid.

[4] 'Restraint' was what the Court of Directors did counsel. As a group they were strongly anti-annexationist and, despite the presence among them of a determined band of evangelicals, fiercely opposed to any interference in Indian religions. It is an interesting comment on the attitude of the Directors and of their political weakness that the three major occurrences in the history of the Indian empire during the 1830s and 40s (the capture of Aden, the First Afghan War and the annexation of Scind) were undertaken without the concurrence or against the express wishes of the Court, Court Minutes (1847) (IOR: B/244) f.535.

impose delay. The President of the Board of Control was often a transient political lightweight,[1] dependent upon a small, understaffed and inefficient administration.[2] He did not become a regular member of the Cabinet until 1812.[3] The office was principally regarded as an object of ambition for politicians of the second rank.[4] Ellenborough described it as 'an incognito office'.[5] The attitude of the incumbents varied. Henry Dundas was deeply involved in the affairs of the Company and, in general, 'enjoyed a comfortable ascendancy'.[6] Castlereagh concerned himself, chiefly, with counteracting French machinations in the Indian Ocean, but few of his Indian papers have survived to swell an otherwise massive correspondence; an indication, perhaps, of the Board of Control's position in his scale of political values.[7] Canning was 'never greatly attracted by the challenge of India'.[8] Ellenborough was ambitious, dictatorial, meddlesome

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[1]SEE APPENDIX 3 for a list of the Presidents of the Board of Control.

[2]Tate, 60-61.

[3]Windy Hinde, George Canning (1973) 288.

[4]For the mediocre, but well-connected, like Charles Watkins Williams Wynn, it was 'a situation which must .... gratify his most sanguine wishes', Charlotte Williams Wynn, Correspondence of Charlotte Grenville, Lady Williams Wynn (ed. Rachel Leighton, 1920) 279.

[5]Lord Ellenborough, Political Diary, I, 208.

[6]Marshall, 45.

[7]Viscount Castlereagh, Correspondence (ed. Marquess of Londonderry, 12 vols., 1851) V, 161.

[8]Hinde, Canning, 68.

and occasionally constructive.[1] Charles Grant (later Lord Glenelg), known at the India House as 'the late Mr. Grant', wrote 'vaguely, briefly, and seldom, mostly to press missionary causes'.[2] Tension between the Directors and the Board of Control can be exaggerated. Most of their correspondence was uncontroversial and was despatched without interference.[3] A mutual respect and understanding, re-inforced by ties of family and friendship, often existed. Charles Chicheley Plowden, who served at the India Board for forty years, ultimately as Assistant Secretary, was the son of one Director and the brother of another. Charles Grant, President from 1830 to 1834, was the son of a former Chairman, and the brother of one of the Company's most articulate defenders, Robert Grant, the hymn-writing Governor of Bombay. The Court of Directors and the President had a vested interest in harmony. There were few Parliamentary laurels to be won at the Board of Control, but controversy could seriously embarrass the government and impede the President's political career. The Court could get its way in minor matters by threatening obstruction. In major areas of policy, such as military strategy or revenue, however, the Directors had to be more circumspect.[4] Even so, their steadfast opposition to the annexationist ambitions of Sir Charles Napier and the recall of Lord Ellenborough from the Governor-Generalship in 1844

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[1]Philips, Chapter 3; Ellenborough, passim. Ellenborough's greatest achievement was the establishment of the 'overland' route to India.

[2]John Rosselli, Lord William Bentinck, the Making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774-1839 (1974) 304.

[3]Marshall, 47.

[4]Tate, 66-7.

were genuine and effective acts of power. The Court of Directors' control of the purse-strings emphasised its continued importance; its penchant for economy constituted not only one of its most effective but also one of its most deleterious influences on the government of the Indian empire.[1] Above all, the Directors chose and trained the young men in whose hands Britain's imperial future lay.

THE DIRECTORS[2]

The men who composed the Court of Directors were recruited overwhelmingly, if not entirely, from the great banking, shipping and commercial interests of the City of London, and from the ever-growing number of retired servants of the East India Company. In the early part of our period the commercial element was predominant, but between 1813 and 1833 the returned Anglo-Indians began increasingly to monopolise entry into the Direction.[3] Of the twenty-four Directors who served in the Court between 1784 and 1858 (and who were elected before 1784) only six were former servants of the Company; but of the twenty-one elected between 1834 and 1853, fifteen were 'Indians'. The decline of the East India Company as a commercial concern contributed to this development, but other reasons were equally important,

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[1]This was especially true in the case of the Bengal Army, see John Pemble, The Invasion of Nepal: John Company at War (Oxford, 1971) Chapter Four.

[2]SEE APPENDIX FOUR for a list of Directors.

[3]SEE TABLE 1, p.36.

1. An analysis of the Court of Directors in 1833 and 1852 [Based on P.P. H.L. 1852-53 (41) XXX.]

	1833	1852
Retired civil and law officers	10	11
Retired military officers	4	7
Retired commanders of East India ships	5	3
Other persons who had resided in India	1	3
London merchants and bankers who had not resided in India	10	6

especially the greater organisation of the Anglo-Indians, based on the East India agencies, and their increased representation in the Court of Proprietors.[1] Though the distinction between the commercial and the service elements is one which is both easy and essential to make, the groups must not be considered as monolithic and mutually exclusive. It is impossible to support Professor Philips's attempt to divide the Directors into 'shipping', 'private trade', 'Indian' and 'City' interests.[2] Such divisions, in the words of Dr. Marshall, 'impose a rigidity which contemporaries would not have understood'.[3] The atmosphere of political retreat in which the Court found itself after 1784 reinforced the high degree of esprit de corps already existing among the Directors, many of whom had given the whole of their adult lives to the service of the East India Company. The Company was a good employer: it aroused feelings of great loyalty and affection in its employees and was, in turn, rewarded by the allegiance of men who understood the issues which threatened the future of the Company and the empire. Throughout the nineteenth century the Court of Directors followed a consistent policy towards the administration of the Indian empire in which the principles of restraint and non-intervention (in such vital areas as religion and relations with the native states) were predominant. This

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[1]See above, p.22.
[2]Philips, 335-37.
[3]Marshall, 46.

policy grew out of experience and of the Company's commercial tradition. It was sincerely pursued by the Directors in what they believed to be the best interests of the Company and the empire. It was not the result of manipulation by selfish and sectional cliques.

The commercial element within the Direction was extremely amorphous. It was composed of bankers, India agents, shipowners, so-called 'free merchants'[1] who had resided in India, and other merchants of all kinds whose activities were crammed into the noisy, vital and energetic square mile of the City of London.

The bankers included some of the richest and most influential men in the City. Foremost among them was Sir Francis Baring, founder of the great mercantile house of Baring Brothers.[2] During the closing years of the eighteenth century, Baring played an important role in the counsels of the East India Company. In the years leading up to his death in 1810, however, he began to lose interest in the Company and gradually withdrew from an active involvement in its affairs. Lord Erskine described him as 'the first merchant of Europe'.[3] During his career he is reputed

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[1]Merchants who had secured the East India Company's permission to proceed to India (necessary before 1833), but who did not belong to the Company's service.

[2]Baring was made of intractable political material: 'Sir Francis Baring has commendable talents and when acting with you cordially may be of use, but unfortunately he is the most rash and intemperate man I ever knew and to that he joins a most unconquerable obstinacy and when he gets into that union of impracticable qualities I have always found that the best way is to fairly meet him and not to court him or yield to him,' Dundas to Lord Dartmouth, 11 Aug. 1801, Dartmouth Correspondence (Staffs. R.O.), D(W) 1778/1/ii, 1486. Some of Baring's attitudes may have been a result of his deafness.

[3]DNB, III, 192.

to have earned £70M.[1] He left a personal fortune in excess of £2M.,[2] landed estates, mostly in Hampshire, worth more than £½M.[3] and a banking dynasty which was to be a permanent and important element in the financial life of Europe throughout the nineteenth century.

Pre-eminent among the shipowners were William Wigram and George Lyall. Wigram was the fourth son of the 23 children of the celebrated Sir Robert Wigram (1743-1830), the great shipping magnate, who started life as a surgeon's mate in the Company's service. Robert Wigram had advanced his career by opening a small shop for the supply of drugs to ships; and by buying shares in Indiamen laid the foundation of a fortune which was thought 'to be more than half a million'.[4] He owned most of the shares in Meux's brewery and was head of a large agency house in Crosby Square, Bishopsgate.[5] He also owned three-quarters of the shares in the Blackwall Docks.[6] Here he built the numerous Indiamen which he chartered to the East India Company, and which were the forerunners of the famous Money Wigram tea-clippers.[7] George Lyall was Chairman of the Shipowners'

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[1] DNB, III, 192.

[2] Gentleman's Magazine (1810) 293.

[3] Baring bought a large estate in Hampshire from the Duke of Bedford and employed George Dance in 1803-6 to extend and improve Stratton Park at a cost of £25,000, F.M.L. Thompson, English landed society in the nineteenth century (1971) 89.

[3] Sir Evan Cotton, East Indiamen (1949) 195.

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] ibid.

[7] ibid.

Society, one of the chief promoters of the Marine Indemnity Company at Lloyd's, a Director of the London Docks and of the Guardian Insurance Company, the builder of Shoreham Harbour, and, in the words of the Dictionary of National Biography, 'a man of very considerable weight in the City of London'.[1]

Free merchants included Henry Alexander, Sir Robert Campbell, Sir Hugh Inglis, Sir Stephen Lushington and David Scott. Scott was one of the most important men who sat in the Court of Directors during our period. He went to Bombay in 1763 at the age of seventeen and, in the space of twenty-three years, succeeded in acquiring a large fortune, supplemented by his marriage to Louisa Jervis, a wealthy widow. By the time of his departure to England in 1786, he was the recognised leader of the private merchants, with a respected agency house and an unrivalled knowledge of the India trade. His financial power and business acumen won for him a major role in Bombay politics and he has been described as one of the 'real rulers of Bombay'.[2] On his return, Scott assumed control of the London branch of his agency house. His reputation soon spread among the Court of Proprietors and brought him into contact with William Pitt and Henry Dundas. As a ministerial adviser on Indian policy, Scott

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[1] DNB, XXXIV, 304.
[2] Holden Furber, John Company at Work (1948) 221.

found himself 'moving at the heart of great affairs and dealing with the foremost political personalities'.[1] His advice, and his stance in the Court of Directors, was singular. He was the prime, and virtually sole supporter, of the mercurial Wellesley's expansionist policies in India - in stark contrast to the natural caution and traditionalism of the East India Company.

The list of City merchants in the Court of Directors could boast such names as William Astell, Chairman of the Russia Company and of the Great Northern Railway; Paul Lemesurier, who made his fortune as a prize-agent during the American War and later became the Lord Mayor of London; Richard Twining, the great tea-merchant of the Strand, a Director of the Equitable Assurance Company, and a founder Director and Chairman of the Imperial Assurance Company, a redoubtable traveller and lover of literature who liked nothing better than to retire to his house in Twickenham and resume his study of the Classics;[2] and John Travers, another famous Mincing Lane name, and an ancestor of the playwright, Ben Travers.[3] The important East India agencies were represented by Josias du Pré Alexander, Thomas Reid, Abraham Robarts and David Scott Junior.

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[1] C.H. Philips, The Correspondence of David Scott (2 vols., Camden Society, 1951) I, ix.

[2] Stephen Twining, Twinings: Two-hundred-and-fifty Years of Tea and Coffee (1956) 51-2; Richard Twining (ed.), Selections from the Papers of the Twining Family (1887) 262.

[3] Denys Forrest, Tea for the British (1973) 112.

Retired servants of the East India Company who sat in the Direction were divided unequally between the army and the civil service,[1] which is not surprising considering the greater opportunities for making money, for early retirement and for developing political ambitions in the civilian branch. The presidencies of Bengal and Madras were both well represented among Directors who had served in the army, but civil service representation came predominantly from Bengal.[2] Given the numerical superiority of Bengal in both services this can only be explained by the slow promotion and high casualty rates of the Bengal Army which restricted the opportunity for a comfortable retirement and the prospect of a career at the India House. The choice of men who had seen long years of service in India (and who had then to undergo the lengthy process of selection)[3] ensured that the 'Indians' in the Direction were men of mature years,[4] inclined to reinforce the inherent conservatism of the East India Company.

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[1]Thirty-four served in the civil service, nineteen in the army.

[2]There were eight Directors who had served in the Madras Army and seven who had served in that of Bengal; twenty out of the thirty-four civil servants were from Bengal. The much smaller Bombay presidency had only five representatives in the Direction.

[3]Returned Anglo-Indians were prevented from standing for the Direction until they had been two years in England.

[4]Over a third of the Directors entered the East India Company's service before the establishment of British supremacy by Hastings's conquest of the Maratha empire in 1818, Tate, 27.

Men of the first rank among the Company's Indian administrators were seldom found in the Court of Directors. Even so, the Court could take pride in the membership of men who played an important and honourable role in the history of British India: Colonel John Baillie, the distinguished Orientalist, who established British authority in Bundelkhand; the pious and scholarly William Butterworth Bayley, one of Wellesley's entourage of clever young men;[1] Sir James Rivett Carnac, a member of the Bombay Council and later Governor of Bombay; Henry Thoby Prinsep, a leading supporter of the policies of the Marquess of Hastings, an amateur classicist and mathematician, and a patron of G.F. Watts and Sir Edward Burne-Jones; the humane John Goldsborough Ravenshaw, a 'disciple of Munro';[2] Sir Henry

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[1]Bayley took his passage to India in 1799 on board the ill-fated Charlton, Indiaman, sixteen of whose complement died during the voyage. One of his fellow passengers was Rose Aylmer, with whom the poet Walter Savage Landor was hopelessly in love, and the subject of his celebrated poem. She died of cholera shortly after her arrival in Calcutta.

[2]Rosselli. Bentinck, 132.

Creswicke Rawlinson, the Assyriologist; the fussy and ubiquitous Colonel William Henry Sykes, author, naturalist, Member of Parliament, Fellow of the Royal Society, President of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Statistical Society, Chairman of the Society of Arts and Commissioner in Lunacy; and Sir John Pollard Willoughby, the suppressor of infanticide and suttee in Western India. Other recruits to the Direction had more colourful careers. Henry St. George Tucker, a former Accountant General of Bengal, was sentenced in 1806 by Chief Justice Russell to six months' imprisonment and fined Rs.4,000 on a charge of attempted rape, a not insignificant event which his biographer, Sir John Kaye, passes over in complete silence.[1] Sir James Law Lushington also made an inauspicious start to his career. He was dismissed the Company's service for his part in the so-called 'White Mutiny' of the Madras Army at Jaulna in 1809. He was subsequently reinstated and eventually rose, by reason of longevity, to the rank of General.[2]

By far the most important and influential of the retired servants of the Company who served in the Direction was Charles Grant. Grant was the son of an expropriated Jacobite. He went to India with the avowed intention of recouping his family's fortune, but after the death of two of his children from smallpox, he underwent a

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[1] DNB, LVII, 28o-82; Kaye, Tucker, passim.
[2] Sir Alexander Cardew, The White Mutiny (1929) 143.

profound religious conversion which altered his whole life. The 'scrupulous conscience' which resulted from his religious experience did not, however, prevent him from acquiring a large fortune or from returning in luxury to England on board the Berrington, the Queen Mary of the East India Company's fleet. His evangelicalism soon brought him into contact with William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay and other important members of the Clapham Sect. He became the first Vice President of the British and Foreign Bible Society and introduced Sunday Schools to his native Scotland. His pamphlet, The State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain (written in 1792 and printed by order of the House of Commons in 1813), which is suffused with racial arrogance, played an important role in the developing concept of the 'White Man's burden'.[1] Grant portrayed a society of exceeding depravity which was restrained only by fear. His remedy was 'the communication of our light and knowledge to them' and his thesis became a justification for British rule in India. Through Wilberforce he met Pitt; and it was as the protègé of Henry Dundas that he entered the Direction in 1794. He immediately made his presence felt. His zeal, his capacity for hard work and his righteousness combined to create a strong and effective influence over the counsels of the home government. He led the opposition to Wellesley and supported the motion for his impeachment in 1808. He proposed the abolition of Wellesley's hated Fort

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[1] Ainslie T. Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India (1962).

William College and originated the scheme for Haileybury.[1] He was the leading advocate of missionary work in India and promoted the building of churches and schools.[2] He was responsible for sending some of the foremost Protestant missionaries to India, including Claudius Buchanan, Henry Martyn and Daniel Corrie.

The presence of a large body of retired civil and military servants was supplemented by that of twenty-two other Directors belonging to the Company's maritime service, to private banking and commercial concerns in India and to the Indian bar. Of the twenty-six Directors elected between 1813 and 1833 only seven had no previous connection with India. During the period 1834-1853 only one of the twenty-one Directors elected (the banker Martin Tucker Smith) had no experience in the East.[3] So entrenched had the Anglo-Indians become that the election, in 1853, of Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, banker son-in-law of the East India Company's Chairman, Sir James Weir Hogg, in preference to a worthy retired Madras civil servant, cause a furore.[4]

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[1]See below, Chapter 4.

[2]Other Evangelical members of the Direction included W.B. Bayley, R.D. Mangles, W.T. Money, Edward Parry and John Hudleston. Their principal opponent was Henry St. George Tucker. William Astell was also an Evangelical, but he was firmly opposed to any interference with the religious sensibilities of the native population.

[3]SEE TABLE 2, p.47.

[4]The Times, 7 April 1853.

2. Names of Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the Court of Directors after 1834 showing (*) who served or resided ten years in India. [Based on P.P. 1852 (533) X. 345]

	Chairman	Deputy Chairman
1834	Henry St. George Tucker*	William Stanley Clarke
1835	William Stanley Clarke	Sir J.R. Carnac*
1836	Sir J.R. Carnac*	Sir J.L. Lushington*
1837	Sir J.R. Carnac*	John Loch
1838	Sir J.L. Lushington*	Sir Richard Jenkins*
1839	Sir Richard Jenkins*	William Butterworth Bayley*
1840	William Butterworth Bayley*	George Lyall
1841	George Lyall	Sir J.L. Lushington*
1842	Sir J.L. Lushington*	John Cotton*
1843	John Cotton*	John Shepherd
1844	John Shepherd	Sir Henry Willock*
1845	Sir Henry willock*	James Weir Hogg*
1846	Sir James weir Hogg*	Henry St. George Tucker*
1847	Henry St. George Tucker*	Sir J.L. Lushington*
1848	Sir J.L.Lushington*	Maj.Gen. A. Galloway*
1849	Sir Archibald Galloway*	John Shepherd
1850	John Shepherd	Sir James Weir Hogg*
1851	John Shepherd	Sir James weir Hogg*
1852	Sir James weir Hogg*	Russell Ellice

The maritime service of the East India Company produced some of the richest, the most conservative and the most eccentric recruits to the Court of Directors.[1] The commanders of Indiamen were omnipotent beings. 'Unless you have seen the Captain of an Indiaman in the old exclusive days on his own quarterdeck, you can form no conception of the length to which human pride can be carried,' wrote F.H. Skrine. 'Tiberius in receipt of divine honours from the Roman Senate, Alexander entering Babylon in triumph, Louis XIV giving an audience to a successful general in the Gallery of Mirrors, Napoleon the cynosure of a theatre full of kings at Erfurt - to these, and these alone, must our skipper be compared.'[2] They were entitled to a thirteen-gun salute in Indian waters, and were often 'wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice'.[3] Their real remuneration was not their £10 a month salary, but the permission granted to them to indulge in private trade. 'Their lawful gains were very large, ' wrote C.N. Parkinson, 'and not all their gains were lawful.'[4] The average profit on a voyage was between £4,000 and £5,000; if a man was lucky enough to secure the most lucrative voyage[5]

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[1]Directors belonging to the Company's maritime service included: W.S. Clarke, Joseph Cotton, Hon. W.F. Elphinstone, Richard Hall, Hon. Hugh Lindsay, John Loch, Campbell Marjoribanks, William Money, W.T. Money, C.E. Prescott, John Shepherd, Nathaniel Smith and Stephen Williams.

[2]Calcutta Review (October, 1889) 347.

[3]ibid.

[4]Parkinson, 199.

[5]The most lucrative voyage was usually the one which involved numerous ports of call and gave the maximum opportunity to indulge in private trade. The route was in the gift of the Directors.

he could set himself up for life on the profits. It was this which made the command of an Indiaman worth the £5,000 to £8,000 it cost to buy.[1] The men who made their fortune this way were deeply implicated in the 'shipping monopoly', a small but well-entrenched group of owners, commanders and husbands who, owing to the system of 'hereditary bottoms',[2] dominated the construction, manning, provisioning and freightage rates of the Company's fleet.[3] 'Bred to every species of traffic,' they were 'but a mongrel kind of gentleman ... turbulent, insolent and overbearing.'[4]

The Indian bar contributed two contrasting and striking individuals to the Court of Directors: Robert Cutlar Fergusson and Sir James Weir Hogg. Fergusson was a Scot who took the high road to England in search of wealth and fame. He entered Lincoln's Inn and was called to the bar

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[1]Parkinson, 209.

[2]The East India Company, in the days when it was a trading body, chartered its ships: it did not own them. Private individuals, known as ships' husbands, were granted the right to build the specially designed Indiamen which the Company bound itself to charter at stipulated rates. From about 1660 the owner of a ship had a vested right to be asked to build a successor, a fairly frequent occurrence as most Indiamen lasted for only four voyages. In effect, they possessed not so much a ship as an 'hereditary bottom'. The system discouraged technical innovation and tended to enhance the rates of freight to the Company's disadvantage.

[3]The 'shipping monopoly' was a cause for great unrest in the Company during the early years of the nineteenth century: see Philips, East India Company, passim.

[4]Quoted in Parkinson, 196.

on 4 July 1797, but his career was ruined by his imprisonment following his conduct during the celebrated trial of the revolutionaries, John Allen and Arthur O'Connor, at Maidstone in 1798.[1] After his release he emigrated to Calcutta where he practised as a barrister. He was immediately successful, rose to the head of the Calcutta bar, and within the space of twenty years acquired a large fortune. He returned to England in 1826 and entered Parliament as a Liberal. His radical opinions had succumbed neither to the ravages of time nor wealth and he vigorously supported all progressive measures, and was specially devoted to the cause of Polish independence.[2]

Sir James Weir Hogg was one of the more important (and one of the most conservative) Directors in the latter part of the Company's existence. He was the elder son of an Ulster merchant, William Hogg. His family had influence in Bengal and, in 1814, he sailed for Calcutta where he obtained an 'unprecedentedly large and lucrative business'. After the failure of his health in 1822 he accepted the valuable office of Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, a post which he held until he returned to England with a large fortune.[3] He entered Parliament in 1835

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[1] Allen and O'Connor were tried on charges of high treason. The trial was notable for the appearance of many of the leading Whigs as witnesses for the defence. Fergusson's imprisonment arose from his prevention of O'Connor's re-arrest after he had been acquitted by the jury.

[2] DNB, XVIII, 364.

[3] On his death he left a personal fortune of £350,000, Probate Register, Somerset House (1876) 485.

as a steadfast supporter of Sir Robert Peel. He was elected to the East India Direction in 1839 and became the most articulate and prominent advocate of the Company in the House of Commons, where he was the frequent target for the vitriolic abuse of Sir Charles Napier and John Bright.

The overwhelming majority of the Directors, whether they belonged to commerce, to the East India Company's service, or to the law, found the position congenial. The average length of service was twenty-four years.[1] A handful of Directors could each boast nearly half-a-century's experience in the Court.[2] Few showed an inclination to retire and most died in office. Some clung determinedly to their positions despite the ravages of age and sickness.[3] Even fewer resigned to take up other employment.[4] The position became increasingly regarded as a profession, especially among retired servants of the Company whose other responsibilities rarely extended beyond an undemanding directorship of an insurance company or a bank.

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[1]SEE TABLE 3, p.52.

[2]William Astell (Director, 1800-47), Jacob Bosanquet (1782-1827), John Manship (1758, 1762-1809), John Roberts (1764-1810) and William Wigram (1809-1853).

[3]See e.g. the determined resistance to resignation of the Director, John Bebb, even after he had gone deaf and blind, Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR) 4 February 1829.

[4]W.T. Money became British Consul in Venice, R.C. Fergusson became Judge Advocate General and a Privy Counsellor; only Thomas Pattle, who held various offices in Bengal, and Sir James Rivett Carnac, who became Governor of Bombay, ever returned to India.

3. Length of service of Directors of the East India Company 1784-1858

Length of service	Number
under 5 years	24
6 - 10 years	19
11 - 20 years	36
21 - 30 years	42
31 - 40 years	9
over 40 years	5
Total	135

The Directors had in most respects a rather enviable lot once they had overcome the challenge of the canvass. The work of the ordinary Director was not particularly onerous.[1] Daily attendance at the India House was not required. On Court days[2] attendance averaged more than twenty,[3] while on the other days eight or more Directors were generally to be found in Leadenhall Street looking over the correspondence.[4] The amount of work put in by individual Directors was, to a large extent, optional and this explains in part the varying degrees of respect enjoyed by the members of the Court. The duties of the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman, however, were of a greater magnitude. The 'Chairs' were required to attend daily at the India House, and once a week they met the President of the Board of Control to discuss the main lines of policy and any urgent business.[5] Such was the burden of work involved that Directors often declined to accept the responsibility, despite the attraction of the double share of patronage which the Chairs received. Pay[6] was only moderate (£300 a

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[1]Sir William Foster, The East India House (1924) 231.

[2]The official Court day was Wednesday, but the Court often met more than once a week.

[3]P.P. 1852, X, qq.17-19; Court Minutes (IOR:B/passim).

[4]ibid.

[5]For the role of the Chairs, see Tate, 46-49.

[6]The fact that the Directors were paid is a reminder of the Company's commercial origins and tradition, differentiating them from unpaid parliamentary service, and emphasising their relative professionalism in an age of amateur and voluntary bureaucracy.

year for an ordinary Director, with an extra £200 a year each for the Chairs). Their true remuneration, according to Jacob Bosanquet, was 'a compound consideration of salary, patronage and honour'.[1] The Court of Proprietors, in rejecting a proposed salary increase in 1813-14, seemed to concur in Sir John Malcolm's blunter declaration that the Directors were paid in patronage.[2] 'It could not be denied,' argued one of the most perceptive Proprietors, the articulate London barrister Randle Jackson, 'that the stupendous patronage enjoyed by the Directors, was no inadequate compensation for their services to the Company.'[3] Though the opportunity of participating in the distribution of patronage was the 'leading inducement' to membership of the Court of Directors,[4] it was not the only one. To it may be added the incentives of power and rank. The idea that the Court had an effective and important part to play in the affairs of India persisted despite the often rude intrusion of political realities. For those interested in India, a seat in the Court of Directors remained both a natural and worthwhile object of ambition. Retired servants of the East India Company who possessed a reasonable fortune and a sound constitution were unlikely, after a lifetime of

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[1] East India House Debates (IOL) Sept. 1813 - Mar. 1814, 137.
[2] Sir John Malcolm, Political History of India (1811) II, 120.
[3] East India House Debates, 125.
[4] P.P. 1831-32, 9 I, 735 I, Evidence of T.P. Courtenay, M.P.

activity, to rest content with the lassitude of life in a suburban villa. For these men, in particular, a seat in the Direction was the only means of maintaining contact with the empire in which the best part of their lives had been spent. For them it was, perhaps, the best club in London. A seat in the Court of Directors also brought with it a great deal of prestige and status. Richard Twining regarded his election to the Court as the 'crowning achievement' of his career.[1] Despite frequent snide references to their humble origins,[2] the Directors of the East India Company were a force to be reckoned with, a situation which their control of a vast patronage in a society hungry for genteel employment both created and guaranteed. The Directors were men to be solicited, the source of economic and social

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[1]Stephen Twining, Twinings, 53.

[2]See Benjamin Disraeli, Sybil or Two Nations (Peter Davies ed., 1927) 40: 'The Lady Arabella selected from a crowd of admirers equally qualified, a young peer of great estate and of the old nobility, a circumstance which, as her grandfather had only been an East India Director, was very gratifying to the bride.'

bounty. The death of a popular Director, like Sir Lionel Darell[1] or Sir John Smith Burgess[2] caused sadness in many hearts. Crowds watching Darell's funeral cortège packed the City streets from the India House to Temple Bar.[3] Burgess's funeral was even more impressive and affords some indication of the importance and esteem which the East India Company and its Directors enjoyed in the City of London:

> At the Mansion House the third regiment of East India Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Robarts,[4] with their bands and drums muffled, and the Lord Mayor, the City marshals, a numerous train of constables, were waiting to receive them. When the regiment arrived opposite the East India House the procession halted; the regiment then formed into a double line on each side of the street; the procession then passed through the line, the band and drums performing a solemn dirge; the regiment then fell into open columns, and followed the procession out of town, the bells of the churches tolling as they passed. 5

The Directors, themselves, were aware of their position and some exploited it. Sir William Foster relates the anecdote of the Director who kicked a liveried footman all the way down a corridor at the India House and out into the street after the unfortunate lackey had failed to acknowledge his superior in the perennial gloom of that peculiar building.[6] The Directors loved to indulge in lavish banquets at £600 a

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[1] Gentleman's Magazine (1803) 1096.
[2] ibid, 403.
[3] ibid, 1096.
[4] The Director, Abrham Robarts.
[5] Gentleman's Magazine (1803) 403.
[6] Foster, 232.

time in the City of London Tavern in Bishopsgate and, once a year, at 'Mr. Lovegrove's establishment on the Thames at Blackwall'.[1] They were able to live up to their expected role because most of them were men of substance. The need to possess £2,000 of East India stock in order to qualify for election as a Director was, in itself, an indication of the comfortable financial position of most members, but wide variations in the personal wealth of Directors did exist, reflecting to a great extent the division between the commercial and service elements in the Court.

Retired servants of the East India Company, except those who had served in the mercantile marine, were rarely men of great wealth. Dr. Tate gives a fortune of £30,000 as a representative figure for civilians,[2] but even this disguises quite substantial differences. John Harvey Astell, of the Company's civil service in Canton, left a personal fortune of nearly £140,000,[3] a sum rivalled by Sir John Pollard Willoughby, of the Bombay Civil Service, who left almost £100,000.[4] Others were much less fortunate. Col. W.H. Sykes left less than £7,000,[5] Elliot Macnaghten less than £6,000,[6] H.T. Prinsep and Sir Lawrence Peel less than £4,000,[7] Lt. Col. James Oliphant less than £3,000,[8] and

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[1]Foster, 230.
[2]Tate, 29.
[3]Somerset House, Probate Register (1887) 184.
[4]ibid, (1866) 757. [5]ibid, (1873) 134. [6]ibid, (1889) 143.
[7]ibid, (1878) 155 and (1884) 123.
[8]ibid, (1881) 552.

R.D. Mangles less than £100.[1] The bankers and merchants, on the other hand, were often extremely rich men. William Dent left £45,000,[2] Henry Alexander £70,000,[3] John Clarmont Whiteman £100,000,[4] M.T. Smith £350,000,[5] and Sir Charles Mills a princely £700,000.[6] A few Directors felt the lash of a hard world devoid of social and economic security. Charlotte Williams, the wife of the 'very meritorious' Director, Stephen Williams, had to be assisted from her 'narrow circumstances' by the grant of an annuity of £200 a year for life from the Court, soon after her husband's death.[7] Robert Thornton had no such good fortune, however, after his bankruptcy in 1814. His election contests at Bridgwater (M.P. 1785-90) and Colchester (M.P. 1790-1817) had cost him large sums and his life-style had been grossly

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[1]Somerset House, Probate Register (1878) 332.

[2]ibid, (1879) 946.

[3]ibid, (1861) 62.

[4]ibid, (1867) 613. Despite his substantial fortune, Whiteman tried repeatedly and unsuccessfully to obtain compensation from the government when he lost his seat in the Direction as a result of the reorganisation of the Court in 1853-54 (see above, p.15). He regarded the cost of winning a place in the Court as a good investment which had been ruined by the whim of politicians, Letter to Sir Charles Wood, 17 January 1855, Wood Collection (IOR: Eur. Mss. F.78, Misc. Correspondence, 1855).

[5]ibid, (1880) 898.

[6]ibid, (1873) 705.

[7]Court Minutes (IOR:B/142) 1805, f.74.

extravagant.[1] He fled to France under an assumed name to escape imprisonment at home, and was then forced to make an equally hurried departure to America to escape imprisonment in France during the 'Hundred Days'. He was ill throughout the two months' voyage to New York and never took his clothes off for six weeks. Almost a pauper, he lived in America, ill and miserable, until his death in 1826 at the age of sixty-seven.[2] William Taylor Money's financial plight was less dramatic, but just as devastating. The substantial fortune which he had acquired in the Company's maritime service[3] was slowly but remorselessly ground between his disastrously expensive Javanses estates[4] and his insatiable

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[1]His brother, Henry, one of the most famous members of the Clapham Sect, believed his debts to be about '£50,000 or £60,000, besides a sum nearly as great due to his stock creditors'. His relations with the Prince Regent played a large part in his ultimate bankruptcy, A. Aspinall (ed.), Correspondence of George, Prince of Wales, 1770-1812 (1963-1971) VII, 2935n.

[2]ibid.

[3]Money was awarded £10,000 as a result of his part in the capture of a Dutch convoy off St. Helena in 1795, Harrowby Mss., Vol. 596, ff.15-16.

[4]He acquired his Javanese estates during the time when he served as Superintendent of the Bombay Marine. He presided over the estates, himself, during the British occupation of the island (1811-16) but, on his return to England, left them in the hands of an agent and a manager, neither of whom was efficient and both of whom were almost certainly corrupt, Harrowby Mss., Vol. 596, f.143, 144; Vol. 600, f.19. By 1829 the estates were losing so much that Money was forced to negotiate a mortgage of 500,000 Bombay Rupees from Sir Charles Forbes, Harrowby Mss., Vol. 501, f.475.

Protestant pamphleteering.[1] When he died in 1840 his personal fortune of less than £2,000[2] was insufficient to discharge his debts and his family and friends had to pay the £201 11. 3. for his funeral.[3] The sale of the Java estates helped to alleviate some of the family's financial burdens, but even so his beloved wife spent the long years of her widowhood constantly migrating from house to house in a desperate and humiliating attempt to maintain her state and dignity.[4]

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[1]Money was closely associated with many leading members of the Clapham Sect. He was particularly intimate with Zachary Macaulay (Harrowby Mss., Vol. 596, 202-5) and, after his election to Parliament, he joined with Macaulay, Wilberforce and Thomas Fowell Buxton in the anti-slavery campaign, though his only notable speech was a passionate attack on blasphemous publications and 'the pernicious effect of Sunday newspapers',which won the plaudits of Castlereagh (Harrowby Mss., ibid, ff.106-7). He also became a zealous pamphleteer, an activity which gradually absorbed most of his time and and a great deal of his fortune. He was particularly devoted to the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews and was a patron of the missionary, Joseph Wolff. In 1829, while travelling across Europe from Venice to the Hague, he spent an immense amount of time and energy distributing tracts to the bemused populace of Northern Italy and the valleys of the Rhone and Rhine, areas he regarded as havens of idolatry and Popish superstition.

[2]Harrowby Mss., Vol. 501, f.472.

[3]ibid, f.473.

[4]ibid. The Money estate received £35,710. Eugenia Money died in 1865. Throughout her widowhood she received a pension of £100 a year from the Company. She died in Tunbridge Wells.

Other wills include: W.B. Bayley (£40,000), Sir F. Currie (£20,000), Capt. W.J. Eastwick (£14,000), W.F. Elphinstone (£25,000), Sir J.L. Lushington (£12,000), Maj. J.A. Moore (£25,000), W.H.C. Plowden (£60,000), Sir George Pollock £60,000), Sir H.C. Rawlinson (£18,000) and Sir J.H. Vivian (£40,000).

The Directors' self-importance and self-awareness was reinforced by their clannishness. The Court had an hereditary tendency: the sons of Astell, Cotton, Inglis, Jackson, Charles Mills, Money, Thomas Parry, Plowden and Scott all became Directors.[1] There was also a certain amount of intermarriage: Joseph Cotton was the son-in-law of John Harrison; Henry Shank, who was a nephew of David Scott (and a cousin of Sir David Scott), married a sister of Sir James Rivett Carnac; Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks was the son-in-law of Sir James Weir Hogg, and Sir James Rivett Carnac the brother-in-law of John Shepherd; Robert Thornton was the uncle of W.H.L. Melville, and Robert Williams the nephew of Stephen Williams. George Smith was a relative of Samuel Smith and George Woodford Thellusson of Abraham Robarts. Other families were closely linked in friendship. The Christian names 'Money' and 'Wigram' run in the Wigram and Money families for generations even though they were never linked in marriage.[2] The Thornhills and the Bensleys were intimate friends, and John Thornhill became the adopte heir of the wealthy widow, Francina Bensley.[3] A few Directors had business links: William Mills was Richard Chichley Plowden's banker, and W.F. Elphinstone a client of

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[1]Philips, East India Company, 5, n.1, omits Money and erroneously includes Lushington and Thornton.

[2]Harrowby Mss., Vol. 596, f.1.

[3]Barbara Kerr, The Dispossessed (1974) 18.

John Petty Muspratt. Many Directors were neighbours. The great stronghold of the East India Company's retired servants was the area just north of Oxford Street, centred on Cavendish and Hanover Squares, and particularly the Harley Street complex.[1] The Directors and their families seem to have had an active social life.[2] Their opportunity for social contact was widened by the re-opening of the Oriental Club in Hanover Square on 1 September 1828[3] in a house, remarkable for 'nothing but the smallness of its windows', formerly owned by the Director, Josias du Pré Alexander, which soon became the 'realm of calico shirts, returned writers and guinea-pigs grown into bores'.[4]

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[1] Denys Forrest, The Oriental Club (1968) 40.

[2] Charlotte Maria, the daughter of the Director Henry St. George Tucker, has left an account of a ball at which there were 'the misses Cotton, two misses Galloway, two misses Shepherd, the Eastwicks were not there, but our friend Colonel Sykes was', A. Giberne (ed.), A Lady of England: the Letters of Charlotte Maria Tucker (1895) 25, 36.

[3] The Club was originally opened on 8 July 1824 at 16 Lower Grosvenor Street, but the 'Indians' preferred 'an easy drop down' from their residential quarter, and this they now achieved, Forrest, 40.

[4] Forrest, 33, 40. Many Director were members of the Oriental Club, see Appendix Four.

The unspectacular, unremitting and ultimately unsuccessful campaign of political retreat which the Company was forced to conduct during the nineteenth century was made possible for so long because of the patronage which it dispensed. Patronage, with its promise of social, financial and political possibilities, was not only attractive in itself but crucial to the future of the Company and the empire. The recruitment of the Indian empire's soldiers and administrators became the key to the Company's survival and the arena in which the Company's opponents and defenders (then and since) have debated the merits of its administration. The kind of men who composed the Court of Directors, their motives for seeking election, their family and business connections, their wealth and their diligence affected the way in which the patronage system worked, the nature of the young men recruited to the Company's service and, ultimately, the very nature of British rule in India. The ordinary officers and civil servants of the East India Company were the symbols of British prestige and honour. The group of Directors who appointed them lacked neither courage, experience nor talent. They proved resilient enough to survive the occasional inane, irresponsible or corrupt recruit. The Directors were affluent men. They lived in large, comfortable houses. They were used to command and to receiving obeisance. They were the source of financial and social security for life; and knew it. They presided over an enormous and growing empire. Yet many of them had come from relative poverty and total obscurity. Despite their power and influence they never

really belonged to the political establishment, dominated still by the landed aristocracy and its adherents.[1] Most of them had served in India. They knew the pain of exile, the struggle to obtain a 'competence', the limitations of ability alone; best of all they understood the value of an Indian appointment. They were the successful few in the great game of imperialism, promoted now to the role of referee. Bound by ties of family, friendship and sentiment, they often saw themselves as guardians of the Indian services. They were middle-aged when they entered the Direction and old men when they retired or died. They belonged to the era of the two Hastings and Cornwallis, not to that of Macaulay and Dalhousie, with its idealism and impatience for reform. They were cautious, realistic and not a little afraid. They grew up in an age which put small value on formal education and which was unimbued with High Victorian notions of public conduct. India was a place in which gentlemanly employment might be found, but which was nevertheless a strange and alien land which should be treated with respect lest its bounty be prejudiced by the rash schemes of ambitious men. England was the place to which they returned to enjoy the fruits of endeavour; and to die.

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[1] Edinburgh Review, 107 (1858) p.47: 'It is not uncommon to hear the government of this country denounced for its aristocratic character, its family and party predilection, and what are called the abuses of the governing class. To that class the Directors of the East India Company never belonged.' Among the Directors only Josias du Pré Alexander (nephew of the Earl of Caledon), Sir William Bensley (who married a grand-daughter of the Duke of Somerset), W.F. Elphinstone (son of Lord Elphinstone), Hugh Lindsay (fifth son of the Earl of Balcarres) and W.H.L. Melville (son of the 6th. Earl of Leven & 7th. Earl of Melville) had even tenuous family links with the aristocracy.

THE PATRONAGE SYSTEM

'No one knows better than a former patronage secretary the limitations of the human mind and the human spirit.'

THE RT. HON. EDWARD HEATH (1962)

'"For one - alas," said Mr. Falcolner, with a sigh meant to be heard, and a smile not intended to be seen, "what can one do in such a desperate case? - I am afraid certain things will go on in the world for ever whether we profit by them or not. - And if I grant that patronage is sometimes a public evil, you must allow that it is often a private benefit."'

MARIA EDGEWORTH, 'PATRONAGE' (1814)

The recruitment of the East India Company's European civil and military servants was based upon the patronage of the Court of Directors. 'All appointments of writers, cadets and assistant-surgeons,' wrote Peter Auber, 'rest with the Court who are to be governed by the returns of vacancies transmitted home by the several governments abroad.'[1] It was only when Indian appointments began to be

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[1]Auber, East India Company Constitution, 201.

prized as a means to wealth and fame (after the acceptance of the Diwani of Bengal in 1765),[1] however, that the Directors attempted to reserve for themselves the patronage of the emerging Indian empire. And it was not until 1786 that they finally succeeded in making London, in Disraeli's phrase, 'the key to India'.[2] Henceforth, the recruitment of the Company's soldiers and administrators depended upon the operation of this system and of the sophisticated bureaucracy which developed around it. The way in which the system worked is the concern of this chapter.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECRUITMENT SYSTEM

Before 1834 the committees for conducting the affairs of the East India Company could be arranged under four headings: the standing committees of the Court of Directors,[3] the Secret Committee appointed by Act of Parliament,[4] the Secret Commercial Committee and the

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[1]The Company's acceptance of the Diwani, or fiscal administration, at the Treaty of Allahabad empowered it to raise taxes there forever. It marked, in effect, the transition of the Company from a commercial to a sovereign power.

[2]Pitt's India Act of 1784 recognised the Directors' control of patronage, but it was not unti 1786 that they prohibited any further recruitment of cadets in India.

[3]SEE APPENDIX FIVE.

[4]See above, p.30.

Committee of By-Laws. The standing committees were divided into three groups, to which the Directors were allocated according to seniority.[1] By far the most extensive and, as far as our purpose is concerned, the most important was the Committee of Correspondence, consisting of the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman and the nine senior Directors. Peter Auber described its responsibilities as follows:

> the whole of the advices from India in the public, political, military, revenue, judicial, law, and ecclesiastical departments ... as also the replies to such despatches before they are submitted for the approbation of the Court of Directors. The Committee of Correspondence report the number of civil, military, and medical servants necessary for keeping up the establishments abroad, and on the applications of all such servants for leave of absence, or for permission to return to their respective Presidencies. All representations and applications for redress of grievances or pecuniary demands from the Company's servants are, in the first instance, decided by this committee, and likewise the various subjects growing out of the Royal Navy and of His Majesty's troops in India. The recruiting department is under the Committee of Correspondence. 2

The foundation of Haileybury for the training of the Company's civil servants in 1806,[3] however, saw the responsibility for their recruitment pass to a newly-created Committee of College which also ranked among the first group of the Court's standing committees. Similarly, with the opening of Addiscombe in 1809[4] a Military Seminary Committee, consisting of the six next senior Directors, was established and the appointment of cadets and assistant-surgeons transfered to it from the Committee of Shipping,

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[1] This was a cause for frequent criticism of the Court, cf. Edward Thompson, Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe, 181; Sir John Malcolm, Political History of India (1826) II, 98, 99. SEE APPENDIX SIX.

[2] Auber, 183. The 'recruiting department' referred to was that concerned with the recruitment of European private soldiers for the Indian army.

[3] See below, Chapter 4. [4] ibid.

with which it had previously rested.[1] In 1834 the standing committees of the Court of Directors were reduced to three: a Finance and Home Committee, a Political and Military Committee, and a Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee. The Committee of College's functions were transferred to the Finance and Home Committee, and those of the Military Seminary Committee to the Political and Military Committee.

(i) The Recruitment of Cadets[2]

The East India Company had three armies, corresponding to the presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay.[3] They originated in the small companies of European soldiers and locally-enlisted Indian or half-caste sepoys[4] formed during the seventeenth century to guard the

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[1]The Catalogue of the Military Department (IOR: L/MIL) states that this responsibility also rested with the Committee of Correspondence. This is incorrect.

[2]For a complete list of the 'Conditions for admission to the East India Company's service', see P.P. 1847-48 (974), LXI, 305-12.

[3]The term Indian Army (capital I, capital A) properly belongs to the period after the amalgamation of the East India Company's forces with those of the Crown in 1861, but the phrase was widely used from the time of Cornwallis to describe the Company's 3 presidential armies taken as a whole, see Raymond Callahan, The East India Company and army reform, 1783-1798 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) 2.

[4]From the Persian word 'sipahi' - a soldier.

Company's factories.[1] By 1796[2] each had its own British officer corps, general staff and commander-in-chief. The development of a command structure and a regulated system of recruitment, promotion,[3] pay and pensions[4] had been long, complex and uncertain. The early history of the Indian army was that of an ad hoc response to war and the threat of war and to increasing territorial commitments. The Court of Directors often posed a major obstacle to the army's growth and organisation. The Directors tried hard to make their servants accept a narrow view of the Company's commercial interests,[5] and never ceased to harbour mistrust of the military, a situation which was to prove detrimental to the Company, the army and the British position in India.

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[1] Sir Patrick Cadell, 'The Raising of the Indian army,' Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, XXXIV (1956) 96.

[2] Though there were further reforms in 1824, the reorganisation of 1796 effectively settled the nature of the Indian army for the rest of our period. Though the plan conferred great benefits, it was fraught with difficulties and dissensions and was received with bitterness which bordered on open mutiny. It left many questions unanswered and created the atmosphere and conditions in which the sepoy revolt of 1857 developed, see Callahan, East India Company and Army Reform, passim.

[3] Prmotion was to be regulated by regimental seniority, a provision dear to the hearts of Indian army officers who saw themselves as a collection of men 'without interest'.

[4] After twenty-three years' service, of which three years might be spent on furlough, an officer was entitled to retire with the full pay of his rank.

[5] Amiya Barat, The Bengal Native Infantry, 1796-1852 (Calcutta, 1962) 25, 9.

In the period before 1784 European officers were difficult to find. The most valuable source was the British army.[1] When the King's regiments left India, officers were permitted to volunteer for the Company's service. The usual immediate promotion which King's officers received on volunteering also attracted members of the military proletariat of half-pay officers, often in dire financial straits, who were pitched into the ruthless and competitive society of eighteenth-century England whenever peace brought the inevitable savage curtailment of military expenditure.[2] These men added to the efficiency, the social status and the military spirit of the Company's armies. Some of the other expedients were less successful. The promotion of sergeants to the rank of ensign proved unsatisfactory. They were seriously handicapped by 'their unseasonable drunkenness'[3] and, in the words of Sir Eyre Coote, 'there was little dependence on this kind of men's behaviour who are raised to rank with gentlemen'.[4] Foreigners, 'Swiss, Dutch, German and Polish - and even French deserters'[5] often found their way into the East India Company's service, a testimony more to the Company's desperation than to the cosmopolitan nature of eighteenth-century warfare. Commissions were even

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[1] The first King's regiment to land in India was the 39th. Foot in 1754.

[2] Henry Dundas's attitude to the Indian army was very much influenced by the problem of providing for half-pay officers, see Callahan, 50, 54.

[3] Quoted in Sir Alexander Cardew, The White Mutiny (1929) 2.

[4] Quoted in Sir Wolesley Haig, 'The armies of the East India Company,' in Camb. Hist. British Empire, 5, Chapter IX.

[5] Cardew, 2.

given to the sons of officers by native women, usually as a reward for meritorious service, but this soon ended. 'The revolts of the West Indian negroes in the French possessions,' according to Grey and Garrett, 'and the atrocities committed upon the French colonists by mulattoes and quadroons, alarmed the government of India as to the possibility of a similar outbreak led by half-castes; so they prohibited the admission of any to a military career.'[1] After 1791,[2] the only appointment open to men or boys of mixed race was that of trumpeter; and this became one of the few regulations to exercise the vigilance of the Court of Directors when admitting young men into its military service.[3]

As the military establishment grew and the staff of British officers increased a less haphazard mode of recruitment became a necessity. At first, volunteers were sent out to serve in the ranks until vacancies occurred. Later, a corps of cadets was formed. The cadets received commissions as soon as they were deemed to have a sufficient knowledge of military duties and drill. Some were nominees of the Court of Directors, others were recruited in India and known as 'country cadets'. In 1786,

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[1] C. Grey and H.L.O. Garrett, European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849 (Lahore, 1929) 169-170; see also W.H. Carey, The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company (Calcutta, 1906) 301-305.

[2] Half-castes were banned from the Company's covenanted service by order of the Court of Directors in 1791, Court Minutes (IOR:B/113) f.17, and they were further banned from being combatants of any kind by order of the Governor General in 1795, but both provisions were made redundant by the Charter Act of 1833, see below p.185.

[3] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/112 (1802) f.14; 119 (1809) f.95; 123 (1810) f.351; 133 (1818) f.283; 140 (1819) ff.178-9, 183, 514, 518-9, 521; 148 (1821) f.196; 150 (1823) f.251; and 170 (1827) f.139.

however, the Company prohibited any further recruitment of cadets in India[1] and announced their intention of retaining all future nominations in their own hands. The establishment of a definite system of recruitment, based on the patronage of the Court of Directors, had profound consequences. The Indian army began to assume the guise of a career rather than of a lottery, which, in turn, affected the nature of the recruits. The Company's political position was re-inforced by the acquisition of a vast amount of patronage. The officers, themselves, became an interest group, determined to maintain their position and aware of the great institutional strength of the Indian army, which was vital and irreplaceable. The often uneasy alliance between the Directors, the Company's officers and the parliamentary opposition, which thought the patronage safer in the hands of the East India Company than those of the government, influenced the course of Indian affairs for the next sixty years.

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[1] V.C.P. Hodson, List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834 (1927-1946) 4 vols., I, xxi. Nor did the system of 'minor cadets' last long, though Charles Metcalfe was recommended for a commission on 6 May 1785, aged 'three months and one week', Edward Thompson, Life of Chrales, Lord Metcalfe (1937) 8. It is important to notice here, however, that the scrapping of the system of country cadets did not mean that candidates had to come to London if they wished to be appointed. Persons resident abroad could still be nominated, but only by a Director, not by the authorities in India. Such people were eventually subjected to the same procedure of examination as that endured by cadets in England, but at the hands of the Indian magistracy, Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/230) f.217-20.

From 1786, when the predominance of the Court of Directors was finally established, until 1809, when the Company's complacency was punctured by the revelations of the Parliamentary inquiry into the abuse of East India patronage, the method of recruiting cadets was based on a system of signed nomination cards. When a Director agreed to favour a candidate's interest, he filled in and signed a card of nomination. The candidate then presented the card at the India House and was directed to the Shipping Office where a clerk asked his name, filed the card and gave him an appointment for the next meeting of the Committee of Shipping when he was to 'pass the Committee'. At the second interview the candidate was required to bring his birth certificate or an affadavit[1] affirming his date of birth.[2] He was shown into a waiting

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[1]Some candidates, especially those born in India, where, 'in 99 parishes out of 100 .... we should seek in vain for a parish register', [Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/114) f.437.] had difficulty in providing the necessary documentation. The early Cadet Papers are replete with affadavits from anxious parents and friends, sympathetic clergymen and mercenary parish clerks, e.g. (1798) ff.907, 998, 1016, 1070, 1091; (1799) f.591; (1800) ff.428-433, 494, 603; (1804) f.170.

[2]The India Act of 1784 established maximum (22yrs.) and minimum (15yrs.) age limits for cadets. Candidates who had served as officers in the British army, or in the regiments of militia or fencibles, for at least one year, could proceed to India up to the age of twenty-five. This provision had important consequences for the future of the Company's military service. It ensured that the recruits were young men who probably had little say in the decision which sent them to India. It meant that parents had to decide early in the lives of their children whether to obtain for them an appointment in India and to take the appropriate steps. The parents who were best able to do this were those who already had some connection with the East India Company. It also prevented Henry Dundas from using the Indian army as a dumping-ground for half-pay officers of the British army, most of whom were too old to enter the Company's service. The Indian army's [see over]

room and ultimately brought before the Committee. He was asked his age, which would be checked against his birth certificate. If there was no discrepancy[1] he was asked if he had read the conditions of appointment and wished to proceed to India. He was then appointed a cadet in the Honourable East India Company's service and was free to begin fitting out for his passage.

The inadequacies of the system were glaring. There was no insistence on any form of qualification, physical,[2] intellectual or moral. The perfunctory attitude of the Directors served to aggravate the casual method of appointment. General Frederick Young,[3] who entered the Company's service in the winter of 1801, was asked the following questions when he passed the Committee:

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separateness and distinctiveness was thus confirmed.

[1]Discrepancies were sometimes due to 'clots in the session clerk's pen', (Cadet Papers (1802) f.246) but more often to wilful forgery: Court Minutes (IOR:B/130, ff.878-9; B/132, ff.897-8, f.927, ff.1150-51, ff.1183-84; B/142, f.1360.

[2]The Company's attitude to the health of its cadets was particularly cavalier. Far from demanding evidence of a sound constitution, the Court of Directors often acquiesced in the recruitment of the halt, the lame and the blind (or, at least, the myopic), Cadet Papers (1804) f.447; (1811) f. 29; (1815) f.317. Cadet Richard Walter Powell, of the Madras Infantry, even managed to secure his appointment on the grounds that he had been recommended to go out to India for the recovery of his health, which had proved inadequate to sustain the pressure of civilian life, Cadet Papers (1826) f.313.

[3]General Frederick Young (1786-1874), First Commandant of the Sirmur Battalion (2nd. Gurkha Rifles).

'How old are you?'

'Fifteen on 30 November last,' he replied.

'Are you ready to die for your king and country?' his interrogator demanded.

'I am.'

'That will do.'

He had passed.[1] The procedure failed even to ensure that the candidate interviewed and the cadet appointed were the same person. This was strikingly illustrated in 1800 when a mulatto called Samuel Lewis, who was debarred from the Company's service on account of his colour, paid Thomas Philips, a hatter, twenty guineas to impersonate him and to pass the Committee. The case only came to light when Philips attempted to blackmail the nominating Director, Colonel Sweny Toone, when the 1809 enquiry began.[2] Worst of all, however, was the complete reliance on the individual Director's honesty, perception and care. Directors often had little or no personal knowledge of candidates. They relied on the recommendation of friends and it became a common practice to give them signed, blank nomination cards, allowing names to be written in. When Lord Dartmouth was President of the Board of Control in 1801, George Hanger[3] wrote to him soliciting a 'card for India (for the province of Bengal will be the most eligible the young man

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[1] L. Hadow Jenkins, General Frederick Young (1923) 6. Despite the evidence to the contrary which she herself presents, his biographer considers that appointments to the Company's service were made 'with much care' (p.3). For a similar, but later, account of 'passing the Committee', see Sir J.W. Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney (1844) I, 234.

[2] P.P. 1809 (209) II, 483.

[3] George Hanger (1751?-1824) 4th. Baron Coleraine, eccentric, caricatured by Gilray and Cruickshank.

having particular connection there but if not convenient to any other part of India') without ever mentioning the candidate's name.[1] If the friend was unreliable it was easy for the card to get into circulation and to change hands at a price. It was not easy in such cases to fix the blame with any degree of certainty. The Directors' practice of borrowing and exchanging patronage made things even more chaotic.

In the wake of the damaging revelations of the 1809 patronage enquiry the Directors made a belated attempt to remedy the faults inherent in the system of recruitment. Nomination cards were scrapped and replaced by a sophisticated petition,[2] requiring information about the cadet's education,[3] the profession of his next of kin and the name of the person recommending him to the nominating Director.[4] The petition was to be filled in by the cadet, himself. Cadets were directed to attend the India House every Court Day between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning in order to 'give time to investigate their several certificates, to prepare their petitions and to obtain the Director's presentation and declaration prior to the meetihg of the Court'.[5] 'All exchanges of writerships or

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[1] Dartmouth Correspondence (Staffs. R.O.) 1557.

[2] SEE APPENDIX SEVEN.

[3] The education of cadets is the subject of Chapter Four, below. Education certificates had appeared as early as 1802 (Cadet Papers (1802) f.28), but we have to wait until the 1809 reforms before full information becomes available. Later still, the cadets were required to present written testimonials from their last school or college.

[4] Court Minutes (IOR: B/149) 9 August 1809, f.646. In addition, cadets had to provide a certificate of physical fitness, signed by two doctors. Medical certificates first appeared in 1816.

[5] ibid.

cadetships between Directors or others receiving any such patronage from the Court' had, in future, to be approved and recorded in open Court.[1] The establishment of the Military Seminary Committee on 12 April 1809 completed the reforms. This committee now became responsible for the whole of the Court's military patronage, 'cadets, assistant-surgeons, Free Mariners, and volunteers for the Bombay Marine and Bengal Pilot Service'.[2] William Abington was appointed clerk to the Committee, with a salary of £100 a year 'in addition to the salary and allowances granted to him as first clerk of the Shipping Office',[3] and began his twenty-five year reign as major-domo of the Company's cadet system. Abington was one of those men who, by dint of hard work in a tedious but necessary job and by assiduous flattery, made himself indispensable. He was 'always to be found' at the India House.[4] Anxious cadets and their harrassed patrons sought his assistance and deferred to his judgement.[5] From unpromising beginnings he carved a secure

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[1] ibid, 4 August 1809, f.1361.

[2] Court Minutes (IOR: B/148) 12 April 1809, f.1408.

[3] ibid.

[4] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/162) f.415; Jacob Bosanquet to Lord Carleton, 1 September 1825.

[5] In the absence of the nominating Director, Abington was responsible for ensuring that the procedure was correctly followed. In such cases he was issued with a card stating: 'Mr. Abington, You are hereby authorized to permit the bearer, Mr. ..... to fill up his petition for a cadetship upon my nomination to ..... Signed ..... ' Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/139) f.347.

and remunerative[1] niche in the Company's bureaucracy. His successor, Thomas Robert Clarke, was equally successful. He was 'a stout, self-important individual, having the manners and address of a beadle'.[2] 'Obsequious to the Honourable Court, it was his habit to be short, not to say insolent, with the gentlemen cadets. There is no Addiscombe man of that period,' recalled Colonel Vibart, 'who does not remember in connection with his own initiation at the India House, this gentleman's love of exhortation. "Mr. So-and-so, attend to the Chairman, Mr. So-and-so".'[3] Clarke retired in 1856; between the two of them Abington and Clarke administered the Company's cadet system for half-a-century, ample time in which to build up useful connections and to supplement their generous salaries with the fruits thereof.[4]

By the 1820s the Company's system of passing cadets was highly sophisticated and efficient. The Company was a pioneer in its use of printed application forms,[5] anticipating by a very long way the bureaucratic practices with which we are now all too familiar. The reforms of 1809

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[1]Besides his regular salary, he received frequent extra gratuities for his services.

[2]Col. H.M. Vibart, Addiscombe: its heroes and men of note (1894) 233.

[3]ibid.

[4]See below p. 268.

[5]Contrast the Company's recruitment system with Trollope's celebrated description of his entry to the Post Office in 1834, Anthony Trollope, An Autobiography (World's Classics ed., 1968) 30-32.

reduced the chances of the Directors' patronage being abused and, with the later requirement for medical and educational[1] certificates, raised the physical and intellectual quality of the Company's officer recruits. But throughout the period these improvements were vitiated by the Company's willingness to break its own rules, and to bend those made for it by Parliament. In 1792 the Court resolved 'that in future no foreigner shall be admitted into the Company's service as a writer or cadet'[2] yet it frequently allowed this regulation to be waived.[3] Even the statutory age regulations[4] were regarded in a generous light.[5] The Company's reluctance to dismiss from its service cadets whose appointments had been corruptly obtained,[6] or whose conduct while under instruction at the Military Seminary had been dissolute and insubordinate,[7] was notorious. The attention paid to medical[8] and educational[9] qualifications

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[1]The subject of education is dealt with in detail, Chapter Four, below.

[2]Court Minutes (IOR: L/MIL/9/118) 9 February 1792.

[3]The Cadet Papers contain numerous examples of foreigners admitted to the Company's service, principally Swiss, Germans, and the children of French emigres. The Director, Richard Chicheley Plowden, was a great frequentor of émigré circles and a friend of the Polignacs and of the Duchess of Angouleme.

[4]See above p. 73.

[5]e.g. Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/112) f.14; (IOR: L/MIL/9/185) ff. 117-121.

[6]See below p.140-1.

[7]See below p.229, 293.

[8]See above p. 74.

[9]Under the 1809 reforms candidates were required to state where they had been educated. For some years they were allowed to get away with such enlightening statements as 'in Yorkshire', or 'in London'.

was often perfunctory. The major obstacles to passing the Committee remained what they had always been: a dark complexion;[1] or a stutter.[2]

(ii) The Recruitment of Writers

The recruitment of the East India Company's civil servants had always been more orderly than that of its military officers. The first civil servants appointed to overseas posts were called Factors. At their second meeting on 24 September 1599, the Company's founders laid down the method of appointment when they resolved that 'no Factor ... shalbe admitted or appointid .... but by a generall Assemblie of the Adventurers and ther elected by the consent of the greater number of them assembled'.[3] Subordinate ranks[4] began to appear in the mid-seventeenth century[5] to supply the Company's increasing commercial needs. The first minimal educational requirements were introduced in 1682.[6] Only those

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[1] The Company's regulations regarding the admission of half-castes were materially affected by the provisions of the Charter Act of 1833. After that date it was illegal to discriminate on grounds of colour. See below p.

[2] Nothing seemed to worry the Directors more than a stutter, Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/165) f.477. Brigadier-General John Jacob, one of the most intelligent officers in the Company's service, almost lost his appointment on this account, H.T. Lambrick, John Jacob of Jacobabad (1960) 7.

[3] Court Minutes (IOR: B/1) f.8v.

[4] These were known as Apprentices and Writers.

[5] The first use of the term Writer was on 17 March 1668, F.C. Danvers [et al], Memorials of Old Haileybury College (1894) 5.

[6] L.S.S. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service 1601-1930 (Frank Cass ed., 1965) 228.

who had learned the method of keeping merchants' accounts were admitted. From 1714 it became a necessity to obtain a nomination from a Director (a provision introduced in consequence of the number of applications for appointment),[1] to execute a bond with two securities to the amount of £500 and, on appointment, to sign a covenant[2] for the faithful performance of duties.[3] Entrants to the service were allotted to any one of the three grades, apprentice,[4] writer or factor, but during the 1760s a twelve-year career scale of writer, factor, junior merchant and senior merchant emerged.[5] Ages of appointment were eventually fixed at between 15 and 18 (or up to 25 with previous military service)[6] in 1784, and at between 15 and 22 in 1793.[7] In 1800 the Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General of India, founded the College of Fort William, mainly for the study of oriental languages, and he proposed that writers for all three presidencies should spend a period there before proceeding to their posts. The foundation of Haileybury College[8] originated in a letter from Canton, dated 29

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[1]Contrast this with the situation in regard to military appointments, see above, p.70.

[2]Hence the term Covenanted Civil Service used to describe the grades recruited in England.

[3]O'Malley, 228.

[4]Apprentices were abandoned in 1694, ibid, 4.

[5]Anthony Farrington, The Records of the East India College Haileybury (1976) 3.

[6]Court Minutes (IOR: B/100) 16 July 1784.

[7]33 Geo. III c.211. Further changes were made in 1 Vict. 1837-38 c.70. which prevented any person over 21 being admitted to Haileybury, or being sent out to India over the age of 23.

[8]See below, Chapter 4, for a full account.

January 1804, suggesting that writers should not, for health reasons, be sent out until the age of nineteen, and that the period between appointment and that age should be taken up by formal training in England.[1] The Committee of Correspondence recommended that a college to teach classics, mathematics, general law and oriental subjects should be established. A lease was taken on Hertford Castle and the college opened there in February 1806. Meanwhile, the Company purchased the nearby Haileybury estate in 1805. Designs were accepted from William Wilkins (later architect of the National Gallery) in March 1806, and the East India College was transferred to its new building in 1809. Responsibility for the recruitment of writers passed to the newly-created Committee of College to whom the petitions to the Court were now 'referred'.[2] The Charter Act of 1853 withdrew the nominating privileges of the Court of Directors for all appointments to the College after 30 April 1854 and opened the civil service to competitive examination.[3] A further act[4] ordered that all admissions should cease from 21 January 1856 and that the College should close on 31 January 1858.[5]

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[1] China Factory Records (IOR: G/12/45) 214.

[2] See above, p.67. The responsibilities of the Committee of College were transferred to the new Finance and Home Committee in 1834, see above, p.68.

[3] 16 & 17 Vict. c.95.

[4] 18 & 19 Vict. c.53.

[5] See R.J. Moore, 'The Abolition of Patronage in the Indian Civil Service and the Closure of Haileybury College,' Historical Journal, vii (1964) 246-57.

THE USES OF EAST INDIA PATRONAGE

The only aspect of East India patronage which was never in question was its vast extent.[1] It consisted principally of the initial appointments to the civil,[2] military,[3] medical[4] and marine services of the Company.[6] But this was far from all. Appointments to the home establishment, many of which were extremely lucrative,[7] were also in the gift of the Directors.[8] These included

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[1]SEE APPENDIX EIGHT.

[2]SEE APPENDIX EIGHT, TABLE 1. Civil service appointments were to Canton (until 1834) and Prince of Wales's Island as well as to India.

[3]SEE APPENDIX EIGHT, TABLE 2. Military patronage was the most extensive. It consisted of two kinds: that of cadets 'direct' to India and, after 1809, of nominations to the Military Seminary at Addiscombe. The Company also maintained a small garrison on the island of St. Helena, which had been in its possession since 1661.

[4]SEE APPENDIX EIGHT, TABLE 3.

[5]The East India Company's marine service (the Bombay Marine, which became the Indian Navy in 1830) must be distinguished from its mercantile marine service. By 1857 the Company had 43 warships and 273 European officers and under-officers.

[6]P.P. 1852-53, Vol. XXX, q.197. The patronage of the Directors did not extend up the career ladder after the initial appointment. Promotion was by seniority, see above, p.69, n.3.

[7]See above, pp. 22, 32, n.3.

[8]Patronage Book (Committee of Correspondence), 1813-14/ 1823-24 (IOR: D258); Patronage Book (Secretary's Office), (IOR: D259).

clerkships at the India House,[1] the staff of the Company's colleges at Haileybury[2] and Addiscombe,[3] the staff of the recruiting depots for European troops at London, Liverpool, Dublin, Cork, Edinburgh, Bristol, Newry and Warley,[4] besides less valuable (but still sought-after) appointments of labourers, doorkeepers, porters and fire-lighters throughout the Company's extensive premises in London.[5] The Directors also appointed the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, the general officers on the staff of the Company's armies, the masters-attendant in Bengal and Madras, the volunteers for the pilot service in Bengal, the law officers to the government at each of the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and, subject to the consent of the Archibishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, the chaplains to India.[6]

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[1]SEE APPENDIX EIGHT, TABLE 4.

[2]SEE APPENDIX NINE.

[3]SEE APPENDIX TEN.

[4]The depots at London, Liverpool and Dublin were created as a result of the 'Act for the better recruiting of the East India Company's forces' (39 Geo. III, c.109, [1799]). Cork was established in 1822, Edinburgh in 1839, Bristol and Newry in 1845. The central depot at Warley, near Brentwood, in Essex, (Tate, 38, errs in placing it in Kent) was established in 1843, replacing the one established on the Isle of Wight in 1803. (Tate, 38, again errs in placing this at Chatham.) For a harrowing account of the East India Company's recruitment of private soldiers, and of the Isle of Wight depot, see Sir Walter Scott, The Surgeon's Daughter (1833).

[5]At its height the Company employed about 4,000 people in Britain, mostly in London, SEE APPENDIX TWO.

[6]SEE APPENDIX EIGHT, TABLE 5.

The total number of initial appointments to the Company's civil, military and medical establishments to be made in any one year was divided into twenty-eight parts; the Chairman, the Deputy Chairman and, from the time of Dundas's supremacy, the President of the Board of Control, each received two shares, while each of the remaining twenty-two Directors received a single share.[1] The amount of patronage available to the Directors in a particular year was determined by the number of vacancies reported by the Indian authorities.[2] Appointments of writers and clerks to the home establishment were, until 1838, the preserve of the

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[1] P.P. 1852-53 (681) LXIX, 60-61. In the early years of the nineteenth century the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was also allocated a share of any extra patronage on an ad hoc basis.

[2] Auber, 201. Patronage was allocated each November. Vacancies were usually proportional to the scale of political and military activity of the Indian government, P.P. 1831-32 (735-V) XIII, Table 77. During the period 1813-1830, 4,501 initial appointments were made to the Indian army; casualties during the same period stood at 3,399. In the five years ending 1830, the average amount of patronage available per year was: 1 China writership, 39·2 India writerships, 0·6 Prince of Wales's Island writerships, 67·2 Addiscombe cadetships, 15·2 Cavalry cadetships, 124·8 Infantry cadetships, 56 Assistant-surgeoncies, 5·8 Chaplaincies, 12 appointments to the Indian Navy, 4 to the Bengal Pilot Service, 24 appointments of Free Merchants (these ceased after 1834) 15 appointments of Free Mariners (ibid), 1·2 Law Officerships, 2·2 nominations to membership of Council, 0·2 Military and Marine Surveyorships, 0·2 Inspectorships of Tea, and 1·2 Marine appointments, P.P. 1831-32 (735-I) IX, 326, Appendix (B) (4). The ordinary Director's average annual share during the same period was: 1·4 India writerships, 2·4 Addiscombe cadetships, 0·47 cavalry cadetships, 4·52 Infantry cadetships and 2 Assistant-surgeoncies.

Chairs and the members of the Finance and Home Committee, but after that date it was decided to restrict the Chairs to two nominations each per year; any remaining patronage was allocated to the other Directors according to seniority.[1]

The monetary value of appointments, had the Directors been allowed to sell them,[2] was a cause for frequent speculation. Robert Grant suggested a figure of £7,000 to £8,000 a year in 1813; Joseph Hume, after a dazzling display of mental arithmetic during the dabate of 6 October 1813 at the India House on the proposed increase of salary for Directors, concluded that the true value was £12,025 a year each to an ordinary Director and £24,050 a year each to the Chairs,[3] sums which a correspondent in The Times, on 7 April 1853, also thought were nearer the mark. In reality, the true worth of patronage was measured in personal, social and political terms, often of greater moment than any theoretical monetary value.

The most immediate use to which patronage was put was political. Before a newly-elected Director could consider the rich array of possibilities presented by the long-sought prize, he had first to pay his debts.[4] Though promises of a future bestowal of patronage were expressly forbidden in the bye-laws of the Company, the

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[1]Resolution of the Court of Directors, 16 May 1838, Patronage Book (Secretary's Office), (IOR: D529).

[2]Legislation against the sale of public offices went back, at least, to the reign of Edward VI, but the Directors were specifically prevented from selling their patronage by the Act 33 Geo. III c.52, s.160.

[3]East India House Debates (IOL) September 1813-March 1814, 55-64.

[4]See above, p.29.

practice undoubtedly existed on a large scale.[1]

'Now, we are almost afraid that in some recent instances votes have been obtained by .... forbidden [means],' wrote a correspondent in the Calcutta Review of 1852. '"Promises" of a future bestowal of patronage have, in some instances, been largely made ... [The] system is repudiated and condemned by the general body of the Directors, ... but all men are not equally scrupulous; and we are afraid that the traffic of which we speak, has been carried on in a manner which cannot be too deeply deplored.'[2] The blunt declaration in The Times' leader of 4 April 1853, that an East India Directorship was obtained by an 'wholesale system of corruption' in which Proprietors endeavoured to 'sell [their] vote[s] for the largest amount of patronage', led to an acrimonious, but revealing, correspondence. Colonel William Henry Sykes fumed with righteous

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[1]The first letter written by Colonel Sweny Toone after his election in 1798 significantly began: 'I do not get any patronage until January,' quoted in Philips, East India Company, 7. Similarly, David Scott wrote, on 23 October 1799, that; 'My patronage was under heavy mortgage last year, owing chiefly to my inclination for complying with the requests of those who had fought for me in contests at that period,' C.H. Philips, The Correspondence of David Scott (Camden Society, 1951) I, letter 221, p.220.

[2]Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 6.

indignation:

> Sir, I am a Director, and owe my seat to the suffrages of numerous respected friends, and to a majority of a constituency which, both for station in life and integrity, is high above the grovelling masses which aremet with in Parliamentary boroughs. You have sought to cast a stain upon my honour and upon that of my Proprietary friends by your calumny - a calumny which must owe its origin to the low standards by which you commonly estimate the motives of human actions. I repel it, Sir, with contempt, and as a man of honour I tell you, in justice to my Proprietary friends, that during a lengthened canvass of seven years I did not meet with twenty persons out of 1,766 voters who even hinted at future considerations for their votes; much less did I meet with any who systematically endeavoured to effect a bargain for them - with all such it was only necessary to turn one's back to hear no more of them, and I entered the Direction with no pledge whatever (and I give my honour to the truth of it) than a pledge to my duty, and I feel assured that the great majority of my colleagues can say the same. The solidity of a building is not judged by single bricks, supposing one or more to be faulty. The only fair and honest mode of determining how the East India patronage has been bestowed is to examine the returns now before the Committees of Parliament, and it will be acknowledged by impartial persons that multitudes of the relatives of the Royal and Company's servants have shared in it, without having any tie whatever (beyond public claims) with East India Directors, or even of Proprietors of East India stock. [1]

His advocacy did not remain unchallenged. An anonymous correspondent replied on 8 April:

> The swaggering tone of morality assumed by Colonel Sykes .... on behalf of the East India Direction has impelled me .... to lay before the public, through your means, certain experiences of mine as one of the Proprietary body who have the privilege of electing these potentates. I am, as you see from my card, which I enclose, entirely unconnected with India, and in no position to attempt, or to desire to attempt, to 'job' my votes. Knowing very little about the comparative merits of rival candidates, I have always bestowed them on the one

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[1] The Times, 6 April 1853.

whom I believed to be the worthiest, and when I could form no opinion, I have occasionally surrendered them to the importunities of private friendship.

Twice in my life I have been desirous of obtaining a cadetship to serve a friend. I have on those two occasions applied to Directors whom I had steadily supported through a series of contested elections, and who are certainly the most distinguished men who now sit at the Board [sic], and from them I invariably received the same undisguised answer - that they felt grateful to me for my support in their hour of need; and that they were most desirous to oblige - and I believe theywere sincere when they said so; but that the arduous contest from which they had lately emerged successfully had utterly absorbed their patronage for years to come.

On one of these occasions the lad for whom I had asked the appointment, and for who I was unable to procure it, obtained it very shortly afterwards through other interests .... My curiosity prompted me to inquire of his mother how she had contrived to arrange the matter. She told me she had applied to a country neighbour - a wealthy squire of the old school - who considered it a part of his state and dignity always to have at least £5,000 in his bankers' hands. 'He wrote to his bankers,' she said, 'and got the promise by return of post, with the assurance that they were happy to have in in their power to oblige so old and valued a friend in so small a matter.'

On relating this anecdote to a brother Proprietor who had often canvassed me unsuccessfully on behalf of the very worst candidates that aspired to the Direction, I was informed by him that if I wanted patronage I should never get any so long as I voted independently and according to my conscience. I was invited to join a small society of forty or fifty votes, who were in the habit of going together, and who could thus, at a close election, obtain whatever patronage they desired, and afterwards divide it amicably among themselves.[1]

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[1] The Times, 8 April 1853.

The practice of this 'dangerous art of combination'[1] has been vividly described:

> A single vote will not fetch its price; but a bundle of votes will. And so a party of friendly Proprietors agree together, to club their votes. It becomes a matter of arrangement amongst them as to who, in the first instance, is to represent the collective body, and obtain the required 'consideration' for himself. This is, probably, decided with reference to the respective ages of the sons, nephews or other relatives, for whom the writerships or cadetships are sought. Mr. Smith's son is eighteen years of age; it is time that he were on his way to India; so Mr. Smith takes the bag of votes in his hands, and makes the best bargain he can. Capt. Jones's eldest boy is but fourteen; he can afford to wait till the next election; and as for Miss Brown, she has a nephew and god-son only twelve years old; she can do nothing for him at present, but by lending her votes to Mr. Smith and Capt. [Jones], and the other Proprietors in turn, with whom she has clubbed, she can accumulate a little stock of votes against the time, when her protègé will be old enough to take a slice of the patronage loaf; and, in due course, she takes the bundle inher hand, and makes her bargain with the embryo Director. Practically she reserves her votes throughout five or six successive elections, and then, just as she is in a position to profit by them, the accumulated treasure looks her pleasantly in the face. Thanks to the principle of combination, she has not wasted her votes. Her two votes could have secured her nothing at any one of the past elections, but now she has a dozen in her hand. Miss Brown aspires to a writership, but a cavalry cadetship is pretty certain at the very least; such is the virtue of association. Every year it is better understood; and thus the independence of the Directors is being sacrificed to the rapacity of the Proprietors.[2]

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[1] Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 6.
[2] ibid, 6-7.

So successful was the principle of combination that the Court of Proprietors became 'the focus for the distribution of military patronage'.[1] Dr. Richard Tate's examination of the poll and patronage books of the Director, W.H.C. Plowden,[2] has shown that, for the first seven or eight years after his election in 1841, over two-thirds of the people who secured his nomination to cadetships were Proprietors - and 'the vast majority' of these voted for him during his election.[3] From 1848-9 onwards, however, the proportion going to Proprietors went into decline, 'presumably because a large part of Plowden's electoral obligations had been paid off by this time'.[4] The scarcity of Directors' private papers[5] makes it difficult to substantiate Dr. Tate's findings with other documentary evidence, but it is clear from an examination of the Cadet Papers, the Writers' Petitions and the Committee of College References in the India Office Records that the military patronage of newly-elected Directors was monopolised, during the first years after their election, by members of the

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[1]Tate, 35.

[2]Home Misc. (IOR: Vol. 820), the Plowden Papers.

[3]Tate, 35.

[4]ibid: 'It seems probable that after 1833 a greater part than before of the Directors' military patronage went to the Proprietors because of the cessation of the Company's trade deprived the Directors of boons other than appointments with which to satisy their obligations. The papers of Richard Chicheley Plowden, who was a Director in the second and third decades of the century accord with this surmise.'

[5]See above, pp.vi-viii.

Court of Proprietors. The Cadet Papers, the Writers' Petitions and the Committee of College References contain the names of those people who recommended the cadet or writer to the nominating Director. An analysis of a 20% sample of the civil and military patronage of a fifth of the 135 Directors who served in the Court during the period 1784-1858, showed that the proportion of those making recommendations who could be identified as Proprietors from the printed lists in the India Office Library and from the India Register was very high[1] in the case of military patronage - especially in the first five years after the Director's election. Without the individual Director's poll book (such as Tate found among the Plowden Papers), however, it is impossible to know how great a proportion of these actually voted for the particular Director. The inference, from the evidence of the Plowden Papers, is that the proportion was very great. The Directors did succeed, however, in maintaining a greater degree of independence in the distribution of the more lucrative civil patronage.[2]

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[1]Over 80%

[2]Tate, 36. SEE also TABLE 4, p. 103.

Having redeemed his electoral obligations the Director could turn his attention to his own personal interests. It was regarded almost as a lau of nature that a patron's first responsibility was towards his family and connections.[1] This attitude was re-inforced, in the case of East India patronage, by the social origins and aspirations of the Directors themselves; and by the peculiarly arduous election procedure which they had to endure.[2] The pay which the Directors received[3] was a totally inadequate compensation for the great effort and expense necessary to secure election to the Court. It was generally recognised that the patronage was the Directors' real reward.[4] 'The services of the Directors are purchased by the patronage placed at their disposal,' declared an India Board official in a very blunt memorandum prepared for the enlightenment of the new President of the Board of Control, J.C. Herries, in 1852.[5] The Directors' patronage was almost regarded as their private property. It was even, to a limited

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[1]See above, p.10.

[2]See above, pp.23-29.

[3]See above, p.53.

[4]See the Debates at the East India House (IOL:T12285) 1 Sept. 1813, 6 October 1813 and 5 April 1814 on the subject of increasing the salary of the Directors. The sentiments of the Court of Proprietors were quite clearly that the patronage was an ample reward for the services performed by the Directors and that no increase in pay was justified. It was also apparent that the Proprietors preferred rich men in the Direction, in the belief that such men were more generous in their distribution of patronage.

[5]Add. Mss. (BM) 57464 (The Herries Papers), 'Memorandum as to the Present Mode of Administering the Government of India, 31 March 1852', f.14.

extent, bequeathable.[1] The Directors expected that they would be able 'to confer great advantages on their families'; and their expectations were readily acknowledged by others.[2] The Calcutta Review voiced the feelings of the age:

> The worst that can be said against [the Directors] is that which is to be said of Ministers of State, Commanders-in-Chief, Governors-General, Archbishops, Bishops, Lord Chancellors, Lords of the Admiralty, and other great patronage-bestowers, that they are mindful of their own friends. Heaven help them, poor men, if after years of wearisome and humiliating canvassing, they were not suffered to relieve the tedium and brighten the gloom of the dreary routine-work to which they have dedicated themselves, in one of the dingiest corners of the dingiest city of dingy Europe, by thinking that what they have at last achieved may profit those friends who are nearest and dearest to them in the world. We confess that we should not think better of them if, in the hour of prosperity, they were to turn their backs on their friends. They do the best they can for their sons and nephews. Who, that has anything to give, does not? 3

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[1] The Home Misc. Series (Vol.398) in the India Office Records affords numerous examples of nominees,who could prove that a deceased Director had intended to present them with a cadetship or writership, being allowed to proceed to India on the dead man's patronage. In some cases the dead Director's family succeeded in obtaining the remainder of the patronage for the season in which the death occurred. This caused bickering and ill-feeling among the other Directors who coveted the dead man's patronage for themselves. Ultimately, a compromise was reached: no claims were admitted on behalf of the deceased's representatives if the death occurred between November and April; but claims were allowed for half of the deceased's patronage if the death occurred between 10 April and 10 July, or for half of his civil patronage if the death occurred between 10 July and 10 November. The whole patronage for an entire season was thus prevented from being lost to the Court, while still doing justice to the dead Director's obligations, Secret Court of Directors, 20 August 1822.

[2] East India House Debates (IOL:T12285) 5 April 1814, p.51.

[3] Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 26.

The success which the Directors had in using their patronage to advance the interests of their families was, however, less spectacular than one might expect. The Directors treated their patronage with a curious lack of imagination. There was no nonsense of considering what their children themselves wanted and how best they could manipulate their patronage to obtain the desired ends. The obvious course of action was also the easiest. Out in the East lay security, status, opportunity and the promise of wealth, and to the East the Directors had the powers of nomination. Their sons accordingly took their passage and made what they could of the consequences.

The Directors' close relations at least received the pick of the patronage. The esteem in which the various initial appointments to the Company's civil and military service were held was in direct proportion to their scarcity.[1] The most valued of all were China writerships.[2] A post in Canton offered the prospect of rich financial reward for little risk and even less ability. Any Director wishing to nominate a candidate had to forego the whole of the rest of his patronage for that year.[3] Not surprisingly, such appointments became the almost exclusive preserve of

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[1]See above, p.85, n.2.

[2]The Directors lost these along with their trading monopoly in 1833.

[3]P.P. 1831-32 (735-I) IX, 326, Appendix (B) (4); Home Misc. (IOR: Vol. 398) f.19, f.39, f.91, f.109, f.117, f.121, f.221, f.277, f.279, f.303.

the sons or nephews of the Directors.[1] Next in importance came India writerships, secure, well-paid and responsible posts, offering the possibility of advancement to the highest reaches of the imperial administration. The most coveted military appointment was a cavalry cadetship. In India, as in England, the cavalry was the service for 'gentlemen', in which the demands of duty took second place to the delights of horsemanship and the social round. Addiscombe cadetships, which afforded entry to the engineers and artillery, where the opportunities for professional distinction were high, were also prized. Least favoured of all, at least among the Directors themselves, were the numerous 'direct' infantry appointments. Bengal, the largest and most important of the three presidencies, was the most popular area in which to choose an appointment, but Directors with influential connections in Madras or Bombay often had good reasons for placing their intimate relations in one of the lesser presidencies.

The myopic appreciation of the possibilities of patronage was discernible in its most acute form among

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[1] Home Misc. (IOR: Vol.398) records that the sons of the following Directors were so appointed: William Wigram (f.7), Hon. Hugh Lindsay (f.19), John Inglis (f.39), William Astell (f.91), John Thornhill (f.109), Jacob Bosanquet and John Goldsborough Ravenshaw (f.117), William Stanley Clarke (f.121), John Morris (f.221), Col. John Baillie (f.261), Henry Alexander (f.277), Robert Campbell (f.279) and Sir William Young (f.303). Colonel Baillie received no return on his investment: his son, John Wilson Baillie, died on board ship on his passage to Canton.

In 1795 there were twelve Directors' relations out of a total establishment of twenty at Canton. In 1796 the Directors ruled that no more than eight Directors' sons at a time were to be there, but this was rescinded in 1808, Court Minutes (IOR) (1808) f.1344.

those Directors who had, themselves, achieved wealth and status through the East India Company's service.[1] Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the Money and Chicheley Plowden families. Both families boasted two members of the Court of Directors, yet two successive generations' access to a vast patronage produced nothing more spectacular than two clergymen of the Church of England, two Members of Parliament, an Indian Army colonel, a Magistrate and Collector, and a Sessions Judge.[2] None

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[1]See the attitudes of the Director, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Edward Thompson, The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe (1937) 15-20.

[2]SEE APPENDIX ELEVEN, TABLE 1, for the Chicheley Plowden family. William Money had twelve children, six of whom were boys. The eldest, William Taylor Money, entered the East India Company's maritime service and, later, became a Director and Member of Parliament. Robert, his third son, entered the Company's China civil service. The others, James, Wigram, Henry and Septimus all entered the Company's Indian civil service. William Taylor Money had eight children, including six boys. The eldest, William, entered the Church, but suffered severe financial embarrassment as a result of his father's bankruptcy and death and lived most of his life in France in genteel poverty. Robert entered the East India Company's civil service; James followed his eldest brother into the Church; George joined the Bengal Cavalry; David joined the Bengal Civil Service and rose to be Civil and Sessions Judge at Moorshedabad; and Charles entered the Colonial Office, largely owing to his mother's influence with W.E. Gladstone, a personal friend. James Money died in 1833, leaving two daughters, both of whom married members of the Company's service. Wigram Money's three sons all entered the Company's civil service and his daughter married into it. Henry's one surviving son, George, also entered the Company's civil service, Harrowby Mss., Vol. 501, f.474; Burke's Landed Gentry (1847) p.875. The Money family, throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, and up to the present day, continued their record of public service in the Indian and British armies, the Indian Civil Service, and boasted one more M.P., Mr. Ernle Money, the Conservative member for Ipswich from 1970-1974, Money / Ryder family tree, Harrowby Mss.

of the Directors was successful in establishing a famous and powerful dynasty through the exercise of his patronage.[1] The history of the Directors' families is one of honourable and obscure public service. The descendants of the Director, Joseph Cotton, are typical. He had three sons. The eldest, Joseph, went to China in the Company's service; the second, John, who later became a Director himself, joined the Madras Civil Service and thereby established a family connection with India which remained unbroken until the end of British rule.[2] Away from the main trunk of the family tree, however, the story was very different. The Cottons were a prolific family. Joseph Junior fathered fifteen children and John ten; and their children in turn all raised large families. There was a limit even to the largesse of East India patronage when challenged by such fecundity. Within a generation many of Joseph Cotton's grandchildren sank without trace in the great ocean of the labouring poor.[3]

Some families derived only bitterness and disappointment from their intimate connexion with the source of East India patronage. The descendants of John Thornhill, 'the old Director', were destined to languish and decay in the shadow of his wealth and the memory of his bounty.

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[1]The exception to this rule is Sir Francis Baring, but his success owed little or nothing to East India patronage, which he used mostly to re-inforce his social position among his neighbours and retainers at Lee, in Kent.

[2]SEE APPENDIX ELEVEN, TABLE 2. Joseph Cotton's third son, William, became a Director of the Bank of England, invented the sovereign weighing machine and dedicated his life to philanthropy in the East End of London, DNB, XII, 306-307.

[3]'The Cotton Genealogy,' (IOR: Photo Eur. Mss. 29)

Thornhill was a 'man of substance even by oriental standards'.[1] He had inherited a fortune from his eccentric father, Cudbert Thornhill, who had been Master Attendant at Calcutta during the last two decades of the eighteenth century, but he considerably added to it himself in a career in the Bengal Civil Service which saw him rise to the office of Postmaster General.[2] He retired to Lyston Hall, near Stanmore in Middlesex, and became the adopted heir of Francina Bensley, the rich widow of his fellow Director and old friend, William Bensley.[3] Thornhill was a kind and generous man, but after his death his descendants were destined never again to know that 'sense of timelessness and security' which they had experienced at Lyston Hall. His fortune caused ill-feeling and envy among his sons and daughters-in-law, overshadowed the lives of his grandchildren 'by arousing great, but unfulfilled, expectations' and, ultimately, benefitted 'only lawyers at home and in India'.[4] While awaiting a favourable settlement of their grandfather's estate, the young Thornhills crouched expectantly in the far-flung corners of the empire. The career of Thornhill's youngest grandson and namesake indicates the predicament of the whole family and the fate of many half-hearted emigrants. Young John Thornhill entered the Indian army, but finding

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[1]Barbara Kerr, The Dispossessed (1974) 18.
[2]ibid.
[3]ibid.
[4]ibid.

the pay and the climate uncongenial, he drifted to South Africa. Here the climate was more to his liking, but his earnings were insufficient to support his family. The boys were accordingly despatched to the United States where they managed 'to jog along somehow' and their father withdrew to Leigh-on-Sea where he painted 'very pretty little pictures for calendars' and nursed his smouldering resentment.[1] East India patronage could be the key to a rewarding and exciting career, but it came without guarantees. For those who were weak or sensitive it could just as easily be the beginning of a misspent, bitter and lonely life and a passport to oblivion.

Any parliamentary political advantage accruing from the exercise of East India patronage appears to have been slight. An analysis[2] of a 20% sample of the civil and military patronage of forty of the fifty-four Directors who sat in the House of Commons during our period[3] revealed a significant apparent use of East India patronage

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[1]Kerr, 18.

[2]The analysis consisted of a comparison of the place of abode (or place of birth) of the recipient of patronage, information which is given in the Cadet Papers, the Writers' Petitions and the Committee of College References, and the place of abode (or other connexion) of the person recommending the cadet or writer to the nominating Director (where such information could be found) with the constituency of the Director. The amount of patronage which could thus be linked with Directors' parliamentary political interests was very small and could not be considered as the basis for the furtherance of political ambitions.

[3]I excluded fourteen Directors who were members of the Court, or of the House of Commons, for only a short time, or who were not M.P.s at the same time that they were Directors.

for parliamentary political purposes in only seven cases;[1] and in only two of these instances is there documentary evidence available to support the statistical assumptions.[2] Though Joseph Hume[3] and George Tierney[4] succeeded in using the meetings of the Court of Proprietors as a political platform, no one succeeded in using the Court of Directors as a stepping-stone to a great parliamentary career. Indeed, the evidence suggests that a seat in the House of Commons was as useful in securing a place in the Court of Directors as the exercise of East India patronage was in securing a place in the House of Commons. It was certainly much easier to enter Parliament before the Reform Act of 1832 than it was to enter the Direction. East India Directors must be counted among the chief victims of the removal of the rotten boroughs, many of which had a tradition of East India

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[1]Colonel John Baillie, Charles Grant, Sir Hugh Inglis, Stephen Lushington, William Henry Chicheley Plowden, David Scott and George Woodford Thellusson.

[2]Charles Grant and David Scott, see below, pp.102-5. William Taylor Money also advanced his political career indirectly through the use of East India patronage, see below, pp.105-6.

[3]Joseph Hume (1777-1855), the radical; a supporter of national economy, social and colonial reform; a prominent and active Proprietor.

[4]George Tierney (1761-1830), Whig politician; antagonist of Pitt and sometime friend of Charles James Fox; President of the Board of Control, 1806-1807.

Company representation.[1] After 1832 retired servants of the Company, who were playing an increasingly important part in the affairs of the Court of Directors, but who had few influential friends in the world of parliamentary politics, found it more difficult to enter the House of Commons.[2]

There is no doubt, however, that David Scott and Charles Grant furthered their political aspirations by a judicious distribution of civil and military offices in

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[1] Old Sarum was represented by Josias du Pré Alexander; Hedon by John Baillie, Sir Lionel Darell and Sir Stephen Lushington; Penryn by Sir Stephen Lushington; Grampound by Sir Francis Baring; Calne by Sir Francis Baring; Ilchester by Samuel Smith and George Johnstone; Lostwithiel by George Johnstone and George Smith; St. Michael's by Sir Stephen Lushington and W.T. Money; Wooton Bassett by W.T. Money; Hythe by R.F. Townsend and John Loch.

[2] SEE TABLE 4, p.103. Those Directors who did serve in Parliament were usually to be found sustaining the government of the day, especially if it was of a Tory complexion. Support for Pitt, who had rescued the Company from the ravages of Charles James Fox in 1784, was perpetuated during the ministries of Perceval, Liverpool, Canning, Wellington and Peel. But the traditional Whig association of the City of London was maintained by Sir Francis Baring, Paul Lemesurier and Jacob Bosanquet, while the radicalism of Hume, Tierney and George Grote in the Court of Proprietors was echoed in the Direction by Robert Cutlar Fergusson. Apart from Hogg and Fergusson, the only other Director to make any real impression in Parliament was the Canningite, George Lyall, who exerted great backbench influence and who, despite being a poor speaker, piloted the Seamen's Widows Bill through the House in 1834, DNB, XXXIV, 304.

4. Directors' membership of the House of Commons 1784-1854

	No. of Directors	M.Ps.
Elected before 1784	24	11
Elected 1784 - 1834	84	35
Elected 1834 - 1854	21	8
Total	129	54

India.[1] From the moment when he entered the Court of Directors, in 1794, Grant's avaricious Scotch relatives looked to him to restore the fortunes of a fallen house by bringing the Grants once more into a position of importance in their native county.[2] Their belief that his election to Parliament for Inverness-shire 'would do real good to all Macs and Grants'[3] proved well-founded. The whole of Grant's parliamentary career was smeared by a trail of nepotism. During the election campaign of 1802, he was accused of bribing Fraser of Relig, an important constituent, to support him by giving a writership to his second son;[4] and he certainly secured the support of Sir John Grant of Rothiemurchus by promising him unlimited Indian appointments.[5] 'The north country owed him much,' wrote his kinswoman, Elizabeth Grant, 'we got canals, roads, bridges, cadetships

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[1]The basic source for material on Scott is C.H. Philips (ed.), The Correspondence of David Scott (2 vols., Camden Society, 1951). Philips was primarily concerned with Scott's important contribution to Indian affairs and he omitted many letters relating to Forfarshire politics. For details of this aspect of Scott's activity, see Home Misc. (IOR) Vols. 728-731, and the Laing Mss. and Miscellaneous Letters and Documents Series in the National Library of Scotland.

[2]Henry Morris, The Life of Charles Grant (1904) 274. The Grants lost their social and political position in Inverness owing to their having espoused the cause of Prince Charles Stuart. Charles Grant was named in honour of the Young Pretender, a strange and ironic baptism for such a militant protestant.

[3]ibid, 276.

[4]ibid, 277. It was typical of Grant's character that he should attempt to explain this away by claiming that the writership was bestowed as a result of an old promise. Grant was undoubtedly a man of high moral character, but on occasions he was capable of astonishing acts of hypocrisy.

[5]Lady Strachey (ed.), Memoirs of a Highland Lady: the Autobiography of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus (1898) 55.

and writerships in almost undue proportion. My father, his firm friend and most useful supporter, seldom applied in vain for anything in the old Director's power to give.'[1] After his retirement from the Commons, in 1818, a long and sarcastic article in the local newspaper, the Journal, wrote the epitaph to his political career:

> If Mr. Grant was to offer his Newfoundland dog Towser for our representative, and to send him down with a few cadetships and a sprinkling of writerships slung to his collar, honest Towser would no doubt get votes for his patronage, fine speeches in praise of the strength and volume of his eloquence, and professions of gratitude for his disinterested patriotism, as we have been given in much more objectionable cases. 2

William Taylor Money was another Director (and another Evangelical) who had no hesitation in jobbing his patronage in order to further his political ambitions. The financial assistance which the great East India agent Sir Charles Forbes[3] provided for Money's election contests at Wootton Bassett and St. Michael's was ultimately paid for with East India patronage.[4] Forbes, himself, received eleven

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[1]Stracey, Memoirs of a Highland Lady, 248.

[2]Morris, Grant, 292.

[3]Sir Charles Forbes (1774-1849), head of the great mercantile house of Forbes & Co. of Bombay; DNB, XIX, 380-1.

[4]Forbes contributed £911 16. 2. towards Money's election expenses at Wootton Bassett in 1816 and a further £1,000 to defray his costs at St. Michael's in 1821, Harrowby Mss., Vol. 501, f.473. Forbes also mortgaged Money's Java estates to the tune of 500,000 Bombay Rupees (about £62,500) in 1829 (see sbove, p.59.) Forbes received 4/7ths. of the £225,000 which the estates realised when they were sold in 1840 after Money's death, Harrowby Mss., ibid, ff.272, 274.

cadetships, two assistant-surgeoncies and two Bombay Volunteers from Money;[1] and a further sixteen cadetships, two assistant-surgeoncies, two Bombay Volunteers and a writerships were given to candidates recommended by Forbes.[2]

Many Directors found their patronage useful in business. 'Nobody accuses the Directors of selling their patronage for money,' wrote Judaeus in The Times of 28 July 1853. 'They very carefully avoid doing that, but they daily and notoriously exchange it for almost every commodity which can be purchased for £1,000 notes.' Banks and insurance companies were keen to get an East India Director on their boards. Bankers, in particular, found patronage to be a valuable inducement to custom.[3] B.W. Currie, a partner in the bank of Glyn, Mills & Co., recalled that the Director, Charles Mills, 'very fairly distributed his ... patronage ..., [but] an application from a good customer was not often refused'.[4] A host of City businessmen had intimate connections with the East India Company;[5] and access to the vast

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[1] Harrowby Mss., Vol. 597, ff.9-10.

[2] ibid: This information was contained in a letter which Money wrote to his brother-in-law (and solicitor) David Inglis. The letter, which was dictated and unsigned, also claimed that Money had been instrumental in procuring Forbes's baronetcy; not surprisingly, it ended with the words 'Perhaps it will be well for you to burn this letter after you .. have read it, but that I leave to your own discretion.'

[3] See above, p.89, and The Times, 8 April 1853.

[4] B.W. Currie, Recollections (1901) I, 94. I owe this reference to Tate, 32.

[5] This was especially true in the period before 1833.

reservoir of East India patronage. Each group had its ramifications spreading throughout the metropolis. The shipbuilders, for instance, were involved with a multitude of 'lawyers, purveyors, timber-merchants, underwriters, rope-makers, twine-spinners' and sail-makers;[1] while outside 'these privileged circles were crowds of semi-dependent manufacturers: gunsmiths, oilmen, ironmongers, gunpowder-makers, boatbuilders, ship-chandlers, brewers, distillers, butchers and block-makers'.[2] Such occupations figure prominently among the names of those men recommending candidates for civil and military service to the Directors of the East India Company. It would not be stretching historical objectivity too far to suggest that such patronage was given and received only after a process of business politics had worked itself out along the chain of connection and interest extending from the Chairman of the Court of Directors to the humblest Bermondsey slop-seller. But without greater knowledge of the shadowy and obscure commercial element among the Direction[3] it is impossible to substantiate the precise role of East India patronage in business dealings.

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[1] C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas (Cambridge, 1937) 189.

[2] ibid, 190.

[3] See above, pp. vi-viii.

The most interesting aspect of East India patronage for our purposes, however, is not that part which the Directors used to further their own private interests, but the 'surplus' which remained after those interests had been fulfilled. Unlike other great patronage-bestowers, who often had to struggle to find sufficient patronage to meet their short-term political requirements,[1] the Directors of the East India Company had access to a large, regular supply of lucrative appointments. Some Directors sat in the Court for decades;[2] even though many of them had prolific families they could not bestow all their patronage on their near relations and intimate connections. Much, of necessity, remained for distribution to the general public.[3] The question thus arises as to whether that surplus was well and wisely bestowed.

Some of it was undoubtedly corruptly bestowed. Abuses of East India patronage occurred throughout the Company's history with a dismal frequency which defeated all the Court of Directors' attempts to protect its reputation. The illegal sale of East India patronage provides us with a unique opportunity to appreciate the complexity of the patronage nexus and the severe demands made upon the honesty of the harrassed patrons and desperate clients.

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[1]See above, pp.7-8.

[2]See above, pp.51-52.

[3]The distribution of East India patronage is treated in detail below, pp.158-171.

THE ABUSES OF EAST INDIA PATRONAGE

The purity with which their patronage was bestowed was a major cause for self-congratulation on the part of the Directors of the East India Company. Scholars, for the most part, have been content to take them at their own valuation. C.H. Philips argued that the Directors were men 'of wealth and independence' who distributed their patronage 'honestly and well', while admitting that when 'so great an amount of patronage and so large a number of persons were involved it was inevitable that irregularities should occur'.[1] These irregularities were, however, often more widespread than the Directors cared to admit and persisted stubbornly throughout the Company's existence.

The sale of Indian appointments was the subject of secret enquiries by the Court of Directors in 1790,[2] 1799[3] and 1806.[4] There was an independent investigation by David Scott and Charles Grant in 1800[5] while the revelation, in 1803, that Richard Swinton, a clerk in the Pay Office at the East India House, had been involved in the sale of a cadetship for £250[6] brought a

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[1]Philips, East India Company, 15.

[2]Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/1) 22 Sept. 1790.

[3]Home Misc. (IOR: Vol. 67) f.111.

[4]Court Minutes (IOR: B/143) 30 July 1806, ff.543-44; 6 August 1806, f.574. Philips neglected to mention this enquiry or those of 1803 and 1821.

[5]See below, p.121-2.

[6]Court Minutes (IOR: B/136) 23 February 1803. ff.1276-78.

fresh awareness of the abuse of patronage uncomfortably close to home. The Directors had no excuse for surprise when the Parliamentary Select Committee, which was appointed in 1809[1] to inquire into the existence of any abuse in the disposal of the patronage of the East India Company, revealed 'a regular, systematic and an almost avowed traffic in East India appointments'.[2] The reforms which followed the publication of the Committee's report undoubtedly restricted the opportunities for dishonesty and carelessness.[3] The traffic was never again so well-organised or so large-scale: but the practice was not destroyed; it had taken too firm a hold and the social and economic pressures of the age provided a permanent incentive to corruption. Further cases came to the attention of the Court of Directors in 1821,[4] 1827[5] and 1829.[6] Though Peter Auber, the historian and Secretary of the East India Company, denied that any market price was attached to a cadetship or writership, he had to admit that the practice of buying and selling did exist, though it 'had declined'.[7] The practice was still sufficiently

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[1] P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483.
[2] Annual Register (1809) 149.
[3] See above, pp.76-79.
[4] Guildhall Library, Mss. 9895.
[5] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2) 1827; Court Minutes (IOR: B/180) 23, 30 May 1827.
[6] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2) 1829.
[7] P.P. 1831-32; 9, 1; 735-I; Evidence of Peter Auber.

active, however, to necessitate more secret investigations in 1843[1] (stemming from a report in the Morning Herald imputing a systematic sale of patronage by members of the Direction), 1844[2] and 1846.[3] Philip Melvill, the Company's Military Secretary, stressed in 1852 the many precautions taken 'from time to time' by the Court of Directors to ensure the pure exercise of patronage, while it was his belief that during the previous twenty years the number of appointments 'tainted with suspicion of corrupt motives' was 'under twenty'.[4] But his confident assertions failed to still the rumblings of disquiet which found frequent echo in the correspondence columns of The Times throughout the 1850s.[5] It is probable that the formal inquiries revealed only a minority of the total number of illegal transactions. The explorer and Arabic scholar, Sir Richard Burton, was but one cadet who entered the East India Company's service by purchasing his appointment without his secret reaching the outside world.[6]

But this is not to deny that the East India Company was faced with great problems in its attempt to

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[1] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2), 1843.
[2] ibid, 1844.
[3] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/3) 1846.
[4] P.P. 1852 (533) X, Evidence of Philip Melvill.
[5] The Times, especially 4, 6, 7, 8 April 1853, and 28 July 1853.
[6] Byron Farwell, Burton: A Biography of Sir Richard Francis Burton (1963) 27: He paid £500 for his appointment.

protect its reputation. The public morality of the early nineteenth century put few constraints on the abuse of patronage. The social and economic pressures which confronted anxious parents and led them to resort to any means to obtain positions for their children were profound. They can be glimpsed in the evidence of Daniel Beale before the House of Commons in 1809. Beale had told how 'a very particular friend' of his had 'educated one of six sons very expensively and liberally, flattering himself that at some time or other he might be enabled to procure an appointment in the Honourable Company's service for the young man', but 'in this he was disappointed'. Beale, seeing his friend 'evidently under a great depression of spirits arising from the circumstances of his having permitted his son to devote three years of his life to a study which would be of very little avail to him in the common pursuits of life', drew his friend's attention to the 'advertisements' he had 'frequently observed ..... in the public papers', offering Indian appointments, as a possible means of escape from his predicament.[1] Many honest men with large families and small incomes, often reluctantly, but sometimes realistically, took the same road. The recourse to illegal transactions testifies to the tremendous hunger for patronage and the inability of the system to satisfy that demand equitably. The attempts of the East India Company to rise above the standard of the age foundered on its unwillingness to prosecute the guilty or to deprive persons,

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[1] P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483, p.49.

often themselves innocent, of appointments which had been corruptly obtained. The administration of Indian patronage was a major justification of the Company's existence. The continued sale of appointments reflects on the integrity and efficiencey of the Court of Directors in one of the most important spheres of its activity.

The abuse of Indian patronage was almost as old as the system itself. It was the subject of a pious resolution of the Court of Directors as early as 15 March 1771.[1] The report of the Parliamentary inquiry of 1809 showed that a traffic in appointments was well established by 1787. In 1790 the Court launched the first of the series of secret investigations into the abuses of patronage, the remaining evidence of which, characterised by a frustating absence of detail,[2] is more fertile in questions than answers.

'A report prevailing out of doors'[3] that the nomination to a voyage[4] of Captain Alexander Gray of the Phoenix, Indiaman, had been obtained 'for a pecuniary

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[1] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/1) 22 September 1790.

[2] This absence of detail was often deliberate. During the 1844 inquiry into an abuse of the patronage of Maj. Gen. Robertson the Court thought it 'both unnecessary and inexpedient to enter into the details of the evidence laid before them', Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2) 1844.

[3] The East India Company rarely took action on the abuse of patronage until it was forced to do so by the strength of rumour in the outside world.

[4] The Court had the right to nominate the routes which their chartered ships were to take. As certain routes were potentially more profitable (see p.48) a choice nomination was much sought after.

consideration' from John Woodhouse, a Director of the East India Company, led to the inquiry of 1790. A secret committee was established[1] and on 22 September resolved unanimously that 'the disposal of the Patronage of the Company for pecuniary considerations, not only reflects the greatest dishonour on the individual member of the Court of Directors but in its consequences must essentially affect the credit and interest of the Company'.[2] This unanimity proved fragile and the proceedings were very slow. Captain Gray was examined and asked to state whether 'he had by himself or agent, or any other person for him, with his knowledge, given or agreed to give, directly or indirectly, any sum of money to John Woodhouse or to any person for his use'[3] in return for a nomination to a voyage. Gray merely intimated that 'as a man of honour' he could not answer the question and hoped 'the Court would not insist upon it'.[4] Woodhouse explained his position in a letter of 6 October which has not survived. On the same day, John Townson, a fellow Director, submitted a dissent from the

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[1]A secret committee was an ad hoc committee of the Court of Directors (often of the whole Court) which met in secret (i.e. its proceedings were not made known to the public nor recorded in the normal minute books) and should be distinguished from the Secret Committee (see above, p.30).

[2]Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/1) 22 September 1790.

[3]ibid.

[4]ibid.

Court's proceedings of 22 September, protesting that 'a mere out of door report so highly injurious to the character of a member of the Court' should not have been proceeded with until 'some person had first come forward to specify and avow the charge'.[1] The close of the year was punctuated by a flurry of correspondence, none of which now exists, between the Committee, Woodhouse, Gray and Captain Philip Bromfield, a letter from whom, dated 12 January 1791, giving 'a full account of what he knew relative to the said transaction' was laid before a meeting of the Committee on Friday, 28 January, at which the East India Company's counsel and solicitor were present. It is reasonable to infer that the contents of the letter were morally damning without being legally conclusive. 'After a debate of considerable length'[2] the meeting was adjourned to the following Wednesday when Woodhouse, doubtless in response to strong pressure, notified the Court of his intention of disqualifying himself as a Director.[3] The preference for internal action, the reluctance to use the machinery of the law, the dissent and prevarication exhibited in this instance reveal the fundamental ambivalence about the abuse of patronage which underlay, and sometimes undermined, all the early inquiries and which is even better illustrated by the proceedings of 1798-1800.

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[1] Minutes of the Secret Court, 6 October 1790.
[2] ibid, 28 January 1791.
[3] ibid, 2 February 1791.

By 1798 suspicions of abuses in the nomination of writers were so strong and prevalent that the Court of Directors thought it necessary to establish another inquiry.[1] The patronage committee reported on 28 February 1799[2] and it was unanimously resolved that 'on occasion of any recommendation for a writership ... a declaration in writing upon the petition to the following purpose be made by the Director ...'

> I recommend this petition and do most solemnly declare upon my honour that I have given this nomination to A.B. and that I neither have received myself nor am to receive nor has any other person to the best of my knowledge or belief received nor is to receive any pecuniary consideration nor anything convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account. 3

It was further unanimously resolved that every appointment made in consequence of corrupt practices in regard to the disposal of patronage should be null and void 'unless the parties to whom the appointment is given shall upon examination before the committee .... enable [the committee] to report to the Court that [they have] made a fair and candid disclosure of all circumstances respecting the same'.[4] This proviso was an attempt to elicit detailed evidence about corrupt transactions in return for not taking action in the particular instance. It proved forlorn and later in the year the Court was again obliged to direct its attention to the abuse of patronage. On 14 August 1799

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/127) 25 April 1796.
[2] Court Minutes (IOR: B/128) 28 February 1799.
[3] ibid.
[4] ibid.

the Court re-appointed 'a committee to investigate into the truth of the alleged practice of the sale of the patronage of the members of the Court and to consider such means as may appear likely to prevent the same in future'.[1] The committee consisted of the Chairman of the East India Company, Sir Stephen Lushington, the Deputy Chairman, Hugh Inglis, Sir Francis Baring, Sir William Bensley, William Fullerton Elphinstone, Charles Grant, and Thomas Parry, all senior or influential Directors. Progress was slow. On 31 January 1800 the committee reported that the 'object entrusted to them' had been 'for a considerable time suspended by various other affairs of the Company'.[2] They had also 'been impeded by difficulties arising from the nature of the enquiries' and were reluctantly forced to admit that their task had proved 'more painful than they were first aware it would be'.[3]

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[1] Home Misc. (IOR: Vol. 67) 14 August 1799.

[2] ibid, 31 January 1800, f.117. The battle over the 'shipping question' was at its height at this time, a battle in which Grant was one of the leading protagonists, see Philips, East India Company, Chapters 4, 5.

[3] ibid.

The committee's attempts to detect and punish those agents 'who officiously pretend to procure appointments in the Company's service' had been fruitful in rumour but short on proof. In order to 'do justice to the East India Company and to the public' the committee judged it essential that all Directors, including 'the gentlemen out by rotation', should make statements relating the 'circumstances and motives by which they were guided in the disposal of their own patronage'.[1] A form of declaration[2] which was to be sent to the recipients of patronage was also submitted to the consideration of the Court, together with a covering letter:

> The Court of Directors of the East India Company has for some time understood with great indignation and concern that there are persons who profess to procure by negociation or purchase appointments in their service and advertisements openly tendering or requiring offices of this nature are continually brought before the public eye.
>
> From whatever source these proceedings originate they necessarily call for notice and investigation.
>
> The Court therefore in justice to itself and to the great establishment for which it acts, as well as in the hope of checking imposition on the public, has instituted a committee to enquire both of the members of the Direction and of those

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[1] ibid.

[2] ibid: 'I A.B. do solemnly declare that I, who on or about the ... , was appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company or any other person whomsoever with my privity or to my knowledge or belief did not directly or indirectly at any time before or after such Appointment, give, pay, or have agreed to, am under promise, bond or obligation to give, pay or allow to any person or persons whomsoever any pecuniary consideration whatever or any thing in any manner convertible into a pecuniary benefit or advantage, for or in respect of such Appointment and I do further declare that to my knowledge or belief no pecuniary consideration hath been given directly or indirectly to any person or persons whatever in consideration and as a compensation for the aforesaid Appointment.'

> persons at whose insistence they have confer'd appointments the manner in which they have been bestowed.
>
> A requisition of this kind, general in its aim and calculated for the most laudable purposes will, it may be hoped, be readily approved and complied with. Nor is it less reasonable to suppose that those who have been favor'd with any appointments of the nature in question will be eager to do justice to the character of their friends especially as any backwardness in this respect will serve to accredit the suspicion of sinister practices. It is necessary to state that the Court have unanimously resolved that every appointment made in consequence of corrupt practices shall be null and void unless the parties to whom the appointment is given shall upon examination before the Committee appointed to investigate these transactions enable them to report to the Court that such parties have made a fair and candid disclosure of all circumstances attending the same.
>
> In the case of a voluntary discovery, on the other hand, the parties who make it may be assured that the appointments received by them and so discovered shall not be annulled. 1

This report initiated a prolonged, bitter and ultimately successful struggle by those members of the Court opposed to the patronage committee's activities and recommendations. On 5 February 1800 it was resolved that the report and papers be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole Court, which then adjourned consideration of the subject to the 11th., then the 19th., then the 25th. February when it was resolved by the ballot[2] that the Court 'approve of the declaration proposed by the committee of patronage and that several persons to whom the same is to be sent be requested to confirm such declaration upon oath'.[3] If this resolution had been acted upon it might have

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[1] ibid.

[2] The sensitive nature of the proceedings is indicated by the decision to take a ballot vote.

[3] Home Misc. (IOR) 25 February 1800.

had a considerable effect in checking the abuse of patronage and spared the Company the embarrassing disclosures of 1809, but the whole of the patronage committee's work was sabotaged by the Court's decision to prevent any further proceedings on the question until May 1.[1] This meant that there could be no action until the composition of the Court of Directors was changed by the annual elections in April. The admission of the 'members out by rotation', Sir Lionel Darell, Jacob Bosanquet, Robert Thornton, Joseph Cotton, Edward Parry and John Roberts,[2] in place of Sir John Smith Burgess, John Hunter, William Bensley, John Travers, W.F. Elphinstone and Stephen Williams,[3] swung the balance in favour of those who opposed the committee's recommendations. On 18 June a motion for the re-appointment of the patronage committee was defeated and all official activity ceased. On 25 June Hugh Inglis and David Scott entered a dissent from this decision. Sir Stephen Lushington, Thomas Parry, George Smith, Simon Fraser, Robert Thornton, Edward Parry, Charles Grant and Sweny Toone later added their names.[4] Unless the secret ballot had been used as a cover for dishonest voting this seems to indicate that the other fourteen members of the Direction, John Manship,

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[1] ibid.

[2] Thornton and Parry were both strong supporters of the patronage committee's proposals.

[3] Bensley and Elphinstone were both members of the patronage committee.

[4] Home Misc. (IOR) 25 June 1800.

William Devaynes, George Tatem, Sir Francis Baring, Paul Le Mesurier, Charles Mills, Abraham Robarts, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe,[1] George Woodford Thellusson, Sir Lionel Darell, Jacob Bosanquet, Joseph Cotton, John Roberts and William Astell were the ones opposed to the inquiry. Scott and Grant, however, were not prepared to accept their defeat and immediately embarked upon an independent, unofficial investigation.

They were presented with their opportunity when a young man called Kinnaird informed the Court of Directors 'that a sum of money had been obtained from him under the pretence of procuring for him the appointment of a cadet in the Company's service'.[2] They decided to follow up the lead and to use Kinnaird as an agent provocateur.[3] Kinnaird had replied to an advertisement offering appointments in the East India Company's service, placed by Annesley McKercher Shee, a man deeply implicated in the parliamentary enquiry of 1809. Kinnaird had foolishly paid Shee in advance for a cadetship which had failed to materialise. Fearing for both money and appointment he blurted out his story to the Court of Directors. Armed with this evidence and with the real object of obtaining further information, Scott and Grant

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[1]Judging by Metcalfe's actions in 1809 (see below, p.141) he may have voted with the other side, making the split 13 to 11, as narrow as possible, and an indication of the passions aroused.

[2]Court Minutes (IOR: B/130) 12 February 1800, f.974.

[3]For the following account, see William Woodfall (ed.), The Debates Held at the East India House on Wednesday 17 December 1800 and on Tuesday 20 January 1801 (IOL), and C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas (Cambridge, 1937) 369.

forced the Company to prosecute. When Shee became aware of the impending prosecution he made a desperate attempt to contact Kinnaird and return his money. Had he succeeded in this, his only offence would have been an attempt to sell a cadetship for which the Company might have claimed damages. Were there no repayment he could be prosecuted for obtaining money under false pretences. His opponents were wily and implacable. Davison, a clerk in the Secretary's Office at the East India House, kept Kinnaird liberally supplied with money and made sure he stayed out of harm's way, on a ship plying between Leith and London, until the trial began. Shee was trapped. He was convicted at Clerkenwell in September 1800 and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in Newgate. The success of the conspirators, Scott and Grant, however, was chimerical. It had been their intention to put Shee in a position where he would be forced to reveal the truth about his activities in return for a lighter sentence. The ploy failed. Although Shee had intimated to Davison that he had 'sold fourteen cadets in the preceeding year, and two or three writers' he made no disclosures, implicated no one, gave no hint as to any Director involved. Even the promise of a pardon failed to loosen his tongue. Kinnaird got his reward. He was appointed a cadet to St. Helena on the grounds that 'no respectable person could be persuaded to go there'.[1]

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[1]Parkinson, 369.

The energetic investigation of this case and of subsequent cases in the next few years owed much to Charles Grant who saw that in a rigorous execution of its responsibilities lay the Company's best defence. Grant had built for himself, from the respect in which he was widely held, a formidable position of power and influence.[1] No other single person was ever again to wield such a degree of political and moral authority in the East India Company. His special concern (and that of his fellow Directors) continued to be the placing of advertisements in the press by men like Shee. The attendant embarrassing publicity touched the East India Company at one of its most vulnerable points. The practice of placing advertisements was well established by 1800. A thousand guineas was offered for a writership to Bengal in the Public Advertiser of 14 and 15 November 1783.[2] The instances of 'persons purchasing the appointments of cadets through the medium of advertisements in the daily papers' became so frequent that, in 1806, the Court of Directors decided to act. On 30 July the Court decided that in order to defeat the agents concerned in 'this improper traffic' it should be adopted as a standing order and inserted in the daily papers of London, Edinburgh and Dublin as an advertisement signed by the Company's Secretary under the authority of the Court:

> That any person who shall in future be nominated to a situation either civil or military in the service of this Company and who shall have obtained

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[1] He was Chairman in 1805 and 1815, and Deputy Chairman in 1804, 1807 and 1808.

[2] J.M. Holzman, The Nabobs in England: a Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785 (New York, 1926) 22. Cadetships were cheaper, one being offered for 50 guineas in 1784.

> such nomination either directly or indirectly by purchase or agreement to purchase through the medium of an agent or other person shall be rejected and the person so nominated shall be rendered incapable of holding any situation whatever in the Company's service, and in the event of any person having obtained an appointment in the manner before stated and proceeded to India prior to its being discovered such person shall be rendered incapable of holding any situation whatever in the Company's service. 1

The recommended action proved ineffective and the placing of advertisements remained central to the system of organised corruption. Just how the system operated can be illustrated by the case of Edward Blagdon who entered the Company's service in 1805.[2]

Edward Blagdon was born on 12 October 1788. He was the second son of Peter Blagdon who farmed about four hundred acres near Puddington in South Devon. Peter Blagdon died when his eldest son, John, was only seventeen, one of those chance events which could jeopardise a family's entire future and which prompted so many English people to seek for themselves and their children economic security in the East. John Blagdon succeeded to the farm but his brothers became the responsibility of their guardians, J.C. Melhuish and Thomas Comyns. Peter was soon provided with suitable employment as a land agent, but Edward posed a more difficult problem. He emerges from his surviving correspondence as a quarrelsome and pugnacious youth with a perfunctory education, reckless and ungrateful, insatiably

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/143) 30 July 1806, ff.543-44.

[2] The following account is based on the original documents reprinted in F.M. Gamlen (ed.), A Cadetship in the Honourable East India Company's Service, 1805, Being a Short Memoir of Edward Blagdon (1931).

demanding money and fiercely determined not to 'be at Puddington again for the whole world'. His character may have persuaded his guardians to seek for him a cadetship in the East India Company's service. It is not clear whether the normal channels of patronage were exhausted before they had recourse to advertising in the press but Comyns, as an attorney, must have been aware that their actions were illegal.

Three advertisements were placed in the London daily papers, the Morning Herald, The Times and the Chronicle, at a cost of £2 7. 6.[1] The request for a cadetship to India elicited nine replies, prudently addressed to 'Y.K., Post Office, Exeter', including one from John Annesley Shee, the son of Grant's adversary. The replies exhibited an intimate knowledge of the workings of the East India Comapny's patronage system, an easy familiarity with age regulations and baptismal certificates, the procedure for passing committee and fitting out for India. The following letter from Mathew Spilman Salt, 'an author .... who frequent[ed] the Chapter Coffee-house and [was] a good deal among the booksellers and authors'[2] and who found a cheerless immortality in the cold pages of the Parliamentary Papers, was typical:

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[1]Gamlen, 1.
[2]P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483, p.141.

Direct to No. 32 Bury Street,
St. James',
London,
Friday, 24 May 1805.

To Y.K., Post Office,
Exeter.

Sir,

Observing your advertisement in a morning paper of this day respecting a cadetship in the Hble. East India Company's service, I have to say that I can offer you one from one of the first introductions which this country can afford, and which will give the holder a Lieutenancy immediately on his arrival in the country, this being a most favourable moment for sending any Young man to the East Indies. I am the holder of the appointment at the present moment, which I shall not be able to profit by being I believe more than twenty-two years of age which is the limited time for holding that situation. I imagine that this appointment will throw the holder into four or five hundred pounds per annum full pay. Three hundred pounds is the sum for which I will transfer it, the answer must be returned to the present within twenty-four hours after its receipt, the acceptor would also do well to come up to town by the earliest conveyance himself for acceptance before the board of the India House: he must bring with him a certificate of his birth signed by the parish minister and one or more of the Churchwardens. The acceptor will be obliged to appear personally to be introduced to persons of the highest rank who are instrumental in procuring the appointments. [1]

All the replies were equally confident of obtaining an appointment, though one was certainly from a man who had nothing to sell. Prices varied from £400 to 150gns. and included one for 200gns. 'which would be applied to the relief of Familys [sic] in distress'.[2] Most wanted money in

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[1] Gamlen, 9-10.
[2] Ibid.

advance to be lodged with a bank, conditional on the appointment taking place. All enjoined the need for secrecy. Some offered added extras such as superior rank, a choice of Presidency or 'a strong letter of Introduction and Recommendation of a person of influence to the Govr. Genl. which would be full as valuable to the Young Gentn. as the cadet itself as he will most probably get an Ensign's Epaulets immediately, or some advantages such as the Pay Master etc. of his company'.[1] One emphasised that the person seeking the appointment must be fit 'in every respect for the situation'[2] and there is no evidence to suggest that those people who entered the Company's service illegally were in any way inferior to those who found their way to India through the normal means. The trade was obviously well established, well organised and well connected with the East India Company. Quite a few people were in a position to obtain and sell Indian patronage. Clearly, more than one member of the Direction was badly at fault.

Edward Blagdon's guardians replied to all their correspondents and Thomas Comyns Jnr. was sent to London to complete the negotiation. His brief was to get Edward to India as quickly and as cheaply as possible. His first meeting with 'Mr. Brooke ..... at No. 46, Rathbone Place, Soho Square (the side door)', arranged through the New Chapter Coffee House, proved abortive. The coffee-shops and taverns of the Strand, Holborn and Cheapside, where the

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[1] ibid, 6.
[2] ibid, 8.

circles of power, fashion and fame overlapped, played an important role in the patronage traffic and provided excellent opportunities for men unburdened with principles and with an eye for the main chance. Thomas Wright of the City Coffee House in Cheapside was a particularly rich source of knowledge about appointments until the investigation by the Court of Directors in 1827 ended his career as a fixer.[1] £100 was then offered for Shee's appointment, but he demanded more and it was eventually sold to someone else for £250. 'O.K. Somerville' who had advertised the cadetship at 150gns. '[turned] out a swindler'[2] and Comyns had to resort to the more expensive alternative presented by John Munt, 'a hatter of the first respectability' in Leadenhall Street. Even though the name of Mr. Lathy, 'Haberdasher to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales' and apparently well known to the Comyns family, was given as a reference the negotiation proved prolonged and tense. Thomas Comyns wrote to his father on 18 June from an address at 107, Newgate Street:

> My expectations in regard to procuring Edward's commission you will perceive from whence this is dated have not been realised.
>
> The Royal Family could not amuse themselves in any other way last Wednesday but by visiting the India House and thereby disappoint Hundreds like myself. On Thursday we expected to have procured the Commission when it unfortunately appeared the Director thro' inattention had given in a Nomination for an establishment to which he was not entitled - on Friday no Committee sat - and adjourned to this day.

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[1] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2) 1827.
[2] Gamlen, 15.

> We are just returned from the India House where Edw'd has passed the Committee and I have agreed for his passage at £60 in a country ship [1] which is expected to sail in a fortnight we have just sent in a Petition to the Ship Committee to request their approbation of his going out in this ship as no passage can be obtained in the Regular Ship unless he dines at the Captain's Table which would cost £110. We have reason to believe everything will be settled tomorrow so as I may safely part with the Cash and I shall take the Evening Coach to Bristol. 2

On the same day, the younger Comyns wrote again to his father. The sense of relief which the letter betrays is understandable, but it failed to still the note of self-justification:

> Thank God I have just agreed for Edward's appointment, you no doubt will be astonished when I tell you that £200 is the compliment, this you'l [sic] say is at least £50 thrown away but when you are informed that from the situation of the Director he will rank the second cadet of the season, the expense of keeping Edward till another season at a Military School with the los[s] of a year's rank, I say all these things considered you will no doubt agree with the learned here that its better to give £200 for this season than one for the next. 3

It is impossible, at this distance, to discover from whom the appointment came. Munt was evidently an intermediary between 'R.K.' and a 'member of the House of Commons'.[4] Who the M.P. was and whether he was a member of the Court of Directors is not known. According to the Registers of Cadets

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[1] A 'country ship' was a vessel which traded to India, but was not chartered by the East India Company. Such ships were often India-built, smaller and cheaper than those built by 'the shipping interest' on the Thames.

[2] Gamlen, 14.

[3] ibid, 15.

[4] ibid, 13.

in the India Office Records,[1] Edward Blagdon was appointed by the long-serving Director, John Manship,[2] who was not in Parliament. It was usual to record in the Cadet Register the name of the person recommending the cadet to the nominating Director, but no name is given in this case and without it the matter must remain forever a mystery.

Edward Blagdon took his passage for India on 17 April 1806; but there was no return on his guardians' investment. He died at Baraset on 6 August 1806 'whilst under instruction at the Cadet College',[3] yet another of those who, in a famous phrase of Dr. Spear, 'drew a blank in the great Indian lottery'.[4] The cause of death is unknown, but given his character and the melancholy history of the institution at which he died[5] violence cannot be excluded. He left only a few pathetic letters and his name, written with a diamond on a pane of glass at Smynacott Farm,[6] to the remembrance of posterity. He was eighteen years old.

The murky world of secret messages, discreet rendezvous and hard bargains in which Thomas Comyns had found himself was peculiar to the age of patronage. From the moment Indian appointments began to be valued as an

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[1] Registers of Cadets (IOR: L/MIL/9/258).

[2] This agrees with Blagdon's being ranked second cadet of his year. Cadets, at that time, were ranked according to the seniority of the nominating Director.

[3] V.C.P. Hodson, List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834 (1927) I, 158.

[4] T.G.P. Spear, The Nabobs (Oxford, 1963) 148.

[5] See below, pp. 233-35.

[6] Gamlen, 43.

introduction to a potentially lucrative career they attracted the attention of the criminal and commercial demi-monde of the city of London. It was the harsh world of money-lenders like Dickens's Mr. Smallweed and Trollope's Mr. M'Ruen, inhabited by an amorphous collection of actors and artists, crooked solicitors, fast clerks, prostitutes, déclassé aristocrats and half-pay officers with useful connections and a powerful grudge against society: a world into which the Parliamentary report on East India patronage of 1809 gives a unique insight.

The abuse of the East India Company's patronage was intimately connected with the sale and exchange of commissions in the British army.[1] It was from the inquiry into the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, and his relationship with the prostitute, Mary Ann Clarke, that the investigation into the affairs of the Company originated. During the examination of Jeremiah Donovan it was disclosed that the patronage of the East India Company was being corruptly bestowed. George Smith, a member of the Court of Directors and of the House of Commons, on hearing this evidence, moved, with the unanimous support of his colleagues in the Direction, for the immediate appointment of a Select Committee.[2]

Donovan was, with the Shees, father and son, one of the central characters in the organised abuse of East India patronage. His own story illustrates the cruel

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[1]The best account of the system of the sale and exchange of British army commissions is to be found in Norton Moses, 'Edward Cardwell's abolition of the purchase system in the British army, 1858-1874,' Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, London (1959).

[2]Court Minutes (IOR: B/148) 3 March 1809, f.1226.

pressures which drove men such as himself to eke out an existence in a corrupt and dangerous world:

> I entered the army in the year 1778 in the Queen's Rangers ... I was recommended into the regiment called the North Carolina Volunteers ... The Honourable Major Cochrane .... induced me to resign my company .... and to accept a Lieutenancy in the British Legion .... I served in that regiment during the remainder of the war .... I brought home a detachment of that regiment and was placed upon half-pay: in consequence of my wound being very bad it was impossible for me to accept a commission upon full pay, many of which had been offered to me by Colonels of different regiments ..... I have suffered more than is conceivable for any person who looks well in health as I do ..... I was confined for sixteen weeks under the care of Mr. Everard Home, Mr. McGregor of the Military Asylum, and Mr. Rivers of Spring Gardens. Mr. Astley Cooper also attended me, and I am now obliged to employ a surgeon ..... Mr. Carpue ..... In consequence of the recommendation of the Hon. the late Marquess Cornwallis and Lord Moira I was placed in a Veteran Battalion as a compensation in some degree for my expenses as well as my sufferings ..... and through the same interest I obtained leave of absence till further orders; there are many officers under similar circumstances in the army, it being the only means by which His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief can remunerate their services ..... I served fifteen months in a Fencible Regiment: at home as Lieutenant and surgeon, and I served three years as a surgeon in an armed vessel appointed by the Treasury, and I trust it will not be thought too much that I draw the pay of a Lieutenant. [1]

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[1] P.P. 1809 (20) p.11, Evidence of Jeremiah Donovan.

Donovan's decline from army officer to corrupt purveyor of patronage can be found elsewhere in the Parliamentary Papers. The same potent sense of injustice compounded of injured pride and whining self-pity can be seen in the evidence of Joseph Tyndale, an half-pay officer of the 17th. Foot, driven 'to doing something in the agency way',[1] Joshua Houghton Garrett and Captain Thomas Coghlan.[2]

The House of Commons' inquiry was marked by a certain reluctance to probe too deeply. Witnesses like Robert Sharman, a connection of the Shee family, made intriguing statements which were not followed up, possibly to the relief of certain members of the Direction:

> Can you recollect any conversation that you had at any time with the elder Shee, relating to East India transactions .....? - He has said so much to me about East India appointments that I cannot state it all; he has said that every Direction was worth six thousand a year and that he could prove it any day; but I always thought he was very extravagant in his way of talking about it, but so he said repeatedly: I used to hear him say, though the East India Directors do not get the money, their attornies do 3

The Committee's discoveries, nevertheless, were substantial. During the period 1806-1808 three writerships, all in the gift of George Woodford Thellusson, were sold for large sums of money. Thellusson had given the appointments to his first

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[1] P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483, p.48: 'there was almost something in the papers every day respecting [cadetships]'.
[2] ibid, p.81. Garrett served with Donovan in the American War.
[3] ibid, p.206.

cousin, Emperor John Alexander Woodford, with whom, as a relation 'of nearly the same age', he had a 'long and intimate connexion'.[1] Woodford sold the first for £3,5000 through Gabriel Tahourdhin, a solicitor, who received £100. Tahourdhin was a connection of Jeremiah Donovan[2] and was deeply implicated in the Duke of York scandal. The second was sold for 3,5000gns., of which Tahourdhin received £150. For the third appointment Tahourdhin received the whole £3,000, on giving an undertaking to procure the next presentation of a living worth £300 a year for a friend of Woodford's. In abuse, as in use, the patronage system of the East India Company can only be fully understood in the context of the whole nexus of church livings, government posts and army commissions. There is no evidence that Thellusson knew of the sales. At least, the Committee elicited none, but his role is suspicious. He told the House of Commons how he suddenly became aware that the confidence of the Court of Directors was being abused:

> I called at a friend's house in the City (Mr. Battye) and conversing upon other matters, as I was going away, he said: 'I thought I had something to say to you, now I recollect it.' I returned back, and his words, as far as I can recollect, were 'I wish gentlemen Directors would be a little more careful of the distribution of your [sic] patronage; not that I can conceive that any is sold by the Directors, but I know of a cadetship that has lately been sold, and for which a large sum of money was given. I asked him what and how, and he told me: 'I know that £500 has been given for it.' I told him I believed he was wrong [sic] informed, because the utmost I

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/148) 11 February 1809, f.1227.
[2] P.P. 1809 (20) 11, p.130-31.

> had ever heard of these things going for was £300 and he must be mistaken. He told me, no, he was not; and that he knew the person, and knew the young man's name. I asked him if he would allow me to mention this to my brother Directors ..... [1]

His evidence may have succeeded in mollifying the House of Commons and the Court of Directors, but it failed to survive the withering forensic analysis of Professor Parkinson. 'If the fact of cadetships being sold was known to [Thellusson],' he wrote, 'why should he rush off, scandalised, to inform his colleagues? If he was so shocked why had he not told them before? If he was ignorant why should he reply in effect - "Impossible! that is far above the market price"?'[2] It is more likely that he was forced to go to the Court by the persistence of rumours against him, especially in the context of the enquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York then proceeding, in which Gabriel Tahourdhin's activities had been exposed. His discovery, from Battye, that a cadetship on the nomination of George Abercrombie Robinson had been disposed of for money[3] gave him the opportunity to broach the matter as a guardian angel of the Company's reputation and, later, to claim 'that from the ready part [he had] acted in the enquiry on the subject, that [he] must have been unconscious that [his] own patronage was at all in question'.[4] Thellusson's story and conduct succeeded in convincing the Court of

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[1] P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483.
[2] Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas, 371.
[3] Court Minutes (IOR: B/148) f.1225.
[4] ibid, f.1227.

Directors who felt that 'no corrupt motives [could] be in the slightest degree imputed to [him]' and 'that no blame [could] be attached to his conduct beyond an excess of confidence in a near relation and intimate friend'.[1] The Directors had decided to hang together for fear of hanging separately. The Court of Proprietors was less sanguine. So strong and general was the belief that Thellusson was culpable that on offering himself for re-election in 1811 he was rejected by a large majority.

The Committee also discovered that during the period 1805-1808 at least a further eighteen cadetships had been sold at prices varying from £150 to 500 guineas.[2] The Directors who had made the nominations, besides Thellusson, were John Bebb, Joseph Cotton, Sir Lionel Darell, William Devaynes, John Manship, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Charles Mills, Edward Parry, Richard Chicheley Plowden, Sir George Abercrombie Robinson, Robert Thornton (twice) and Sweny Toone (twice). The Board of Control was also guilty on two occasions of failing to exercise sufficient discretion in the distribution of its patronage. There was no proof that any of the Directors had been aware of corrupt financial transactions yet, as the Annual Register reported, 'not only particular facts but the general tenor of the whole investigation clearly proved that if all the

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/149) 11 April 1809, f.1399.
[2] SEE APPENDIX TWELVE.

Directors had exercised in the disposal of their patronage the same vigilance and caution which are usually applied in the management of individual concerns such a regular and continued traffic could not have been carried on for such a length of time'.[1] Other more distinguished men, however, including Castlereagh and His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, had been found equally lax and gullible. 'To be found guilty of carelessness in such company,' declared Professor Parkinson, 'was no very serious misfortune.'[2] Castlereagh, while President of the Board of Control, had placed a writership at the disposal of Lord Clancarty, a member of the Board, to enable him to obtain a seat in Parliament through the offices of a man called Jeremiah James Reding, who had boasted that if Clancarty would 'see fit to get a young gentleman to India we would return him to Parliament'.[3] The boast proved empty and nothing came of the matter, but Castlereagh has to defend himself before the House. The Speaker thought that there had been a prima facie case of breach of privilege, but the matter seemed 'as slight an instance as was possible'. A Commons' majority of fifty accepted his apology and even Wilberforce agreed that an adverse vote would have been too severe for such an offence.[4]

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[1] Annual Register (1809) 150.
[2] Parkinson, 371.
[3] P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483, p.91.
[4] C.J. Bartlett, Castlereagh (1966) 92.

In the course of the Committee's investigations the nexus of corruption which centred on Grant's adversary, Annesley McKercher Shee, was once more revealed. Shee and his son were involved in eleven of the cases which the committee discovered. The elder Shee had been for the previous five or six years 'within the rules of the Fleet', but he had carried on the business through his son who was arrested during the inquiry. The activities of the Shee family were pervasive. They were centred on Marylebone High Street and 'at a grocer's shop on the right hand side of Wimpole Street, going on to Marylebone Lane', well situated for contact with the East India colonies around Portland Square and Harley Street.[1] Shee's son-in-law, David Brown was also a prominent figure. He was a clerk in the Stamp Office at Somerset House and, like the rest, he had a story to tell:

> I entered into this situation in the Stamp Office upon a salary of £70 a year, constantly expecting promotion; and finding I was not able to live on that income, I sought various opportunities of improving it, my friends having given me a liberal education .... My salary being £70 subject to deduction of income tax, and being subject to the insurance for militia, I was obliged to enter into a Volunteer Corps, which took away a great deal of my income. Under these circumstances I saw frequent advertisements and I answered them .. 2

Others involved in the traffic were William Scott, an army tailor in Pall Mall, whose wife knew Sir Theophilus Metcalfe;[3] Thomas Southcomb, a Loyalist merchant who claimed to have lost about £120,000 and considerable

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[1]See above, p.62.
[2]P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483, p.64.
[3]ibid, p.55.

property during the American War and who was reduced to 'doing any little thing to get a livelihood, till [his] matters [were] wound up', an unconsidered victim of great events;[1] George Davis, who had 'been much concerned with the negociation [sic] of commissions';[2] John Fuller, a journalist on the Morning Post;[3] Sir Nicholas Nugent, a déclassé baronet;[4] Robert Sharman, who held frequent meetings with the elder Shee in the Dolphin on Ludgate Hill, the parlour of which was 'a very private place, retired from the street';[5] and Thomas Watson, a regular advertiser of cadetships.[6] They had created for themselves a comfortable niche in a hard world and, to some extent, provided a public service. But their day was passing and the 1809 inquiry precipitated their demise.

The East India Company responded to the publication of the report with a thorough reform of its system for passing cadets.[7] So much was uncontroversial, being essential to the re-establishment of the Company's good name, and seems to have passed with a high degree of unanimity. The real battle came over the fates of those people whose appointment had been the result of corrupt transactions. The Court resolved, on 4 April 1809, that it was their duty 'to expel from the Company's service such persons ..... as shall appear by

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[1]ibid, p.52. [2]ibid, p.59. [3]ibid, p.108.
[4]ibid, p.139. [5]ibid, p.206. [6]ibid, p.207.
[7]See above, pp.76-79.

satisfactory evidence to have obtained their appointments by corrupt considerations paid either by themselves or through their friends'.[1] The Court believed 'such a severe example .... absolutely necessary effectually to stop such improper practices in future'.[2] But another meeting on 5 May, again after a change in the Direction,[3] began the retreat from this conviction. It was resolved by the ballot that 'whereas it is declared in the resolution of 6 August 1806[4] that any persons obtaining their appointments by purchase or agreement to purchase shall be rendered incapable of holding any situation whatever in the Company's service, it may be sufficient to apply the said declaration to such persons nominated into the service as shall themselves by concurrence or knowledge in any corrupt transaction .... '[5] The hardliners in the Direction, however, succeeded in obtaining a concession for it was understood 'that no person under these circumstances shall be restored to the service by grant from the Court but only by receiving an appointment from the patronage of some individual Director'.[6] If certain members of the Court wished to be kind then they would have to foot the bill themselves. But even this did not stop Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Sir George Abercrombie Robinson, John Bebb, Campbell Marjoribanks and John Hudleston from entering a

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/149) 12 April 1809, f.1359.
[2] ibid.
[3] Hugh Inglis, John Millett, Robert Williams, William Wigram, Francis Baring and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe replaced Edward Parry, John Roberts, Jacob Bosanquet, Robert Thornton, Joseph Cotton and Thomas Reid.
[4] See above, p.124.
[5] Court Minutes, f.129.
[6] ibid.

crushing dissent from the Court's actions:

> Because the discovery previous to 30 July 1806 of several instances of a corrupt use having been made of the patronage of the members of the Court and the suspicion which recently has been proved to have been well founded that the abuse of patronage prevailed in a greater degree than could be traced by the Directors rendered it proper for the Court to adopt the strongest measures in their power for preventing the recurrence of the abuse, and for this purpose the resolution of 30 July 1806 was deliberately and unanimously framed.
>
> Because the deviation now made from that resolution will create an opinion that the Councils of the Court are vacillating and unsteady and that their resolutions may be shaken by urgency of application and weight of interest and the prevalence of such an opinion will more readily induce speculation in corrupt practices.
>
> Because the arguments in favour of the deviation founded on the probable innocence and ignorance of the young men do not appear to us to be solid innocence and ignorance .... We cannot but think the yielding to such arguments as we now oppose willgreatly tend to the purpose of the resolution of 30 July 1806.
>
> Were any suggestions necessary to convince us of the propriety of adhering fully to the resolution ... they would arise from the just and honorable sentiments expressed by the Committee of the House of Commons and from the following impressive words of their report:
>
> 'With a view to prevent all dealings in patronage the obvious and natural mode will be to take away all inducements to traffic in it, and this can only be attained by making the hazard of such speculation greater than the temptation.'
>
> Hard as some of these cases must be ... the undue means by which [these] appointments were acquired [necessitates] that nothing but a strict adherence to the rule laid down by the Court ..... can put a stop to the continuance of these abuses and prevent the chance of their recurring. [1]

Charity prevailed, however, and all the people involved in corrupt transactions, with the single exception of Samuel Lewis,[2] were eventually re-admitted to the Company's service.

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[1] Court Minutes (IOR: B/149) 12 May 1809, ff.170-72.

[2] See above, p.75.

The Court of Directors had understandable objections to washing its dirty linen in public and the decision to resort to legal sanctions was always carefully weighed against the detrimental effects that the unavoidable publicity would have on the East India Company's reputation. But this is not to deny that the abuse of patronage was often difficult to trace and even more difficult to prove. The decision not to prosecute was invariably made on the recommendation of the Company's expert legal advisers. The moral and legal quandary which the abuse of patronage sometimes threw the Court of Directors is well illustrated by the events of 1821.[1]

In March 1820 Sir George Abercrombie Robinson, then Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, gave an assistant surgeon's appointment to Charles Mayo, the som of a clergyman, on the recommendation of Diana Strachey, the sister of Sir David Scott, a fellow Director. A year later, Charles Bragge of West Clandon in Surrey informed William Stanley Clarke, a member of the Direction, that this assistant surgeoncy had been sold for money. Clarke mentioned the matter to the Chairman, by then Sir George Abercrombie Robinson, and Robinson asked him to make further inquiries. Bragge, at first, proved unable to obtain from his informant, Mrs. Elizabeth Schomberg, the names of the persons who had been concerned in the negotiation. 'Her apprehensions of doing an injury to the young man and to

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[1]For the account below, see Guildhall Library, Mss. 9895.

to his father [induced] her to dread any proceedings that might eventually lead to prejudice them.' Bragge explained the dilemma in a letter to Clarke:

> ... I ..... should be most unhappy and feel myself most unpardonable if my wish to do justice to a body to which you belong, which was my only motive in mentioning what I heard, could be the means of ruining the prospect of a most deserving young man, and of doing a most essential injury to his father who is a friend of nearly thirty years and than whom I know no one for whom I have a higher respect or regard - no human being has a higher sense of integrity and honour and I am quite sure would not have been induced to advance one farthing if he had not been persuaded that it was consistent with the most perfect rectitude. The young man has gone to India with the sole view of being enabled to assist his father in the burthen of a family of eleven children, on whose account he has for many years almost worn out his constitution. I am sure you will feel with me, the dread of doing injury to such persons - consistent with their security it is my wish and shall be my endeavour to do justice to your colleagues, by exposing those who have abused the confidence of a distinguished patron and extracted money from the pocket of a man who could very ill afford it.

At Bragge's further insistence Mrs. Schomberg gave the names of the parties in return for an assurance that no harm or injury should arise to Mayo, who had paid £700 for the appointment from Captain Wildie, a half-pay officer in H.M. 19th. Foot 'in entire ignorance that there was anything wrong'.[1] Mayo had received the information that the appointment was to be had from Colonel Constable, a Company's officer on the Bengal Retired List. Wildie had obtained the appointment from a man called Logan, 'who was under an obligation to him', and for whom Diana Strachey

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[1]This was an understandable mistake in a society where commissions in the British army could be openly purchased. The purchase system was, however, still theoretically illegal.

had originally procured the surgeoncy in return for his help in saving her child's health.

The Court proceeded to examine the witnesses. Nothing was elicited from Colonel Constable which could furnish any evidence against himself or Captain Wildie, but his demeanour created an unfavourable impression and, on 20 April 1821, his pay was suspended. However strong the suspicion and however conclusive the moral proof of their guilt 'there existed no legal evidence whatever against them'. The Company's solicitor, Henry Smith, declared it 'a puzzling matter to meddle with' and the Court felt that it was far more expedient to take no action at all in the matter than to adopt one which could be worse than ineffectual and could lead to no other result than 'the giving of mischievous publicity' to 'a case of undoubted and disgraceful delinquency'. The abuse of patronage posed a problem which the East India Company often shirked, but the dilemma was real nevertheless.

In 1828, however, a remarkable case of the abuse of patronage was brought to the public notice through the medium of a criminal prosecution instituted by the Court of Directors against one of their own members.[1] In

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[1]The following account is based on the Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2), Proceedings of the Court of Directors ... to Investigate Transactions Connected With an Abuse of Patronage; Together With a Report of the Trial .. on 6 March 1828 at the Court of the King's Bench on the Prosecution of the East India Company Against Samuel Sutton and Others (1828), the Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 1-48 and The Times, 10 July, 12, 15 November 1828. The prescence of Joseph Tyndale and Thomas Wright, both implicated in the 1809 inquiry, on the indictment indicates that the trade and personnel had survived if not flourished.

August 1826[1] an unbeneficed clergyman from Littlehampton in Sussex, Dr. Back,[2] noticed the following advertisement in the Morning Herald:

> To Parents and Guardians. - A permanent situation, of a respectable nature, now offers for a youth under twenty, to go abroad. His outfit would require means, without which none need apply. Addresses by letter only, postpaid, to M.N., 33, Craven Street, Strand. [3]

Having a son of the right age for whom no suitable employment had been found, Dr. Back replied to the advertisement and shortly afterwards went up to London to negotiate with the advertisers. He was directed to Thomas Wright, the celebrated middleman in the patronage traffic, at the City Coffee-house in Cheapside.[4] Wright told him that the appointment was a cadetship in the East India Company's service and demanded £600 for an infantry and £800 for a cavalry cadetship.[5] Dr. Back was astonished. Later, in court, he affected to believe that the appointment was to be given free and that he was only required to pay for the outfit.[6] 'Had you learnt,' he was asked, 'that any price was to be paid for the appointment?' and he answered, 'No; I understood quite the contrary.'[7] Finding himself faced with

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[1] The Calcutta Review misleadingly implies 1827.

[2] The Calcutta Review, for some reason, calls him Dr. Bark.

[3] Advertisers had responded to the East India Company's sanctions against advertising with a greater degree of caution and subtlety.

[4] See above, p.128.

[5] This represented a three and fourfold increase in prices since the time of Shee, an indication perhaps of the Company's success in limiting the sale of patronage, or merely of an increased demand.

[6] The advertisement is susceptible to such a literal interpretation.

[7] A literal interpretation of this statement would be that Back expected to be paid for taking the appointment!

the prospect of disbursing a large sum of money which he could ill afford,[1] he broke off the negotiation and returned to Sussex. He did nothing further in the matter until the following February. His son had, by then, come of age and inherited a small sum of money.[2] This seems to have tempted him to renew the negotiation, but instead of contacting the ubiquitous Wright he wrote to the Chairman of the East India Company, Sir George Abercrombie Robinson, stating that a cadetship had been offered to him for money and innocently inquiring whether such a transaction was legitimate.[3] This gives rise to certain questions concerning Dr. Back's character and motives. His actions had, from the start, been ambivalent. If he had believed that the original advertisement had been genuine and above board, why had he found it necessary to conduct the negotiations in the disguise of 'Colonel Edwardes', using the visiting cards of his wife's deceased husband to add authenticity to his performance?[4] If he had been genuinely surprised or shocked when Wright made his financial demands, why had it taken him six months to inform the East India Company of the proceedings? The Times, ever ready to cast aspersions on the motives and conduct of the Court of Directors, alleged that Back had planned to manoeuvre the Court into a position where it would be prepared to use him as an

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[1] A report from the Courier, mentioned in The Times of 17 November 1828, said 'Dr. Back is dead, and his family are left not above the necessity of assistance'.

[2] Calcutta Review, 13.

[3] ibid.

[4] ibid.

agent provocateur in return for an appointment in the Company's service for his son.[1] Whether this was his intention or not it was the consequence of his letter. The Court of Directors was already investigating a case in which 'some of the same parties' with whom Dr. Back had treated were concerned and it was anxious to 'pursue the investigation to a close'.[2] Back and the Company entered into an agreement to lay a trap for the offending parties and to expose their activities.[3] Back, posing once more as Colonel Edwardes, renewed the negotiations and soon began to unravel the complex nexus of corruption centred on Thomas Wright. After Wright a succession of intermediaries appeared[4] leading, ultimately to Samuel Sutton[5] who was the real vendor and who had received the appointment from the Director, Charles Elton Prescott.

Sutton was a close friend of Prescott. He had 'materially aided him during his canvass' and he had 'saved the life of his friend's son'. According to Prescott, he had no reason to doubt Sutton's integrity and every occasion for responding to his request for a cavalry

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[1] The Times, 12, 17 November 1828.

[2] Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2) 1827.

[3] The morality and legality of this act was dubious. Unlike the situation in 1800 (see above, pp.121-22) no crime had yet been perpetrated. The Company now found itself in the position of initiating the offence it was trying to eradicate.

[4] George Henry Gibbons, Joseph Tyndale, James Patten Anstice, Captain John Edward Despard and William Andrews.

[5] Minutes of the Secret Court, 1827.

cadetship. In order to satisfy his friend's entreaties Prescott was obliged to exchange a nomination with his colleague, Colonel Sweny Toone.[1] Toone claimed Prescott had informed him that the candidate was 'a very fine youth, the son of a respectable clergyman in Devonshire, with whom he was acquainted'.[2] Prescott denied this in court,[3] but it is perhaps significant that he departed from the customary procedure for passing cadets, an action which seems unnecessary if he was unaware that anything was amiss with the appointment. Following the 1809 enquiry it was established that in cases of the exchange of patronage between Directors the recipient Director should sign the nomination. Instead, Toone signed the nomination and Prescott, not Sutton, wrote the recommendation. This 'mistake' had the effect of putting Prescott one step away from the direct line of recrimination.[4] But before Back's son could pass the Committee, Prescott got wind of what was happening and 'sent directions to stay any further proceedings'.[5] He was too late. The trap was sprung. On 2

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[1] Calcutta Review, 14.

[2] ibid.

[3] His denial is weakened by his having stated on the Cadet's Petition that he was acquainted with the family and connections of Mr. Back, a statement he was forced to admit was untrue.

[4] Toone's acquiescence in this departure from accepted practice is typical of his carelessness.

[5] Calcutta Review, 15.

May 1827 the secret committee[1] (which had been appointed to investigate a previous case of the abuse of patronage)[2] recommended to the Court the appointment of a select committee to examine the whole affair.[3] This committee submitted the case to its law officers[4] and to those of the Crown. They decided that there were ample grounds for a prosecution and proceedings began.

The trial took place in the Court of King's Bench on 8 March 1828. All the accused, except Despard and Prescott, who was defended by Henry Brougham, pleaded guilty, but only Prescott was acquitted. Meanwhile the investigation into the previous abuse of patronage had completed its inquiries. This also involved a nomination of Prescott's on the recommendation of Sutton. It was clear that Sutton had received most of the money which had been paid for the appointment. The notes used in the transaction were traced to a stockbroker to whom he had paid them. But there was no direct evidence against anyone else. As Sutton and his accomplice, George Gibbons, had already been convicted the Company decided to proceed no further, except on this occasion to recall the cadet for whom the appointment had been purchased. Prescott was spared another direct assault on his professional integrity. Surprisingly he succeeded in maintaining his seat, though the evidence against him was stronger than that against Woodhouse or Thellusson. The Court of Proprietors considered

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[1]The Committee consisted of George Smith, J.G. Ravenshaw, John Baillie, Hugh Lindsay (the Chairman) and James Pattison (Deputy Chairman).

[2]See above, p.147.

[3]Minutes of the Secret Court, 1827. [4]ibid.

him to have acted 'incautiously and imprudently', but they were satisfied 'that he was not actuated by any corrupt motive' and were 'not disposed to withdraw their confidence from him as a member of the executive body'.[1]

Abuses of patronage continued to occur[2] and to excite public attention even in the last years of the Company's rule. A leading article in the Morning Herald of 21 November 1843 imputed to 'the individual Director a systematic cale of patronage at ascertainable prices'.[3] Though the Company's solicitor, Edward Lawford, considered that the article constituted a defamatory libel, the Company did not take proceedings.[4] In 1844 the Chairman of the East India Company, John Shepherd, was informed of the attempted sale of an appointment in the Company's service, in the gift of Major General Archibald Robertson.[5] Two further cases in 1846-48, which both resulted in criminal prosecutions,[6] well illustrate the difficulty of 'tracing and defeating that complicated intermediate agency between the donor and the recipient of the patronage, which

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[1] The Times, 10 July 1828.

[2] There were another two investigations in 1829 into alleged abuses of patronage in the gift of Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar and William Astell. No action was taken, Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/2) 1829.

[3] ibid, 1843.

[4] Court Minutes (IOR: B/207) 29 November 1843.

[5] Minutes of the Secret Court, 1844. The appointment concerned was a chaplaincy. The parties involved, including the Rev. Dr. Arthur Kenney, Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark, protested their entire ignorance of the provisions of the Act 49 Geo. III, c.146, which forbade the sale of patronage, and believed that the Company's bye-law against it was 'obsolete'.

[6] The first was before the Court of Queen's Bench, 18 & 20 December 1847, the second in January 1849.

is seldom suspected by the former'.[1] The first case[2] involved the Director, Sir William Young, and the second the President of the Board of Control, Lord Ripon.

In 1844 an Edinburgh lawyer called Wotherspoon gave Mrs. Anna Stewart, the widow of a British army officer who had served in India, £1,100 to obtain for his son a commission in the Queen's or Company's service.[3] After the failure of a similar attempt some two years before, during which he had a great deal of trouble in recovering his money,[4] Wotherspoon demanded evidence of satisfactory progress. Accordingly, he soon received the following letter:

> My Dear Charettie, - I shall have much pleasure in giving an appointment to your young friend, William White Wotherspoon, in November. 5

The letter was signed by Sir William Young. In November young Wotherspoon duly came to London with his father and, after all the parties concerned had put their names to a series of falsehoods (Young that he was acquainted with the Wotherspoons when, in fact, they had never met; the elder Wotherspoon and Charettie that the appointment had been obtained without fee or reward when, in fact, a large sum of money had changed hands) took his passage for India. The complicated nature of the patronage nexus was once more revealed. The principal parties to the appointment, Sir

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[1] Calcutta Review, 24.

[2] The following account is based on the Calcutta Review, 16-20, and the Minutes of the Secret Court (IOR: L/P & S/1/3) 1846-58.

[3] This represents a further substantial increase in the cost of patronage.

[4] Calcutta Review, 17. It is not clear why Mrs. Stewart was chosen in the first place.

[5] ibid.

William Young and Captain Charettie on the one hand, and the Wotherspoons on the other, were totally unknown to one another. Between Mrs. Stewart, who knew the Wotherspoons, and Captain Charettie, who knew Sir William Young, there was a bewildering array of intermediaries, each of whom was only aware of his own part in the process. The chain of connection ran thus: the Wotherspoons contacted Mrs. Stewart; Mrs. Stewart contacted James Rallett, 'a man of dubious reputation ..... whose exploits had already .... brought him under the notice of the East India Company';[1] Rallett contacted Mr. St. Clair Trotter, a failed banker who had found a temporary harbour as secretary of the 'Ramoneur' or Patent Chimney Sweeping Company, the latest in a long line of enterprises started by Charettie, a former sea-captain, 'ripe for all kinds of adventure', around whom 'desperate adventurers and bankrupt schemers' clung like limpets to a rotting hulk.[2] Rallett asked Trotter to introduce him to Charettie and paid him £50 for his services.[3] The chain was now complete: Wotherspoon, Stewart, Rallett, Trotter, Charettie, Young. Of the £1,100 which Wotherspoon gave to Mrs. Stewart, Trotter, as we have seen, received £50. Charettie, on the evidence of his bankers, received £800. The remaining £250 was divided between Rallett and Mrs. Stewart.[4]

When the case came to trial[5] Mrs. Stewart,

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[1] Calcutta Review, 19 [2] ibid, 18. [3] ibid, 19. [4] ibid.
[5] It is not clear how the case first came to light, Minutes of the Secret Court (1846-58).

Rallett, Charettie and Young were indicted.[1] Charettie was found guilty of corruptly receiving money and of conspiracy. He was sentenced to imprisonment for a year and fined £800.[2] Sir William Young was found guilty of being party to the conspiracy, but died before sentence could be passed.[3] He quitted the Direction before he died; the feeling of the Court was much against him. The Court's conduct throughout the proceedings was dignified and honest. In the words of the Calcutta Review: 'They instituted, in the first instance, a rigid private inquiry, at the India House,[4] and then submitted the case to the investigation of a public law-court. They did all that could be done to elicit the truth, and to punish the offenders.'[5] Their conduct in the second case was distinguished by the same characteristics.

In 1845 a Plymouth shipowner, called Moore, attempted to obtain a commission in the Company's service for his son, who was fast approaching the fatal age of 22.[6]

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[1]Mrs Stewart fled to France, and Rallett to Belgium. They did not stand trial.

[2]Calcutta Review, 20.

[3]ibid. Young was old and infirm and did not 'seem to have seen very clearly the position in which he was placed'. The Court later discovered another case in which his patronage had been abused and in which Charettie and Rallett were also involved, Minutes of the Secret Court, 17 March 1847.

[4]Minutes of the Secret Court, 9 September 1846. The members of this committee were Sir James Hogg (Chairman), H. St. G. Tucker (Deputy Chairman), William Wigram, Sir Robert Campbell and John Loch.

[5]Calcutta Review, 20

[6]See above, p.73, n.2.

As he had no interest in the Court of Directors he put his trust in the power of money. He applied to Mr. Lavers, a general agent of China Place, Lambeth, to whom he had been introduced by a Captain Mathias.[1] Lavers responded to his client's wishes, instructed him to come to London whereupon he took him to the house of Mrs. Violet Linley, a daughter of the celebrated oriental scholar, John Borthwick Gilchrist.[2] In return for the sum of £1,000, Mrs. Linley agreed to introduce Moore to the person who had agreed to obtain the cadetship. This person was merely identified as 'a high lady with great influence and great connexions'.[3] Moore was reluctant to part with his money but, after a meeting with a man named Kendall (who was described as being 'in the household of the high lady'),[4] it was agreed that £1,000 worth of banknotes should be cut in halves, each side retaining one set of halves.[5] The 'high lady' rejoiced in the name of Mrs. Binckes and claimed to be a cousin of the Queen by one of Victoria's 'wicked uncles'.[6] After much prevarication and some unpleasantness,[7] Mrs. Binckes,

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[1]Mathias inconveniently died soon after the proceedings began.

[2]See below, p. 252.

[3]Calcutta Review, 21. [4]ibid.

[5]ibid. Such a solution is typically melodramatic.

[6]ibid, 22.

[7]At first no cadetship was forthcoming. Kendall pledged his halves of the £1,000 for £50. When Moore demanded his money back he had to pay £100 to Mrs. Binckes so that she could redeem the pledge. Moore temporarily abandoned the idea of a commission and put his son into a stock-broker's office in the City.

who was characterised by the Calcutta Review as a poor man's Becky Sharpe,[1] at last obtained a nomination through her connection with Lady Ripon, wife of the President of the Board of Control. Henry Moore was duly appointed to the Company's service in the autumn of 1845. But in the course of the following year rumours began to circulate and eventually came to the notice of the Court of Directors who immediately instituted an investigation resulting in a criminal prosecution. Moore pleaded 'guilty' and turned Queen's evidence.[2] The other defendants were found guilty: Kendall was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and fined £1,000; Mrs. Binckes was imprisoned for a year, Mrs. Linley for six months, and Bickley (Binckes' solicitor) for a year.[3]

The cases of the abuse of patronage which have been described testify to the difficulties inherent in the suppression of an indirect trade in appointments. But there is no doubt that the East India Company, which in the early part of our period had seemed dilatory and hypocritical in its attitude to the abuse of patronage, did everything in its power to overcome the traffic in appointments made possible by the occasional indolent, careless or corrupt

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[1] Calcutta Review, 22.

[2] ibid, 24: Moore stated 'that he thought nothing of giving £1,000 for a cadetships, for he knew that half the officers in the Company's service purchased their commissions'.

[3] ibid.

Director. The intermediate agents involved in the traffic were men and women from almost every class; many of them were honest and responsible people. The greater number of them declared that they did not know that they were doing wrong. The open sale of British army commissions, a practice defended in the highest councils of the land, constituted a permanent incubus on the East India Company's attempts to rise above the standards of the age. It would be ingenuous to expect a higher sense of morality in the use of patronage. The social and economic pressures were enormous and the crime was one which the century learned but slowly to condemn. The abuse of patronage was the inevitable corollary of a system of appointment which could not equitably satisfy the needs of a society hungry for genteel employment.

Nevertheless, the sum total of known abuses of patronage is very small. It testifies to the general integrity and thoroughness of the Directors of the East India Company. On the whole, they distributed their patronage with care and a surprising degree of disinterestedness. It remains to be seen what kind of recruits they succeeded in choosing.

THE RECRUITS

'India is a sink towards which the scum and refuse of the English professions habitually gravitates.'

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN

'There is not a family of note, from the middle to the highest circles, which has not several blood relations or connexions, intimate friends or acquaintances, in the civil and military services of India.'

J. MADDEN

The need for the Directors of the East India Company to exercise powers of discrimination between candidates for employment in their civil or military service was undeniable; the demand for East India patronage was very great:[1]

> Some hundreds of young men, belonging to the upper and middle classes of society, are every year despatched to India, some to the enjoyment of a liberal income, and all to the possession of a gentlemanly competence. In days such as these, when every profession in England is over-stocked,

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[1] 'There is neither at the present, nor ever has been, any want of candidates for commissions in the Company's army,' [J. Madden], The Deficiency of European Officers in the Army of India; by One of Themselves (1849) 59; see also Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/167) f.407. For the demand on chaplaincies see the letter from Charles Grant to Lord Balgonie ('your Lordship I dare say knows of what high estimation and how greatly sought such appointments are') Scottish Record Office (GD 26/ XIII/ 819, f.1). For the pressure on cavalry appointments, see Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/179) f.42.

> the advantages of such an outlet as this are not to be over-estimated. There is scarcely a family in Great Britain that is not eager for a slice of this great patronage-loaf. All cannot feed off it. Some must be disappointed, and the question is whether those who succeeded have better claims than those who are disappointed; or whether those who are disappointed have better claims than those who succeed. [1]

Those who succeeded are the subject of this chapter.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF EAST INDIA PATRONAGE

What criteria did the Directors of the East India Company adopt in choosing candidates for their civil and military service? Beyond the statutory age regulations[2] and the basic physical[3] and educational[4] requirements established in the early years of the nineteenth century, the answer is none. Each individual Director acted according to his own standards and his own conscience. The level of care exercised by the Directors in vetting applications was not high; the major reason for failure to obtain patronage was simply the lack of it to supply the ravenous demand.[5] There were few penalties should a Director prove careless in his choice of candidate.[6] If a nominee failed to pass

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[1] Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 27-28.

[2] See above, p.73, n.3.

[3] See above, p.74. n.2.

[4] See Chapter 4, below.

[5] We are obviously hadicapped here by having information primarily about those who succeeded.

[6] Except, of course, where the 'carelessness' was accompanied by corruption.

the Committee, or was removed from one of the Company's colleges, the appointment reverted to the nominating Director; only the candidate was penalised.[1] In such circumstances the incentives to conscientiousness were small. It is clear that the recipients of 'surplus' patronage were, in the vast majority of cases, personally unknown to the Directors. In the aftermath of the damaging revelations of the 1809 Parliamentary inquiry into the abuse of East India patronage,[2] the Directors attempted to strengthen the procedure for admitting cadets into the Company's service. A stricter form of examination for cadets 'passing the Committee' was recommended.[3] Questions which the aspiring cadet now had to answer included the following:

> 1. Are any of your parents or nearest of kin acquainted with the Director who has given you the nomination?
>
> 2. How long have you been acquainted with the nominating Director?
>
> 3. Who recommended you to Mr. A.B. for this nomination?
>
> 4. Do you know what is the connection between Mr. A.B. and the person who has recommended you to him? [4]

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[1] Even in instances where a candidate died on his passage to India the appointment often reverted to the nominating Director.

[2] See above, pp.131-142.

[3] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/119) ff.13-15: The candidate was required to answer thirteen questions designed to elicit information about his education, his academic proficiency, the 'profession, situation and residence' of his parents or next of kin, the relationship of his parents with the nominating Director, the relationship between the Director and the recommender, and whether any money had changed hands. The Director was required to state his knowledge of the candidate and his family and to affirm the truth of the candidate's replies.

[4] Cadet Papers, ibid.

The answers to these questions proved so embarrassing to the Court of Directors that the new plan was swiftly disregarded. It is clear that many Directors had only the flimsiest knowledge of the character and aptitude of the candidates they were patronising.[1] The key link in the patronage chain was not between the Director and his nominee, but between the Director and the person recommending the candidate to the Director's interest, a figure whom sociologists call 'the broker'. Only when information about the broker is available is it possible to make sense of the patronage nexus.[2] Even then, as we have seen in the account of the abuses of East India patronage, there might be a bewildering array of intermediaries between the broker and the candidate and his family, making it virtually impossible to unravel the complex chain of obligation and interest stretching from the Director to the eventual client.

The distribution of East India patronage, however, was not without a pattern. The Directors' 'surplus'

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[1]Candidates replies to question 2 (p.159) were frequently 'I met him last week', 'Today', 'We are not acquainted', 'He is a friend of my father's' or 'I do not know the gentleman', e.g. Cadet Papers (IOR) (1810), Certificate Nos. 26, 88, 117, 140, 164.

[2]Establishing the nature of the relationship between the Director and the broker is one of the major problems facing the historian of East India patronage. The scarcity of Directors' personal papers presents an almost insuperable problem. Candidates answers to questions 1 and 4 (p.159) were either negative or so vague as to be useless. By diligent research, however, it is often possible to discover biographical information about the broker, either from directories (such as the India Register, which is particularly strong on the identities of East India agents) or from miscellaneous correspondence found in the Cadet Papers, the Writers' Petitions or the Committee of College References.

patronage bore the imprint of their backgrounds and personalities as markedly as did that which they reserved for their family, business or political interests. The Scots and Irish members of the Direction showed a marked partiality for their own countrymen.[1] The commercial element found the beneficiaries of their patronage among the inhabitants of the City of London.[2] Those Directors who had served the East India Company also had a natural outlet for their charitable impulses.[3] Other Directors took a patricular interest in a certain aspect of patronage. Charles Grant was deeply concerned with the proper distribution of the ecclesiastical appointments at his disposal,[4] as was Henry St. George Tucker, the leading opponent of the Evangelical lobby in the Court of Directors,[5] but for precisely opposite reasons.[6] A few Directors 'institutionalised' part of their patronage. Tucker put four chaplaincies at the disposal of the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge and offered a cadetship to Sir Robert Peel on the occasion of his election as Rector

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[1]See below, pp.178-9, 183.

[2]A large proportion of the brokers recommending candidates to Directors engaged in banking or commerce (and who can be identified) were themselves intimately connected with the commercial life of the City of London. The proportion, in the majority of such cases, was over two-thirds.

[3]See below, pp.173-176.

[4]See above, p.46.

[5]See above, p.46, n.2.

[6]Grant was anxious to recruit chaplains who would further the evangelisation of India; Tucker was concerned to choose those who would interfere with native religious sensibilities; Sir J.W. Kaye, The Life and Correspondence of Henry St. George Tucker (1854) 555-56.

of Glasgow University, for distribution to one of the students.[1] Sir James Law Lushington provided Cheltenham College, of which he was a Vice President, with a cadetship to be competed for annually; and Col. William Henry Sykes gave a cadetship as a similar prize for the students of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Most Directors, regardless of their sectional or personal interests, were susceptible to appeals to their charity, especially when those appeals were made on the grounds of friendship, genteel poverty or public service.

'Friendship' was the most common reason given by Directors for making appointments to the East India Company's service.[2] It had the splendid virtue of vagueness and could be used to camouflage a multitude of less creditable motives, but there remains much to suggest that it was a genuine influence on Directors' actions. The overwhelming majority of Directors were middle-aged when they entered the Court; behind them lay half a lifetime of personal and social relationships and obligations; it would have been very surprising indeed if they had been completely deaf to the entreaties of their friends, even when the satisfaction of such claims held no obvious benefit for themselves. The

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[1]Kaye, Tucker, 556-57. Peel characteristically refused the offer on the grounds that he was not personally acquainted with a single student at the University, a sentiment which must have made the Directors wince. Tucker also found time to send five sons to India, besides providing for numerous relatives.

[2]SEE TABLE 5, p.163.

5. Reasons given for appointment of civil servants by Directors, 1809-1850.

	1809		1819		1829		1839	
Friendship	38	57%	45	51%	56	59%	56	56%
Kinship	12	18%	20	23%	15	16%	29	29%
Business relations	3	4%	1	1%	-	-	3	3%
Company service	2	3%	3	3%	8	8%	3	3%
Political recommendation	2	3%	1	1%	-	-	-	-
Recommendation of B of C	5	7%	8	9%	6	6%	6	6%
No information	5	7%	10	11%	10	10%	3	3%
Total	67		88		95		100	

	1849		Total	Percentage
Friendship	38	50%	233	54·69
Kinship	22	29%	98	23·00
Business relations	-	-	7	1·64
Company service	4	5%	20	4·69
Political recommendation	-	-	3	0·70
Recommendation of B of C	3	4%	28	6·57
No information	9	12%	37	8·69
Total	76		426	

[Based on B.S. Cohn, 'Recruitment and training of British civil servants in India 1800-1860,' in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), Asian bureaucratic systems emergent from the British imperial tradition (Durham, North Carolina, 1966), Table 3, p.105. Cohn based his findings on the Directors' depositions recorded in the Writers' Petitions and the Committee of College References in the India Office Records.]

appeal of 'friendship' in its more general sense of goodwill and charity to all men also fits in with the way in which the Directors regarded their patronage. The major attraction of East India patronage was social and psychological. Being the source of so many lucrative appointments in a society hungry for genteel employment made the Director of the East India Company 'a man of great social influence'.[1] The true reward of East India patronage was measured not in pounds, shillings and pence but in self-esteem. Something of this may be glimpsed in the picture of the pompous figure of Henry St. George Tucker riding in his carriage every afternoon with his daughter by his side listening to endless reminiscences about Cornwallis and Wellesley, Barlow, Minto and Hastings, the giants of his youth to whose patrimony he now held the key.[2] The Directors' interest was constantly solicited; almost every day brought a new request couched in the most servile language allowing even for the conventions of the age. For men who were essentially self-made the distribution of patronage was a glorious thing in itself, a constant reminder of their worldly success and their social importance. Without it they were nothing; with it they were kings. It was the act of giving which was crucial to such

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[1] Lord Ellenborough, H.L., 13 June 1853, Hansard, 3rd. Series, CXXVIII, 5.

[2] Tucker emerges from his biography as a most unpleasant character. In the margin of pages 608-609 of the copy which I used there was the following pencilled note, probably in the hand of the original owner, J. Woodburn: 'One Sunday while Mr. Tucker was a candidate for the Directorship, he was walking with a lady in London when a shower of rains came on. Before him was Sir James Shaw [A leading Proprietor] (with him Major Woodburn) who had no umbrella - Mr. T. offered the umbrella, which was the lady's sole protection to Sir James Shaw. The offer was declined. J.W.'

men; the recipients were secondary. Their role was to confirm, by their need for East India patronage, the power and dignity of the patron. 'Friendship' thus came easily and was its own reward.

Someone without interest in the Court of Directors who wanted to obtain East India patronage was most likely to attain his ends if his request was accompanied by pointed references to his 'gentility' and to his 'poverty'.[1] Lord Combermere, writing to Sir George Abercrombie Robinson in 1826, seemed well aware of the formula:

> You will say that I am very troublesome but will excuse me when you know that the gentleman for whom I am going to apply has been most unexpectedly and undeservedly reduced to part distress.
>
> The bearer of this, Mr. Starkey, is the eldest son of a neighbour of mine in Cheshire who a few years ago [owned] an estate of £2,000 a year near Combermere which has been about four centur[ies] in that family. Mr. Starkey also became the Proprietor of a large brewery in London which has lately failed and of course Mr. Starkey and family are ruined.
>
> If you can appoint the young man to a writership or a cadetship you will be doing a most charitable act. 2

Many Directors who read such requests were afflicted with

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[1]Examples of such requests contained among the miscellaneous correspondence found in the Cadet Papers are very numerous, e.g. L/MIL/9/116, f.51; L/MIL/9/132, f.60; L/MIL/9/140, ff. 178-79; L/MIL/9/167, f.226; L/MIL/9/177, f.38; L/MIL/9/180, f.248; L/MIL/9/184, ff.73-74, f.507; L/MIL/9/190, ff.360-61; L/MIL/9/192, f.638; L/MIL/9/199, ff.313-14.

[2]Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/167) f.337. The candidate was duly appointed.

the potent thought that 'there but for the grace of God go I'. Poverty was second only to influence as a way into the Company's service. When combined with gentility it was irresistible and may be said to constitute 'influential poverty'. In a society where large families and a high mortality rate were the norm, the spectre of ruin and despair was a very present threat to all middle-class families. The death or fecklessness of a patriarch was pregnant with disaster.[1] To read the patronage correspondence of the Directors of the East India Company is to enter the world of Charles Dickens, peopled by grotesque characters living on the margins of existence. Historians tend to be obsessed by the phenomenon of upward social mobility, but in real life the problem for many during this period was to avoid the disastrous fall back into the great ocean of the labouring poor, from which it had been the work of generations to escape. The Directors understood these feelings because they shared them. Many of them had come from relative poverty and complete obscurity to their present positions of social eminence and financial security. Like Dickens they were painfully aware of the existence of the blacking factory. East India patronage played the same role in reality as the fortuitous inheritancies did in Dickens's fiction; the East India Company was the Cheeryble brothers writ large. The consequences of this for the future development of British society were profound and, perhaps, incalculable.

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[1] Eric Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire (1973) 66: 'the nightmare shadow of bankruptcy lay over their lives, and we can still recognise it in the novels of the period: the trust in an unreliable partner, the commercial crisis, the loss of middle-class comfort, the women folk reduced to genteel penury, perhaps even emigration to that dustbin of the unwanted and unsuccessful, the colonies.'

The claims of 'public service' upon East India patronage were very substantial,[1] though not everyone was convinced. 'I sensibly experienced the total disclaiming of my services in soliciting appointments for both my sons,' wrote Lt.-Gen. Samuel Smith of the Bengal Cavalry, 'and was painfully reminded that private interest wholly regulated their disposal.'[2] Col. Charles Carmichael, a Bengal Cavalry officer with forty-six years' service, applied to thirty Directors for an appointment for his nephew ('the son of a civil servant of high distinction') and received only three replies; all were negative.[3] But despite these shrill complaints, skilfully orchestrated by Captain R.G. Macgregor, a retired officer of the Bengal Artillery,[4] it is clear from the evidence presented to the Parliamentary committees, which sat to discuss Indian affairs in 1852, that large numbers of the relatives of officers in the Company's and Queen's service had succeeded in obtaining East India patronage without having any 'interest' in the Court of Directors.[5] During the

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[1]SEE TABLES 6a and 6b, p.168.

[2]P.P. 1852 (533), X, q.1867.

[3]ibid, q.1870.

[4]ibid, the evidence of Captain R.G. Macgregor, qq.1840-1887; See also Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) pp.31-48. Macgregor claimed that less than a fifth of East India patronage was distributed to sons of Indian officers and demanded that a portion (one-third) should be set apart as a public fund to meet service claims. He argued that Indian officers were prevented, by absence in the East, from making 'connexions' in the Court of Directors, and that they were debarred from electing the Directors they wanted by the necessity of exercising their power of attorney within ten days of the calling of an election.

[5]The weight of evidence in this respect is overpowering: P.P. 1852 (533), X, qq.1942-1955 (Sir George Pollock), 2039-2053 (Col. R. Alexander), 2087 (Lt.-Gen. Macleod), 2386 (Viscount Hardinge) and 2470-2503 (Philip Melvill); ibid, Appendix Four, p.345; P.P. 1852-53, H.L. (41), XXX, 217, 1953, 1954.

6a. Table Showing the Distribution of the Court's Military Patronage, 1813-1833

Profession of Fathers	Number Appointed	
British army	409	8%
Royal Navy	124	2·4%
Indian army	401	7·9%
Indian Marine	40	0·8%
Indian Civil Service	224	4·4%
Sons of Clergy	390	7·5%
Widows and Orphans	1,119	22%
Miscellaneous	2,385	47%
Total	5,092	100%

[Based on P.P. 1852: 10, 184; 0.49]

6b. Return of the Number of Cadetships and Different Classes of Individuals on Whose Sons All Cadetships to India Have Been Conferred, 1840-1857

Profession of Fathers	Number Appointed	
East India Company's Military, Medical, Marine & Chaplaincy Service	1,467	26·7%
Indian Civil Service	401	7·3%
British army, Royal Navy, & Medical Officers H.M. forces	681	12·4%
Sons of Clergymen	580	10·5%
Sons of Professional Men & Others	2,371	43·1%
Total	5,500	100%

[Based on P.P. 1857-58: 43, 59; 59]

the nineteenth century the Directors of the East India Company were drawn increasingly from the Indian services.[1] They were not forgetful of their less fortunate comrades at home and in India.[2] Appeals to them for patronage usually met with a sympathetic response. Even The Times admitted the East India Company's disinterested generosity in this respect:

> The honest disposal of East India patronage, in requital of past services, without reference to personal connexion or Parliamentary or any other indirect influence in this country or elsewhere, is a fair subject for public commendation. We have therefore much pleasure in recording that at a period of unexampled demand for appointments in the East, Mr. J. Shepherd, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, has lately bestowed a cadetship on a son of Lt.Col. Havelock .... Mr. Loch had previously set apart a nomination to Addiscombe for this youth, but he was above the age prescribed for entering that establishment. Neither the Chairman nor the Director had any knowledge of the father or the son beyond the history of the military career of the former in India. 3

East India patronage was accessible to those people who saw in it a path to financial security and social status, and a field for the employment of intelligence and industry. It was never monopolised by the personal interests of the Directors or the sectional interests of a particular class or group. The Directors remained open to

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[1]See above, p.46.

[2]The Director, Sir James Rivett Carnac, was particularly sensitive to the requests for patronage of his former comrades in the Indian army, Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/145) f.427: 'the armies of India have in you a sincere friend and well wisher.'

[3]The Times, 17 December 1850. 'Lt.Col. Havelock' later became Major-General Henry Havelock a hero of the Indian Mutiny; see also J.H. Stocqueler, Memoirs of Sir William Nott (1854) 106-7, 297-98, 303.

appeals to their charity and humanity and often responded with a genuine degree of magnanimity. East India patronage was undoubtedly bestowed upon a large number of very remarkable men.[1] The Calcutta Review was characteristically fulsome in its appreciation:

> It is the fashion to support the proposition, by asserting that the service which produced such men as Elphinstone and Metcalfe, Malcolm and Munro, must be a very noble service. But we would rather write that the services which have produced so large a number of Joneses, Browns, and Thomsons, that is, so many industrious collectors, honest magistrates, wise judges, astute diplomatists, and gallant soldiers, cannot have very much that is defective in their constitution. The real glory of the Indian services is not to be found in those lustrous examples of individual merit and personal success, which stand out boldly from the page of history, but in the general worth and efficiency of the men of whom history takes no notice - the great mass of the Indian executive. In general intelligence, in aptitude for official business, in integrity and benevolence, the civil servants of the East India Company are not surpassed by any body of administrators in the world; whilst the officers of the Company's military service are inferior only in respect of the accidents of birth and fortune to their brethren of that great army, which on the battle-fields of Europe, has made England the foremost nation of the world. 2

Whatever their merits the fortuitous beneficiaries of the East India Company's patronage system must now leave the wings and take the centre of the stage.

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[1] See Sir J.W. Kaye, The Lives of Indian Officers, 2 vols., (1867) and Col. H.M. Vibart, Addiscombe: Its Heroes and Men of Note (1894).

[2] Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 27.

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF RECRUITS[1]

The received historical wisdom of generations is that the imperial services were recruited from among the younger sons of the gentry. It should be stated categorically at the outset, that as a description of the social origins of the recruits to the East India Company's civil and military service[2] during the period 1784-1858, this is, at best, vague and misleading and, at worst, nonsense. The gentry[3] belonged to the mainstream of

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[1]Much of the evidence (and all the statistics) in this section are based upon an analysis of a 20% sample of the military patronage of the East India Company from 1796 to 1854. Records before 1796, the year of the important re-organisation of the Indian army (see above, p.69), are very patchy and unreliable, but after that date they are extant and increasingly rich. 1854, the year of a major change in the constitution of the Court of Directors, during which they lost their civil patronage (see above, p.15), was preferred as a cut-off date to 1858. The sample (which totalled some 2,319 cadets) was taken from the Cadet Registers (every fifth cadet was chosen) and the biographical information culled from the cadets' petitions and miscellaneous correspondence in the Cadet Papers. In order to monitor the statistical accuracy a complete analysis of a whole year's patronage was made for every twentieth year.

[2]No separate analysis of civil patronage was made because of the marked disparity between the total numbers of cadets and writers involved (cadets outnumbered writers by about 10 to 1; even at its height the Indian Civil Service contained less than 2,000 men, L.S.S. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930 (2nd. ed., Frank Cass, 1965) 2.), but I did do an analysis for all civil patronage for the years 1800, 1825 and 1850 - no appreciable differences in social origin between candidates for the army and civil service were apparent; entry into the two services was governed solely by the chance operation of the patronage system. SEE TABLE 8b, p.189.

[3]For a helpful discussion of the 'gentry' see G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963) 6-7.

English landed society. They were often armigerous families of ancient lineage; they regarded themselves as the social equals of the aristocracy, whose allies they were in the great struggles of politics and religion. They sat in Parliament for the prosperous shires;[1] they dispensed rough justice and social control at the quarter sessions; they dominated rural life. The sons of the gentry had access to far more agreeable avenues of advancement than those presented by East India patronage: wealthy heiresses, lucrative government offices, rich church livings, entrance to the great universities, to the bar and to the fashionable regiments were their legitimate objects of ambition. The recipients of East India patronage were drawn from the 'pseudo-gentry',[2] from the genteel poor and from the sons of East India Company servants who were effectively barred, by their lack of connexions and lack of cash, from access to the traditional areas of gentlemanly employment - government service, the established church, medicine, the armed forces of the Crown and the English bar.

(i) The Place of Birth of Recruits[3]

The principal birthplaces of recruits to the East India Company's military service were greater London, the small towns of the English shires, Scotland,

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[1] Mingay, English Landed Society, 22, testifies to the rise of gentry incomes in the late eighteenth century.

[2] See below, p.193.

[3] SEE TABLE 7, p.174.

Ireland (especially Ulster) and (increasingly) India.

(a) Greater London[1]

The Indian army has proved something of a sociological embarrassment. 'From a historical and theoretical point of view,' wrote Morris Janowitz, 'there was every reason to believe that the military would be heavily recruited from non-industrialised areas .... [where the] traditions and requirements for a military sense of honour could be expected to flourish, in opposition to the ethic of private profit of urban commercialism.'[2] Attempts to apply this thesis to the origins of Indian army officers, however, have been very unsatisfactory.[3] Recruits to the East India Company's military service seemed to thrive in the atmosphere of 'urban commercialism'. During the period 1796-1854, London and its environs provided 20·7% of the Company's cadets. This is not surprising. Before 1834 the East India Company was a great commercial institution which played an important role in the financial life of the City. Throughout its history, the Company remained a major contributor to the social life of the metropolis.[4] It maintained intimate links

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[1]'Greater London' is taken to mean the approximate area covered by the old London County Council.

[2]Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier; A Social and Political Portrait (The Free Press of Glencoe, U.S.A., 1960) 85. Janowitz was writing in the American context.

[3]See P.E. Razzel, 'Social origins of officers in the Indian and British home armies, 1758-1862,' British Journal of Sociology, 14 (1963) 248-60.

[4]See above, p.14.

7. The Place of Birth of Recruits to the East India Company's Military Service, 1796-1854

	1796-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1830
Greater London	21·8%	20·4%	25·8%	22·3%
Rest of England	32·7%	33·3%	32·7%	32·1%
Scotland	18·2%	22·4%	13·6%	15·3%
Ireland	11·8%	8·2%	8·8%	9·6%
India	2·7%	9·8%	12·9%	14·2%
Other	4·6%	4·3%	1·4%	2·6%
No information	8·2%	1·7%	4·8%	4·0%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1854	Average Total
Greater London	24·1%	17·2%	13·2%	20·7%
Rest of England	19·6%	31·0%	25·0%	29·5%
Scotland	8·9%	8·6%	11·8%	14·1%
Ireland	8·0%	5·6%	5·9%	8·3%
India	29·5%	27·2%	36·8%	19·0%
Other	7·2%	8·2%	7·3%	5.0%
No information	2·7%	2·2%	-	3·4%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

[Based on the depositions, documents and miscellaneous correspondence in the Cadet Papers (IOR)]

[The equivalent figures given for civil patronage in Cohn, 'Recruitment and Training of British Civil Servants in India', op. cit., p.108, are London 27·2%, Rest of England 27%, Scotland 12·7%, Ireland 4·7%, India 23·2%, Other 3·3% and No information 1·4%. These figures cover the period 1809-1850; their similarity with those above is very marked.]

with a host of occupations and professions[1] whose ramifications and alliances spread throughout London. City merchants and bankers constituted an important element in the Court of Directors and, up to 1813 at least, enjoyed a dominant voice in its counsels.[2] (It is significant that the recruitment of cadets from London declined gradually[3] after the East India Company lost its trading function and the commercial members of the Direction were overshadowed by the serried ranks of retired Company servants.)[4] The overwhelming majority of the Directors lived in London,[5] as did substantial numbers of Proprietors,[6] such as Peter Moore,[7]

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[1]See above, p.107.

[2]See above, p.35.

[3]From 24·1% in 1840 to 13·2% in 1854.

[4]See above, pp.35, 46.

[5]The Directors' addresses are given in the India Register: only three are not known. 115 of the 135 Directors who served the Company between 1784 and 1858 lived in London (though some of these also had country houses); 54 of them lived in the Mayfair area (see above, p.62), and the rest mostly in Bloomsbury or the City. Sixteen Directors lived within the immediate vicinity of the capital (at places such as Stanmore, Wimbledon, Clapham and Mill Hill); only Sir George Abercrombie Robinson (who lived at Taunton) resided any great distance away.

[6]See the printed lists of Proprietors in the India Office Library. The decision to allow Proprietors to vote by letter of attorney, in 1834, made it easier for those who wished to participate in the affairs of the Company to live away from London.

[7]Peter Moore (1753-1828), a Whig politician who made a fortune in the East India Company's service. He was recognised as the most 'adroit and successful' manager of private bills of his time and was an active company promoter. He is celebrated as the last wearer of a pigtail in London society.

Douglas Kinnaird[1] and Angela Burdett-Coutts[2] whose services as 'broker' were instrumental in despatching the offspring of numerous metropolitan families to the East in the Company's service.[3] The inhabitants of the capital or those with connexions or 'interest' there were in a very privileged position from which to mount an assault on East India patronage; the evidence indicates that the privilege was exploited to the full.

(b) The Scotch Connection

The number of Scotsmen in the East India Company's service excited comment and controversy throughout the period. Contemporaries had a simple explanation for the phenomenon: Henry Dundas, using his considerable influence with the East India Company in the twenty years after the India Act of 1784,[4] had begun the process which Lord Rosebery

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[1]Douglas Kinnaird (1788-1830), the friend of Byron, Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett. He was the head of Ransom and Morland's bank and a leading East India Proprietor. He collaborated with Peter Moore in the management of the Drury Lane Theatre.

[2]Angela Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906), Baroness Burdett-Coutts, the celebrated Victorian philanthropist, reputed to be the richest woman in England. She was the daughter of Sir Francis Burdett, the erstwhile radical politician, and the grand-daughter of the fabulously rich Thomas Coutts, banker to the East India Company. She used her influence with the Company as a means of extending her charitable activities.

[3]Peter Moore was the guardian of the novelist, W.M. Thackeray, who belonged to a great Anglo-Indian family: 'The City influence of brother-in-law Moore doubtless helped to keep open the floodgates of patronage which so abundantly flowed from Leadenhall Street ....' Sir William Wilson Hunter, The Thackerays in India and Some Calcutta Graves (1897) 111.

[4]See Barun De, 'Henry Dundas and the Government of India, 1773-1801,' Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, Oxford (1961).

described as 'the Scotticisation of India and the Orientalisation of Scotland'.[1] This popular view, summed up in Sir Walter Scott's description of the Board of Control under Dundas as 'the corn chest for Scotland',[2] is a myth. Dundas was undoubtedly a very powerful and influential figure in Scottish affairs. 'He was the Pharos of Scotland,' wrote Lord Cockburn. 'Who steered upon him was safe, who disregarded his light was wrecked. It was to his nod that every man owed what he had got, and looked for what he wished.'[3] His Indian patronage, however, was in no way unusual; the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland received as much.[4] Compared with the vast patronage of the Court of Directors, the four to six cadetships and writerships which Dundas was granted annually were a drop in the ocean. Even before the India Board was set up in 1784, Dundas took steps to disabuse the Duchess of Buccleuch of the impression that he was to be 'the omnipotent czar of Indian patronage':

> You, I know, will readily give me credit for my wishes to [obey your commands] on every occasion, but as the influence you are naturally supposed to have over me will of course bring upon you many

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[1] J.A. Lovat-Fraser, Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville (Cambridge, 1916) 20.

[2] Lovat-Fraser, Henry Dundas, 19: Lovat-Fraser also subscribed to this view: 'There is no doubt that, from his first connexion with the Board, Dundas adopted a policy, steadily pursued, of sending out young Scotsmen to the Eastern Empire.'

[3] ibid, viii.

[4] All politicians who had access to the Directors could get some share in East India patronage; this was only more so in Dundas's case because of his unparelleled seventeen-year tenure of the Board of Control.

> applications, I think it right to apprise you what will probably be my situation with regard to India, if the measures of the present government take place. My situation will be merely a situation of control, in which one of the most essential parts of my duty must be to check the Government of India in the exercise of its unmeasured and unprincipled patronage. [1]

William Wilberforce considered Dundas's Indian appointments 'highly disinterested'.[2]

A more potent force in the 'Scotticisation of India' was the presence of a substantial number of Scots in the East India Direction,[3] many of whom exhibited a marked partiality for their own countrymen.[4] It

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[1] Holden Furber, Henry Dundas (Oxford, 1931) 31-32.

[2] Cyril Matheson, The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742-1811 (1933) 304; his appointment of 'young Scotchmen who were not recommended by the best families ... made [him] still more esteemed in both Scotland and India', Furber, Henry Dundas, 296; nor did he bestow his patronage only on Scotsmen, Mss. 1079 (National Library of Scotland), Eng. Mss. 699, 927 (Melville Papers, John Rylands Library).

[3] Scots members of the Court of Directors included: Alexander Allan, Col. John Baillie, William Fullerton Elphinstone, Robert Townsend Farquhar, John Forbes, Charles Grant, Hugh Lindsay, John Loch, Elliot Macnaghten, W.H.L. Melville, David Scott, John Shepherd and James Stuart. Col. William Sykes (though not a Scot) sat in Parliament for a Scottish constituency.

[4] For Scott and Grant, see above, pp.102-105. The presence of large numbers of Campbells in the Company's service owed much to the generosity of Sir Robert Campbell who, though himself Irish, showed great interest in his Scots kin: Sir Duncan Campbell, The Records of Clan Campbell in the Honourable East India Company's Service, 1600-1858 (1925) xxxiii.

is significant that the peak of Scottish recruitment to the East India Company's military service occurred in the period 1800-1810, during which Scots influence in the Court of Directors was at its height.[1] Important 'brokers', such as Sir Walter Scott and the Marchioness of Hastings, also paved the way to India for many of their fellow Scots.[2] The Scotch connection with India began long before Dundas's supremacy at the Board of Control and continued long after he was gone. Its real origins lay in the nature of Scottish society.

Scotland in the eighteenth century presented the spectacle of a declining aristocracy and a thriving middle-class. The aristocracy lost much of their power as a result of the Union in 1707.[3] Many took part in the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 and suffered the forfeit of their estates.[4] The abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1747 aimed a fundamental blow at their prestige. Stripped of their

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[1]Scott, Grant and Elphinstone were all powerful members of the Court of Directors at this time, and Joseph Hume was the most influential member of the Court of Proprietors.

[2]Scott's is a familiar name in the Cadet Papers, the Writers' Petitions and the Committee of College References. Among the many cadets he sponsored were the sons of the writer, Allan Cunningham, see J.G. Lockhart, The Life of Sir Walter Scott (1902) 246-47. During the governor-generalship of the Marquess of Hastings it was said that 'if one whistled or called outside government house at Calcutta some Jock or Mac would assuredly appear at the window', Campbell, Clan Campbell, xxxiii.

[3]Only sixteen Scotch peers were allowed to sit with the 190 English and Welsh peers in the new 'Parliament of Great Britain'.

[4]Among these were the family of the Director, Charles Grant. For the effect of the Jacobite rising of 1745 on the Scotch connection with India see Scott's novel The Surgeon's Daughter (1833).

power and pretensions, they had no wealth to cover their nakedness. Except in the Lothians agriculture was primitive and unremunerative and mercantile pursuits were considered beneath their dignity.[1] The consequence was that Scotland was full of young men of good birth who were hardy and ambitious and in need of a gentleman's employment. The service of the East India Company was a worthwhile object of ambition for such men, but it was not solely, nor even primarily, from their ranks that the Company found its recruits.

The eighteenth century was a golden age for the Scottish urban middle class.[2] Trade flourished as never before. Merchants grew rich on their share of the new trade routes to North America, Russia and the Far East.[3] Lawyers prospered on the fat conveyancing fees created by the expansion of Lowland agriculture to meet the demands of the growing population to the South. Old industries developed and new ones were created.[4] The burgeoning Hanoverian bureaucracy opened up fresh fields for the employment of Scots industry and enterprise. All this, in turn, created a climate of advantage for a host of professions, such as medicine, teaching, printing and bookselling, which catered

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[1]Henry Morris, The Life of Charles Grant (1904) 4.

[2]T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (1969) 361-66.

[3]The Act of Union (1707) gave Scots merchants equal rights in all those areas from which they had previously been excluded by the English; Glasgow merchants led the assault on the East India Company's trade monopoly which was finally breached in 1813.

[4]Smout, History of the Scottish People, 363.

for the needs of the articulate and ambitious classes who were the foundation of the 'Scottish Enlightenment'. The burghs were full of well-educated[1] young men[2] in pursuit of suitable employment. Just as the East India Company's service was attractive as a means of arresting the descent of the sons of the aristocracy, so it held out the promise of confirming the social and economic gains of the sons of the professional classes. Their chances of access to East India patronage were greatly enhanced by the operation of 'the management', that complicated and extensive process of political jobbery and corruption which characterised the conduct of parliamentary affairs in pre-Reform Act Scotland.[3] 'It must be admitted that for very many years what was familiarly called "borough mongering" was the main cause of so many doughty young Scots finding their way into the Indian services,' wrote Sir John Kaye. 'But for this, the

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[1]The superiority of their education system, then and since, is a familiar Scotch conceit, but it is not without truth. The Scottish education system in the eighteenth century was national and comparatively classless: ' .... an Act of 1696 compelling the heritors of every parish to provide a commodious house for a school and a small salary for a schoolmaster; and, although the project could not at once be realized, the Scottish people during the eighteenth century were far better educated than those of most other lands,' J.D. Mackie, A History of Scotland (1972) 253. Even relatively poor people could expect a sound education: 'Burns tells us how he was stung into writing his first poem because, when he was fifteen, the pretty girl who worked alongside him .... used to sing as they worked and one of her songs "was said to be composed by a small country laird's son on one of his father's maids, with whom he was in love; and I saw no reason why I might not rhyme as well as he, for .. he had no more scholarcraft than I" ...' G.S. Fraser, The Selected Poems of Robert Burns (1960) 15. See also Smout, 466-479.

[2]42·2% of the Scottish population in 1755, and 48·2% in 1821, were under the age of twenty, Smout, 262.

[3]Michael Brock, The Great Reform Act (1973) 31-32; Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/188) f.125.

Company's army might have been wanting in that muscular sinewy strength imparted to it by constant recruiting from the middle classes of the North.'[1] Men like Provost Burnes[2] of Montrose[3] were in a very favourable position from which to secure the advancement of their children; the large number of recruits to the Company's service from the small towns of Scotland indicates that they did not neglect their opportunity.

(c) Ireland

Irish recruitment to the East India Company's service has excited less comment than Scots, but especially in terms of outstanding personalities[4] it was as great.[5] The high point of Irish recruitment also coincided with a period of political access to East India patronage (in the person

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[1]Sir J.W. Kaye, The Lives of Indian Officers (1867) II, 2.

[2]Burnes had 'four stout clever boys pressing forward for employment', all of whom found favour in the Court of Directors. The most famous was Sir Alexander Burnes, the womanising political officer whose murder at Cabul in 1841 was the prelude to the disastrous retreat of the British army.

[3]The burghers of Montrose also had access to Indian patronage through the interest of the radical politician and leading East India Proprietor, Joseph Hume, the son of a Montrose shipmaster. Hume himself had entered the Company's medical service through the favour of the Director, David Scott. A statue in the town square of Montrose commemmorates Hume's services to his fellow townsmen.

[4]Among the many notable Irishmen in the Company's service were Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother John (Lord Lawrence), the second Viceroy of India, Sir Robert Montgomery and Brigadier-General John Nicholson.

[5]Ireland also made an important contribution to the British army. 11% of all generals during the period 1870-1959 were Irish, C.B. Otley, 'The Recruitment of the British Army Elite, 1870-1959,' Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Hull (1965) 15.

of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland)[1] and with the presence of Irish members in the Direction,[2] but the demand[3] for Indian appointments stemmed, once more, from the nature of the society in which the recruits lived.

Irish recruitment corresponds most closely to the sociological model constructed by Janowitz,[4] in which military service is an alternative channel of mobility for the ambitious in the relative absence of economic opportunities. Irish landed families, especially those in Ulster, had a strong military tradition. Many of them had been founded by soldiers who had been rewarded for their services by grants of Irish land. They lived in embattled conditions, surrounded by the persistent threat of insurrection from an alien Catholic peasantry, while the Protestant Supremacy implanted in them 'habits of authority and command which [found] a natural outlet in [military] service'.[5]

(d) India

The most significant change in the pattern

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[1]The Court of Directors allotted the same amount of patronage to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland as they did to the President of the Board of Control, through whom business was conducted, Eng. Mss. 927 (Melville Papers, John Rylands Library) No. 29.

[2]Irish members of the Direction included Henry Alexander, Josias du Pré Alexander, Sir Robert Campbell and Sir James Weir Hogg.

[3]The demand was large: Eng. Mss. 927 (Melville Papers, John Rylands Library) Nos. 29-60 give a detailed account of the difficulties in providing for all the Irish government nominees.

[4]See above, p.173.

[5]Otley, Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, 15.

of recruitment to the East India Company's service, during the period 1796-1854, came in the proportion of recruits born in India.[1] Such an increase was to be expected, given the growth of the Indian services and the gradual penetration of the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors by retired servants of the Company who naturally favoured their own kind.[2] But the increase also owed much to the concerted personal, social and political pressure applied to the Court of Directors by a well-organised Indian army lobby, determined to reserve a major portion of the patronage for itself.[3] The Court of Directors consistently refused to admit the validity of such formal claims, but the lobby undoubtedly had something of the desired effect.[4] The result was to create a series of great overlapping Anglo-

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[1]The proportion rose from 2·7% in 1800 to 36·8% in 1854.

[2]See above, p.169.

[3]See above, p.167: The lack of patronage bestowed on the sons of Indian army officers was a consistent, and unjustified, grievance of the Company's military servants. It came to a head in 1852 when Captain R.G. Macgregor presented a memorial, signed by Lt.-Gen. Welsh of the Madras Army, on behalf of 220 officers of the Indian army, demanding that a portion of East India patronage be removed from the Directors and placed in a general fund to be administered by the Court as a whole, and that appointments so distributed should be entirely reserved for the sons of Indian army officers and given on public grounds without personal solicitation. The memorial resulted in a full scale row in the Court of Proprietors and a debate in Parliament, notable for a speech by Lord Ellenborough in which he poured out the accumulated venom of decades upon the heads of the Court of Directors, [Add. Mss. (BM) 57465 (The Herries Papers), Speech of Lord Ellenborough, House of Lords, 2 April 1852, f.9.] but the Directors refusedto budge, see Calcutta Review, 18:35 (1852) 31-48; P.P. 1852 (533), X, qq.1840-1887, 1942-1955, 2039-2053, 2087, 2470-2503.

[4]The reserved portion which they demanded was one-third; the 36·8% of cadets born in India by 1854 seems to indicate that the Indian army lobby had attained the substance, if not the principle, of its petition.

Indian families[1] who imparted a continuity and a social and intellectual tradition to Indian administration.[2]

There is no evidence to suggest that the dramatic increase in the number of recruits born in India during the 1830s[3] was connected with the provisions of the India Act of 1833 prohibiting discrimination on grounds of colour.[4] The Company's service was not suddenly swamped by Eurasians clamouring for the recognition they had so long been denied. A return of the numbers of Eurasians in Calcutta, made in 1849, showed only two in the Company's military service, two in the medical service and none in the civil service out of a community of 1,567.[5] The Court of

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[1] Leading Anglo-Indian families included the Bayleys, the Bellasises [see Margaret Bellasis, Honourable Company (1952)], the Cottons [SEE APPENDIX ELEVEN, TABLE 2], the Colvins, the Chicheley Plowdens [SEE APPENDIX ELEVEN, TABLE 1, and ff.], the Edwardeses, the Lawrences, the Lows [see Ursula Low, Fifty Years With John Company: From the Letters of General Sir John Low of Clatto, Fife, 1822-1858 (1936)], the Prinseps [see H.T. Prinsep, Three Generations in India (1865)], the Ritchies [see Gerald Ritchie, The Ritchies in India (1920)], the Shakespears [see Sir William Wilson Hunter, The Thackerays in India (1897)], the Thackerays [ibid] and the Hearseys [see Col. Hugh Pearse, The Hearseys: Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family (1905)].

[2] 'It is my pride, that I am, as it were, an hereditary member of the Indian administration,' Sir H.C. Cotton, Indian and Home Memories (1911) 15. Cotton was appointed by his uncle, the Director John Cotton.

[3] The proportion rose from 14·2% to 29·5%, largely at the expense of those recruited from the English shires.

[4] 3 & 4 William IV c.85.

[5] Calcutta Review, 11:21 (1849) pp.80-90. The real number is almost certainly higher, but there was obviously no large scale admission of half-castes to the Company's service.

Directors was unsympathetic towards Eurasian aspirations. A few Directors, such as Neil Edmonstone, John Loch, William Astell and Sir Robert Campbell, were coolly polite, but the real feelings of the Direction were reflected by Col. John Baillie, whose prejudices savoured of 'the rust of antiquity'.[1]

(ii) Fathers' Occupations[2]

The figures relating to the occupations of the fathers of recruits to the East India Company's *military* service are unsatisfactory and should be treated with caution. The high proportion of cadets about whom no such information can be obtained[3] makes firm judgements unwise.[4] Even the most plausible occupational divisions are, in reality, very arbitrary and disguise substantial differences

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[1] Report of Proceedings Connected With the East Indians' Petition to Parliament (Calcutta, 1831) 4. [I am grateful to Dr. John Pemble for a Xerox of this item.] The Petition sought to obtain an improvement in the status *and position* of the Eurasian community, in view of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, then under discussion.

[2] SEE TABLE 8a, p.187.

[3] On average, we are ignorant of the occupations of a quarter of the cadets' fathers during the period 1796-1854. Before the reforms of 1809 it was not customary to find such information on the Cadets' Petitions, but it is often possible to obtain it from V.C.P. Hodson, A List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 4 vols. (1927-46). After 1809 the cadets were required to give such details, but they often did so in a form which is vague or unhelpful (e.g. 'My father is A.B. Esq. of Bristol').

[4] A more critical attempt to establish the social and economic status of recruits is made below in section (iii).

8a. Table Showing Fathers' Occupations of Recruits to the East India Company's Military Service, 1796-1854.

	1796-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1830
Company's Service	5·6%	8·4%	16·8%	15·3%
Gentlemen	2·7%	2·8%	9·1%	4·0%
Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers	0·9%	7·5%	6·9%	6·5%
Clergy	7·3%	8·7%	9·1%	4·4%
H.M. Military/Naval Service	5·4%	6·8%	11·2%	15·2%
Medical	4·6%	1·9%	4·2%	2·2%
Legal	5·4%	2·8%	5·6%	9·5%
Government Service	4·6%	1·9%	3·5%	3·3%
M.Ps.	5·4%	1·6%	1·4%	1·1%
Tradesmen	0·9%	4·4%	5·6%	4·0%
Other	1·8%	5·2%	4·9%	5·8%
No information	63·8%	48·0%	21·7%	28·7%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

[Based on the Cadet Papers (IOR).]

	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1854	Average Total
Company's Service	35·6%	29·9%	36·1%	21·0%
Gentlemen	7·7%	8·3%	5·2%	5·6%
Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers	7·7%	6·4%	5·2%	5·8%
Clergy	6·7%	11·8%	12·1%	8·5%
H.M. Military/Naval Service	18·3%	15·2%	10·3%	11·7%
Medical	7·7%	3·4%	---	3·3%
Legal	4·8%	7·4%	12·1%	6·8%
Government Service	2·9%	2·9%	1·7%	2·9%
M.Ps.	---	---	---	1·4%
Tradesmen	1·9%	0·5%	5·2%	3·2%
Other	4·8%	3·9%	---	4·5%
No information	1·9%	10·3%	12·1%	25·5%
	100%	100%	100%	100%

in social and economic status. 'Company's service' fails to distinguish between civil and military servants or between service at home and in India. 'Clergy' embraces the entire range of ecclesiastical rank from bishops to unbeneficed clergy struggling to make ends meet by 'coaching young men for the University'. 'H.M. Military and Naval service' includes Admirals of the Fleet and impecunious infantry subalterns on half-pay. 'Government service' extends from the Commissary-General of Canada and the British Consul in Naples to assistant clerks in the G.P.O. at Calcutta and excise officials in remote Scottish towns.[1] 'Legal' ignores palpable differences between influential lawyer/politicians, like the Attorney General and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and obscure country solicitors, writers to the signet and town clerks.

Despite these severe limitations the figures may act as the basis for some general conclusions. Taken in conjunction with B.S. Cohn's analysis of the occupations of the fathers of recruits to the civil service,[2] they confirm the importance of the Company itself as a breeding ground for further recruitment. In the civil service, with its

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[1]One of these minor excise officials was the poet, Robert Burns, who put his third son into the Bengal Army.

[2]SEE TABLE 8b, p.189. The correlation between the two sets of figures is, once more, very marked. The rather higher figure which Cohn gives for 'merchants, bankers and manufactuers' is, I suspect, inflated by numbers of 'tradesmen'. 'Merchant' sometimes means a great prince of commerce, but more often than not, when it is possible to obtain further evidence (usually from the excellent directories on open access in the Guildhall Library, London) turns out to be a retail tradesman.

8b. Table Showing the Occupations of Fathers of Appointees to Haileybury, 1809-1850.

	1809		1819		1829		1839	
Company's Service	18	27%	26	29%	25	26%	46	46%
Gentlemen	12	18%	7	8%	12	13%	3	3%
Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers	9	13%	10	11%	15	15%	10	10%
Clergy	6	9%	7	8%	10	11%	10	10%
H.M. Military/Naval Service	4	6%	8	9%	11	12%	8	8%
Government Service	3	4%	2	2%	4	4%	-	-
Medical	2	3%	2	2%	4	4%	5	5%
Legal	-	-	4	5%	3	3%	5	5%
M.Ps.	1	1%	-	-	1	1%	1	1%
No information	12	18%	22	25%	10	11%	12	12%
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	67		88		95		100	

	1849		Total	Percentage
Company's Service	33	43%	148	34·74%
Gentlemen	5	7%	39	9·15%
Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers	9	12%	53	12·44%
Clergy	7	9%	40	9·39%
H.M. Military/Naval Service	5	7%	36	8·45%
Government Service	2	3%	11	2·58%
Medical	1	1%	14	3·29%
Legal	3	4%	15	3·52%
M.Ps.	-	-	3	·70%
No information	10	13%	66	15·49%
Farmer	1	1%	1	·23%
Total	76		426	

[Based on Cohn, op. cit., 107.]

longer tradition and older established system of recruitment,[1] this was true throughout the period. In the military service the trend became increasingly apparent during the nineteenth century, re-inforcing the impression given by the place of birth statistics for the number of cadets born in India. The high proportion of recruits whose fathers had served in the British army or the Royal Navy testifies to the potency of 'public claims' on the distribution of the Directors' 'surplus' patronage. The significance of sons of the manse as recruits to the Company's service is also emphasised.[2] Clergy were in a peculiarly strong position from which to influence the bestowal of East India patronage. They were esteemed in the community; they were undeniably genteel; and they were often very poor. The combination of public worth and genteel poverty was almost irresistible in the Court of Directors, especially among those members who themselves professed strong Christian beliefs. The pious William Astell was forced to borrow patronage from his colleague, John Goldsborough Ravenshaw, to satisfy the persuasive entreaties of Charles Potts:

> A clergyman of high attainments and most exemplary character, a near relation of Mrs. Charles Potts and a distant one of mine, is at this moment labouring under great distress both of mind and

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[1] See above, p.80.

[2] Edward Lockwood, The Early Days of Marlborough College (1893) 44: 'I began to think that there were too many parsons' sons about and that the world generally would prefer our room to the honour of our company - as no doubt it would; nor was it any consolation to consider that others were as little regarded as myself.'

> purse, arising from the extravagance of his eldest son at Oxford, who two years ago was solely on the ground of merit elected to a scholarship at Lincoln College, and who his father has flattered himself was qualifying himself for his own profession when he discovered that in little more than a year he had contracted debts to the amount of £500, a sum which it was quite beyond his father's power to liquidate and which rendered his immediate removal from the University indispensable. The lad now nineteen years of age has been spending the last twelve months under his father's roof in Cornwall where his general conduct has been satisfactory to his parents and has now expressed a decided wish to enter the army: but the purchase of a commission, even were it possible to procure one, is incompatible with my friend's means, who has struggled, and is still struggling hard to educate four sons and two daughters on a living of about £250 per Annum, and at the same time to discharge at least a portion of his son's debts. In this position of his affairs my highly valued friend, the Revd. Percival Frye (whose name I have not before mentioned) a nephew of my relation Archdeacon Potts, to whose guardianship he was intrusted at an early age, who has always taken a lively interest in every thing relating to him, and who would if required, bear abundant testimony to his character and present difficulties, is anxious to obtain for the lad who has disappointed the view he originally entertained for him a cadetship to India: and I venture to hope that my presumption in asking from you such an appointment will be pardoned in consideration of the distressing circumstances of the case. [1]

Conspicuous by their absence from the list of recruits' fathers' occupations are any references to agricultural activities or to the expanding 'genteel' professions of the nineteenth century, such as architecture, engineering or accountancy. The persistence of appreciable numbers of merchants' and tradesmen's sons rebukes sociological theory and hints at the real economic and social status of the East India Company's civil and military servants.

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/190) ff.360-61.

(iii) The Social and Economic Status of Recruits

It is clear that recruits to the Indian services came from lower in the social and financial scale than has previously been supposed. They were drawn overwhelmingly from the service, business, leisured and professional middle classes, with a significant minority from the sons of manual workers and tradesmen. Very few were connected with the aristocracy or gentry. T.A. Heathcote's analysis of the social background of 2,000 officers who served in the Bengal Army between 1820 and 1834 reveals that 'one was the son of a marquis, four were sons of earls, one the son of a viscount, six sons of barons, and twenty-six sons of baronets'.[1] Only one officer succeeded to a peerage;[2] six inherited baronetcies, of whom three were eldest sons.[3] India was 'truly the paradise of the middle classes'.[4] The aristocracy were not interested in Indian patronage. They had few family,[5] business or personal links with the Directors of the East India Company, and even when they did seek an Indian appointment (usually for their retainers) they preferred to do so through their social equals in the

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[1] T.A. Heathcote, The Indian Army (1974) 123. Heathcote's analysis was based on the biographical information contained in Hodson's List of the Officers of the Bengal Army.

[2] The second son of the Earl of Carnwath.

[3] Heathcote, ibid.

[4] A. Claude Brown, quoted in Benita Parry, Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination, 1880-1930 (1972) 31: and, Brown added, ' .... the land of snobs'. See also H.G. Keene, Here and There (1906) 4.

[5] See above, p.65.

government and the Board of Control.[1]

The proportion of recruits who gave their fathers' occupations as 'gentleman'[2] is an uncertain indicator of social status. It should not be taken to imply membership of the landed gentry. Only in a tiny minority of cases can possession of significant landed property be confirmed. The existence of a large, propertyless leisured class is one of the most striking features of Victorian England.[3] Such people of independent means, living in the style of the gentry and aspiring to their status, belonged in reality to a class of 'pseudo-gentry'[4] who emerged in the eighteenth century from the ranks of successful husbandmen, yeomen and tradesmen and from the landless descendants of earlier landed families, forced to augment their fortunes by trade or military service, but existing now on the profits of endeavour in the form of annuities or the interest on government stock. It is to this class that the 'gentlemanly' fathers of the East India Company's recruits essentially belonged.

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[1] Cadet Registers (IOR: L/MIL/9/263, /264) illustrate the aristocratic nature of requests for Board patronage.

[2] E. Hyams (ed.), Taine's 'Notes on England' (1957, originally published 1872) 142-45: 'I have been trying to get a real understanding of that most essential word "a gentleman"; it is constantly occurring and it expresses a whole complex of particularly English ideas.'

[3] For example, in Kent (a county rich in major historic gentry) Kelly's Post Office Directory for 1870 lists more than 16,000 'private residents', 9,000 of whom lived in the county proper. Few of these appear in the Return of Owners of Land, 1873, which lists all the 7,800 people owning more than an acre of land in the county. [I owe this illustration to Professor Alan Everitt.]

[4] I owe this concept to Professor Everitt, to whom I am indebted for discussions on the subject.

The economic status of recruits is easier to determine; regardless of social class or fathers' occupation, they were predominantly poor.[1] Wealth secured access to avenues of advancement which possessed none of the disadvantages of exile in India; the rich, almost by definition, had no interest in the East India Company's service. Recruits whose fathers were grocers, drapers, hosiers, plumbers, glaziers, joiners, masons, saddlers, sailmakers, stationers, bleachers or slop-sellers were unlikely to possess great wealth, but even those whose fathers were professional men were often very poor.

The size of middle-class families posed a constant threat to their status and aspirations. The drain on otherwise adequate financial resources occasioned by large numbers of children forced many parents to seek social and economic salvation through East India patronage.[2]

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[1] The miscellaneous correspondence in the Cadet Papers testifies to the level of poverty among recruits to the Company's military service: L/MIL/9/116, f.51, '... their fortunes being very small ..... they could not afford to be at any great expense'; L/MIL/9/123, f.351; L/MIL/9/130, f.120, 'Mr. Hulm .... whose friends cannot afford to fit him out as a cadet'; L/MIL/9/132, f.60, '... destitute ...'; L/MIL/9/134, f.418; L/MIL/9/140, ff.178-79, '[his] story is a hard one..'; L/MIL/9/158, f.292; L/MIL/9/162, f.150, '... a state of perfect dependence ...'; L/MIL/9/167, f.226, 'beggars must not be choosers ...', f.337; L/MIL/9/180, f.248, 'the means are wholly inadequate ...'; L/MIL/9/192, f.638, 'a moderate and ill paid income ...'; L/MIL/9/196, f.314, 'my husbands [sic] limited income ...'.

[2] Cadet Papers (IOR), L/MIL/9/142, f.96, 'their numerous family'; L/MIL/9/177, f.38, '... a large family...'; L/MIL/9/180, f.248, 'my sister and her 6 children'; L/MIL/9/184, f.507, 'the father of a large family'; L/MIL/9/192, f.638, 'a family of twelve children'; L/MIL/9/193, f.132, 'he is one of twelve children'. Sir John Malcolm, one of the Company's greatest servants, came from a family of 17 children, Philip Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders (1954) 205.

'My anxiety to get a situation in the Honourable East India Company,' wrote Cadet J.W. Colquhoun to the Director John Thornhill, 'arose solely from my wish to be of service to my Dear Blind Father, to my dearest mother [and] to their numerous family.'[1]

Business or professional failure,[2] illegitimacy[3] and death[4] were other potent causes of the poverty which made the East India Company's service attractive to so many middle class families. Lack of political connections was a common source of frustration to a military or naval career, as William Wilberforce readily acknowledged in a letter to George Smith in 1825:

> My best thanks for the kindness with which you have co-operated .. in providing for *my young* friend Llewellyn Smith a far more desirable situation than his poor father .. had ventur'd to anticipate. I feel this kindness deeply and have great pleasure in assuring you that the Young Man appears worthy of the patronage. *His father also* justly claims attention from every humane man, being one of those unfortunate officers in the Navy who not having Parliamentary interest see advanced from time to time over their heads, officers who came into life after they themselves entered the service of their country. Lieut. Smith has served with credit for 30 to 40 years. 5

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/142) f.96.

[2] ibid, L/MIL/9/148, f.196; L/MIL/9/167, f.337; The Grove Papers (Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge), p.1; Kaye, Lives of Indian Officers, 209; Maud Diver, The Hero of Herat (1930) 11; Meadows Taylor, Story of My Life (Oxford, 1920) 5.

[3] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/111), f.128; also (1800) Cert. No.384, (1823) Cert. No.71, (1849) Cert. No.132, (1854) Cert No.226.

[4] ibid, L/MIL/9/116, f.51; L/MIL/9/119, f.95; L/MIL/9/170, f.430; L/MIL/9/185, f.29; L/MIL/9/180, f.248; L/MIL/9/212, ff.24-25; L/MIL/9/221, f.235; L.J. Trotter, The Bayard of India, a Life of Sir James Outram (1903) 2, 3; Kaye, Lives of Indian Officers, 417, 419.

[5] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/158) f.292.

Others suffered at the hands of bureaucratic fate:

> The noble and generous sentiments which induced you to patronize my son, [wrote Lt. A. Davies R.N. to Major-General Archibald Galloway in 1844] will I am sure be in no way dimmed or deteriorated in their genuine lustre by my humbly telling you, the event comes most opportunely to uphold the credit of my finances. By a late regulation Lord Stanley I hear from the colony [Tasmania] has abolished my office, leaving us all but destitute .... the appointment of my son, thus so munificently bestowed upon him by you, has relieved me from almost all anxiety as to the future welfare of my family. 1

Illegitimacy was a frequent progenitor of genteel poverty.[2] The Directors of the East India Company retained, throughout the period, a tolerant and kindly attitude to bastard children. John Bebb, who was often generous with his patronage, was quick to respond to the entreaties of the Marquess of Hastings in 1817:

> My persuasion of the feelings which the Honourable Court must entertain towards the memory of their late most valuable servant Governor Petrie induces me to trouble you on a subject relative to which he addressed me by a letter written from his deathbed. He has left behind him a family of natural children for whom there is scarcely any Provision. The mother, I understand, was held highly respectable in all but the quality of her connection with him: so that, especially as the children were brought up in his house, there is no reason to apprehend that the circumstances of their birth have affected the tone of their education. There are three boys, William, aged 15, George,

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/206) ff.435-36.

[2] Heathcote, Indian Army, identified four illegitimate sons of earls and one of a baron in the Bengal Army between 1820 and 1834; later the Bengal Army included Charles Sutton, illegitimate son of Viscount Canterbury, Cadet Papers (1849) Cert. No.132, and Charles Manners Sutton Fairbrother, possibly another illegitimate son of Viscount Canterbury by a different woman, ibid, (1854) Cert. No.226. Sir Duncan Campbell, Records of Clan Campbell in the East India Company's service, xxxvi, admits that 'the amount of illegitimacy in the Records is startling, but it does not seem to have greatly affected social position'.

> 14, and Frederick 12. For the eldest I have the hopes of providing. He will be nearly of the age to qualify him for holding a commission by the time that a vacancy of Ensign in one of the King's Regiments can be announced .... If George could be maintained till he reached the same age, the same line might be open for him. But then he would have to rest on the precarious chance of living and holding the command to that period. Towards the welfare of Frederick I know not at all how to contribute. I can only lay before you certain that your prevalence will pardon the liberty I take in doing so and will influence you to urge with the Honourable Court any proposition which you may think the circumstances will allow. [1]

The major cause of poverty in middle class families, however, was the death of the father.[2] The number of orphans entering the Company's service is astonishing.[3] During the period 1810-1854, when cadets were required to give such information in their petitions to the Court, one in four recruits came from families in which the head of the household was dead. The Directors of the East India Company were particularly responsive to the patronage appeals of orphaned children:

> I really am ashamed of my presumption in taking up a pen to intrude upon you especially in the character of a supplicant having no pretension to any favour, [wrote Harriet Benson to the kindly John Bebb in 1818] but compassion makes me bold, and has overcome, after many hard struggles, my scruples of conscience and delicacy towards one whose kind and charitable disposition leads me to hope for pardon, and assistance in providing for a poor orphan of 17 named Rich[ard] Bird, who with two Girls were left destitute by the death of both parents six years ago and who I have considered

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/131) f.404.

[2] The large number of orphans constitutes another severe limitation on the validity of the fathers' occupations statistics. Many cadets gave the occupations of dead fathers.

[3] SEE TABLE 9, p.198.

9. Table Showing the Proportion of Orphans* Entering the East India Company's Military Service, 1796-1854

1796-1800	Nil	
1801-1810	3·2%	
1811-1820	18·9%	
1821-1830	24·7%	Period Average= 18·6%
1831-1840	29·8%	
1841-1850	27·9%	
1851-1854	25·9%	

[Based on the Cadet Papers (IOR).]

*Those cadets whose fathers were dead, or whose father and mother were both dead.

> myself as directed by heaven to protect as far as I am able; but alas my means now fall short of my inclination, and if you therefore my dear Sir can and will indulge me with a cadetship for the Boy you will relieve me from much embarrassment and confer a very great obligation upon me. 1

A father's death could have a traumatic and instantaneous effect on his family's fortunes. Major-General Thomas McMahon wrote to William Stanley Clarke in 1835 soliciting assistance for the family of Major-General Sir Robert Travers, who was 'unfortunately killed last December by a fall from his horse', thus depriving his dependants of his £300 a year pension, their sole financial support:

> You will be shocked when you hear that he has left thirteen children, nine sons and four daughters, all under the age of nineteen and the youngest was born about two months after his death, upon hearing of which the Commander-in-Chief with his warmth of heart and generous disposition immediately conferred upon the eldest son an Ensigncy without purchase.
>
> May I hope that the second son (one of the nine) Mr. Thomas Travers, a lad of sixteen, will be honored by your support and protection and that you will confer upon him a Cadetship in the Honble. Company's service, which will be of the greatest assistance to his widowed mother, who has an overwhelming family. 2

The number of orphans in the Company's service owed much to the ruthlessness and determination of their mothers.[3] 'I do believe your destitute widow, especially if she hath a charge of children and one or two fit for patronage is one of the most impudent animals living,' wrote Sir Walter Scott.[4]

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/132) f.60.

[2] ibid, L/MIL/9/184, ff.73-74.

[3] Edward Thompson, The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe (1937) 34: 'England's empire-builders have had Spartan mothers.'

[4] Sir Walter Scott, Journal (ed. J.G. Tait, 1939) I, 142, 27 March 1826. [I owe this reference to Professor Jack Simmons.]

The Directors were so pestered for patronage that the admission of women into the India House had to be prohibited.[1]

The actual or aspired social status of recruits often conflicted with their financial position. From the ensuing tension the motives for entering the Company's service were born.

THE MOTIVES OF RECRUITS FOR ENTERING THE COMPANY'S SERVICE

India made little appeal in its own right to seekers of East India patronage. Ignorance of India among recruits was widespread and profound.[2] 'Nothing is so rare as to meet with a man who with propriety can be said to know anything of India, and its affairs,' wrote James Mill.[3] The public received scant information about Indian society and culture.[4] Romantic writers found India only of 'passing

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[1] L.S.S. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service, 1600-1930 (Frank Cass ed., 1965) 239.

[2] This was true even among the increasing number of recruits who were born in India, most of whom were educated in England, see below, pp.223, 237.

[3] G.D. Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858 (Oxford, 1961) 75.

[4] ibid, 182: 'As a popular journal, The Gentleman's Magazine, [1838] revealed, the public did not get much profound information about Indian politics and culture. This magazine translated a portion of the Mahabharata on one occasion; otherwise it produced inadequate and misleading information about India. One sentence in a lengthy obituary of Lord William Bentinck sufficed to describe his Indian administration; an account of jugglers and a contest between a man and a reluctant tiger at a princely court was the sort of information the public received.' Blackwood's Magazine and the Edinburgh Review provided the best periodical coverage of Indian affairs.

and minor interest'.[1] Monier Monier-Williams[2] was an undergraduate at Balliol College, Oxford, when his aunt wrote offering him a writership in the East India Company's service. He was totally ignorant of the considerable implications of such an offer,[3] so before coming to a decision he consulted his tutors and friends:

> Not a single individual among them had acquired any ideas about the East beyond what were to be gained from the perusal of such stories as that of Haji Baba or Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp.
>
> To all of them the name India seemed chiefly suggestive of a confusion of kaleidoscopic pictures, in which black men, jungles, elephants, cobras and palanquins, were the leading elements. Some of the more thoughful looked blank and bewildered when I told them of my probable future, as if they were uncertain whether to congratulate or to condole with me.
>
> Others of the less thoughtful uttered a few jocular exclamations, such as,''You're a lucky fellow, you're going to a land paved with gold, and will come back a Nabob.' Others could not disguise their feelings of compassion, and, though pretending to sympathise with my good fortune, clearly regarded me with a kind of awe, as if I had been already transported outside the circle of ordinary human experiences, and deported to some outlandish region, where I should

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[1] Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 103. Brijen K. Gupta, India in English Fiction, 1800-1970 (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1973) identifies 2,272 novels with Indian settings. Only fifty-eight of these were published before 1858, fifty-six of them in England and two in Calcutta.

[2] Monier Monier-Williams (1819-1899), First Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University.

[3] F.C. Danvers (et al), Memorials of Old Haileybury College (1894) 32, 33; 'I was only a typical example of the condition and attitude of mind of Englishmen generally, fifty years ago in regard to all the affairs of their growing Eastern empire.' Monier-Williams had never even heard of Haileybury, which had been in existence for over 30 years, despite being born in India.

> some day be either carried off by cholera, eaten up by tigers, strangled by Thugs, or fatally bitten by a rattle-snake hidden in my garments. 1

The attraction of the East India Company's civil and military service lay in the social and economic realities of British middle-class life. 'People do not come here to live, to enjoy life,' wrote the French traveller Victor Jacquemont in 1830. 'They come - and this is true of all classes of society - in order to earn the wherewithal to enjoy themselves elsewhere.'[2] The Company's service offered an accessible avenue to social status and financial security to those whose poverty and lack of connections excluded them from genteel employment at home.[3]

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[1] Danvers, Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 35-36. In 1841, two years after Monier-Williams received his offer, the Quarterly Review [68 (1841) 377-411] made an analysis of British attitudes towards India: to some it was a land of fabulous wealth in which fortunes could be made by 'every man who [had] courage enough to make use of his sword'; to others it was a land of baseness and tyranny, full of 'oriental extravagance and hyperbole'.

[2] Victor Jacquemont, Letters From India, 1829-1832 (Translated by C.A. Philips, 1936) 10, 23: 'They consider that leaving their country to come here is an enormous sacrifice, as compensation for which they have the right to all sorts of advantages. A young cadet who has only just landed, who does not know a word of Hindustani, has never had a musket in his hands, and would not know how to give four men orders to march past, is sincerely convinced of the validity of his right to live like a rich man in India.'

[3] Robert Sencourt, India in English Literature (1923) 8: '[The Briton] has come to [India] not because he likes her, or the work she gives him, but only because in her spacious households he has a refuge from the sordidness of poverty; because, as Sir Alfred Lyall said, he wants to save himself from growing old in a commonplace way. To such a man, and perhaps he is the prevailing type amongst the English in India, the country is hateful and dull, or he likes to pretend that it is so, in an attempt, generally a vain attempt, to cover the traces of a much more ordinary life in England.'

Few recruits had much influence over the decision which sent them to the East.[1] The Company's age regulations guaranteed that parents and guardians would have the ultimate say in the destinies of their children.[2] Some recruits entered the Company's service only after the strongest parental pressure.[3] The sixteen-year-old Charles Metcalfe found his father implacable when he begged to be allowed to return from India:

> If I had considered my own inclination, I should never have allowed your brother or you to leave this country. In the vale of life, the Company of two sons, of whose abilities and acquirements any father might be proud, would have been a solace that a selfish mind would readily embrace; but, looking forward to the period when I must pay the debt of Nature, it became an indisputable duty to give up personal enjoyment for their future welfare, and to consider how to place them in the most advantageous situations. Judge then my dear Charles, what I experienced at finding you so dissatisfied with your station in the Civil Service, after so short a trial. Let me ask you in what line of life I could have placed you that could hold out any prospect of a direct support, much less of a future independence? The army and navy you always objected to; and with respect to your present idea of a clerkship in the Secretary of State's office, if I could have obtained such an appointment, the situation is neither so pleasant nor so profitable as a clerk in a merchant's office - a place which you would soon discover to be too degrading for any son of your father's. 4

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[1] It was most unusual for a Director to give a cadetship or writership as a personal favour direct to the recipient; a broker was invariably involved.

[2] See above, p.73, n.2, p.81.

[3] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/170) f.164; P.P. H.L. 1852-53 (41) XXX, 5709. Others, of course, took a different view: A. Fenton (A Bengalee), Memoirs of a Cadet (1839) 1: 'In the year 18 - , I received my appointment as a cadet of infantry on the Bengal establishment. I was but sixteen years of age, and the thoughts of becoming my own master, and visiting foreign countries, at that time completely outweighed the pangs of separation from home and friends!; Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/176) f.134; Kaye, Lives of Indian Officers, II, 354, Danvers, 32.

[4] Thompson, Metcalfe, 33.

The great domestic problem of the age for parents was how to get their daughters 'off' and how to get their sons 'on'. No one understood the anxieties which this caused better than Charles Dickens:

> We held many consultations about what Richard was to be; first, without Mr. Jarndyce, as he had requested, and afterwards with him; but it was a long time before we seemed to make progress. Richard said he was ready for anything. When Mr. Jarndyce doubted whether he might not already be too old to enter the Navy, Richard said he had thought of that, and perhaps he was. When Mr. Jarndyce asked him what he thought of the Army, Richard said he had thought of that too, and it wasn't a bad idea. When Mr. Jarndyce advised him to try and decide within himself, whether his old preference for the sea was an ordinary boyish inclination, or a strong impulse, Richard answered, Well, he really had tried very often, and he couldn't make out.
>
> 'I haven't the least idea,' said Richard, musing, 'what I had better be. Except that I am quite sure I don't want to go into the Church, it's a toss-up.' [1]

The problem was exacerbated by the limited number of occupations which were considered genteel.[2] 'The professions naturally divide themselves into two principal classes,' wrote Henry Byerley Thomson in 1857, 'the privileged and the unprivileged .. Amongst the privileged

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[1] Charles Dickens, Bleak House (Odhams, n.d.) 137, 138. See also Sir J.W. Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney (1844) I, 3-5; and Jane Austen, Sense and Sensibility (Spring Books, 1968) 51-52.

[2] G.F.A. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain (Panther, 1973) 271: 'The mid-Hanoverians had known only five professions: church, law, medicine, army and navy. By the 1860s it was possible to argue that there were also engineers (civil and mechanical), architects, administrative civil servants, accountants, actuaries and surveyors, artists (all kinds), teachers (perhaps), Nonconformist ministers (possibly), dentists.' The rise of the professional classes was one of the most important developments in nineteenth-century Britain, but the short term effect of medical and legal reform and the establishment of legal controls was to make the professions more exclusive.

professions are reckoned: 1. the church; 2. the law; 3. the medical profession; 4. the army; 5. the navy; 6. the mercantile marine; 7. the public civil service. The entrances to these professions are regulated by law, and are closed (except partially in the case of the medical profession) to free competition from without.'[1] Access to them all presented major difficulties for families without powerful political connections and extensive financial resources. The church, the law and the medical profession required an expensive university education.[2] Army commissions had to be purchased at prices ranging from £500 for an ensigncy in an infantry regiment to £1,260 for a cornetcy in the Life Guards.[3] Promotion was also by purchase.[4] A colonelcy cost £4,500 in a regiment of the line and £7,250 in the cavalry.[5] The purchase-system ensured a certain

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[1]Henry Byerley Thomson, The Choice of a Profession: A Concise Account and Comparative Review of the English Professions (1857) 4. He defined the unprivileged professions as those of 'painter, architect, sculptor, civil engineer, educator, parliamentary agent, actuary, average calculator, &c. To these professions there is no legal restriction of entrance'.

[2]Thomson, Choice of a Profession, 71-91, 92-137, 146-174; J.C. Hudson, The Parent's Handbook; or Guide to the Choice of Professions (1842) 71-124; Charles Newman, The Evolution of Medical Education in the Nineteenth Century (1957) 107-120.

[3]'Prices of Commissions', King's Regulations (1837) p.44. These were the official controlled prices; the actual prices were often far higher.

[4]Promotion could only be purchased up to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; promotion beyond that was 'at the pleasure of the sovereign', M.F. Cunliffe, 'The Army as an Institution, 1815-54,' Unpublished B. Litt. Thesis (Oxford, 1947) 42.

[5]Hudson, Parent's Handbook, 21-22.

standard of wealth and guaranteed that the army drew most of its officers from the upper classes.[1] The pay of army officers was not great,[2] and in the more fashionable regiments at least it was impossible to survive without a private income. Entrance to the Royal Navy could not be purchased: all patronage was in the gift of the Lords of the Admiralty,[3] but this was chiefly bartered for parliamentary support,[4] and advancement was impossible without political interest.[5] After the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the navy was overburdened with half-pay officers with no prospects of employment or promotion, helpless victims of what was universally known as 'the block'.[6] Clerical advancement was equally impossible

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[1]Cunliffe, 28, 29.

[2]ibid, 54: The basic daily pay of a colonel in a regiment of the line in 1837 was 17s. An ensign received 5s. 3d.

[3]Hudson, 59.

[4]ibid.

[5]Michael Lewis, The Navy in Transition (1965) 93.

[6]ibid, 72, 73, 78, 84, 87: In 1832 93·9% of Flag Officers were unemployed, 90·7% of Captains, 90% of Commanders and 76·9% of Lieutenants. Between 1818 and 1847 Flag Officer unemployment never dropped below 90%, Post-Captain unemployment below 85%, commander unemployment below 80% and Lieutenant unemployment below 64%.

without the favour of powerful patrons. Access to the best livings rested firmly in the grasp of the aristocracy, the gentry and the political establishment, and was monopolised by their 'friends', retainers and political supporters.[1] Many clergymen were very poor,[2] and even those with benefices were frequently compelled to supplement their incomes in 'the actual detail and drudgery of tuition'.[3] Entrance to the public civil service was extremely varied.[4] Political influence was not always necessary to secure employment; appointments were often made on purely personal grounds.[5] In the departments of the Secretaries of State, 'whose superiority [was] universally acknowledged',[6]

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[1]Thomson, 73: By 1857 there were 11,728 benefices in England and Wales. 1,144 were in the gift of the Crown, 1,853 in that of the bishops, 938 in that of cathedral chapters and other dignitaries, 770 in that of Oxford and Cambridge and the ancient public schools, 931 in that of the ministers of the mother-churches, and 6,092 in that of private individuals.

[2]ibid: the average stipend of a beneficed clergyman was about £300 a year, but there were 5,230 curates [in 1831] whose average stipend was only £81 a year.

[3]ibid, 75. The clergy, in certain circumstances of course, were very favourably placed. 'The clergy have many advantages, and many opportunities of enjoying the comforts of life on a basis of economy denied to other classes. They are admitted into society on the recommendation of their sacred calling and education only, independent of the advantages of money. They have opportunities of forming, and do continually form, advantageous marriages, and, in the event of death, there is no class whose families are so well provided for by foundations and benevolent institutions.'

[4]SEE APPENDIX ONE.

[5]Anthony Trollope, An Autobiography (World's Classics, 1968) 30-32.

[6]Hudson, 128.

however, political interest was undoubtedly necessary, and 'a man of inferior birth and education [would have been] regarded as presumptuous in asking for an appointment in either of them'.[1]

For 'men without interest'[2] who wished to secure genteel employment, only the service of the East India Company remained.

The East India Company's service was particularly attractive to the poor and unconnected. Its patronage was in the gift of men who did not belong to the landed political establishment, and was extensive enough to allow them to respond to the claims of gentility, poverty and public service.[3] The Company's service was well paid and secure.[4] Though it was no longer possible to amass an enormous fortune in the Indian services after the Cornwallis and Wellesley reforms and the cessation of trade, the appeal of 'Nabobery' had a long life.[5] What the Company's service

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[1]Hudson, 127-128.

[2]Special Collections (IOR: L/MIL/5/125) pp.2-3.

[3]See above, pp.162-69.

[4]Hudson, 152-56: A colonel in a native infantry regiment earned about £1,920 a year, a captain about £550 and a lieutenant about £340. The Company's service was also pensioned: after twenty-three years service, of which three years might be spent on furlough, an officer was entitled to retire with the full pay of his rank. Retirement on half-pay was possible after three years service in India.

[5]Sir Charles D'Oyly, Tom Raw, the Griffin (1828) 3; Sencourt, India in English Literature, 283.

really offered was the prospect of a 'competence', a provision for life, in return for a minimum of capital expenditure.[1] India provided an opportunity to move up a notch or two in the social scale, not a chance to leap all the barriers between the bottom and the top. For a small number of talented and ambitious men it also provided a unique arena for the exercise of industry and endeavour, and paved the way to honour and fame. But above all, the Company's service was a seniority service, insulated from the operation of 'interest'.[2] Many recruits' fathers had bitter experience of the importance of interest and were determined that their sons should follow a career in which merit, or at least hardiness and longevity, would get their reward.[3]

The social origins of recruits and their motives for entering the East India Company's service had important consequences for Britain and India. The pursuit of gentility through patronage profoundly affected the development of British society. 'The curse of England is the obstinate determination of the middle classes to make their

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[1] East India patronage, if properly bestowed, cost nothing, but a period of training at Haileybury cost about 200 gns. Addiscombe cost about £300, the same amount it cost to fit out a cadet or writer for his passage to India.

[2] Raymond Callahan, The East India Company and Army Reform, 1783-1798 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) 16-39.

[3] Sir Herbert Edwardes & Herman Merivale, The Life of Sir Henry Lawrence (3rd. ed., 1873) 7, 10.

sons what they call gentlemen,' wrote Macaulay. 'So we are overrun by clergymen without livings; lawyers without briefs; physicians without patients; authors without readers; clerks soliciting employment, who might have thriven, and been above the world, as bakers, watchmakers or innkeepers.'[1] East India patronage helped to create a new service middle class which found in the institution of empire a position in the social order of Britain which it had been denied at home. In this India may have acted as a social safety valve for the ambitions of a potentially dangerous disinherited class, but in the longer term it denuded Britain of much needed talent, re-inforced the existing class structure and confirmed the retreat from the entrepreneurial ideal upon which British industrial and commercial predominance was built.

The effect upon the nature of the Indian empire was equally potent. The majority of the Company's servants had no higher motives than securing the degree of social security to which they felt themselves entitled. India was a 'temporary convenience',[2] a last resort in the determined struggle to maintain a social position in British life. The needs of India were secondary, if considered at

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[1] G.O. Trevelyan, The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay (1878) I, 339.

[2] Margaret Bellasis, Honourable Company (1952) 243.

all. The recruitment of writers and cadets whose principal motives were social and financial had a damaging effect on the conduct of the Company's administration. The Bengal Army, in particular, was tragically undermined by the nature of its recruits who became firmly attached to those aspects of the Company's service which observers elsewhere thought inefficient and corrupt.[1] The so-called 'established allowances'[2] were a constant cause of friction. They sabotaged military discipline, bred resentment and reduced efficiency. The officers of the Bengal Army looked to transfers to the more lucrative stations, which paid full batta,[3] or to employment on the staff, the superior status, emoluments and opportunities of which deprived regimental officers of all effective decision-making and lowered their prestige in native eyes. Financial considerations produced a distaste for the ordinary round of sepoy management and training and conspired to create a positive dislike of the sepoy and of all things Indian, a development pregnant with danger. The East India Company's attempts to educate and train its civil and military servants also foundered on the same reef of individual economic and social aspirations.

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[1] Callahan, East India Company and Army Reform, 209.

[2] These consisted, principally, of the 'commission upon the revenues, the emoluments arising from the management of the Bazars, and double full batta when employed upon Foreign service', Bengal Military Consultations (IOR: H/454) 27 May 1796. They were largely removed, after great bitterness bordering on open mutiny in 1796, but the main effect was to stimulate the search for other lucrative activities.

[3] The field-allowance of the Bengal Army, designed to make good the extra cost of living in the field, compared with living in garrison.

It is to these attempts that we must now turn.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

> ' .... the desire of knowledge will never interfere with the profession of arms, and .... [cadets] will not rise to the acme of glory without leaving their minds well-stocked with the fruits of science and literature.'

THE ADDISCOMBE SCRAP-BOOK, 1840

> ' .... when families are assured of appointments for their younger members .... they are apt to consider it unnecessary to give them an expensive education; and it will be found that the great majority of the young men so circumstanced have been educated at cheap proprietary schools, and not at those which are generally admitted to be our first-class seminaries.'

SIR CHARLES TREVELYAN

The provision of education and training for the East India Company's civil and military servants fell into three distinct categories. After 1806 the education of civil servants was conducted almost entirely at the Company's college at Haileybury in Hertfordshire. The training of military recruits, however, was more complicated. Engineer and artillery officers were placed in the Company's 'Military Seminary' after 1809, but 'direct-entry' cadets to the infantry and cavalry received no training at all from the Company after the closure of the

cadet college at Baraset, in Bengal, in 1811. They remained dependant upon the education which their own families had provided prior to their admission into the Company's service.

The education and training of civil servants, technical officers and 'direct' cadets illustrates the limitations of educational provision in an age of patronage. Despite the attempts of the Court of Directors to instill into its servant an understanding and appreciation of Indian society and culture, the effects of the patronage system were pervasive, making for incompetence, inefficiency and even corruption.

HAILEYBURY[1]

As the first concerted attempt to provide a professional education and training for public servants, Haileybury is assured of an honourable place in the history of British education and the history of British India.

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[1] I do not propose to offer a new history of Haileybury, based on primary manuscript sources. The College has been well treated in B.S. Cohn's 'The Recruitment and Training of British Civil Servants in India, 1600-1860,' in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent From the British Imperial Tradition (Durham, North Carolina, 1966) 116-140. I have made full use of this work, while reserving my major contribution for an account of the Company's much neglected Military Seminary, see below, pp.254-96.

Throughout its existence, however, the East India College was plagued with difficulties and dissensions which seriously undermined its standards and efficiency. The determination of the Directors to protect the appointments of their nominees made for lax entrance requirements and imposed a severe handicap on the College officers' efforts to maintain discipline. The College's impractical curriculum was ill-suited to the needs of the Indian administration or to the capabilities of the young men whose motives for entering the Indian services belonged solely to the realm of 'family convenience'[1] and to the fortunes of patronage. The East India College was the Court of Directors' most lavish attempt to justify the retention of its vast patronage. Ultimately, the experiment was weighed in the balance and found wanting, and with its failure died the Company's hopes of survival.[2]

The educational qualifications of the East India Company's early writers were extremely moderate,[3] but during the late eighteenth century the idea of a period of vocational training began to gain currency. The Marquess Wellesley was the first to realise that the transformation of the Company's servants from commercial clerks to rulers

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[1] 'The Indian Civil Service: its Rise and Fall,' Blackwood's Magazine, 89 (1861) 268.

[2] ibid, 270: 'When Haileybury fell, it was predicted that the Company would not stand much longer.'

[3] F.C. Danvers (et al), Memorials of Old Haileybury College (1894) 11: The Company demanded [1749] only a knowledge of the 'Rule of Three and Practice, with Merchants' Accompts'.

and judges required a change in the mode of their education.[1] In 1800 he founded the College of Fort William, in Calcutta, for the study of Oriental languages, and proposed that writers for all three presidencies should spend a period there before proceeding to their posts.[2] The Directors regarded Wellesley's initiative with almost universal detestation, and in 1802 they ordered the College's closure.[3] The ostensible reasons for their vehement opposition, that the College was too expensive, too ambitious and too detrimental to the services of Madras and Bombay,[4] had some validity, but the real concern was that their patronage would be weakened to the advantage of a Governor-General whose high-handed manner, expansionist policies and support for private traders were anathema to them.[5]

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[1] 'The Wellesley Papers', Add. Mss. (BM) 13860, ff.57: 'Wellesley's Minute on Education, 1800'.

[2] Anthony Farrington, The Records of the East India College Haileybury (1976) 6: 'The curriculum included Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and six modern Indian languages (Bengali, Hindustani, Telegu, Marathi, Tamil and Kannada), English and Indian law, political economy, history, modern and classical European languages, English literature, mathematics, chemistry, zoology and botany .... Each student's destination, first appointment and future promotion .... would depend upon the abilities demonstrated during the course.'

[3] ibid, 7.

[4] Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 13-14.

[5] See P.E. Roberts, India Under Wellesley (1929) 155-65, for a detailed account of the conflict. Wellesley's threatened resignation, coupled with the favourable attitude of the Board of Control, eventually forced the Court to compromise. The College was allowed to continue in a much reduced form as a language training school for Bengal civil servants, and flourished as a centre for Oriental Studies, see Farrington, 7.

The foundation of Haileybury College stemmed from a suggestion, made in a letter from the Company's Canton Factory in 1804, that writers should not, for health reasons, be sent out until the age of nineteen, and that the period between appointment[1] and that age should be taken up by formal training in England.[2] The proposal was referred to the Committee of Correspondence whose report, completed on 26 October 1804, recommended the establishment of a college in England to conduct the training of the Company's civil servants.[3] The report was largely the work of Charles Grant, who had led the opposition to Fort William College,[4] and it betrayed the unmistakeable influence of his Evangelicalism. Depite the Directors' recalcitrance, Wellesley's experiment had proved the need for some form of institutionalised training for writers. With the renewal of the Company's Charter less than a decade away such a college in England appeared not only necessary but expedient. The Court accepted the Committee of Correspondence report, and the East India College was opened in February 1806.[5]

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[1]See above, p.81.

[2]See above, p.82.

[3]Committee of College Minutes (IOR: J/2/1) pp.2-16.

[4]See Ainslie T. Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India (1962) Chapter 9.

[5]Farrington, 7: The College was originally housed in Hertford Castle, but this proved unsatisfactory. Confronted by a non-renewable twenty-one year lease and the need for £15,000 of improvements, the Court of Directors decided to erect a building of its own. Construction began in May 1806 and the College transferred to the new site, about two miles away, in 1809. The architect was William Wilkins, see J. Mordaunt Crook, 'Haileybury and the Greek revival: the architecture of William Wilkins, R.A.,' in The Haileyburian (1964). [I owe this reference to Mr. H.M. Colvin of St, John's College, Oxford.]

It is impossible to give a fair account of the College without differentiating the two markedly different periods in its existence. Between 1806 and 1833 Haileybury was essentially a school. The provisions of the Charter Act of 1793 and the anxiety of parents to get their children into suitable employment at the earliest opportunity ensured that the overwhelming majority of the students were schoolboys.[1] The original Committee of Correspondence report envisaged the appointment of a 'Head Master',[2] and Grant himself used the terms 'school' and 'college' interchangably when defending Haileybury before the Court of Proprietors,[3] as if the words implied no inherent contradictions of attitude and approach. Many of Haileybury's problems during the period 1806-1833 stemmed from this confusion. After 1833, however, students were not admitted until they had attained the age of seventeen,[4] and Haileybury at last began to approximate to the collegiate standards implicit in its purpose and curriculum.

The object of the East India College, according to a prospectus published in 1806, was 'to provide a supply of persons duly qualified to discharge the

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[1]The Charter Act of 1793 fixed the age regulations, see above, p.81.

[2]Committee of College Minutes (IOR: J/2/1) p.14.

[3]Asiatic Annual Register (1809) 231.

[4]The Charter Act of 1833 provided that no candidate should be admitted under 17 or over 20 years of age. The maximum age for admission was raised to 21 in 1837 (Act 1 Vict., c.70), but no writer could proceed to India above the age of 23.

various and important duties required from the civil servants of the Company in administering the government of India'.[1] The College failed even to meet this basic demand. By 1826 the supply of writers was so insufficient that the Directors were released from their obligations under the Charter Act of 1813 (which required all civil service nominees to spend four terms at Haileybury)[2] and allowed to send out writers direct to India, subject to their supplying satisfactory educational testimonials and being able to pass an examination.[3] This seriously weakened the position of Haileybury in the eyes of parents, who became increasingly keen to obtain 'direct' appointments, free from the expenses[4] involved in a College education.[5]

The course of studies upon which the

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[1] Committee of College References (IOR: J/1/21) ff.514-521.

[2] Act 53 Geo. III, c.155.

[3] Act 7 Geo. IV, c.56.

[4] The fees at Haileybury were fixed at 50 guineas a term. Each term lasted twenty weeks, and the academic year consisted of two terms. The normal period of study was four terms, a total cost of 200 guineas.

[5] The complaints of parents with sons at Haileybury were mollified in 1829 when it was agreed that time spent at the College after the age of seventeen should count, for the purposes of pay, retirement and pensions, as time spent in India, see Act 10 Geo. IV., c.16.

Haileybury student embarked[1] incorporated the most advanced contemporary educational theories'.[2] The quality of the College staff was indisputable.[3] Haileybury gave employment to some of the finest minds in England, including T.R. Malthus, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir James Stephen and William Empson. In practice, however, the curriculum over which they presided had serious flaws which weakened their effectiveness and limited their success.

The very modernity of the curriculum posed a severe handicap. Students entering the College could not be expected, given the notorious limitations of contemporary British education, to be particularly well equipped to meet the demands of advanced study in subjects such as political economy or Sanskrit, which were entirely unknown in English schools, where the predominance of classics was unchallenged. The East India Company's failure to insist on relevant

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[1]The course consisted of Oriental literature (designed to provide practical instruction in the rudiments of Oriental languages, especially Arabic and Persian); mathematics and natural philosophy; classical and general literature; law, history and political economy, see L.S.S. O'Malley, The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930 (Frank Cass, 1965) 236-37.

[2]Farrington, 7.

[3]Some 21 members of the College staff boast entries in the Dictionary of National Biography, though one of them, the lawyer Edward Christian, is said to have died 'in the full vigour of his incapacity', DNB, IV, 276; SEE APPENDIX NINE.

entrance requirements did nothing to improve the situation. Candidates were examined in 'the classics and arithmetic, and if they be not found to possess a competent knowledge of at least two of the Latin classics, the easier parts of the Greek Testament, and the principles of grammar, as well as the common rules of arithmetic, together with vulgar and decimal fractions, they will be remanded until the commencement of the next term'.[1] Such a test, demanding only the elements of a classical education in an age of classical education, administered by men who owed their appointments to the Court of Directors, was unlikely to prove much of a stumbling block to the Directors' nominees. The principal object of the entrance regulations was not academic but social, the exclusion of those whose education smacked of the commercial.[2]

The character of the entrance examination remained unchanged until 'the College became definitely a place of higher education, and abandoned its school features with the increasing age of its students'.[3] The range of

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[1] East India Register (1826).

[2] Malthus admitted as much in 1817: 'This .... examination at once prevents persons from offering themselves who have not received the usual education of the higher classes of society,' T.R. Malthus, Statements Respecting the East India College (1817) 47. This social provision is a reflection of the low social class of many of the Company's writers in the eighteenth century rather than an indication of any success in attracting upper-class recruits in the nineteenth.

[3] H. Morse Stephens, 'An account of the East India College, Haileybury,' in A. Lawrence Lowell, Colonial Civil Service (1900) 286.

subjects examined was extended, and the examination was supervised by an independent board, selected from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] The examination was hard enough to require special preparation.[2] Though it held few fears for a mature candidate with a sound education, the examination was sufficient to frighten many younger and less well prepared men.[3]

Despite the new entrance regulations and the greater rigour with which they were enforced by men who were beyond the range of the Directors' influence, the educational standard of the East India Company's civil service recruits remained very uneven. B.S. Cohn's analysis of the educational background of Haileybury students reveals a wholesale reliance on cheap proprietary schools and specialist crammers.[4] Less than a third went to public schools, while the age regulations effectively pre-empted recruitment from the universities.[5]

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[1] The East India Register (1838) gives an account of the new regulations: 'a competent knowledge' of the 'Four Gospels' of the Greek Testament; the ability to render into English 'some portion of the works' of various Greek and Latin authors. Each candidate had to answer questions on modern history and geography, the common rules of arithmetic and 'the first four books of Euclid'. Moral philosophy and the evidences of the Christian religion 'set forth in the works of Paley' were also examined.

[2] Morse Stephens, 288.

[3] Edward Lockwood, The Early Days of Marlborough College (1893) 127 [see below, p.248]; Sir George Campbell believed that 'the qualifying examination not only threw out a few of the worst, but frightened away a good many more. Directors did not like to send up a boy likely to fail,' quoted in Morse Stephens, 288.

[4] SEE TABLE 10, p.223; see also TABLE 11, p.237.

[5] Edinburgh University, which took students younger than was the case in England, largely accounts for the number of those who were university educated.

10. Table Showing the Place of Education of Students Prior To Their Entering Haileybury, 1809-1850

	1809-1810		1819-1820		1829-1830	
Clergy	9	13%	31	35%	32	33%
Grammar Schools and Academies	17	25%	16	18%	2	2%
Public Schools	13	19%	10	11%	13	14%
East India School	8	12%	6	7%	-	-
Private Tutor	2	3%	5	6%	8	8%
Colleges	-	-	4	5%	1	1%
Addiscombe	-	-	5	6%	3	3%
Special Crammers	-	-	-	-	26	27%
Abroad	-	-	-	-	2	2%
No information	18	27%	11	13%	9	9%
Total	67		88		96	

	1839-1840		1849-1850		Total	%
Clergy	23	17%	18	20%	113	23•99%
Grammar Schools and Academies	23	17%	17	20%	75	15•92%
Public Schools	11	11%	17	18%	64	13•59%
East India School	-	-	-	-	14	2•97%
Private Tutor	1	1%	1	1%	17	3•61%
Colleges	18	13%	2	2%	25	5•28%
Addiscombe	4	3%	2	2%	14	2•97%
Special Crammers	47	35%	33	36%	106	22•51%
Abroad	1	1%	1	1%	4	•85%
No information	1	1%	-	-	39	8•28%
Total	129		91		471	

[Based on B.S. Cohn, 'Recruitment and Training of British Civil Servants in India, 1600-1860,' in Ralph Braibanti (ed.), Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent From the British Imperial Tradition (Durham, North Carolina, 1966).129.]

The course of studies pursued by Haileybury students ill-prepared them for the realities of Indian administration. Few of their teachers had spent any time in India, and none of them had any first-hand knowledge of the way Indian government worked.[1] The curriculum was particularly weak in the vocational training which it offered; specifically Oriental subjects were neglected in favour of the general principles of law and liberal studies. 'Much valuable time [was] spent in studying other subjects at the expense of the Oriental spoken languages,' wrote Edward Lockwood. 'Some of the cleverest men are painfully weak in the vernacular, and a thorough knowledge of the language of those we are called on to govern, is much more important than the theoretical length of a syphon, or the heliocentric plane of a heavenly body.'[2] Instruction in the Oriental languages was not very intensive,[3] and in its concentration on Sanskrit[4] elevated academic criteria above the need for a practical understanding of the vernacular languages of India.[5] H.G. Keene described the method of

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[1]Only the Oriental professors and the last Professor of Law, J.F. Leith, had spent any time in India. The experiment of employing native Indians did not prove a success, see Cohn, 133.

[2]Lockwood, 147.

[3]Thirty-six hours of Oriental language instruction a term for the four classes in the College was the norm, see Cohn, 123-24.

[4]Cohn, 124.

[5]Even Sir Monier Monier-Williams, himself a great Sanskrit scholar, was dubious about the value of Sanskrit: 'I have always doubted the wisdom of making Sanskrit compulsory on all. In the majority of cases the knowledge gained was so slight as to be absolutely useless,' Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 52-53.

teaching in 1821:

> The plan pursued in the College is this: The students on their first arrival, are taught by the Professor the peculiar form and sound of each letter; and those particulars in which the alphabet and the mode of writing in the Oriental Language differs from those to which the student has become accustomed are carefully explained. The pronunciation is taught by the pupils continuing to repeat the sounds uttered by the Professor until by practice they gradually acquire as much facility and correctness as can be reasonably expected ... At the same time that the Professor is thus employed, the students attend the Munshi (or writing master), who is a native of Bengal and who is teaching them to write the characters, and takes pains to correct their pronunciation. As soon as they are sufficiently familiar with the characters and the common rules of grammar, they proceed to read and translate easy passages: The Professor reading every word distinctly and explaining the whole grammatical construction. They are at the same time encouraged to make translations from English, which they bring to the Professor, in the character peculiar to the language, which gives him an opportunity of correcting the errors in grammar and spelling. 1

In order to qualify for their appointments at the end of the course the students had only to pass in Sanskrit, which (according to Sir George Campbell) was a useful to an Indian magistrate 'as a knowledge of ancient German would be to an English Commissioner of Police'.[2] Most students had recourse to crammers to stuff them with just enough knowledge to 'scrape through the examination'.[3] Even the brighter and more assiduous students often found it necessary to take advantage of the facilities provided by outside teachers such as J.B. Gilchrist or Duncan Forbes.[4]

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[1]Quoted in Cohn, 123.

[2]Sir George Campbell, Modern India (1852) 265.

[3]J.H. Rivett-Carnac, Many Memories of Life in India, at Home and Abroad (1910) 14.

[4]See below, pp.252-53 . Forbes was Monier-Williams' Sanskrit coach, Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 43, 44.

The quality of the non-Oriental parts of the course was very high, though their relevance to Indian conditions may be doubted. 'Looking back .. at the teaching which we received at the East India College as a whole,' wrote Monier-Williams, 'I think my contemporaries will bear me out when I affirm that we students had every reason to be grateful to the Directors of the East India Company for their wisdom and liberality in making the emoluments of their professorial chairs sufficiently attractive to secure the services of the ablest men[1] .... Furthermore, I may say that, according to my own individual experiences as a student, the mental training which I gained at old Haileybury was so varied and excellent that nothing at all equal to it .... was to be had either at the universities or elsewhere.'[2] The curriculum provided plenty of incentives for clever and industrious students,[3] but it is less certain whether the general level of academic attainment was very high. Few students possessed Monier-Williams' interest in learning what was being taught to them, nor his capacity for assimilating the barrage of intellectual ideas. The evidence of the Haileybury Observer, a student magazine published between 1839 and 1858, is that the students were little given to serious intellectual disputation, and exhibited a remarkable lack of interest in the country in which their future careers would be spent.[4] The iconoclastic John Beames

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[1]Lockwood, 146, described them as 'the most shining lights that England could produce'.

[2]Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 74-75.

[3]Academic prowess was also reflected in the ultimate rank of students at the end of the course.

[4]Cohn, 132.

perhaps came closer to the prevailing attitude:

> If at any time one wanted to know what sort of place India was, or what one's future life or work there was to be like, it was impossible to find anyone who could give the requisite information .. All we knew was that it was 'beastly hot' and that there were 'niggers' there, and that it would be time enough to bother about it when you got there.[1]

Attention to the niceties of education was not enhanced by the College's woeful record of indiscipline,[2] which was worse (at least in reputation) even than that of the Military Seminary at Addiscombe.[3] There were riots in 1808, 1809, 1810, 1815, 1822 and 1837.[4] Drunkenness, assaults on the long-suffering inhabitants of Ware and Hertford and damage to College property were common occurrences.[5]

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[1] John Beames, Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian (ed. C.H. Cooke, 1961) 64.

[2] Morse Stephens, 303, dissents from the traditional melancholy picture of Haileybury's state of discipline: 'it did not deserve this bad reputation; the pranks of students elsewhere, before and since; the bad name it got in its early days stuck to it; discussions at the meetings of the stockholders and in the newspapers made mountains out of mole-hills; and when once the students began to be treated as men instead of boys, and certain tactless officers of the College went out of office, things ran as smoothly as in other efficient places of higher education.'

[3] The Times, 20, 27 December 1816; 7 January, 8 May 1817; and 19 December 1822, took great delight in chronicling the periodic outbursts of violence and insubordination, and in contrasting these with the more ordered ways of Addiscombe.

[4] Cohn, 135. This was a common phenomenon in British education at the time. There were riots at Winchester in 1793 ('the Great Rebellion') and 1818; at Eton in 1818; at Rugby in 1797 and 1822; at Harrow in 1805 and 1808; and at Armagh College in 1825, see Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 66-7.

[5] Committee of College References (IOR: J/1/22) ff.393, 394; (J/1/23) ff.343, 345, 349, 377, 387, 416, 419, 421, 423, 428; (J/1/24) ff.495, 503, 509, 517, 535; (J/1/25) ff.372, 388; (J/1/26) ff.355, 359, 362; (J/1/29) ff.472, 492; (J/1/30) f.449; (J/1/31) ff.2, 120, 131, 144, 199, 350; (J/1/32) ff.64, 237, 239, 315, 317, 319, 323; (J/1/37) ff.76, 78, 460, 474; (J/1/38) ff.226, 296, 530, 534, 577, 581, 583; (J/1/40) f.231.

Indiscipline was partly the result of bringing together a substantial number of young men who had neither the commitment nor the capacity to take their work seriously, but the major responsibility must rest with the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors. 'The peculiar characters of the relations subsisting between the collegiate staff, the Court of Directors, the Court of Proprietors and the Board of Control,' wrote F.C. Danvers, 'fettered the action of the Principal, Dean and professors, and made the management of the College a work of no ordinary difficulty.'[1] The College suffered from the absence of a clear chain of command. Discipline was originally vested in the College Council, consisting of the Principal and the whole body of professors, but they were subjected to the constant interference and interruption of the Committee of College of the Court of Directors.[2] Wrong-doers (and their parents) well knew that there existed a right of appeal from the decisions of the College Council, de facto if not de jure, and that the Court of Directors would look with favour on their earnest protestations of apology. The Directors were notoriously lax in their treatment of misconduct.[3] They were restrained from decisive

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[1] Memorials of Old Haileybury College, xviii-xix.
[2] ibid, 99.
[3] For examples see Court Minutes (IOR: B/154) ff.801, 842, 863, 943-45, 964-65; (B/155) ff.15, 35, 54, 109-13; (B/163) ff.197, 233, 248, 276, 325-6, 397-9, 485; (B/164) f.582.

action by the potent consideration that the delinquents were their own nominees. Even those students whose crimes were so heinous as to bring about their expulsion[1] were invariably given cadetships in the infantry or cavalry.[2] The consequent incentive to academic exertion was slight. The Court of Proprietors was another obstacle to the efficient despatch of College business. From the beginning the Proprietors regarded Haileybury as an unwarranted interference with their rights of patronage. They consistently advocated a return to the system of 'direct' civil service appointments, and twice mounted serious attempts to abolish the College.[3] The College authorities became burdened with a disciplinary system in which the punishments at their disposal were either so feeble as to be almost useless (such as fines and restriction to College) or so severe (such as rustication and expulsion) as to be unenforceable in the councils of the Company.

In 1838 the College Council was limited to the Principal, the Dean and two senior professors,[4] but the reform did nothing to improve the state of affairs, which

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[1]Cohn, 136-37 states that 'the number of withdrawals for all reasons, including health, change of plans, academic failure and misconduct, appears to have been very low. Out of 1,985 students who are listed as having attended the College, only 281 or 12% did not graduate; of these .. many went to India in the army after withdrawing from Haileybury'.

[2]O'Malley, Indian Civil Service, 239: 'It was the fashion to send into the cavalry a young man too idle or too stupid to go through Haileybury and the Director put another in his place in the Civil Service.'

[3]Farrington, 9. The attempts occurred in 1813 and 1833.

[4]Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 99.

continued to deteriorate under the weak and ineffectual leadership of Principal Le Bas.[1] A saddened Le Bas pictured the situation in a letter to Archdeacon Hale, the Master of the Charterhouse, in 1843:[2]

> Our grand evil is this: that we are brooded over by an External Body, very different from your Governors; - not only a constantly fluctuating body - but, in all matters relating to education, a very ignorant and narrow-minded body, in short, without a soul. I cannot help thinking that some good may be done by the frank expression of an unbiased and impartial opinion on the part of a spectator and observer like yourself. You have been pointedly invited to the office: and by your accepting it, some rays of light may, perchance, be made to penetrate 'the palpable obscure'! 3

The constant friction between the College authorities, the students and the Company eventually led to a radical change in 1843, when the Rev. Henry Melvill[4] was appointed Principal with full power in all matters of discipline.[5] Under Melvill's strong guidance the College reached the peak of its achievements. 'I emphatically repeat,' concluded Monier-Williams, 'that, to the best of my knowledge and experience, the discipline of the East India College was in my time [student, 1839-41, Professor, 1844-5] carried out by the authorities, through good report and evil report, and often in the teeth of unusual hindrances and difficulties, with an amount of wisdom, tact, and success which still

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[1] Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 102: 'the College passed through an epoch of great perturbation and doubt between 1838 and 1843'.

[2] Hale had been asked by some of the Directors to draw up a plan for the reform of College administration on Charterhouse lines. The plan was never made, ibid, 102.

[3] ibid, 104.

[4] Melvill was the brother of the Company's Secretary J.C. Melvill. He was a celebrated preacher, and was not a man to be pushed around.

[5] Morse Stephens, 302.

excites my wonder, whenever I look back upon it.'[1]

What did Haileybury achieve? For a few talented and able men it provided an environment of intellectual challenge and stimulation available nowhere else in England.[2] For the average student, poorly educated and incapable of the highest flights of intellectual imagination, it was less successful. Many of them left the College with only a vague idea of their role and purpose in the Indian administration, and most were incapable of holding the simplest conversation with the people over whose lives they were to sit in judgement.[3] Haileybury undoubtedly served to equip its students with a sense of community which they carried with them for the rest of their lives:

> Haileybury formed a tie which the vicissitudes of official life could never break. In the swamps of Dacca, in the deserts of Rajpootana ..... wherever the Haileybury men met they had at least one set of associations in common. What matter if one wore the frock coat of the Board of Revenue while the other sported the jackboots and solar topee of the Muffasil Commissioner .... Had they not rowed together on the Lea? Had they not larked together in Hertford ....? This strong esprit de corps had its drawbacks. The interests of the country were too often postponed to the interests of the service. But the advantages of Haileybury outweighed the defects. 4

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[1] Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 88.

[2] ibid, 76: ' .... my previous work at Oxford could only be regarded as child's play.'

[3] See Cohn, 138.

[4] Sir George Trevelyan, The Competition Wallah (1854) 6-7.

Others disagreed. James Mill thought that the corporate life of the College encouraged habits of profligacy[1] and Mountstuart Elphinstone, one of the most distinguished administrators of the pre-Haileybury generation, thought that it fostered hatred of all things Indian.[2] For many students Haileybury was a time 'of merry days and jovial nights, when wine, tobacco, singing in chorus, and noisy revelry were freely indulged in, as a set off to the dulness of lectures on subjects which few could understand, and to the abstruseness of examination-questions which no ordinary student was expected to answer'.[3] It is only fair that they should have the last word:

> Sweet Hailey! quaintest College of the land,
> Thou strange old structure of some untaught hand.
>
> . . . .
>
> The good old reign of Patronage is o'er -
> Influence, departed; Interest, no more -
> And the great prize may haply now repay
> The long hard night, the anxious plodding day.
> While India's children, wondering, shall behold
> The pale thin face, the form already old;
> And speak in sorrow of the days gone by,
> When men - not bookworms - ruled their destiny.[4]

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[1] P.P. 1831-32, 9, 735-I, p.54, q.38.
[2] ibid, p.64, q.475.
[3] Memorials of Old Haileybury College, 228.
[4] ibid, 301-4.

DIRECT-ENTRY CADETS

By far the greater proportion of the East India Company's officer cadets went directly to India without any formal training in England.[1] Military training of any kind was virtually non-existent before 1804. William Hickey was probably typical in his ignorance of military lore:

> I attended before a Committee of Directors to undergo the usual examination as a cadet .. Having surveyed me .. one of them .. said:
>
> 'Well young gentleman, what is your age?' Having answered 'Nineteen', he continued:
>
> 'Have you ever served, I mean in the army? Though I presume from your age and appearance you cannot.'
>
> I replied, 'I had not.'
>
> 'Can you go through the manual exercise.?'
>
> 'No, sir.'
>
> 'Then you must take care and learn it.' I bowed. 2

During the early part of our period, newly-arrived cadets were not even lodged in barracks and subjected to military discipline, but accommodated in punch-houses where they were prey to all manner of vice and corruption. The establishment of a cadet college at Baraset, near Calcutta, in 1804,[3] was the Company's first attempt to provide instruction in basic

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[1] Addiscombe Military Seminary provided about 75 technical officers a year; these constituted only a third of the average annual intake, SEE APPENDIX EIGHT, TABLE 2.

[2] William Hickey, Memoirs (Ed. Alfred Spencer, 1913-25) I; 124-125.

[3] Amiya Barat, The Bengal Native Infantry, 1796-1852 (Calcutta, 1962) 74-79.

military duties and Indian languages for 'the great numbers of young gentlemen [who] proceed to India without the smallest idea of the customs peculiar to that country'.[1] Unfortunately, Baraset College proved a disastrous failure,[2] and had to be closed in 1811. The officers in charge lived some distance from the college and the cadets, subject to hardly any control, often ran riot.[3] Sir John Hearsey's recollections of his time there were wholly representative:

> As there were more than four hundred youths and young men at Baraset just liberated from school, and considering themselves independent officers and gentlemen, it may easily be imagined that many 'fracas' took place among them, frequently ending in duels. On one occasion a young subaltern from a regiment at Barrackpore was shot dead; and in another duel a young man was wounded near the ankle, which caused lameness for a long time. I must mention that eight months was the period allowed for the cadets to pass in Oordoo, or Court language of Hindostan, a mélange of Hindee [sic], Persian and Arabic .... I usually studied by candle light, as my days were passed in sport, and I was often disturbed by the young men who saw me thus employed. They threw clods into my room, which frequently hit me or my moonshi, or broke the shade of my lamp and put out the

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[1] Capt. Thomas Williamson, The East India Vade Mecum (1810) I, 1.

[2] W.H. Carey, The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company (Calcutta, 1906) 236: 'If the Governor-General of the time, being with the best aid of the Commander-in-Chief, the members of council, the whole secretariat and the chiefs and big-wigs of all departments into the bargain, had assembled in solemn conclave for the one purpose of devising how best to bring ruin and demoralization into the ranks of the young and inexperienced on their arrival as cadets in India, the chances are ten to one, if they could have fallen on so sure, safe and expeditious a plan of eradicating all good and instilling every evil as that ... pernicious institution of Baraset.'

[3] Col. Hugh Pearse, The Hearseys; Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family (1905) 131-32: 'The college at Baraset was a riotous place and I was not sorry to leave it.'

> light. I had to go and shout that to do this was cowardly, and that if I recognised the offender I would most assuredly call him to account for it. One close night, being disturbed in this manner, I ran hastily to the open Venetian window and caught a glimpse of one of the cadets endeavouring to hide himself near the wall of the barrack. I said, 'I know who you are, and you shall hear from me tomorrow morning'; and thus saying shut the Venetian window. About two minutes afterwards the door leading into the corridor of the barracks opened, and a young man came smiling in, saying 'So, as usual, you are studying at night.' In him I recognised the offender, and seizing the thick quarto volume of Gilchrist's Dictionary, I rose to quit my room and struck him down with it, telling him to quit my room, and that I should be ready to give him the satisfaction due from one gentleman to another on the morrow. [1]

After the closure of Baraset cadets were merely posted to their regiments in the sanguine hope that they would obtain a rudimentary military education in the course of their duties. A more successful attempt to provide suitable instruction for infantry cadets had to await the institution of the 'general service system' at Addiscombe in 1827,[2] but the vast majority of direct-entry cadets had to rely on the education they received before they entered the Company's service. This education invariably left much to be desired.

An account of the pre-entry education of the East India Company's officer cadets serves to confirm all Matthew Arnold's worst fears about the state of English learning. Cadets' parents were severely limited in the range

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[1] Pearse, The Hearseys, 129-130.

[2] The date usually given is 1816, e.g. Anthony Farrington, The Records of the East India College, Haileybury, and Other Institutions (1976) 115 and Callahan, East India Company and Army Reform, 19, but this is based on a misunderstanding, see below, p. 254. The 'general service system' allowed the Company to take from Addiscombe only the number of engineer and artillery cadets it needed; the rest joined the infantry.

of educational alternatives open to them. In England there was nothing to compare with the comprehensive systems of public instruction found in Prussia, France or, even, Scotland.[1] There was no government control and no general system; apart from a multitude of very unsatisfactory private schools,[2] there were only the ancient grammar schools, many of them inefficiently or corruptly run, and the smaller group of public schools,[3] which catered principally for boarded pupils. The standard of education provided in all but the best of these schools was abysmally low. The situation was exacerbated by the middle classes' 'grubby utilitarian ideas of education',[4] a generalisation from which the parents and guardians of the East India Company's cadets cannot be exempted. The overwhelming majority of cadets were educated at cheap proprietary schools, characterised by a slavish devotion to the classics and frequent recourse to the birch.[5]

Pre-eminent among the proprietary schools in the estimation of cadets' parents were 'Mr. Tait's, Bromley'; 'Dr. Burney's, Gosport'; 'Mr. Delafosse's, Richmond'; 'Stoton and Mayor's, Wimbledon'; 'Kensington

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[1]See above, p.181, n.1

[2]Best, Mid-Victorian Britain, 182: ' .... the quality of private schools was often what you would expect, in a country where anyone could put up a brass plate and announce his establishment as a school.'

[3]The best account of the public schools is Brian Gardner's The Public Schools (1973).

[4]Best, 182.

[5]SEE TABLE 11, p.237.

11. Table Showing the Place of Education of Direct-Entry Cadets, 1809-1854.

	1809-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840
Proprietary Schools	57·5%	48·9%	65·9%
Grammar Schools	14·1%	12·4%	11·4%
Public Schools	11·9%	17·2%	7·2%
Private Tuition	2·3%	2·2%	2·9%
Colleges/Universities	6·8%	5·1%	4·2%
India	-	-	0·6%
Other	3·9%	2·8%	3·0%
No information	3·5%	1·3%	4·8%
	100%	100%	100%

	1841-1850	1851-1854	Average Total
Proprietary Schools	56·2%	64·2%	60·4%
Grammar Schools	14·1%	8·3%	12·1%
Public Schools	12·6%	12·5%	12·3%
Private Tuition	1·8%	6·3%	3·1%
Colleges/Universities	8·9%	2·1%	5·4%
India	0·4%	2·1%	0·6%
Other	3·3%	1·1%	2·8%
No information	2·7%	3·4%	3·1%
	100%	100%	100%

[Based on the Cadet Papers (IOR).]

Proprietary Grammar School'; 'the Edinburgh Academy'; and 'the Scottish Military and Naval Academy', whose names recur constantly in the Cadet Papers.[1]

Tait's Academy was 'for long a favourite place for educating the sons of Anglo-Indians'.[2] Its most famous pupil was Charles Metcalfe.[3] Tait had influential, but obscure, Indian connections, and his other pupils included 'divers Pattles and Plowdens, and others bearing names with which East-Indian Registers have long been familiar'.[4] 'Its recommendations were .... chiefly of an extrinsic character,' wrote Sir John Kaye. 'Scholastically .... there was not very much to be said in its favour.'[5] 'Dr. Burney's' was run by the Rev. Charles Parr Burney, the nephew of the novelist Fanny Burney, and himself an author of some repute. The school was prominent in the education

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[1]Equally important and popular schools were: Apsley House, Woburn; Loughborough House Academy, Brixton; Mr. Wanostrocht's, Blackheath; the Rev. Edward Valpy's, Norwich; the Rev. Dr. Nicholas's, Ealing; Dr. Kelly's, Finsbury Square; and Burlington House Academy, Fulham.

[2]Sir William Foster, John Company (1926) 228.

[3]Metcalfe later completed his education at Eton, to which he remained devoted for the rest of his life.

[4]Sir J.W. Kaye, The Life of Lord Metcalfe (1854) 6. Tait's was also well-known for the education of substantial numbers of half-caste children sent home from India, Foster, 231.

[5]Kaye, ibid.

of candidates for the Company's service for over fifty years.[1] The Rev. Charles Delafosse was 'a bluff, portly man who took in great quantities of snuff through his long aquiline nose and drank more port than was good for him. He was a favourite with the boys because he seldom beat them, but as [his most celebrated pupil Sir Richard] Burton later said, "He was no more fit to be a schoolmaster than the Grand Cham of Tartary"'.[2] His school was no more prepossessing:

> The school was hardly sufficient to keep up [Burton's] strength ..... [He] was appalled by the meagre rations doled out by Mr. Delafosse's thin-lipped wife. Breakfast consisted of a mug of very blue milk and a wedge of bread with a thin glazing of butter. The epicures among the students scraped the bread until they had collected enough butter at one end to make at least one decent bite. Dinner, served at 1 p.m., began with a pudding known as 'stickjaw' and ended with a piece of gristly, sinewy and badly cooked meat; potatoes like bullets; and an unwanted, hateful carrot. Supper was like breakfast and Richard usually went to bed hungry after a hard day's fighting. 3

Stoton and Mayor's at Wimbledon was a noted crammers which specialised in preparing candidates for the Company's Military Seminary, but also educated numerous 'direct' cadets.[4] Kensington Proprietary Grammar School was, perhaps,

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[1] Burney's Academy had originally been at Greenwich (1793-1813). Charles Parr Burney took over the management from his father in 1813 and moved to Gosport in 1819.

[2] Byron Farwell, Burton, a Biography of Sir Richard Francis Burton (1963) 11.

[3] ibid, 12.

[4] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/193) f.132.

the most sophisticated and impressive of the proprietary schools prominent in the education of cadets for the East India Company's service. Something of its success was due to the interest taken in it by the Director, Sir Henry Willock, and his friendship with the school's Treasurer, Richard Clark, formerly of the Madras Civil Service.[1] The Edinburgh Academy[2] was a proprietary day school founded in 1825 to meet the needs of the New Town.[3] Its governors (known as 'Directors') included many distinguished men, some of whom, like Sir Walter Scott and Robert Dundas, had considerable influence with the East India Company.[4] During the period 1825-1860 about 8·5% of the Academy's pupils entered the Company's civil or military service.[5] The Scottish Military and Naval Academy was founded in Edinburgh in 1838 to cash in on the increasing demand for technical, military

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[1] 'Notes on the Willock Family,' Eur. Mss. (IOR: D527) 5, 39: 'Having formed a favourable opinion of the Proprietary School of Kensington [where he lived] as in his judgement peculiarly suited by its course of military mathematics to levy the most solid foundation on which to raise the superstructure of the Addiscombe education, he presented to it annually from 1842 an Addiscombe Nomination to be competed for: and the result was found to attain Sir Henry's object: for of those nominees who had completed the terms of study, and have gone forth from the .... Seminary one only has failed to obtain the high prize of nomination either to the Engineers or Artillery.'

[2] T. Henderson & P.F. Hamilton-Grierson, The Edinburgh Academy Register (Edinburgh, 1914) xi: 'The word "Academy" was originally applied in Scotland to a class of institution called into being in the latter half of the eighteenth century by the growing demand for a more "practical" kind of education than the old burgh grammar schools supplied.'

[3] 'The Edinburgh Academy in India,' Calcutta Review, 99 (1894) 139.

[4] Edinburgh Academy Register, list of Directors.

[5] 284 out of about 3,400 pupils entered the Company's service between 1825 and 1860, Edinburgh Academy Register. The list of Indian Army officers was extensive and impressive, Calcutta Review, 177-186.

education. Its curious curriculum[1] attracted pupils from all over Britain during the last twenty years of the Company's rule.

It is, perhaps, somewhat unfair to generalise about the quality of education found in proprietary schools. Their number was certainly very large[2] and the variety of leaving ages produced a plethora of curricula and standards.[3] 'The reform of the Army and the Civil Service, the growth of other professions, and the establishment of various external examinations for "middle-class schools"[4] further shaped [the] system.'[5] 'The

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/199) f.564: 'Mathematics; Fortification; Military Drawing; Civil Engineering; Architectural Drawing; Landscape Drawing; Military History; Latin; Greek; Writing, Arithmetic and Book-keeping; History, Geography and Elocution; Hindostanee; French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese; German, Fencing; Gymnastics; Military Exercises (firelock and broadsword); Practical Mechanics and Modelling.'

[2] Margaret Bryant, 'Private Education from the Sixteenth Century,' Victoria County History, Middlesex, Vol. 1, 241-289, identifies 95 such schools in Chelsea, 135 in Islington, 144 in Clerkenwell, 88 in Hackney, 77 in Kensington, 97 in Marylebone, 57 in St. Pancras and 123 in Stepney and district during the period 1832-34. [I owe my awareness of this interesting and informative article to Professor Alan Everitt.]

[3] ibid, 269.

[4] The College of Preceptors' School Examinations began in 1854, the Society of Arts' in 1856 and the Oxford and Cambridge Locals in 1858, Bryant, 269.

[5] Bryant, 269.

provision of schools by private enterprise,' wrote Margaret Bryant, 'was an industry engaging much capital and skill, constantly adapting itself to a market which was only in process of discovering its needs.'[1] The cadets, however, harboured few illusions about the quality of their education. 'I frequently fancy,' wrote Sir William Nott, 'that if it had been my fortune to have received a proper education, I should have been exalted and conspicuous among the John Bulls; but I never received any schooling but what my own fist knocked into my own dull head after I left our fatherland.'[2] Cadet Walter Coningsby Erskine learned to read by tracing out the letters on gravestones with his finger.[3] His more formal period of training at 'Mr. Hawkins', Stourbridge', was less intellectually remunerative. Hawkins was 'ill-educated, ill-tempered' and brutish, a 'petty tyrant [who] made use of his wife as a *kind of upper class* maid'.[4] He did not feed his pupils too well, but being poor was afraid to use them unkindly lest they should be taken away from him.[5] Sir Henry Lawrence declared that he had learned nothing as 'a boy except a very little history and cyphering'.[6] There remains much truth in Edward Thompson's assertion that the 'actual education of India's rulers took place, not in England or Scotland, but in a scene of shifting

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[1]Bryant, 269.
[2]J.H. Stocqueler, Sir William Nott (1854) 5. Nott was Welsh.
[3]Erskine Papers (Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge) Microfilm, Box 6, No. 44B.
[4]ibid.
[5]ibid.
[6]J.L. Morison, Lawrence of Lucknow (1934) 130.

and dissolving empires. Their schools were battles and intrigues, and the schoolmasters were adventurers or aliens'.[1]

The role of the public schools in the education of the East India Company's cadets was never inconsiderable,[2] but it is significant that the most important contributions were made by charitable foundations like Christ's Hospital and Charterhouse, which were always responsive to the claims of genteel poverty, and the new foundations of the 1840s, such as Marlborough and Cheltenham, which were aimed at the very classes from which the Company's servants were principally drawn.[3]

Christ's Hospital had the longest association of any school with the East India Company. The connection began in 1694 when the Governors of the Hospital

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[1]Thompson, Metcalfe, 20.

[2]SEE TABLE 10, p.223.

[3]Other important public schools were: Westminster, which contributed 124 cadets and 82 writers to the Company's service between 1784 and 1858, including the Director, W.T. Money, and two of his sons, G.F. Russell-Barker & A.H. Stenning, The Record of Old Westminsters, 2 Vols. (1928); Rugby, which contributed 95 cadets (including the notorious W.S.R. Hodson, who murdered the Mogul Royal Family in 1857) and 54 writers between 1796 and 1850, Rugby School Register (1886); Harrow, which contributed 50 cadets and 69 writers between 1801 and 1850, R. Courtenay Welch, Harrow School Register, 1801-1900 (1901); Elizabeth College, Guernsey, which contributed 64 cadets and 5 writers between 1824 and 1858, Charles James Durand, Elizabeth College Register, 1824-1873 (1898); and Tonbridge School, which contributed 23 cadets and 27 writers between 1820 and 1858, W.O. Hughes-Hughes, The Register of Tonbridge School, 1820-1893 (1893). Schools such as Eton, Uppingham (whose products mainly took Orders), Repton (which seemed to cater mainly for the sons of Northern manufacturers who had no interest in the Company's service), Sedbergh, Sherborne and (surprisingly, considering the record of the other London schools) St. Paul's made very little contribution.

succeeded in persuading the Company to accept 'ten .. youths to be bred up in India as their apprentices', and continued right up to 1856 when a Hospitaller, H.D. Sweeting, gained first place in the first competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service.[1] Charterhouse, which was largely composed of pupils who 'were exceedingly well connected but really poor',[2] contributed almost 10% of its Foundation Scholars to the East India Company's service between 1784 and 1858.[3] After 1831 University College School and King's College School, which were created specifically to meet the increasing educational demands of the lower middle classes, also began to make a significant contribution to the

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[1] G.A.T. Allan, Christ's Hospital (1937) 135. The essayist, Charles Lamb, who worked for many years at the India House, was a Hospitaller.

[2] Bower Marsh & F.A. Crisp, Alumni Carthusiani (1913), Introduction, 231. In evidence before the Public Schools Commissioners in 1862, Dr. Fisher declared: 'It is not intended as a school of learning, it is a charitable foundation. We are not to seek out who is best. Poor boys and sons of poor men ought to be preferred to all the rest.' Some Charterhouse cadets were so poor that they were unable to afford the outfit for their passage to India. The mother of Cadet H.T. Knox was obliged to apply for a grant from the Governors in 1840 before her son could accept the appointment.

[3] ibid. Places were obtained by the nomination of one of the sixteen governors, who included at some time Henry Dundas, George Canning, Lord Ellenborough, the Marquess of Hastings, and the Duke of Wellington, all of whom had extensive influence with the East India Company. Fee-paying Carthusians also contributed 191 entrants to the Company's service between 1800 and 1858, including numerous members of the well-known Anglo-Indian family, the Fanes, and the biographer, Captain Lionel Trotter.The influential East India Proprietor, Randle Jackson, was also a pupil, W.D. Parish, List of Carthusians, 1800-1879 (Lewes, 1879), 181-82, 129, 234.

education of the Company's cadets.[1]

In the last two decades of the Company's rule the major public school contribution to the education of Indian army cadets was undoubtedly made by Cheltenham and Marlborough.[2] Cheltenham was founded in 1841 'to serve the children of retired servants of the empire' and most of its pupils were sons of retired colonial servants who had

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[1] Temple Orme, Alphabetical and Chronological Register, University College School, 1831-1891 (n.d.). The school's original governors included the Director, Stephen Lushington; the Examiner of Indian Correspondence at the India House, James Mill; the future Governor-General of India, Lord Auckland; and the son of a former President of the Board of Control (the Earl of Harrowby), Viscount Sandon. F.R. Miles, King's College School: Alumni, 1831-1866 (Privately Printed, 1974). [I owe my awareness of this important register to Mr. D.A.F.M. Russell, of St. John's College, Oxford, an old-boy of the school, and am indebted to its author, Mr. Frank Miles, Head of the English Department at King's College School, Wimbledon, for a copy.] Notable entrants to the Company's service included the biographers Evans Bell and Frederick Goldsmid, and the Commander of the Guides, Wigram Battye.

[2] Edward Scot Skirving, Cheltenham College Register, 1841-1927 (Cheltenham, 1928) records 120 entrants to the Company's military service and 21 to its civil service between 1841 and 1850. One of these, Joseph Parker, a clerk at the India House, who died in 1924 aged 94, is believed to be the last survivor of the Company's servants who worked in Leadenhall Street. Marlborough College Register, 1843-1952 (Marlborough, [1953]) records 66 entrants to the Company's military service and 24 to its civil service between 1843 and 1858.

settled in the area.[1] It had 'Classical', 'Military'[2] and 'Junior' departments, and soon became one of the leading schools for supplying pupils to Addiscombe, Sandhurst and Woolwich.[3] Marlborough was founded in 1843 to provide a cheap education for the sons of impoverished Anglican clergymen,[4] precisely the kind of people who were attracted to the East India Company's service.[5] Between 1843 and 1858, over 5% of Marlborough's pupils entered the civil or military services of India.[6]

The foundation of schools like Cheltenham and Marlborough[7] illustrates the potent effects of the free market mechanism in education. Such schools were intended to meet the social and educational requirements of the expanding service middle class, a class which East India patronage had helped to foster and protect; and, in turn they gave that class clearer definition and self-awareness and re-inforced its position in society by affording its children a safe route into government service, the armed

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[1] Brian Gardner, The Public Schools (1973) 162, 176.

[2] The Military Department included Sanskrit and Hindustani in its curriculum. It thus seems that the East India Company's service was considered a special target of the school.

[3] See C.B. Otley, 'Public School and Army,' New Society (17 November 1966) 754-757.

[4] Edward Lockwood, The Early Days of Marlborough College (1893) 6, 107.

[5] See above, pp. 190-91.

[6] Marlborough College Register: 80 out of 1,657.

[7] Forty similar schools were created between 1840 and 1880, Otley, 755.

forces and the professions. The advent of open competition[1] guaranteed the public schools' triumph.[2] Britain's real educational needs, ever prey to social and political pressures, were sacrificed to the aspirations of the middle classes at a time when Britain's major industrial competitors were beginning to equip themselves with the resources of the new scientific technology, which a comprehensive national system of modern education alone could provide.

The quality of education provided by the public schools, before the emergence of the examination conscious foundations towards the end of our period, was hardly superior to that bestowed in the proprietary schools. W.M. Thackeray entered Charterhouse in 1822 and fell under the sway of the headmaster, Dr. Russell, who belonged to 'the race of schoolmasters who believed in preparing pupils by means of methodical grinding at the classics, vigorous physical training and rigorous discipline, for proconsular

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[1]Open competition in the Indian Civil Service began in 1854-56; limited competition in the Home Civil Service began in the 1850s, and open competition in the 1870s; the first entrance examinations for direct commissions to the British army were introduced in 1849, and open competition to Sandhurst and Woolwich introduced between 1855 and 1858.

[2]The advent of open competition did not create a meritocracy because only a small minority of the population had access to the education necessary to take advantage of it, see J.M. Compton, 'Open Competition and the I.C.S., 1854-76,' E.H.R., 83 (1968). Nor was this the aim of the reformers. Trevelyan wanted the Indian Civil Service to become more exclusive, not less, see Jenifer Hart, 'Sir Charles Trevelyan at the Treasury,' E.H.R., 75 (1960) 92-110. His hope that the I.C.S. would be 'captured by the great universities' was frustrated by the examination curriculum which suited the public schools' crammers' mentality, see C.J. Dewey, 'The Education of a Ruling Class: the Indian Civil Service in the Era of Competitive Examination,' E.H.R., 87 (1973) 262-285.

careers'.[1] Russell never had more than seven assistant-masters, and the lower forms were taught by prefects.[2] Far more pupils were accepted than could be comfortably accommodated, resulting in overcrowding, unrest and inefficiency.[3] Edward Lockwood took a jaundiced view of his state of learning after eight years at Marlborough College. 'I knew no more of the subjects which formed the curriculum of the school, than I did when I first arrived,' he declared. 'No one ever made the feeblest effort to teach me anything.'[4] He approached his Haileybury entrance examination with some trepidation. 'Although the examination would have been a mere bagatelle to any forward boy,' he recalled, 'when I read out the subjects to my friends at school they laughed very heartily, and remarked that I might as well attempt to jump over the moon as to "get round" them.'[5]

Standards in the declining grammar schools were equally poor. Major-General H.L. Grove was educated at one of the most famous of them, King Edward's, Birmingham:

> I was in the Classical side where little else but Latin and Greek were drummed into us. Arithmetic,

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[1]Malcolm Elwin, Thackeray: A Personality (1932) 30.

[2]This was known as the 'Madras' or 'Bell' system, and enjoyed a great vogue at this time.

[3]Lewis Melville, The Life of William Makepeace Thackeray (1899) 21.

[4]Lockwood, The Early Days of Marlborough College, 126.

[5]ibid, 127. See also John Beames's account of Merchant Taylors', 1847-55 in Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian (1961) 42-56.

> French, Geography and History received very little attention or consideration. The Rev. Prince Lee, afterwards the first Bishop of Manchester, was the Head Master, and the Rev. Gedge the second; whose desks were at either end of the schoolroom. These were assisted by a considerable number of assistant masters.
>
> Each master had two or three classes which sat near him so they were well under his supervision. Round three sides of his elevated desk and chair there was a railing where each class of boys stood in their turn while the other class would be seated at their long desks preparing their lesson and waiting to be called up. Flogging was the rule. The monitor of the class would stand on the dais along side of his master, pencil in hand, with which he would mark down against each boy's name on the slate on the master's desk the 'malies' and 'pessimies' of each pupil. At the end of the lesson the worst boys got a sound caning. I remember the Rev. Stephenson unjustly caning me, and when I called him a brute, he gave me a still worse caning. We used to be caned on the palms of the hand, the shoulders and the calves of our legs. In those days parents never dreamed of complaining of it. Had they done so, they would have been told to take their boy from the school. [1]

The poor quality of education available to cadets was exacerbated by the East India Company's lack of insistence on standards of any kind. Between 1809 and 1851 cadets were required only to state the nature of their education and to provide a testimonial from the last school they had attended.[2] An occasional cadet might admit

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[1] Grove Papers (Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge) p.3.

[2] Cadets were never formally required to present testimonials: a minority had always done so, but the practice became common after 1820.

to training in 'Merchants' Accounts', but normally nothing more instructive than 'Classical and Mathematical' or 'I have received the usual education of a public school' was elicited. The testimonials were totally unreliable. Some were so fulsome as to defy belief:

> I have great pleasure in stating that Master Morgan Crofton Sankey has been a pupil in my school for the last five years, and during that period conducted himself in the most orderly manner. Industrious and assiduous in the prosecution of his studies he has made considerable progress both in classics and science. His abilities are good - his temper and disposition most amiable, his manners gentlemanlike, but above all his principles having been carefully fixed on the basis of Christian truth and characterized by unsullied purity, honor and integrity. I believe him to have always been, and I trust he will ever by divine Grace so continue, incapable of falsehood. With such a character it is not to be pondered that I part from him with feeling of regret, but I rejoice in the prospect offered to him and I shall ever feel the liveliest interest in his advancement and prosperity of which I can scarce permit myself to entertain a doubt. [1]

Others were clearly proved false when put to the test. Henry Colvin Jackson's testimonial from the Rev. J. Douton, which declared him to be 'a well disposed youth of sound principles' who, for 'six years', had to his tutor's 'entire satisfaction' read 'Caesar, Ovid, Gr[eek] Grammar and Testament; Mathematics as far .. as fractions, vulgar and decimal',[2] did not prevent him from failing the Addiscombe entrance examination twice,[3] a rather spectacular feat of ignorance.[4] Many testified to the abilities of cadets who

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/204) ff.507-8:the testimonial was written by Daniel Flynn of the 'Academic Institution', 62 Harcourt Street, Dublin; see also Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/164) f.206 for aneven more fulsome testimonial.

[2] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/163) f.132.

[3] ibid.

[4] See below, pp. 269-273.

had been known to the referee for only a short time.[1]

The East India Company's reluctance to create and enforce academic standards for its 'direct-entry' cadets meant that they received the bare minimum of education. Schooling was expensive and their parents were poor: it would have been foolish to spend money on an unnecessary extravagance.

After 1851 the Company demanded a higher academic standard from direct cadets.[2] A curriculum, consisting of arithmetic, English, Latin, French or Hindustani, History (including the history of India in the 'Edinburgh Cabinet Library Volumes 1 and 2'), geography, and elementary drawing and fortification,[3] was established and the staff of the Military Seminary were recruited as examiners. This development increased the importance of schools like Cheltenham and the Scottish Military and Naval Academy, whose curriculums were particularly suited to the needs of such an examination. Whether it had a dramatic effect on standards is less certain. The Addiscombe Professors' Reports on Direct Candidates reflect the same easy-going toleration of the Company's bad bargains shown in the examination of candidates for Seminary appointments.[4]

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/193) f.132. It was not uncommon for cadets to be educated 'at different schools in the neighbourhood of the metropolis', Cadet Papers (1816) Cert. No. 91. In 1851 an average school life of only 5½ years was estimated for middle-class children, Bryant, 255.

[2] The reasons for this are unclear.

[3] Farrington, Records of the East India College, 116.

[4] Addiscombe Professors' Reports on Direct Candidates (IOR: L/MIL/9/345); see below, pp.271-73.

The most serious deficiency in the Company's provision for the education of direct cadets was its failure to insist on a knowledge of Hindustani. The Court of Directors made ritual obeisance to the necessity and importance of such a qualification, but nothing substantial was ever achieved.[1] 'It was a blot upon the system of .. Indian government,' declared Joseph Hume in the Court of Proprietors in 1821, 'that so little had been done in a long course of years for diffusing a knowledge of the colloquial languages of the natives, under circumstances and in a situation where that knowledge was so important in its consequences to the interest and happiness of so many millions of people.'[2] In 1818 the Court of Directors went so far as to require its medical officers to obtain a language qualification and subsidised the distinguished Orientalist, John Borthwick Gilchrist, to enable them to do so,[3] but the obligation was rescinded in 1826 and nothing further was done.[4] Gilchrist retired at the end of that year and sold his 'Oriental Class' to Sandford Arnot and Duncan Forbes who re-opened it as 'the London Oriental Institution' in

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[1]It was generally agreed that a knowledge of Hindustani was important, but there were dissenting voices, see Lieut. T. Postans, Hints to Cadets (1842) 12: '.... much labour and valuable time are wasted at home in the study of Oriental languages as a means of qualification for India .... [A] few months in the country .... will place the cadet in possession of all he requires for his immediate purposes.'

[2]The Times, 27 September 1821.

[3]Gilchrist was granted £350 a year for a maximum of 37 pupils.

[4]Hindustani was made part of the curriculum for direct cadets after 1851, but its study was not obligatory.

Leicester Square.[1] The Institution was quite successful, but there is little evidence that direct cadets took advantage of its facilities; it survived principally as a crammer for Haileybury and Addiscombe students whose instruction in Oriental languages left much to be desired.

The education of 'direct-entry' cadets illustrates the real priorities of parents and guardians. Their aim was to get their children off their hands and into suitable employment as quickly and cheaply as possible. A belief in education for its own sake was negligible. For their part, the Directors of the East India Company were anxious to avoid erecting any further obstacles to the distribution of their patronage and were content to pay lip-service to the requirements of the Indian army at a crucial stage in its development. The establishment of the Military Seminary at Addiscombe was its one purposeful attempt to provide a thorough military education for its officer cadets; on this it must be judged.

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[1] First Report of the London Oriental Institution (1828) 6. Duncan Forbes was a most remarkable man 'who smoked a huge meerschaum pipe, never took a bath, played chess with a passion and spoke a variety of Oriental languages with a well-burred Scots accent. [He] was raised in a small village in Scotland and did not learn English until he was thirteen. Yet, at seventeen he was the village schoolmaster, at twenty he entered grammar school, and at twenty-five he obtained his M.A. from the University of St. Andrews', Byron Farwell, Burton, 27. He later became Professor of Oriental Languages at King's College, London. His most famous pupil was Sir Richard Burton.

ADDISCOMBE

The Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary[1] 'at Addiscombe Place, near Croydon' was opened in 1809. The plan was drawn up by William Abington of the India House and authorised by a Resolution of the Court of Directors on 7 April. Cadets were placed there from 21 January 1809, but the Company did not take formal control of the premises until 26 January 1810. Originally confined to the education of artillery or engineer officers, permission was granted for the admission of 'general service' cadets in 1827.[2] An average of seventy-five cadets were produced annually, of whom 60% joined the artillery or engineers and 40% the infantry.[3] The Government of India Act of 1858,

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[1]The name was changed from 'Military Seminary' to 'Military College' in 1856, Minutes of the Political and Military Committee (IOR: L/MIL/1/47) 28 March 1856. The cadets never liked the former name.

[2]The date usually given is 1816, e.g. H.M. Vibart, Addiscombe: Its Heroes and Men of Note (1894) 9. The introduction to the section 'Addiscombe' in the Catalogue of the Military Department (IOR: L/MIL) states that 'in 1816 permission was granted for non-technical cadets to be admitted ... if a further period of general education seemed advisable'. This is misleading. It was proposed that non-technical cadets be admitted in 1816 because the Seminary was producing too many cadets for the scientific corps (30 or 40 annually). It was considered 'manifestly inexpedient' to maintain the establishment for only twenty students while to abolish the institution 'after such experience of its beneficial results'was even more 'inadvisable', History of Addiscombe (IOR: L/MIL/9/357) 17. The best course appeared to be 'to extend the advantages of the establishment to as large a portion of the cadets intended for general service as the premises can conveniently admit', ibid. This system was scrapped in 1817, however, and the number of cadets at the Seminary limited to 48, ibid, 23. The 'general service' system was not revived until November 1827 when Nominations 'hereafter made to the Company's Military Seminary ... to be for general service, from whom cadets required for the artillery and engineers shall be selected as occasion may require', ibid, 48.

[3]P.P. 1857 (0.52) VI, 377, 378.

which ended the Company's rule, provided for the continuation of the Seminary as the Royal India Military College.[1] It was soon decided, however, that Sandhurst and Woolwich offered adequate facilities. The College was closed in 1861 and the house and grounds sold for speculative building. In its short life Addiscombe spanned the world between the great Whig houses, round one of which it was built, and the suburban villas, spawned by the railway age, which replaced it.[2]

Addiscombe was founded to equip the technical branches of the East India Company's army with a regular supply of trained officers. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, the Company required a comparatively limited number of such men. All cadets were appointed to the infantry from which a few were selected for the engineers and artillery. These were often difficult to find. In the days when the Indian army was regarded not as a career but as an opportunity to make a quick fortune and return home, the infantry was the most popular service. Technical officers sometimes had to be drafted from the Company's navy, but their education and character usually left much to be

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[1] Entrance to the Royal India Military College was by competitive examination.

[2] The College was replaced by neat rows of houses, laid out in streets named after Indian heroes: Canning, Clyde, Havelock, Outram, Nicholson, politicians and soldiers, Queen's men and Company's, united only in their lack of connection with this remarkable and forgotten institution.

desired. After 1765, the Court of Directors were successful in obtaining some officers from the Royal Engineers and the Royal Artillery, but the supply was arbitrary and uncertain. The Directors realised, by the end of the century, that the Company's increasing military and territorial commitments required a more efficient and organised system of providing personnel for the scientific corps.

The Court succeeded in placing, from 1 July 1798, a maximum of forty artillery or engineer cadets at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, or its branch at Marlow. This proved both expensive and unsatisfactory. The Company had to pay £100 a year for each cadet plus £3,000 for the provision of accommodation. The limited number of cadets allowed admission was repeatedly found inadequate to the demands of the service, a situation exacerbated by the requirements of the British army because of the French wars. The Court tried 'an additional expedient by encouraging private tuition and making an allowance of 200 guineas to each cadet so instructed'.[1] The supply of qualified persons, despite this expenditure, was considered seriously deficient, 'added to which inconvenience this latter system has been subjected to such abuses as must have tended very materially to defeat its original intention'.[2] The Master-General and Board of Ordnance refused to allow the Professors and teachers of the Royal Military Academy to devote some of

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[1] Reports of the Committee of Correspondence (IOR: D/50) 22 March 1809.
[2] ibid.

their time to the education of the Company's cadets in a private seminary[1] and the Company was left with no alternative but to open a military institution of its own if a regular supply of efficient technical officers was to be achieved.

The Seminary's limited initial aim was never completely fulfilled. In normal times it produced more artillery and engineer officers than could be employed. The ability of potential artillery and engineer officers was lost to the service while their talent went unrecognised. This situation was partially remedied in 1836 when the Court of Directors approved a proposal to grant honorary certificates of 'diligence and good conduct' to those unsuccessful in obtaining engineer appointments 'from the want of vacancies' and allow them 'the privilege of choosing their own presidencies and that a suitable statement of their merits should be forwarded to India'.[2] The Company, however, never succeeded in creating a reserve of talent, a failure which had serious consequences in times of stress when it had to resort to a lowering of the standards required at the termination of the course,[3] financial

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[1] History of Addiscombe, 1.

[2] Copy Minutes of the Political and Military Committee Relating to the Military Seminary (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) No. 244a, 23 Nov. 1836.

[3] In 1821 the Military Seminary Committee received a letter from Sir Howard Douglas (Public Examiner, 1821-4) 'submitting as to his decided opinion that the examination of the cadets at the Seminary ... should not be a public one as the pupils are not sufficiently advanced to justify such a distinction or to induce him to recommend the usual distribution of prizes'. He, nevertheless, passed 22 cadets for the artillery 'due to the exigencies of the service', Reports of the Military Seminary Committee (IOR: L/MIL/12) No. 44, 6 June 1821.

incentives,[1] and a return to 'direct' technical appointments[2] to cope with the demand. The Seminary's inability to guarantee a regular supply of technical officers reflected its many other inadequacies. In its curriculum, building, diet, uniform, health and discipline Addiscombe fell far short of the standards claimed for it by the Company and demanded by the Indian army at a crucial stage of its development.

The system of education over which the East India Company presided was a strange one. The cadets were instructed in the 'sciences of Mathematics, Fortification, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry; the Hindustani, Latin, and French languages; in the art of Civil, Military, and Lithographic Drawing and Surveying; and in the construction of the several gun-carriages and mortar-beds used in the Artillery service, from the most approved models'.[3] Though its 'scientific syllabus' was more modern than that of the public and grammar schools where classics, enforced by the birch, reigned supreme, its 'progressiveness' can be overemphasised. Its faults were legion. The curriculum was

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[1] A reward of £50 was offered in 1825 to those cadets who could pass for the artillery within 12 months, and for the engineers within 18 months, History of Addiscombe, 42. The usual period was two years for the artillery and (at that time) about two and a half years for the engineers.

[2] The Times, 27 August 1841, reported that Colonel Pasley (Public Examiner, 1837-56) would hold an examination at Addiscombe, on 1 September at 10 o'clock, of candidates 'for direct Artillery appointments in the East India Company's service'.

[3] Rules and Regulations For the Good Government of the Military Seminary (IOL) 7-8.

truly 'a race decided by mathematics' which occupied twenty-two hours of the fifty-four hour academic week,[1] a preponderance deprecated by Sir Henry Lawrence who considered that 'military science' should have been 'the desideratum'.[2] Civil and military drawing were 'trifles'[3] of more use in the salon than on the battlefield. Fortification, based on Vauban, was largely obsolete and irrelevant to Indian conditions, though still a cause of consternation to the cadets:

> Well, then for Fortifac - my comprehension
> Ne'er proved in salient angles too acute;
> My young ideas needed much extension
> To comprehend why Vauban (hang the brute!)
> Invented stuff beyond what I can mention
> Merely that we might one another shoot
> With greater safety from behind a wall -
> I wish the fellow had never lived at all. 4

Chemistry was confined 'to those parts which relate to the military profession'; classics, 'to Sallust, Caesar's Commentaries, or Cornelius Nepos, as affording useful information in the antient [sic] mode of warfare'.[5] The study of Hindustani was perfunctory. The knowledge of it gained by most cadets was so slight as to be absolutely useless. At best, the cadets were only expected 'to be able to write the two characters by which the Hindustani is usually denoted, in a fair and legible hand; to have an acquaintance with the terms of Grammar made use of in the Hindustani language; to have a competent knowledge of the rudiments of

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[1]William Broadfoot, Blackwood's Magazine, 153 (1893) 655.
[2]Sir Henry Lawrence, Essays, Military and Political, Written in India (1859) 481.
[3]Broadfoot, 655.
[4]J.H. Burke, Addiscombe: A Tale of Our Times (1834).
[5]Rules and Regulations, 23.

the language, as explained in Mr. Shakespear's grammar: to read, translate, and parse some easy passages in Hindustani; and to repeat, from memory, some easy dialogue, as introductory to the habit of conversing in the language'.[1] The cadets hated Hindustani:

> The greatest curse of all our study hours;
> Before whose most confounding shrine I bow -
> But ah! behold an Arab Simoon lowers
> Upon me as I try to mention you,
> Thou uniformly hated, thrice abhorred Hindoo.[2]

It was a major cause of sickness at Addiscombe, inducing a highly contagious disease, known as 'Hindustani Fever', which drove large numbers of cadets to seek the tender protection of 'Mother' Dodd[3] on the occasion of every visit by Professor Horace Wilson, Public Examiner in Oriental languages. The Company looked to more visits from the Public Examiners,[4] and an increase in the importance of Hindustani in determing the ultimate rank of cadets[5] to stimulate academic endeavour, but neither was very successful. Idleness and inattention were chronic. As late as 1853, Sir Charles Pasley reported that 'Hindustani was neglected very much and the professors .... made continual complaints of the idleness of cadets in that study'.[6] A major cause of the

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[1] ibid, 22-23.

[2] Burke, Addiscombe: A Tale of Our Times.

[3] Elizabeth Dodd, wife of Sgt. Robert Dodd, R.A., one of the more felicitous appointments to the N.C.O. strength at Addiscombe. Mrs. Dodd was for many years the Seminary's 'hospital nurse'. She died on 16 May 1859 and is buried in St. James' Churchyard, Croydon.

[4] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/9) No. 82, 5 September 1810: ' ... unless some regulation is established to insure greater attention from the [cadets] little or no progress will be made towards their qualification in this branch of education.'

[5] P.P. H.L. 1852-53 (41) XXX, 5738.

[6] ibid.

dislike was that Hindustani was usually taught by someone who had never heard it spoken. The experiment of appointing a native 'Moonshee',[1] Meer Hasan Ali, was not a success. He returned to India in 1816 after six years, nursing his asthma, a £50 grant for his translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew into Hindustani, a £100 gratuity, 100 guineas for his passage, and a pension of Rs.100 a month for life, one of the first, but by no means the last, of those associated with Addiscombe to benefit from the East India Company's bounty.[2] The teaching of Hindustani fell into the hands of men like Charles Bowles[3] whose knowledge of India and its languages was derived entirely from books. Bowles exemplifies the nepotism which sometimes vitiated Addiscombe's academic appointments.[4] The nephew of John Shakespear, the Seminary's first Professor of Hindustani, Bowles obtained the post of Assistant Professor in 1829 at the age of nineteen, on his uncle's recommendation. He did his job conscientiously, oblivious of interruption and boredom, but afforded more amusement than instruction. A shy, old-fashioned, easily

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[1]Teacher.

[2]He also acquired a remarkable English wife who returned to India with him. She left a record of her experience there: Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, Observations on the Musulmans of India (2nd. ed., 1917).

[3]He was know as 'chaw' because of his mispronunciation of the Hindustani for 'four', 'Char', Vibart, 217.

[4]This was not as frequent as might be imagined, but it did occur. Dr. Andrew, the Seminary's first Head (1809-22), having failed to obtain the appointment of his nephew Mr. Reeves Jones as Professor of Military Surveying, finally succeeded in having him appointed Assistant Classical Master, RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/12) No. 35, 5 April 1821. Mr. Reeve Jones was obviously a man of catholic ability.

dismissible man, his weak mouth failed to obscure the steely sense of self-importance in the eyes, hidden behind the pince-nez.[1] Thirty years of cramming uninteresting facts into unwilling minds left him unimpaired in dispostion and health. In the end he not only survived but triumphed. He retired in 1859 to his uncle's property and died a landed gentleman and Justice of the Peace of the County of Leicester, far removed from Addiscombe and the fate of its cadets. The appointment, in 1851, of Major [later Colonel] Rowlandson, a sad-faced, half-pay officer of the Madras Infantry, 'mild, kindly', and an 'excellent linguist', who was 'much respected by the cadets', did something to retrieve Bowles's incompetence, but the teaching of Hindustani remained a cause for disquiet.[2] Addiscombe's failure to provide its students with a working knowledge of the native vernacular was serious in view of the Company's stated aims[3] and the intrinsic importance of the subject.[4] Those who did not learn at Addiscombe seldom learned in India where the difficulties were more severe. After the closure of the riotous Baraset College in 1811 there was no institutionalised means of instruction in the native

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[1]See the illustration in Vibart, 73.

[2]Vibart, 217.

[3]At the Public Examination of 11 December 1837, Sir James Rivett Carnac, Chairman of the East India Company, expressed the Company's desire to see 'a constant succession of officers .... well versed in the native languages ....' adding that he had on former occasions endeavoured to impress [the cadets] with a sense of their value and importance' and that 'he could not direct [their notice] to any subject which better [deserved their] serious attention', Vibart, 122-24.

[4]'Hindustani is here what English is in England: it is your vernacular tongue; you will have occasion for it every day and every hour of every day while you live in this country', Military and Naval Magazine, 1, p.339.

languages for the military. The individual cadet was thrown back on his own limited resources. 'I am now studying as diligently as I can,' John Nicholson wrote to his aunt Hogg in 1842, 'but to study at all with the thermometer at 90° I do not find easy.'[1] What John Nicholson did not find easy other men found impossible. In the chequered history of Anglo-Indian relations Addiscombe was a great missed opportunity. Its failure to convey a feeling of sympathy for Indian life and languages contributed to the breakdown of the Company's military system violently exposed on the plains of Northern India in 1857.

The Seminary's curriculum was not even self-sufficient. The Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, complained in 1815 of the insufficient number of engineers and their lack of practical experience in mining 'so noticeable in recent campaigns'.[2] The Court was obliged to send its engineer cadets to Chatham to perfect their knowledge of this important skill. The course there was later extended to include architecture and civil engineering, for which the Company's cadets were detained some fourteen months.[3] The East India Company's relationship with the Royal Engineer Establishment was uneasy. It disliked

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[1] L.J. Trotter, The Life of John Nicholson (1900) 47-48.
[2] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/10) No. 163/43, 17 February 1815.
[3] History of Addiscombe, 107.

the cost involved,[1] strove continually to expedite the stay of cadets[2] and to win for them treatment in regard to rank, pay and privileges equal to that enjoyed by the British army.[3] In June 1833 the Court tried to remove its cadets from Chatham and complete their education at Addiscombe on the grounds of expense and the 'security of their morals and health, combined with their professional attainments'.[4] This was opposed by the President of the Board of Control, Charles Grant, and by Sir Charles Pasley, Director of the Establishment, who doubted 'the practicality, efficiency or economy in a professional point of view' of the proposed change.[5] Having 'maturely considered the whole subject' and 'being further strengthened in their opinions by subsequent enquiries' the Court still did not feel justified in departing from the proposal;[6] but on 13 March 1834 the Directors gave up the struggle.[7] To have risked an open breach would have compromised the all-important prestige of the Seminary of which the connection with the Royal Engineer Establishment was a guarantee. The East India Company

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[1] A graduated scale of remuneration was established in 1827: two cadets, £160; three, £200; four, £240; five, £280; six, £320; seven, £340; eight, £360; nine, £380; ten, £400, the latter sum being the maximum and 'to include any further number', History of Addiscombe, 45.

[2] ibid, 52.

[3] ibid, 16, 62.

[4] ibid, 57, 62.

[5] ibid, 60.

[6] ibid.

[7] ibid, 62.

was on the defensive politically after the India Act of 1784. It had nothing to gain from conflict and everything to lose. Its relationship with Chatham was symptomatic, a limited, unremitting and ultimately unsuccessful war of attrition.

The general standard of academic attainment at Addiscombe is difficult to assess. It produced many remarkable men,[1] but how much they owed to the Seminary is debatable. Many of its 'heroes and men of note' were sceptical. 'For my part,' Henry Lawrence wrote to George Broadfoot, 'my education consisted in kicks. I was never taught anything - no, not even at Addiscombe.'[2] Field-Marshal Roberts thought it 'a rough and ready sort of school'[3] and afforded it scant mention in his exhaustive memoirs.[4] Addiscombe, unlike comparable institutions such as Sandhurst, Saint Cyr or West Point, failed to develop an élite tradition. The Addiscombe Professors' Reports on Mathematics and Classics, which cover the period 1823-61, paint a picture of chronic inattention. Addiscombe was a glorified cramming academy. The curriculum was jammed into a two-year period,[5] and the Court strongly disapproved of any extension to this.[6] Most cadets

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[1]See the biographical accounts of Addiscombe's 'heroes and men of note' in Vibart, 317-660.

[2]Sir H.B. Edwardes & Herman Merivale, The Life of Sir Henry Lawrence (3rd. ed., 1873) 20.

[3]Vibart, vi.

[4]Lord Roberts, Forty-One Years in India (2 vols., 1897).

[5]The Standing Orders of the Seminary allowed any cadet with the ability to proceed to India after a year's residence provided he was over sixteen, Rules and Regulations, 8.

[6]The Court laid down in August 1832 that no cadet was to remain at the Seminary more than four terms without its special permission, History of Addiscombe, 55.

found themselves at Addiscombe not through choice, but through the fortuitous operation of the patronage system.[1] Many had little intellectual or physical aptitude for the life of a soldier, but came under heavy pressure from all sides not to jeopardise their futures. Discontent and inattention were inevitable and the Company's attempts to stimulate academic endeavour in face of these basic facts proved hapless. The presentation of prizes,[2] a movement culminating in the institution of the Pollock Medal in 1848, was of little interest to the cadets. Many recipients seemed quite insensible of the great honour being conferred on them:

> "Gentleman-cadet Lane," said the Chairman, holding out the case containing the medal and addressing the head cadet, who stood blushing before him, "the inhabitants of Calcutta, in remembrance of the noble-" But no sooner did Gentleman-cadet Lane get his hold upon the prize than he gave evidence by a violent tugging that his desire to retire with his reward was in no way affected by his curiosity to learn the motives of Calcutta in bestowing it. Had not the Chairman, forewarned by past experience, kept a tight grip on the medal case, it would have slipped from his grasp, and the customary address would have lost its point. As it was, the contention was so sharp between them as to stop the current of the Chariman's words, and he had to get a new "purchase" before he was able to proceed with the description of the heroism and success of General Pollock. 3

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[1] In reply to the question: 'Is the idea of going out to India an agreeable one among th young gentlemen at Addiscombe?' Sir Frederick Abbott's laconic response was: 'To nine out of ten it is,' P.P. H.L. 1852-53 (41) XXX, 5709. Abbott was the Seminary's last Lieutenant-Governor.

[2] At first no prizes were given except the appointment itself, but in December 1811 several were given for fortification and drawing. Other prizes were later added 'to promote emulation and diligence', Vibart, 43.

[3] Broadfoot, 655.

Prizes have usually meant more to schoolmasters and governors than to schoolboys. The institution of rank according to talent in 1816 'instead of the mode heretofore adopted, namely from the seniority of the appointing Director,[1] was an added incentive, but one often lost on young men whose thoughts for the future, blurred by dreams of heroism or fears of early death, were not for pensions and retirement, nor for rose-scented villas in Bath and Tunbridge Wells.

By far the greatest handicap to Addiscombe's academic aspirations, however, was the appalling state of contemporary British education. The Seminary was a technical island in a classical sea. Even those cadets fortunate enough to be educated at a public or grammar school, and they were a distinct minority, came ill-prepared to exploit its opportunities to the full. The glaring inadequacies of pre-Seminary instruction caused the Court, in 1811, to make the first six months a period of probation because 'many of the cadets had been found unprepared in the first rudiments of education'.[2] Special cramming schools soon began to emerge from the jungle of private education and did something to prepare cadets for Addiscombe's peculiar curriculum. Two enterprising and alert gentlemen, Mr. Louis Beauvais of Highgate and Dr. Thomas Firminger of Edmonton, used their influence with William Abington[3] and the Rev. James Andrew to win for their 'Academies' a predominant position in the

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[1] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/11) No. 11, 1 March 1816.
[2] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/9) No. 102, 30 January 1811.
[3] Clerk to the Military Seminary Committee 1809-34. See above p. 77.

preparation of cadets for the Company's Seminary.[1] They lived in a hard, competitive and often squalid business. The success which came from the exploitation of an unexpected chance illustrates the way in which people could win for themselves a comfortable niche in the interstices of the East India Company's bureaucracy. As the century wore on their role was usurped by more distinguished institutions

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/125) f.465, 'I am fearful [my son] having been educated at a Grammar School where they pay little attention but to Greek and Latin, will be rather deficient in figures which has induced me to desire Mr. Beauvais who my son is with, and who is acquainted with Mr. Abington to call on him and converse on the subject .. ' See also Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/166) f.109, 380, 395. Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/163) contains a letter which well illustrates Firminger's style. It was probably written to William Abington: 'Mr. Frederick Wall .... will [soon] be fully prepared ..... I am also happy to testify that Mr. Wall has conducted himself in every way exemplary since he has been under my care and I will have no doubt pass with great credit thro' your Seminary. I have also the pleasure to report that Mr. Decimus Woodgate will be qualified for his examination by next Friday should you think proper to send him for examination. This young gentleman was rejected for two months and his time is up ... these are all the Lads I can report as qualified to pass and some of these no more than just qualified, ... &c. T. Firminger. P.S. In stating that they are no more than just qualified I mean to say as regards their classics for I have well prepared them in Arithmetic.'

at Cheltenham, Wimbledon and Kensington,[1] but the part played by the private enterprise 'Academy' in the education of the Indian army was never extinguished and, for the greater part of the period, predominant.

Addiscombe contributed to its own problems by the laxity of its entrance qualifications. The Seminary's original requirements, 'a fair knowledge of arithmetic, a good hand .... a competent knowledge of English and Latin grammar',[2] did not prepare cadets to cope with the demanding curriculum. Sir Howard Douglas instituted new entrance regulations in 1821, 'designed to provide candidates ready to make use of the Company's facilities'.[3] These new qualifications: the ability to write a good hand, to construe Caesar's Commentaries, to be 'expert' in vulgar and decimal fractions, were still very basic. Peregrine Pultuney's account of the entrance examination leaves us in no doubt of his opinion of the Company's standards:

> It was the morning on which young gentlemen who are candidates for admission into the Company's Seminary go thither to have their qualifications put to the test. Most of the young gentlemen were accompanied by their parents or guardians; and felt themselves in as uncomfortable a position as they had ever experienced in their lives. A thing of this kind is nothing when it is all over; but

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[1] P.P. H.L. 1852-3 (41) XXX, 5742. Cheltenham College, in particular, sent many cadets to Addiscombe, ibid, 5749. See also Edward Scot Skirving (ed.), Cheltenham College Register 1841-1927 (Cheltenham College, 1928). Sir James Law Lushington, Director and Chairman of the East India Company, founded an Addiscombe scholarship at Cheltenham, of which he was a vice-president, Naval and Military Gazette, (Dec. 1846) 825.

[2] Vibart, 15. 'Drawing, mathematics, French, and fortification' were an added advantage.

[3] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/12) No. 24, 28 February 1821.

> it is the waiting and the suspense, and the delay, and the nervousness, that render it a wretched business at best. The extreme uneasiness of the examination is the worst feature in it, for one cannot help thinking what a disgrace it would be if one got plucked after all. It is nothing to be plucked in Chinese mathematics and Patagonian philosophy: but to fail in vulgar and decimal fractions and Caesar's Commentaries is no joke. Hanging would be a trifle in comparison. [1]

Other cadets had neither Peregrine's capacity nor his boundless self-confidence. Gentleman-cadet George William Young Simpson[2] was caused a great deal of consternation by the same simple sums and elementary Latin grammar. On 3 May 1821 he proved 'unable to state any question in the Rule of Three' and was 'not at all qualified for admission'.[3] On 25 May Dr. Andrew reported his qualifications 'still considerably below the standard of the present regulations',[4] but Mr. Simpson was a youth of uncommon perseverance and on 8 February 1822 he was admitted to the Seminary by Alexander Anderson,[5] the second mathematical master, 'a round, punchy [sic] individual who wore rusty black clothes, took snuff and talked the Scotch dialect'.[6] The Company was rarely

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[1] Sir J.W. Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney: or Life in India (1844) I, 54-5. John Jacob's account of his entrance examination in 1826 was equally contemptuous: 'There were four others examined at the same time and only one of them passed, and he was very bad: all that we had to do was an easy sum in vulgar and decimal fractions and to construe a few lines of Caesar,' H.T. Lambrick, John Jacob of Jacobabad (1960) 7. Mr. Lambrick seems to regard Jacob's description as modesty -'so much for a test which William Jacob says lasted two hours', - but the affair was very leisurely. The candidate was examined for handwriting, Latin grammar and arithmetic, individually, by one man and was given ample time. The examination of five people could easily last two hours.

[2] He was the son of a 'Paddington merchant' and was educated at 'Mr. Hellier's, Wimbledon'.

[3] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/144) f.149. [4] ibid, 148.

[5] ibid, 147. [6] Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney, I, 62.

harsh; a second chance was invariably given to candidates who failed the first time, providing Mr. Abington and Dr. Andrew with a perfect opportunity to indicate to the despairing parent the advantages which would accrue from sending their sons to Mr. Beauvais' or Dr. Firminger's superior establishments. An idea of the youthful confusion engendered in some of the Company's nominees can be gathered from a unique 'specimen of Mr. Colpoys Dickson's powers of Translation out of Latin into English'.[1] On the occasion of his second examination, he produced the following attempt as a translation of an extract from Chapter Thirty, Book One, of Caesar's Gallic Wars:

> That council being dismissed, the same chief of state who had been before, returned to Caesar: and they led: that it may be lawful for them to treat secretly with it concerning their safety and the safety of all things being commissioned all cast themselves at the feet of Caesar; not less than to thrive and labor it, less the[y] might command state things which he would say it told that those things were finished which things they wished because of it was said, that he would seem about to become great 2

The arithmetical scribble on the reverse indicates that Mr. Dickson's mathematical skills were in no way superior to his classical powers. It is only fair to the East India Company to add that he was educated at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

The lax system of entrance requirements was made worse by the careless manner in which they were enforced,

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/148) f.291.
[2] ibid, f.292.

particularly in the early days of the Seminary. 'It is of the greatest importance to the institution,' wrote James Andrew in 1820, 'that the [entrance qualifications] should not be considered as a dead letter and the introductory examination as an empty form: because nothing paralyses exertion more than an accumulation of dunces who cannot or will not do anything for themselves ..... The incredulity of parents with respect of their children, however natural, is often preposterous and sometimes interested. I wish all with whom I have to do would believe what is true, that I have at all times more pleasure in making a favourable report and that nothing but an imperious sense of duty could impel me to the latter.'[1] On the contrary, the good Doctor's 'imperious sense of duty' often impelled him to acts of misplaced generosity. 'Mr. John Polwhele is but moderately qualified to be received into this institution,' he reported on 28 September 1814, 'as he is not correct in his English orthography, has made a very inconsiderable progress in Latin and knows very little more than the fundamental rules of arithmetic of whole numbers', but 'from the very little I have seen of his abilities I think he may be able by great application and industry to qualify himself for holding an artillery appointment though it is not likely he will ever exhibit many marks of genius.'[2] In admitting such people Andrew was not only being unfair to the Seminary but to the cadets themselves. Educationally

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[1] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/137) f.404.
[2] Cadet Papers (IOR: L/MIL/9/127) f.355.

backward and academically uninterested, the only recourse of the strong was disruption and indiscipline while the meek were left to brood on their loneliness and despair. Academic standards improved after the appointment of Sir Charles Pasley as Public Examiner in 1837. He abolished arithmetic as a branch of study[1] and instituted a system of half-yearly written examinations which cut out 'fudging',[2] his object being to 'make every pupil learn as much as his abilities would permit'.[3] The entrance qualifications were re-inforced: no candidate was to be admitted 'who shall not be found to possess a correct knowledge of all the rules of arithmetic usually taught in school especially the Rule of Three, compound proportion, practice, interest, vulgar and decimal fractions and the extraction of the square root',[4] but despite Pasley's efforts it is doubtful whether the general academic level ever rose much above the mediocre. The pursuit of academic excellence played a minor role in Addiscombe's development. Cheapness, speed and prestige were the East India Company's criteria. William Broadfoot's comment that the management of the Seminary was characterised by 'a wise blending of liberality with economy'[5] masks a policy of penny wisdom and pound foolishness which was at the root of Addiscombe's problems throughout its history.

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[1] P.P. H.L. 1852-3 (41) XXX, 5738: '.... the master who had charge of it resigned soon after because he did not understand algebra or geometry.' Alexander Anderson and John B. Ruddock both resigned in 1841; it is not clear to whom Pasley was referring.

[2] ibid. [3] ibid.

[4] Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/9/20) No. 315a, 6 January 1841.

[5] Broadfoot, 647.

The pursuit of economy was a major reason for the seminary's foundation. The Company approached the Rev. James Andrew who had 'for some years kept an Academy on Woolwich Common and [had] educated several .... cadets prepatory to their admission into Woolwich' to undertake the whole concern for their instruction at the rate of £80 a year 'for each cadet for board, lodging and complete education so as to enable them to pass a public examination at Woolwich'.[1] The average cost for sixty cadets[2] was £166 18s. per cadet, which compared favourably with the average at Woolwich of £250 and of private tuition of 200 guineas, and the Company was determined that this economy should be maintained.[3]

The cost of putting a cadet through Addiscombe rose steadily. Direct nomination was much cheaper, a consideration which determined many parental decisions. Fees, originally £30 a year, were increased in 1821 to £40,[4] in 1829 to £65 for the first year and £50 for the second,[5] and in 1835, the Court 'being of the opinion that the present rates [were] altogether disproportioned to the value of the education .... and to the ordinary expenses at other establishments of a similar nature', to £50 a term.[6] It cost

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[1] History of Addiscombe, 1.
[2] The intake in 1809 was 58.
[3] History of Addiscombe, 4.
[4] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/12) No. 36, 5 April 1821.
[5] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/15) No. 53, 18 March 1829.
[6] Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) No. 97, 14 October 1835.

between £250 and £260 to complete the education of a cadet at Addiscombe.[1] This was more expensive than Sandhurst,[2] a disparity intensified by the Company's stubborn refusal to institute a graduated scale of payment favouring the sons of its officers and servants, though this was often canvassed.[3] The mounting cost subjected both parents and cadets to a great deal of embarrassment. Mrs. Frances Gorges, whose son Edward had been removed from the Seminary, was compelled to write to the Company 'praying (on account of her large family and straitened circimstances) that the Court would not enforce the bond[4] into which she had entered upon the admission of her son into the institution'.[5] On receiving proof of her predicament in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Marcus Beresford M.P. in which he stated 'that he [could] of his own knowledge assert that the income of Mrs. Gorges [was] very contracted indeed, and not sufficient to support her without exposing herself and her children to serious privations',[6] the Company released her from the bond

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[1] P.P. H.L. 1852-53 (41) XXX, 5664.

[2] ibid.

[3] History of Addiscombe, 103, 115.

[4] The bond system of a £200 security was scrapped in 1835 largely as a result of General Wetherall's refusal to pay an account after the removal of his son to the King's service and the 'technical difficulties' the Company encountered in enforcing its claims. It was replaced by a system of payment in advance on a half-yearly basis, Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) 14 October 1835. The technical difficulties were not specified, but probably arose from the East India Company's abhorrence of litigation.

[5] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/15) No. 100, 2 April 1830.

[6] ibid.

and waived the debt of £100 9. 5. The East India Company was consistently generous in personal matters. Mrs. Maria King, who was labouring under 'great distress and pecuniary difficulties .... by the failure of her husband in business and his subsequent death, leaving her a widow with ten children to bring up on the scanty income of £200 a year';[1] the Rev. Arthur Onslow, who 'had a family of six sons to provide for';[2] Mr. George Alcock, 'with a family of nine children';[3] and Dr. Alexander Morison, 'the father of fifteen children, ten of whom are alive and entirely dependent upon him',[4] were all grateful recipients of the Company's benevolence. For those who scrimped and saved to keep their sons at Addiscombe the struggle could be ruinous; and their straitened financial circumstances often contributed to the sense of frustration and social isolation experienced by many of their children.[5]

The Court of Directors' attention to the financial details of the Seminary's administration was remorseless. The board wages of servants during the vacations was reduced in August 1836,[6] only for them to be raised

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[1] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/13) No. 74, 18 March 1825.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid.
[4] RMSC, No. 75, 18 March 1825.
[5] There was an economic motive behind much of Henry Lawrence's priggish and aggressive behaviour at Addiscombe, Edwardes & Merivale, Lawrence, 19.
[6] Fifteen men from 12s. to 10s. 6d., eight women from 10s. 6d. to 9s., an annual saving of £24 3s., History of Addiscombe, 70.

again soon afterwards 'due to the high price of provisions'.[1] The Court found the cost of prizes so exorbitant[2] that Sir Alexander Dickson[3] was ordered to confine his choices to items corresponding in value to those at Sandhurst and Woolwich.[4] But all thought of economy was lost when the Company's prestige was at stake. An incredible amount of money was spent on travel to the half-yearly Public Examinations,[5] to which were invited leading military figures and the press. Captain Gowan, a member of the Court of Proprietors who saw no necessity for the Directors to proceed to Addiscombe in coaches and four, was soundly rebuked by his fellow Proprietor, Mr. Rigby, who affirmed that the affairs of the Company were conducted with 'scrupulous regard to economy' while 'the presence of the Directors and of many individuals of eminence stimulated the young men to increased exertions in their studies'.[6] The East India Company consistently viewed its favourite child through a fog of sel-congratulation. Nowhere was the discrepancy between the reality and the image of the Seminary greater then at the Public Examination, a well-rehearsed academic charade which was a major element in the Company's willing self-deception.

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[1] History of Addiscombe, 77.

[2] £63 7. 6. for mathematical instruments, £43 6. 5. for books, £16 1. 6. for drawing boxes, 6 guineas for an artillery sword.

[3] Public Examiner 1824-37.

[4] Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) No. 73, 23 June 1835.

[5] January, 1835 - £38 0. 5.; June 1837 - £81 19. 10; December 1837 - £59 9. 5.; June 1838 - £62 15. 8.; June 1853 - £55 18. 11.

[6] The Times, 23 March 1832.

The cadets viewed it with cynicism and impatience. A cadet has left a vivid account:

> The half-yearly Public Examination of the cadets was a performance carefully prepared and rehearsed beforehand. Its object was to make a favourable impression on a carefully selected audience. Every actor in the drama, from the distinguished Public Examiner down to the least proficient cadet, had notice beforehand of the part he was to play. Hence the prompt answers, ready speech and freedom from nervousness which the spectators admired in these young soldiers. The only difficulty and source of occasional miscarriage, arose from the fact that the cadets themselves, being of an age and profession little given to seeming, were less careful to conceal the real character of the periodical exhibition than their more diplomatic seniors .... But it was a gratifying display nevertheless; still it may be supposed that with the exception of a small proportion of the guests, including the ladies, the good Archbishop from Addington, and perhaps one or two of the Directors, no one seriously believed what took place was absolutely unpremeditated. [1]

Elsewhere the pursuit of economy was arbitrary. 'In connection with Addiscombe,' declared William Broadfoot, 'a great deal of money was made out of the Company.'[2] Year by year the staff petitioned for more pay which was invariably granted.[3] Salaries amounted to £500, £600, £700 and £800, princely sums for men whose alternatives lay in cramped country curacies or the soul-destroying and precarious world of private education. Most of the Professors wrote text books on the subject they taught and, in Broadfoot's felicitous phrase, 'by selling them to their classes commanded that steady demand which is so gratifying

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[1]Vibart, 231; for the rest of the account see 231-4.
[2]Broadfoot, 650.
[3]History of Addiscombe, 45, 71, 88, 92, 97, 108, 125.

to an author'.[1] John Shakespear made enough money from the sale of his books to retire and buy the house of his dreams, Langley Priory, near Loughborough. He had come a long way since as a small boy, the son of a farm labourer, he had met the future Marquess of Hastings while sheltering under a tree during a thunderstorm, and through his patronage had gone on to become one of the country's leading oriental scholars.[2]

Besides a high level of material comfort, Addiscombe gave its staff security,[3] dignity, respectability and power in a society which was insecure, unforgiving and merciless to the weak. It was a comfortable niche in a hard

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[1]Broadfoot, 650-51. Shakespear's Hindustani Dictionary, Shakespear's Hindustani Grammar, Shakespear's Hindustani Selections, Shakespear's Latin Dictionary, Cape's Mathematics, Cape's Logarithms, Straith's Treatise on Fortification, Jackson's Military Surveying, Daniell's Chemistry, McCulloch's On Rocks, De La Voye's French Classics, De La Voye's French Instructor, Contanseau's French Grammar, Fielding's Synopsis of Perspective, and Penley's Treatise on Water Colour were books familiar to generations of Addiscombe cadets.

[2]When Shakespear died in 1851 he left his property to his nephew, Charles Bowles, on condition that he changed his name to Shakespear. A descendant, Mr. John Shakespear, died in 1971, leaving Langley Priory, considerable property and a personal fortune in excess of £1M., a spectacular reminder of the East India Company's role in promoting social mobility! [I owe this information to my colleague, the late James Crompton, who served with Bowles's descendant on the Leicester Diocesan Council.]

[3]Most could expect to retire on a pension of 2/3 their salary, History of Addiscombe, 45, 71, 88, 92, 108, 125.

world. Its staff showed no overwhelming desire to leave,[1] though sometimes they paid a heavy price for their reluctance to quit.[2] For a man like Jonathan Cape[3] it was a pleasant enough place to reflect upon eternal doom and watch the world go by. For Talbot Ritherdon, many years Staff-Captain at Addiscombe, however, the Seminary was the very essence of his being. A man of comic-opera proportions, a piratical swagger, violent mustachios, and an enormous conceit, his failure to obtain the Lieutenant-Governorship in 1851 broke his heart. He retired soon afterwards suffering from 'frequent attacks of extreme mental depression'.[4] The officers of the Royal Engineer Establishment, who were periodically complimented with handsome sums of money,[5] shared in the East India Company's bounty. Nor were the non-academic staff of the Seminary forgotten. James Grant, Elizabeth Dodd, Robert Squires, and Mrs. Fairbrother all had their old age made more comfortable through the Court's generosity.[6] When the feckless patriarch failed, the Company could be relied upon to play the role of fairy godmother.[7]

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[1] SEE APPENDIX SEVEN for a list of the academic staff.

[2] Many, like E.B. Metcalfe, Professor of Military Drawing, became victims of 'obstinate chronic dyspepsey accompanied with serious mental depression', Copy Mins. Mil. Poly. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/23) No. 201a, 21 May 1849.

[3] Professor of Mathematics 1822-61.

[4] Copy Mins. Mil. Poly. Comm., (IOR: L/MIL/1/24) No. 78, 27 August 1851.

[5] History of Addiscombe, 27, 47, 100.

[6] ibid, 128, 138, 114, 162.

[7] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) No. 61a, 1 May 1835, granting a life pension of £200 to the 'destitute' widow of Joseph Bordwine, Professor of Fortification 1809-35.

But when it came to the comfort of the cadets charity was dismissed. In building, diet, uniform and health economy reigned supreme.

Addiscombe presented a drab, unfriendly and depressing face to the world. The fine red-brick house, known as the mansion,[1] round which it was built, was given a more institutional appearance with whitewash, a substance which the East India Company believed to be conducive to military discipline and a powerful protection against every known disease. During the early years the whole establishment (including the cadets) were housed there, but it later became 'the government house of the Institution',[2] given over entirely to administrative and social functions. 'The Mansion' stood in about eighty-three acres of land. To the original fifty-seven acres[3] were added another five in 1823,[4] while in 1826 two meadows containing over twenty-four acres and an extensive pond were rented from Mr. Delmé Ratcliffe, the Seminary's neighbour.[5] The pond, known as the Coldstream, provided the cadets with a place to bathe and to carry out pontooning exercises. It dried up in 1854 and an estimate for providing baths was ordered,[6] but they were

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[1]Formerly the seat of the Earl of Liverpool, built in 1702-3 by William Draper, the architect probably being Sir John Vanbrugh.

[2]Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney, 53.

[3]History of Addiscombe, 4.

[4]RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/13) 25 June 1823.

[5]The meadows were purchased in 1850 for £4,031.

[6]Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/24) 30 August 1854.

never built. There was much truth in Gentleman-cadet Burke's lament that Addiscombe cadets were 'unwashed, unbrushed', 'from head to foot a perfect mass of dirt'.[1] Two-thirds of the grounds were used as a farm.[2] The rest of the Seminary was largely the result of piecemeal Royal Engineering, consisting of 'a strange congregation of white-washed buildings which belonge[d] to the composite order of architecture, it being difficult to say whether they most resemble[d] stables, methodist chapels or prisons on the small scale'.[3] The United Service Journal was favoured with a view of the newly-completed barracks in 1829:

> There are generally eighteen cadets in each room. Two partitions reaching seven or eight feet high, run along the length of each room, leaving a passage in the centre; cross partitions run from these to the side walls, each cross partition dividing a window into two parts, thus leaving a well-lighted and well-aired cabin for each cadet, in which are his bed, a desk and every other convenience; an arrangement which, being a medium between public and private, is, we think, judicious. 4

The cadets thought the barracks ugly and uncomfortable.[5] The overwhelming sense of claustrophobia[6] was heightened by the lighting of cheap candles,[7] oil-lamps,[8] and eventually

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[1]Vibart, 113.

[2]The Seminary had its own dairy, bakehouse, laundry and brewhouse and was self-sufficient to a significant degree.

[3]Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney, I, 53.

[4]United Service Journal, 2 (1829) 227.

[5]Broadfoot, 647.

[6]Nos. 1 & 4 barracks were built only 10 ft. apart.

[7]History of Addiscombe,

[8]ibid.

gas.[1] Cold, damp and miserable, packed together like 'so many dogs in a kennel',[2] the cadets resorted to the King's Arms, the Beehive, the Black Horse, the Cricketers (celebrated for its Scotch ale) and the Leslie Arms for warmth and companionship.

After the completion of the first major building in 1816-18, the Court declared that 'little or no expense [could] be incurred for many years to come on account of repairs, from the manner in which everything ha[d] hitherto been done so substantially'.[3] The Company proved extremely dilatory in its response to the needs of maintenance. The blockhouse fell into 'a ruinous state' before it was repaired,[4] the bedding of the cadets degenerated into a state of 'extreme decay'[5] and the window curtains reached 'a decayed condition'[6] before they were replaced.

Diet was a long-standing grievance. During an inspection by a member of the Court of Directors,

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[1]ibid.
[2]Kaye, I, 95.
[3]RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/11) 20 May 1818.
[4]History of Addiscombe, 91.
[5]Copy Mins Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/22) No. 518, 23 Dec. 1845.
[6]ibid, No. 836, 20 October 1847.

Colonel William Henry Sykes, the following note was found attached to a piece of meat:

> Old horse, old horse, what dost thou here?
> This is the place for beef
> Let cats and dogs thy flesh devour
> But not a Christian's teeth. [1]

The responsibility for feeding cadets originally rested with James Andrew. He received an allowance of 2s. 6d. a day for the board of each cadet, 3s. a day for the board of each of the three junior masters, and 10s. 6d. a week for the board of each of the twelve domestic servants.[2] This system continued until 1821 when the responsibility for dieting the cadets and masters was placed under the management of a 'Purveyor'. The change came at the insistence of Andrew, himself, because of the many 'invidious observations which had been circulated to his prejudice'.[3] His hope that the Company would not see him suffer by the new system is a clear indication that he was making large profits out of his contract, 'and such was no doubt the case,' argued William Broadfoot, 'for the system was vicious and the men were human.'[4] The Court acted with its customary generosity in personal matters, raised his pay by £200 to a princely £1,000 a year, allowed him to draw £100 a year 'for incidental expenses, for coals, candles &c., travelling charges and postage', granted him £600 'for other losses' and took over his kitchen furniture at his own valuation.[5]

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[1] Vibart, 156.
[2] History of Addiscombe, 12.
[3] Broadfoot, 650.
[4] ibid.

The wily Doctor retired within a year to live on his ill-gotten gains. He was a very worldly cleric, cunning and capable, with a nice sense of the ridiculous and great political judgement. His chance in life came unexpectedly, but he exploited it to the full. His successors (Colonel Robert Houston, an animated ramrod; Sir Ephraim Stannus, an amiable, easy-going, hard-swearing Regency buck in decline; and Sir Frederick Abbott, an aloof Victorian with a religious wife and two plain daughters) were much more respectable and helped to confer prestige on the institution, which was their only real function. After Andrew's retirement the whole of the Seminary's gastronomic future fell into the hands of the 'Purveyor', Robert Martin Leeds, and his son and successor, Robert Johnston Leeds. Between them they carved out an empire, lording it over an entourage of cooks and scullery maids, tradesmen and washerwomen. Cadets might complain and Directors examine, but the Purveyor was an institution, inevitable as death and as impossible to defeat. His domain was centred on the 'dining-hall', 'a room of good dimensions and accurate proportions, with very handsome sham marble pillars and four long tables between the rows'.[1] The diet was less appealing than the room in which it was eaten. Breakfast consisted of bread and butter, or bread and milk if preferred. Gentleman-cadet Burke was not impressed:

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[1] Kaye, Peregrine Pultuney, I, 69. The dining-hall was built in 1823 by William Wilkins, architect to the East India Company, and designer of the National Gallery.

> Next came the breakfast, and slipt down the tea,
> Likewise the shares of butter were all eaten;
> This last was scarce above nonentity,
> Though bread was very plentiful, yclept wheaten,
> But rather stale ..... [1]

Lunch consisted of bread and cheese 'with good table beer'; dinner, 'beef, mutton and veal alternately of the best kind', an opinion not shared by our cynical poet:

> How shall I name the o'erbaked ribs of beef,
> The stringy veal and greasy legs of mutton
> Whose very sight oppress the soul with grief. [2]

Tea was confined to tea with bread and butter, or bread and cheese with beer. Peregrine Pultuney's first encounter with the food elicited a characteristically jaundiced response: 'his eye fell upon a dish of novel appearance which looked inaccessible to the knife and bore the name of "mahogany". It was some time before [he] could persuade himself that the Purveyor designed it for a pudding'.[3] He was in no doubt that 'people got sick in India [because] they went out with ruined digestions produced by bolting tough meat'.[4] The cadets were forced to make their own arrangements concerning food. The memory of illicit 'fry-ups' in the dormitories in the middle of the night was among the more pleasant the cadets took with them to India. The 'Swabs' breakfast' on Sunday morning was the highlight of the week.[5]

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[1] Vibart, 113.
[2] ibid.
[3] Kaye, 1, 68.
[4] ibid.
[5] 'Swabs' were Corporals, so-called from their epaulettes.

The plain diet gave an opportunity for a weird assortment of individuals to make a comfortable living selling food to cadets whose parents kept them liberally supplied with cash. Joe Rudge, a one-eyed ex-boxer, known as 'old tarts', sold light refreshments, and possessed the outstanding virtue of giving credit. Mrs. Knight, 'Mother Crust', sold bread and butter; 'Paddy' Fitzgibbon sold oranges from a wicker-basket and ginger-bread from a tin-box. Dorcas Letts, 'Mother Rose', 'the friend of everyone',[1] dispensed sympathy and affection along with milk and eggs and provided a homely atmosphere in her cottage, free from the gloom and pressures of the Seminary.

The uniform of the cadets was as unsatisfactory as the food. The clothes were not made to fit the cadet, but the cadet to fit the clothes.[2] Addiscombe cadets were easily distinguished:

> With his coat faced with red and shoulder-knots bright
> His 'bezzars' too large and trousers too tight,
> His dress cap and belt quite twenty years old
> Here's our Addiscombe lad with heart true as gold. 3

The cadets had to provide, at their own expense, twelve shirts, eight pairs of cotton stockings, six pairs of worsted stockings, six towels, six night-caps, eight pocket handerkerchiefs, two combs and a brush, a tooth-brush, a bible and a prayer book'.[4] The Company made an additional

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[1] Vibart, 287.

[2] Kaye, I, 69 . In 1837, it was arranged that clothing was to be made up at Addiscombe under the superintendence of a Master Tailor, owing to 'the disadvantages which are felt in the delay attending its transmission and the imperfect manner in which the uniform is fitted .... ' RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/18) No. 6, 3 May 1837.

[3] Vibart, 2 .

[4] Rules and Regulations, 17.

charge of £13 16s. 5d. a year for 'military outfit', a fee which disappeared in 1829, only to be revived in April 1836 when each cadet was required to pay 6guineas a term into the Company's treasury before admission to the Military Seminary.[1] The cadets were supplied by the Company with a jacket, waistcoat, black-silk handerkerchief, and foraging cap half-yearly; pantaloons and gaiters quarterly; and shoes every two months.[2] After 1852, the Company supplied only a cloak and forage cap.[3] A 'half-boot' was substituted for the 'Blucher' shoe at an additional charge to the cadet of 17s. 3d. a term. Peregrine Pultuney found the whole question of uniform profoundly distasteful:

> [He] did not much like the idea of wearing ready-made clothes; but he followed the sergeant into the adjoining room, where a number of boys of all sizes, some in their shirt sleeves, and some in their shirt tails, were trying on coats and trousers with every symptom of gratification. The sergeant pointed to some pigeon-hole places where Peregrine saw divers suits of blue uniform, turned up with red; and without partaking at all of the general satisfaction that animated his associates, he extracted one of the suits from its lurking place, and instantly let it fall to the ground, as though a scorpion had stung him.
>
> "Why these are old clothes," exclaimed Peregrine, turning round to the grim sergeant with an aspect of horror as he spoke. "I could swear they've been worn before."
>
> "No occasion for that, young gentleman; ..... we never suspected them of being new, sir, you'll get a new suit for Sundays."
>
> "You don't mean," cried Peregrine boiling over with indignation, "that I am to wear second-hand clothes!"
>
> "I've got nothing to do with it; .... its the rule of the Institution, Mr. Pultuney." 4

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[1] History of Addiscombe, 68.

[2] Vibart, 20.

[3] History of Addiscombe, 130.

[4] Kaye, 1, 72.

The rule was discontinued in 1852, but the cost of a new coat was passed on to the cadets in its entirety, bringing the clothes bill to £7 12s. 9d. a term.[1]

The attitude of the Company to the health of its cadets was perfunctory. The Seminary's physical qualifications were as lax as its academic entrance requirements. The original height regulation (4' 9", age 14-16; 5' 2", age 17-18) was removed from the standing orders of the Seminary, published in 1825, though a height regulation had been recommended by the Military Seminary Committee.[2] No candidate was admitted, however, 'without a certificate, signed by a surgeon of respectability, that he [had] no mental or bodily defect that may disqualify him for military service, and a declaration that he has had the smallpox, or has been vaccinated'.[3] This proved open to abuse for, in June 1833, it was required that two 'practising surgeons' sign the certificate.[4] Four years later the Court became convinced 'that a more detailed and precise form should be established in order the more effectually to guard against the appointment of those who from original defects of constitution may prove unable to continue to serve in India, an object which is the more

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[1] History of Addiscombe, 132.
[2] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/10) No. 150/39, 6 July 1814.
[3] Rules and Regulations, 14.
[4] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/16) No. 90, 18 June 1833.

necessary at the present time as under the regulation lately established officers who have lost their health on duty are entitled to a pension after a service of three years'.[1] Until the institution of the new retirement regulations, however, the Company's attitude to the health of its cadets had been very strange. Gentleman-cadet Patrick Edward Bellew, who had 'lately been attacked with a violent bleeding of the nose and spitting of blood, in consequence of which an immediate change of climate had been recommended to him as the only chance of preventing his going into a decline'[2] was discharged from the Seminary and allowed to proceed to India. He died soon after his arrival in 1812.[3] Mr. Edward Benjamin Harrington was similarly allowed to proceed to Madras as an infantry cadet 'in consequence of his having been so severely afflicted with rheumatism during the last two winters as to render a change of climate before the present winter commences essential to the preservation of his health'.[4] It was not until 1823 that the Seminary got its own 'hospital', the 'necessity of which had long existed .... from the frequent

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[1] Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) No. 281, 11 January 1837. The new form (to be signed by the two practising surgeons) was: 'I have this day carefully examined A.B. and certify that his eye-sight and hearing are perfect, that he is without deformity and has the perfect use of all his limbs; that he has no appearance of any constitutional disposition or tendency to disease; and that he does not appear to have any mental or bodily defect whatever to disqualify him for military service.'

[2] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/9) No. 54, 14 March 1810.

[3] V.C.P. Hodson, List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 (4 vols. 1927-46) II, 'Bellew, Patrick Edward'.

[4] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/11) No. 48, 23 October 1817.

occurrence of contagious diseases, such as smallpox after vaccination, measles, the scarlet fever, and which ..... might have been much sooner subdued or at least prevented from spreading if the sick patients could have been instantly removed to a place remote from all other public buildings'.[1] The hospital was under the nominal control of its 'medical attendant', Dr. Harris, and his successor Dr. Westall. They were paid on a contract system of 1 guinea per cadet, per annum. This was considered an 'ample remuneration'[2] by the Court, but the doctors themselves never regarded it as generous enough to require much of their time and energy. The real health protection came from Elizabeth Dodd, whose main contribution was sterling commonsense and tender, loving care in abundance.

The absence of the 'parental regard' of which Sir James Rivett Carnac boasted,[3] the dull curriculum, cramped accommodation, poor diet and bad uniform contributed to the Seminary's melancholy record of indiscipline. The belief of Colonel Vibart and of William Broadfoot that Addiscombe's riotousness was a late development is refuted by the most cursory examination of the Reports of the Military Seminary Committee. Indiscipline

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[1] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/13) No. 7, 15 May 1823.
[2] ibid, (IOR: L/MIL/1/16) 20 January 1832.
[3] Vibart, 122.

took the form of insubordination,[1] dissipation,[2] and absence without leave. Violence was a common form of expression for frustration, particularly as organised sport was unavailable until 1854 when a gymnasium was built with beneficial results. Fights with the townspeople of Croydon were a popular diversion. Gentleman-cadet William Finlay was expelled in 1851 'for heading a band of twenty or thirty cadets in the town ..... and committing acts of gross assault upon passengers'.[3] After a 'serious affray' in 1839, during which Gentleman-cadet J.W.C. Lockett twice broke arrest, assaulted a policeman, and was found drunk in a public house, the cadets were banned from Croydon fair.[4] Indiscipline was often a cry for freedom. The 'regularity of the mode of life' was suffocating: 6 a.m. reveille; 6.30 parade, then Chapel for prayers; 8.00 breakfast, and study until 1.00 p.m.; 1.00 till 2.00 dinner; 2.00 - 4.00 study; 4.00 - 6.00 free, except for drill twice a week; 6.00 tea, then study till 9.00, then chapel; 10.00 lights out. Addiscombe was a public school without flogging. The absence of corporal punishment left the authorities with only the threat of the ultimate deterrent of expulsion. This was

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[1] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/11) No. 1, 10 May 1815: ' .... the spirit of insubordination is widely spreading amongst the cadets which if not checked by severe measures on the part of the Court will bring the discipline of the Seminary into danger of an entire overthrow'; Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/23) No. 310, 17 October 1849: 'the Commitee observe with extreme regret the frequent occurrence of gross irregularity and insubordination at the Seminary.'

[2] RMSC (IOR: L/MIL/1/11) No. 31, 18 February 1817: 'Cadet John Caulfield Brown ..... returned to the .... Institution labouring under a malady which rendered it highly improper that he should continue therein .....'

[3] Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/23) 5 March 1851.

[4] ibid, (IOR: L/MIL/1/19) 5 June 1839.

used seldom; and even then the erring cadet invariably obtained a 'direct' appointment. It was a serious bar to the effective enforcement of the Seminary's discipline that the Directors of the East India Company not only appointed the Lieutenant-Governor and Professors, and granted their salaries and emoluments, but also nominated the students committed to their charge, every one of whom was the prospective holder of a lucrative appointment. The Court and the Addiscombe staff were always quick to observe 'the dreadful consequences' to 'future prospects in life which the extreme penalty' would produce.[1] There was a high tolerance of the Company's bad bargains who were treated with as much leniency as possible, every one in the Seminary being anxious to avoid ruining the careers of the sons or relatives or nominees of the Court of Directors.

Addiscombe was far from being a 'perfect model of military education'.[2] A critic as favourable to the East India Company as Sir John Kaye admitted its 'grave errors'.[3] The Seminary failed even to guarantee a regular supply of efficient technical officers. The Company's overriding pursuit of economy had a deleterious effect on all aspects of the institution throughout its existence. The drab physical surroundings produced an environment that was cold, cramped and frustrating. Addiscombe emphasised loneliness and isolation, not comradeship and a high sense

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[1] Copy Mins. Pol. Mily. Comm. (IOR: L/MIL/1/17) No, 117, 18 Nov.. 1835

[2] A phrase used by Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, at the last Public Examination at Addiscombe in June 1861, Vibart, 313.

[3] Sir J.W. Kaye, Lives of Indian Officers (3rd. ed., 1904) II, 147.

of duty. Its expense inflicted enormous pressures on cadets and parents alike. The training given fitted the Company's officers 'neither for efficiency nor for heroism'. They were often placed at an early age in positions of great responsibility in which powers of self-reliance, calm judgement and prompt action had continually to be exercised. The unremitting diet of mathematics was ill-suited to the production of men of 'power, firmness and insight ... able to stand alone' which the Indian empire required.[1] The aim of the Seminary was not to draw out of each cadet his latent moral and intellectual possibilities, but to cram into his mind the greatest number of facts in the shortest possible time, a system which at best produced cultivated pedants, and at the worst cramped and desiccated intellects incapable of original thought and swift decision. Archdale Wilson, the vacillating commander at the Siege of Delhi during the Indian Mutiny, was in many ways the archetypal Addiscombe man. The Seminary was not a true military college at all, but a militarised public school. There was no military education 'in the sense of tactics'[2] and important moral and physical requirements were largely ignored.

Addiscombe was a child of the times. It was severely restricted by the basic weaknesses of British education. It stands comparison with Sandhurst and Woolwich whose records were no more edifying.[3] No army asked for higher

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[1] Lewis Pelly (ed.), The Views and Opinions of Brigadier General John Jacob (1858) 421.

[2] P.P. H.L. 1852-53 (41) XXX, 5615.

[3] See W.D. Jones, Records of the Royal Military Academy (Woolwich, 1851); Sir John Smyth, Sandhurst (1961) and Hugh Thomas, The Story of Sandhurst (1961).

qualifications.[1] Its contribution to the lives of its cadets was more subtle. School is a universal, private world with its own language and its own rules. Seen from the secret peephole of childhood it is inhabited by an incalculable race of adults, drawn in the false kingdom of memory with exaggerated curves and angles, a magical half-lost world, something of which an imaginative child would put secretly on the fly-leaf of a book; for a man an intense experience rivalled for some only by war. No account of Addiscombe would be complete which ignored the power of nostalgia, the appeal of the white gates, the tall walnut and chestnut trees, the level green lawn, the sunken study court with the turret clock over the arcade, the endless drill, the smell of boot polish and gun-oil, the feel of the cold, dark dormitories and the cheap uniform, the memory of languid summer afternoons of Hindustani or 'Swat'[2] with the mutter of thunder behind the heather-clad Addington Hills, and a gentle rain rattling through the leaves. For the cadets, unknown and unloved, destined for an unquiet grave and a cold page in the history books, this was all they had of their childhoods to remember. Their epitaph has

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[1]See P.P. 1857, 6, 1 (0.52) for a comparative account of the course of instruction at Addiscombe.

[2]Mathematics.

been written by a cadet in a poem of surprising eloquence:

> Let not calm reason ask for what intent,
> Ideal aims or fancy pictured gain
> They pass their lives in hapless discontent
> And two long years at Addiscombe remain.
>
> The toils that made their once blithe tempers sour
> And all the study, all the time they gave,
> Yield them at length the enviable power
> To seek in India an untimely grave.
>
> Not theirs the fault should future ages find
> No record of them in the page of fame.
> In one small sphere, 'cribb'd, cabin'd and confin'd',
> They sighed for action and a deathless name. [1]

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[1] The poem's form is obviously based on Gray's 'Elegy'.

CONCLUSION

Patronage was the most important motif running through the history of the East India Company during the period 1784-1858. It pervaded every facet of the Company's activities. Patronage was the principal incentive to membership of the Court of Directors and to the ownership of East India stock, while the administration of the multifarious aspects of the patronage system occupied the bulk of the Directors' time and energy. Patronage conferred political influence and social power. It was the means by which the Company engineered its survival in an age hostile to corporate privilege, and, ultimately, the basis of its most significant contribution to the development of English society. The Company's attitude to patronage was marked by narrow-mindedness and self-interest; by generosity and humanity. The Directors bestowed their bounty with discretion, moderation and common-sense. The amount of proven corruption was surprisingly small. The standards which the Directors set for themselves in the distribution of their patronage were as high, if not higher, than the standards of contemporary national political life. But there was a limit to what could be achieved. There was undoubtedly a great deal of nepotism and there was a high tolerance of the Company's 'bad bargains'. The remarkable attempts to provide the Company's servants with a thorough professional

training were effectively undermined by the claims of friendship, obligation and selfishness which made up the patronage system.

The consequences for the development of English society were more sombre. The importance of East India patronage lay in its accessibility to the genteel poor, whose lack of connections and lack of cash precluded them from entrance to those professions which alone could confirm their social position. The Indian empire, through the medium of East India patronage, provided large numbers of British people with a standard of living and a level of economic and social security which they were denied at home. This was a great benefit to individuals confronted by the appalling prospect of slipping back into the mass of labouring poor, but the benefits to the nation as a whole were less obvious. The effect of East India patronage, in the long run, was to create a huge and essentially parasitic service middle-class with a vested interest in the maintenance and extension of Britain's imperial commitments. A set of social values, hostile to the spirit of industrial and commercial entrepreneurship on which British pre-eminence was based, were fostered and re-inforced.

The recruits, themselves, necessarily, bore the marks of the system which produced them. For the most part, the East India Company's civil and military servants had little say in the decision which sent them to India. The

Company's patronage system was responsive, primarily, to the social and economic ambition of the recruits' parents and guardians who saw, in India, salvation from the dismal realities of English life. Their children were unimbued with high notions of conduct and ignorant of the high ideals of imperial mission. Their education was perfunctory and utilitarian, and their ambition essentially personal or family. The character and quality of British rule in India depended upon the nature of the recruits to the civil and military services. In some part the bloody verdict delivered on British government on the plains of Northern India in 1857 had its origins in the inability of the Company's patronage system to recruit competent and efficient servants, with an understanding and respect for India.

Few expected the East India Company to survive the Mutiny. It had been the subject of mounting criticism for over a generation, and was widely regarded as a stronghold of privilege and nepotism, an expensive anachronism whose responsibilities far outweighed its abilities. But the Government of India Act of 1858 did not abolish the Company. It merely transferred sovereignty over the Indian empire to the British government. The Company continued in shadowy existence until the expiry of its Charter on 1 June 1874. After the demolition of the India House, it was housed at No. 1 Moorgate, and then in even more modest premises at 11 Pancras Lane. The Court of Directors continued to meet, mostly under the Chairmanship

of the irrepressible Colonel William Henry Sykes, and to discuss Indian affairs, but few attended and even fewer paid any attention to its discussions. The Company's sole staff consisted of a clerk and a secretary, the last of whom (in the best traditions of the Company) was Sykes' son. The remarkable Company, which had begun its story with such bright hopes in the last year of the reign of the great Elizabeth, passed away quietly and forgotten with only its old enemy, The Times to mourn:

> Now when it passes away, with the solemnities of Parliamentary sepulture, out of the land of the living, it is just as well, as becoming, to record that it accomplished a work such as in the whole history of the human race no other trading company ever attempted and such as none surely is likely to attempt in the years to come.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE c. 1860

/Based on J.C. Parkinson, Under government: an official key to the civil service of the Crown (2nd. ed., 1859); Edward Walford, A handybook of the Civil Service (1860); and, BM. Add. Mss., 44579 (part II), 'Notes on Treasury Patronage, 1853.'/

In England

1. The Admiralty
The number of junior posts in the Admiralty was very large. The First Lord of the Admiralty exercised the entire patronage, civil and military. The five junior Lords usually shared in the patronage, de facto, if not de jure. The valuable patronage of the naval yards was in the hands of the Surveyor of the Navy.

2. The Admiralty Court
The patronage was exercised by the Judge of the Court. It consisted of about 15 posts.

3. The Audit Office
Offices were in the gift of the Treasury. The clerkships were considered so valuable as to be reserved to the use of the Prime Minister alone.

4. The British Museum
All appointments were in the gift of the principal trustees, the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, *the Lord Chancellor* and the Speaker of the House of Commons.

5. The Charitable Trusts Commission
There were about 25 junior posts in the gift of the four commissioners.

6. The Civil Service Commission (created in 1855)
There were about 6 junior appointments, filled nominally by the two commissioners, but practically open to unlimited competition.

7. The Colonial Office
Appointments, including about 36 junior situations and a considerable number of writerships to Ceylon, were in the gift of the Secretary of State.

8. The Colonial Land and Emigration Office
There were 15 junior situations in the gift of the two commissioners.

9. The Committee of Council on Education
There were 40 junior positions, filled by competitive examination, after nomination by the Lord President of the Council, or the Vice President.

10. The Copyhold, Inclosure and Tithe Commission
There were 14 junior siuations filled by the nomination of the four commissioners.

11. The Customs
The Customs was probably the most important branch of the Civil Service, on account of the large number of persons it employed. It was divided into six departments: the Secretary's Office, the Solicitor's Office, the Receiver-General's Office, the Comptroller-General's Office, the Inspector-General's Office, and the Examiner's Office. The number of all classes employed in the Customs c. 1860 was nearly 6,000. All vacancies were filled by limited competition, after previous nomination by the Lords of the Treasury or any of the six Commissioners of Customs.

12. The Duchy of Lancaster
The patronage was vested in the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. There were about 60 positions, half of which were of a junior nature.

13. The Ecclesiastical Commission
There were about 30 junior situations which were filled by the nomination of the three commissioners.

14. The Exchequer Office
There were 10 junior appointments in the gift of the Lords of the Treasury.

15. The Factory Inspector's Office
There were about 30 junior situations in the gift of the Home Secretary.

16. The Foreign Office
The Foreign Office includes the Diplomatic Corps, the Consular Corps and the Foreign Service Messengers' Establishment, numbering on the whole between six hundred and seven hundred appointments. About one-fifth of these were junior situations filled by limtied competition, after nomination by the Foreign Secretary.

17. The Friendly Societies' Registry
There were 5 junior situations, filled by nomination of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, consisting of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, and the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England.

18. The General Register Office
There were 60 or 70 junior situations, filled by limited competition after nomination from the Lords of the Treasury.

19. The Home Office
There were about 30 junior appointments, filled by limited competition after nomination by the Home Secretary.

20. The House of Commons
There were about a hundred junior situations filled on the nomination of the various heads of department; the Speaker, the Clerk of the House, and the Serjeant-at-Arms.

21. The House of Lords
There were about 40 junior nominations in the gift of the Clerk of Parliaments.

22. The Inland Revenue
The Inland Revenue establishment was large, consisting in 1859 of 5,440 people. The service was divided into two branches, the Excise and the Stamps and Taxes. Vacancies were filled by limited competition subsequent to nomination by the Lords of the Treasury.

23. The Joint Stock Companies' Registry
There were 4 junior situations filled by nomination of the President of the Board of Trade.

24. London University
There were a few junior appointments filled by the nomination of the Senate of the University.

25. The Lunacy Commission
There were 7 junior situations in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, or the Commissioners in Lunacy.

26. The Metropolitan Police Courts
Nominations were in the gift of the Home Secretary.

27. The Metropolitan Police
Nominations were in the gift of the Home Secretary.

28. The Mint
There were about 12 junior situations, in the gift of the Treasury.

29. The National Debt Office
There were about 22 junior situations, filled by limited competition after nomination by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt.

30. The Patent Office
The patronage was in the gift of the Lord Chancellor.

31. The Paymaster General's Office
There were about 50 junior posts, filled by limited competition after nomination by the Paymaster General.

32. The Poor Law Board
There were between 40 and 45 junior posts, filled by limited competition after nomination by the President of the Board.

33. The Post Office
The Post Office was one of the largest employers of labour in the government service, with about 25,000 employees. The number of junior situations was very large and became greater in the 1850s as a result, not only of ordinary clerkships, but of the appointments of letter carriers, mail guards, and labourers being filled by competitive examination. The nomination to all these posts rested with the Postmaster General.

34. The Prisons Department
The patronage was in the gift of the Home Secretary in conjunction with the Chairman of the Board of Directors.

35. The Privy Council Office
Vacancies were filled on the nomination of the President of the Council and the Vice-President.

36. The Privy Seal Office
There were three junior posts in the gift of the Lord Privy Seal.

37. The Public Works Loan Office
There were 6 junior appointments in the gift of the Treasury.

38. The Record Office
There were from 40 to 50 junior posts which were filled by limited competition on the nomination of the Master of the Rolls.

39. The Science and Art Department
There were from 60 to 70 junior posts which were filled by limited competition on the nomination of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and the Vice-President of the Council of Education.

40. The Stationery Office
There were 50 junior situations in the gift of the Treasury.

41. The Trade Department
There were nearly 100 junior situations partly filled by limited competition, on the nomination of the President of the Board of Trade.

42. The Treasury
Appointments to the Treasury, the highest branch of the executive, were particularly sought after. The department was divided into the Treasury Board and the Solicitor's Office. The 50 to 60 junior posts were filled by limited competition, on the nomination of the Lords of the Treasury.

43. The War Department
There were a large number of junior posts (4-500) filled by limited competition after nomination by the Secretary of State.

44. The Woods and Forests Office
There were 30 to 40 junior posts filled by limited competition after nomination by the Lords of the Treasury.

45. The Works and Public Buildings Office
There were 50 junior situations filled by limited competition after nomination by the Lords of the Treasury.

In Scotland

46. The Board of Fisheries.
The patronage, as regards clerkships, was in the gift of the Secretary of the Board. Posts in the fisheries were at the disposal of the commissioners.

47. The General Register Office
There were about 15 junior posts filled by limited competition after nomination by the Lords of the Treasury.

48. The Lunacy Board
The patronage was vested in the commissioners.

49. The Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office
There were about 15 junior appointments in the gift of the Treasury.

50. The Royal Observatory, Edinburgh
There were about 3 junior situations in the gift of the Home Secretary.

In Ireland

51. The Chief Secretary's Office
There were about 20 junior posts filled by limited competition after nomination by the Lord Lieutenant, de jure, and the Chief Secretary, de facto.

52. The Constabulary for Ireland
The number of junior appointments was very great. They were filled by limited competition after nomination by the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, and the Under Secretary.

53. The Convict Service
There were several hundred junior appointments. They were filled by limited competition after previous nomination by either the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary.

54. The Educational Office
There were between 70 and 80 junior posts in the gift of the resident commissioner of the Board of Education.

55. The General Register Office
There were 10 junior posts made by limited competition after nomination by the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary.

56. The Lunacy Board
There were 6 junior situations filled by limited competition on the nomination of the Lord Lieutenant.

57. The Civil Services Office
This department was a branch of the Treasury. It had some twenty junior posts, the nominations to which rested with the Lords of the Treasury.

58. The Poor Law Board
There were 36 junior situations, the patronage of which was exercised by the commissioners.

59. The Public Works Office
The office was divided into 3 departments: the Secretary's Branch, the Accountant's Branch and the Architect's Branch. There were about 40 junior posts in the gift of the Lords of the Treasury.

60. The Registry of Deeds Office
There were 70to 80 clerkships in the gift of the Chief Registrar.

61. The War Department for Ireland
There were 11 junior situations filled by limited competition on the nomination of the Military Secretary for Ireland.

APPENDIX TWO

THE STAFF OF THE EAST INDIA HOUSE*

Secretary's Office	56
Office of the Examiner of Indian Corresp.	21
Auditor's Office	10
Register Office for Indian Books	4
Library	4
Treasurer's Office	17
Under Committee of Law Suits	3
Under Committee of Military Fund	3
Under Committee of Warehouses	9
Under Committee of Buying	6
Under Committee of Accounts	39
Transfer Office	12
Under Committee of House (inc. doorkeepers, firemen, watchmen)	34
Under Committee of Shipping:	
Pay Office (inc. 2 Inspectors of Recruits, 1 Inspector of Small Arms, 1 Inspector of Locks, 1 Agent for Recruits in Ireland, 1 Examining Surgeon)	40
Master Attendant's Office	10
Under Committee for Preventing the Growth of Private Trade	1

In addition to the office staff, the Company employed a multitude of workmen:

Under the Committee of Warehouses (warehousemen, elders, deputy-elders, writers, labourers)	3170
Under Committee of Buying (cloth-workers, packers, etc.)	138
Under Committee of Private Trade	
Freight Office	100
Watermen	12
Under the Committees of House and Warehouse (workmen, painter, carpenter, plumber, cabinet-maker, tallow-chandler etc.)	15

*Based on the list in C.N. Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas (Cambridge, 1937) 27. It does not include the fluctuating number of extra clerks and is only for the year 1802. Similar annual lists can be found in the India Register.

APPENDIX THREE

PRESIDENTS OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA 1793 TO 1858

28 June	1793	Henry Dundas
19 May	1801	Earl of Dartmouth
12 July	1802	Viscount Castlereagh
11 Feb.	1806	Earl of Minto
15 July	1806	Thomas Grenville
30 Sep.	1806	George Tierney
4 Apr.	1807	Robert Dundas
11 July	1809	Earl of Harrowby
7 Nov.	1809	Robert Dundas (Viscount Melville)
4 Apr.	1812	Earl of Buckinghamshire
4 June	1816	George Canning
12 Jan.	1821	Charles Bathurst
5 Feb.	1822	Charles Watkins Williams Wynn
4 Feb.	1828	Viscount Melville
17 Sep.	1828	Earl of Ellenborough
22 Nov.	1830	Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg)
15 Dec.	1834	Earl of Ellenborough
23 Apr.	1835	Sir John Cam Hobhouse (Lord Broughton)
4 Sep.	1841	Earl of Ellenborough
23 Oct.	1841	Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci
17 May	1843	Earl of Ripon
6 July	1846	Lord Broughton
5 Feb.	1852	Fox Maule
27 Feb.	1852	J.C. Herries

28 Dec. 1852 Sir Charles Wood (Viscount Halifax)

28 Feb. 1855 Robert Vernon Smith

26 Feb. 1858 Earl of Ellenborough

31 May 1858 Lord Stanley (became the first Secretary of State for India)

APPENDIX FOUR

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

1784 - 1858

/The list shows periods of service as Directors and miscellaneous biographical information. * indicates that the Director was Deputy Chairman; ** that he was Chairman of the East India Company in that particular year/

1. Agnew, Patrick Vans (? - 1842) 1833, 35-8, 40-2; Madras Army, Lt. Col., 'of considerable repute'; father of Patrick Alexander Vans Agnew (1822-1848), Bengal Civil Service, whose murder at Multan by the retainers of Mulraj led to the Second Sikh War.

2. Alexander, Henry (1787 - 1861) 1826, 28-31, 33-6, 38-41, 43-6, 48-51, 53; second son of Robert Alexander of Seamount and Dublin, merchant; late Bank of Hindustan, Calcutta; a member of the Oriental Club.

3. Alexander, Josias du Pré (1771 - 1839) 1820-22, 24-27, 29-32, 34-37; Madras Civil Service; Gardiner, Alexander & Co., Calcutta; M.P. Old Sarum, 1820-28, 30-32; son of Robert Alexander of Londonderry and nephew of James Alexander (1730-1802), Earl of Caledon, a Nabob whose estate was valued at £600,000; an aunt married Josias du Pré (d. 1780), Governor of Madras; a member of the Oriental Club; an ancestor of Field Marshal the Earl Alexander of Tunis.

4. Allan, Alexander (c.1764 - 1820) 1814-17, 19-20; Indian army; M.P. Berwick, 1803-06, 07-20.

5. Astell, John Harvey (1806 - 1887) 1851, 52-58; East India Company's civil service, China; M.P. Cambridge; son of 6; a member of the Oriental Club.

6. Astell, William Thornton (1774 - 1847) 1800, 02-05, 07-09*-10**, 12-15, 17-20, 22-23*-24**-25, 27-28**-29*-30**, 32-35, 37-40, 42-45; son of Godfrey Thornton, a director of the Bank of England; Chairman of the Russia Company and of the Great Northern Railway; M.P. Bridgwater, 1807-32, Bedford, 1841-47; a leading opponent of annexation, he took a major part in the recall of Ellenborough in 1844 and was a staunch advocate of non-interference in the religions of India; deputy-lieutenant of Bedfordshire, Lt. Col. Bedford. Militia, Col. Royal East India Volunteers; father of 5.

7. Atkinson, Richard (1738 - 1835) 1784-85; City merchant; Alderman of the City of London; M.P. New Romney, 1784-85.

8. Baillie, Colonel John (1772 - 1833) 1823, 25-28, 30-33; Bengal Army; a distinguished Orientalist, Professor of Arabic and Persian, and of Mahomedan Law, at Fort William College; established British authority in Bundelkund; Resident at Lucknow, 1807-15; M.P. Hedon, 1820-30, Inverness

Burghs, 1830-31, 32-33; a member of the Oriental Club.

9. Bannerman, John Alexander (1758 - 1819) 1808-11, 13-16, ret. 1817; Madras Army; M.P. Bletchingley, Jan.-Apr. 1807; Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, 1817-19.

10. Baring, Sir Francis (1740 - 1810) 1779-82, 84-87, 89-91*-92**, 94-97, 99-1802, 04-07, 09-10; founder of Baring Brothers; M.P. Grampound, 1784-90, Wycombe, 1794-96, 1802-06, Calne, 1796-1802; he was deaf.

11. Bayley, William Butterworth (1782 - 1860) 1833-35, 37-39*-40**, 42-45, 47-50; Bengal Civil Service, a notable member of Wellesley's entourage of clever young men; sixth son of Thomas Butterworth Bayley, 'the agriculturalist and philanthropist' of Hope Hall, Eccles; temporary Gov. Gen. Bengal, Mar.-Jul. 1828; his nephew Sir Edward Clive Bayley and his son Sir Steuart Bayley were distinguished Indian administrators ; a member of the Oriental Club.

12. Bebb, John (? - ?) 1804, 06-09, 11-14, 16*-17**-19, 21-24, 26-29, ret. 1830; Bengal Civil Service, head of the Board of Trade of Bengal.

13. Bensley, Sir William (? - 1810) 1781-4, 86-89, 91-94, 96-99, 1801-04, 06-09; Bengal Civil Service; originally served in the R.N.; m. Mary Briscoe, grand-daughter of 8th. Duke of Somerset.

14. Boddam, Charles (? - 1784) 1769, 72, 73, 74-75, 77-80, 82-84; Madras Civil Service; brother-in-law of Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760-64,

15. Boehm, Edmund (? - 1787) 1784-87; Boehm & Sons, City merchants; attorney to Henry Vansittart, see above.

16. Bosanquet, Jacob (? - ?) 1782-83, 85-88, 90-93, 95-97*-98**, 1800-02*-03**, 05-08, 10*-11**-12**-13, 15-18, 20-23, 25-26, ret. 1827; a member of 'a very rich and respectable family' of London merchants 'with a great line of City interest and connection'; Castlereagh described him as 'a great coxcomb .... among the least pleasant men to act with that have fallen in my way'; his fellow Director, Sweny Toone (see 121), called him 'a very honest man, liberal in his sentiments, of considerable talents and he has very great weight in our Court'.

17. Bryant, Maj. Gen. Sir Jeremiah (1783 - 1845) 1841, 43-45; Bengal Army.

18. Burgess, Sir John Smith (? - 1803) 1773, 74, 76-79, 81-84, 86-89, 91**-92*-94, 96-99, 1801-03; Madras Civil Service; M.P. New Romney, 1784, East Looe, 1799; m. the heiress of Y. Burges of East Ham and Thorpe Hall, Essex; died after a surfeit of excitement on election day at the East India House.

19. Campbell, Archibald (? - 1796) 1796.

20. Campbell, Sir Robert (1771 - 1858) 1817, 19-22, 24-27, 29-30*-31**-32, 34-37, 39-42, 44-47, 49-52; son of John Campbell of Ballyshannon, co. Donegal; merchant in Madras, 1796-1816; member of the Oriental Club.

21. Carnac, Sir James Rivett (1785 - 1846) 1827-28, 30-33, 35*-36**-37**-38, ret. 1838; Madras Army, member of the Bombay Council, Governor of Bombay, 1839-41, M.P.; 'the armies of India have in you a great friend and well wisher'; member of the Oriental Club; brother-in-law of 107.

22. Caulfield, Maj. Gen. James (1780 - 1852) 1848-51; Bengal Army; M.P. Abingdon, 1852 (he died on the day Parliament met); author Observations on our Indian administration (1832), Recent transactions in India (Calcutta, 1840) and The Punjab and the Indian Army (1846); son of Rev. John Caulfield, chaplain to the Duke of Gordon; member of the Oriental Club.

23. Cheap, Thomas (? - ?) 1777, 78, 80-83, 85-88, 90-93*.

24. Clarke, William Stanley (? - 1844) 1815-16, 18-21, 23-26, 28-31, 33-34*-35**-36, 38-41, 43; East India Company's maritime service, commander Wexford, Indiaman.

25. Clerk, Robert (? - 1815) 1812, 14-15; Madras Civil Service.

26. Cotton, John (1786 - 1860) 1833-34, 36-39, 41-42*-43**-44, 46-49, 51-53; Madras Civil Service; son of 27.

27. Cotton, Joseph (1745 - 1825) 1795-98, 1800-03, 05-08, 10-13, 15-18, 20-23, ret. 1823; son of Dr. Nathaniel Cotton, 'poet and phyisician'; R.N., 1760; East India Company's maritime service, commander Queen Charlotte, Indiaman; director of the East India Docks Company (chairman 1803) and a Governor of the London Assurance Corporation; awarded the silver medal of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures for the introduction into the country of rhea, or China grass, an eastern fibre of great strength and fineness; F.R.S.; deputy-master of the Trinity House; father of 26.

28. Cuming, George (? - 1787) 1764, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, Dec. 1773, 74-77, 79-82, 85-87.

29. Currie, Sir Frederick (1799 - 1875) 1854-56, 57*, 58**; Bengal Civil Service, drew up the peace treaty after the First Sikh War.

30. Daniell, James (? - ?) 1809, 11-14, 16-19, 21-24, ret. 1825; Madras Civil Service.

31. Darell, Sir Lionel (1742 - 1803) 1780-83, 85-88, 90-93, 95-98, 1800-03; Bengal Civil Service; M.P. Lyme Regis, 1780, Hedon, 1784, 1790, 1796; Colonel 1st. East India Volunteers; a Nabob; crowds watching his funeral cortège packed the route from the East India House to Temple Bar.

32. Davis, Samuel (? - 1819) 1810-12, 14-17, 19; Bengal Civil Service, late Accountant General, 'one of the most intelligent of the corps'.

33. Dent, William (? - 1877) 1851-53.

34. Devaynes, William (c.1730 - 1809) 1770, 71, 72, 73, 74-75, 77*-78-79*-80**, 82-83*-84*-85**, 87-88*-89**-90*, 92-93**-94**-95, 97-1800, 02-05, defeated Apr. 1807; M.P. Barnstaple, 1774-80, 1784-96, 1802-06, Winchelsea, 1796-1802; 'a self-seeking mediocrity'.

35. Eastwick, William Joseph (1809-1889) 1847, 49-52, 54-58*; Bombay Army, 'one of Pottinger's assistants in Sind'; brother of E.B. Eastwick, Professor of Hindustani, Haileybury; author Lord Lytton and the Afghan War.

36. Edmonstone, Neil Benjamin (1765 - 1841) 1820-22, 24-27, 29-32, 34-37, 39-41; Bengal Civil Service, the architect behind Wellesley's forward policy in India, 'the ubiquitous Edmonstone, one of the most valuable officials and far-seeing statesmen which the Indian civil service has ever produced'; a member of the Oriental Club.

37. Ellice, Russell (? - ?) 1831, 32-35, 37-40, 42-45, 47-50, 52*-53**, 54-58; brother of Edward Ellice M.P., the 'Nestor of the House of Commons' and trusted adviser of the Liberal Party.

38. Elphinstone, Hon. William Fullerton (1740 - 1834) 1786-89, 91-94, 96-99, 1801-04**, 06**-09, 11-13*-14**, 16-19, 21-24, ret. 1825; 3rd. son of Charles, 10th. Lord Elphinstone; m. 1774 Elizabeth, eldest dau. of John Fullerton of Carberry; nephew of the Earl Marischal of Scotland; East India Company's maritime service, commander Triton, Indiaman; brother of Admiral Lord Keith, father of Maj. Gen. W.G.K. Elphinstone who was in command at Cabul during the disastrous First Afghan War.

39. Ewer, Walter (? - ?) 1790, 92-94, ret. 1795.

40. Farquhar, Robert Townsend (1776 - 1830) 1826-28; Madras Civil Service, Lt. Gov. Pulo Penang, Gov. Mauritius where he was an active opponent of the slave trade; Bt. 1830; M.P. Newton, 1825-26, Hythe, 1826-30; son of a well-known doctor.

41. Fergusson, Robert Cutlar (1768 - 1838) 1830-31, 33-35, ret. 1835; Judge Advocate General, Calcutta; M.P. Kircudbright 1826-38; a vigorous supporter of liberal causes.

42. Fitzhugh, Thomas (? - 1800) 1785, 87-90, 92-95, 97-99.

43. Forbes, John (? - 1846) 1830, 31-34, 36-39; Bengal Civil Service; M.P.

44. Fraser, Simon (? - 1807) 1791, 93-96, 98-1801, 03-06.

45. Galloway, Maj. Gen. Sir Archibald (1780 - 1850) 1840, 42-45, 47-48*-49**-50; Bengal Army; author On the sieges of India; his son, Archibald Galloway, Bengal Civil Service, was killed defending the Treasury at Delhi in 1857.

46. Grant, Charles (1746 - 1823) 1794-95, 97-1800, 02-04*-05**, 07*-08**-09**-10, 12-15**, 17-20, 22-23; Bengal Civil Service; a leading member of the Clapham Sect, a zealous promoter of Christianity among the natives, Vice President of the British and Foreign Bible Society; M.P. Co. Inverness, 1802-18; father of Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg), President of the Board of Control, and of Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay.

47. Hall, Richard (? - 1786) 1773, 76-79, 81-84, 86; East India Company's maritime service, commander Worcester, Indiaman, 1761-71.

48. Hogg, Sir James Weir (1790 - 1876) 1839-42, 44-45*-46**-47, 49-50*-51*-52**, 54-58; Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; M.P. Beverley, 1835-47, Honiton, 1847-57, the recognised representative of the East India Company in the House of Commons and a frequent antagonist of Sir Charles Napier and John Bright; author Addresses to the students at the East India College Haileybury (1846); he was the uncle and benefactor of Brigadier General John Nicholson, the hero of the Indian Mutiny.

49. Hudleston, John (c.1749 - 1853) 1803-6, 08-11, 13-16, 18-21, 23-25, ret. 1826; Madras Civil Service; M.P. Bridgwater, 1804-06.

50. Hunter, John (c.1724 - 1802) 1781-84, 86-89, 91-94*, 96-99, 1801-02; Madras Civil Service; M.P. Leominster, 1784-97.

51. Inglis, Sir Hugh (c. 1744 - 1812) 1784-87, 89-92, 94-96*-97**, 99*-1800**-02, 04-07, 09-11*-12*; Bengal merchant; M.P. Ashburton, 1802-06; father of 52.

52. Inglis, John (? - 1822) 1803-04, 06-09, 11-14*, 16-19, 21-22; son of 51.

53. Irwin, James (? - 1798) 1795, 97.

54. Jackson, Sir John (1763 - 1820) 1807-10, 12-15, 17-20; shipowner; M.P. Dover, 1806-20; son of 55.

55. Jackson, William Adair (? - 1804) 1803-04; father of 54.

56. Jenkins, Sir Richard (1785 - 1853) 1832-35, 37-38*-39**-40, 42-45, 47-50, 52-53; Bombay Civil Service, a distinguished Indian administrator; M.P. Shrewsbury, 1830-2, 37-41.

57. Johnstone, George (1730 - 1787) 1784-85; Commander R.N.; M.P. Cockermouth, 1768-74, Appleby, 1774-81, Lostwithiel, 1781-84, Ilchester, 1784-87; 'shameless, scurrilous, without self-restraint, temper or knowledge'; a duellist.

58. Lemesurier, Paul, (1755 - 1805), 1784-7, 89-92, 94-7, 99-1802, 04-05; City merchant (prize agent during the American War); Lord Mayor of London, 1794; a major opponent of Fox's India Bill, 1783; M.P. Southwark, 1784-96; Colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company.

59. Lindsay, Hugh, (1763 - 1844), 1814-17, 19-22, 24-6*-7**, 29-32, 34-7, 39-42, 44; East India Company's maritime service; M.P. Perth Burghs, 1820-30; son of the 5th. Earl of Balcarres.

60. Loch, John, (1781 - 1868), 1821-4, 26-8*-9**, 31-3**-4, 36*-9, 41-4, 46-9, 51-3; East India Company's maritime service, Captain, Scaleby Castle, Indiaman; director of the Australian Society and of several important companies; M.P. Hythe, 1830-32; dangerously wounded, 15 March 1837, in a murderous knife attack at the India House by a man who subsequently committed suicide; brother of the man who conducted the Sutherlandshire clearances.

61. Lumsden, John, (? - 1818), 1817, 18.

62. Lushington, Sir James Law, (1779 - 1859), 1827-8, 30-3, 35-7*-8**, 40-1*-2**-3, 45-7*-8**, 50-3; Madras Cavalry, dismissed in 1809 during the so-called 'White Mutiny' at Jaulna, he was restored and ultimately reached the rank of full General; M.P. Petersfield, 1825, Hastings, 1826, Carlisle, 1827-32; younger brother of Stephen Rumbold Lushington, Chairman of the House of Commons Ways and Means Committee; Vice President of Cheltenham College.

63. Lushington, Sir Stephen, (1744 - 1807), 1782-5, 87-9*-90**, 92-5**, 97-8*-9**-1800, 02-05; India merchant; M.P. Hedon, 1783-4, Helston, 1790-6, St. Michael, 1796-02, Penryn, 1802-06, Plympton, 1806-7; suffered from gout.

64. Lyall, George, (? - 1853), 1830-3, 35-8, 40*-1**-3, 45-8, 50, ret. 1851; Chairman of the Shipowners Society, one of the chief promoters of the Marine Indemnity Company at Lloyd's, director of the London Docks and Guardian Insurance Companies; M.P. City of London, 1833-5, 1841-7, a poor speaker, he nevertheless piloted the Merchant Seamen's Widows Bill (1834) through the House; a man of considerable weight in the City of London; the builder of Shoreham Harbour.

65. Macnaghten, Elliot, (1807 - 1888), 1842-3, 45-8, 50-3, 54*, 55**, 56-8; Supreme Court of Calcutta; son of Sir F.W. Macnaghten, father of Sir Melville Macnaghten, Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police.

66. Mangles, Ross Donelly, (1801 - 1877), 1847-50, 52-3, 54, 55, 56*, 57**, 58; M.P. Guildford, 1841-58; Bengal Civil Service; author Christian reasons of a member of the Church of England for being a reformer; son won the Victoria Cross during the Mutiny.

67. Manship, John, (c.1725 - 1816), 1758, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, December 73, 74-7, 79-82, 84-7, 89-92, 94-7, 99-1802, 04-07, 09, ret. 1809.

68. Marjoribanks, Campbell (? - 1840) 1807-10, 12-15, 17-18*-19**-20, 22-24*-25**, 27-30, 32*-33**-35, 37-40; East India Company's maritime service, commander Arniston, Indiaman, attacked in 1800 by a French sloop, supposed to be the Confiance of 26 guns, under the command of Robert Surcouf, 'the Corsair of St. Malo'.

69. Marjoribanks, Dudley Coutts (1820 - 1894) 1853; banker; partner Meux & Co., brewers; later 1st. Baron Tweedmouth; M.P. Berwick, 1853-68, 1874-81; son-in-law of Sir James Weir Hogg, no. 48.

70. Masterman, John (? - ?) 1823-25, 27-30, 32-35, 37-40, 42-45, 47-50, 52-53; City merchant.

71. Melville, Hon. William Henry Leslie (1788 - 1858) 1845-46, 48-51, 53-55; Bengal Civil Service; son of 7th. Earl of Leven & 6th. Earl of Melville; his mother was a daughter of John Thornton of Clapham, a leading Evangelical; Robert Thornton, no. 120, was his uncle.

72. Metcalfe, Sir Thomas Theophilus (1745 - 1813) 1789-92, 94-97, 99-1802, 04-07, 09-12; Bengal Army; M.P. Abingdon, 1796-1807; father of Charles, Lord Metcalfe; 'a pious Christian in spirit and in truth, [who] died in grateful love and humble adoration of his God'.

73. Michie, John (? - 1788) 1770, 71, 72, 73, 74-75, 77-80, 83-86**, 88**.

74. Millett, George (? - 1812) 1806-07, 09-12; East India Company's maritime service.

75. Mills, Charles (1755 - 1826) 1785-86, 88-91, 93-96, 98-1801*/**, 03-06, 08-11, 13-14, ret. 1815; banker; M.P. Warwick Borough, 1802-06; father of 76. Leamington Spa was 'Mills country'.

76. Mills, Sir Charles (? - 1872) 1822-24, 26-29, 31-34, 36-39, 41-44, 46-49, 51-58; banker; M.P.; son of 75.

77. Mills, William (1750 - 1820) 1778-81, 83-85; City merchant; M.P. St. Ives, 1790-96, Coventry, 1805-12.

78. Moffat, James (? - 1790) 1774-77, 79-82, 84-85, 87-90.

79. Money, William (? - 1796) 1789-92, 94-95; East India Company's maritime service, commander Gatton, Indiaman; Elder Brother of the Trinity House; father of 80.

80. Money, William Taylor (1769 - 1840) 1818, 20-23, 25, ret. 1826; East India Company's maritime service, commander General Goddard, Walthamstow, Indiamen, involved in the capture of a Dutch convoy off St. Helena in 1795; Marine Superintendent, Bombay; M.P. Wootton Bassett, 1816-20, St. Michael's, 1820-26; H.B.M. Consul Venice; Elder Brother of the Trinity House; Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order; owner of large estates in Java; an Evangelical and leading Protestant pamphleteer; went bankrupt; F.R.S., F.R.A.S.; son of 80.

81. Moore, Maj. James Arthur (? - 1860) 1850, 52-53; Indian army.

82. Morris, John (? - ?) 1814-17, 19-22, 24-27, 29-32, 34-37, ret. 1838.

83. Muspratt, John Petty (? - 1855) 1824, 25-28, 30-33, 35-38, 40-43, 45-48, 50-53; banker. Elphinstone, no.38, was a customer.

84. Oliphant, Lt.Col. James (1796-1881) 1844-46, 48-51, 53*, 54**, 55-56, ret. 1857; Madras Army; a member of the Oriental Club.

85. Parry, Edward (? - 1827) 1797-98, 1800-03, 05-06*-07**-08**, 10-13, 15-18, 20-23, 25-27; Bengal Civil Service; m. Emilia Vansittart, dau. of Gov. Henry Vansittart; one of the Evangelical leaders at the India House.

86. Parry, Richard (? - 1817) 1815-17, son of 87.

87. Parry, Thomas (? - 1806) 1781, 83-86, 88-91, 93-96, 98-1801, 03-06; father of 86.

88. Pattison, James (? - ?) 1805, 06-09, 11-14, 16-17*-18**-19, 21*-22**-24, 26-27*-29, ret. 1830; City merchant.

89. Pattle, Thomas (1748-1818) 1787-90, 92-94, ret. 1795; Bengal Civil Service; returned to Bengal 1795 (-1810) and filled various offices.

90. Peel, Sir Lawrence (1799-1884) 1857; Chief Justice of Calcutta; first cousin of Sir Robert Peel; statue to his memory erected in Calcutta.

91. Plowden, Richard Chicheley (1743-1830) 1803-06, 08-11, 13-16, 18-21, 23-26, 28-29; Bengal Civil Service; father of 92; a friend of the Duchess of Angouleme, the Polignacs and other French Royalist émigrés; a client of 77.

92. Plowden, William Henry Chicheley (1787-1880) 1841-44, 46-49, 51-53; East India Company's civil service, China; M.P. Newport (IOW) 1847-52; son of 91.

93. Pollock, Sir George (1786-1872) 1854-55, 58; youngest son of David Pollock, saddler to George III; field marshal, hero of the First Afghan War.

94. Prescott, Charles Elton (? - 1832) 1820, 22-25, 27-30, 32; East India Company's maritime service, commander Princess Charlotte, Indiaman; director of the West Middlesex Water Works.

95. Prinsep, Henry Thoby (1792-1878) 1850-51, 53-58; Bengal Civil Service, a great supporter of the policy of the Marquess of Hastings; son of John Prinsep, founder of the Indian indigo industry; M.P. Harwich; an amateur classicist and mathematician; patron of G.F. Watts and Edward Burne-Jones.

96. Raikes, George (? - ?) 1817, 18-21, 23-26, 28-31, 33-36, ret. 1836.

97. Ravenshaw, John Goldsborough (? - 1840) 1819-22, 24-27, 29-31*-32**, 34-37, 39-40; Madras Civil Service, a disciple of Thomas Munro.

98. Rawlinson, Lt.Col. Sir Henry Creswicke (1810 - 1895) 1856-58; East India Company's military service; a distinguished Assyriologist; Pres. R.A.S., Pres. R.G.S.; M.P. Reigate, 1858-59, Frome, 1865-68.

99. Reid, Thomas (? - 1824) 1803, 05-08, 10-13, 15*-16**-18, 20*-21**-23; head of the City merchants, Reid, Irving & Co.

100. Robarts, Abraham (1745 - 1816) 1786, 88-91, 93-96, 98-1801, 03-06, 08-11, 13-15, ret. 1815; India merchant, head of the firm of Robarts, Curtis & Co., Lombard Street; Col. 1st. East India Volunteers.

101. Roberts, John (c.1739 - 1810) 1764, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75*-76**-78, 80-83, 85-88, 90-93, 95-98, 1800-01*-02**-03*, 05-08; City merchant; M.P.

102. Robertson, Maj. Gen. Archibald (? - 1847) 1841-42, 44-47; Bombay Army.

103. Robinson, Sir George Abercrombie (1759 - 1832)1808-11, 13-16, 18-19*-20**-21, 23-25*-26**, 28, ret. 1829; Bengal Civil Service, secretary to Lord Cornwallis, Military Auditor General; M.P. Honiton, 1812-18.

104. Scott, David (1746 - 1805) 1788-91, 93-95*-96**, 98-1800*-01**, ret. 1802; Bombay Free Merchant; M.P. Forfar County, 1790-96, Forfar Burghs, 1796-1805; father of 105, uncle of 106.

105. Scott, Sir David (1782 - 1851) 1814-17, 19-20, ret. 1820; manager D. Scott, Jun. & Co. Agency; M.P. Yarmouth, Hants., 1806; son of 104, cousin of 106; knighted in recognition of his father's services.

106. Shank, Henry (? - ?) 1831-34, 36-39, 41-44, 46-49, 51-53; nephew of 104, cousin of 105, m. a sister of 21.

107. Shepherd, John (1792 - 1859) 1835-36, 38-41, 43*-44**-46, 48-49*-50**-51**, 53-58; East India Co.'s maritime service, commander Duke of York, Indiaman; Deputy Master of the Trinity House; the man mainly responsible for the recall of Lord Ellenborough from the Governor-Generalship in 1844.

108. Smith, George (1765 - 1836) 1795, 97-1800, 02-05*, 07-10, 12-15, 17-20, 22-25, 27-30, 32-33, ret. 1833; banker; M.P. Lostwithiel, 1791-96, Midhurst, 1800-06, 30-31, Wendover, 06-30; relative of 111.

109. Smith, Martin Tucker (1803 - 1880) 1838, 40-43, 45-48, 50-58; banker.

110. Smith, Nathaniel (c.1721 - 1794) 1774-75, 77-80, 82*-83*/**-84**-85*, 87*-88**-90, 92-94; East India Co.'s maritime service, commander Lord Camden; M.P. Pontefract, 1783, Rochester, 1784-90, 92-94.

111. Smith, Samuel (1755 - 1793) 1783-86, ret. 1786; shipowner; M.P. Ilchester, 1780-84, Worcester, 1784-90, Ludgershall, 91-93.

112. Sparkes, Joseph (? - 1790) 1773, 74, 76-79, 81-84, 86-89.

113. Stuart, James (? - 1833) 1826-29, 31-32, Bengal Civil Service; M.P. Huntingdon Borough, 1824-31.

114. Sulivan, Lawrence (? - 1786) 1758**, 60**, 61**, 63*, 64, 69, 71, 72*, 78-80*-81**, 83-85; Bombay Civil Service; the opponent of Robert Clive and friend of Warren Hastings; M.P. Taunton, 1762-68, Ashburton, 1768-74.

115. Sykes, Col. William Henry (1790 - 1872) 1840-42, 44-47, 49-52, 54-55*-56**-58; Bengal Army; naturalist; M.P. Aberdeen, 1857-72; Royal Commissioner in Lunacy, 1835-45; Lord Rector Marischal College, Aberdeen; F.R.S.; Pres. R.A.S.; Pres. Statistical Society; Chairman of the Society of Arts; author of Vital statistics of the East India Company's armies in India, European and native (1845?) and The Taiping Rebellion in China (1863); friend of Gen. Sir James Outram.

116. Tatem, George (c.1721 - 1807) 1772,73,74, 76-79, 81-84, 86, 88-91, 93-96, 98-1801.

117. Taylor, John Blayden (? - 1819) 1810, 11-14, 16-19; Madras Army; M.P. Hythe, 1818-19.

118. Thelusson, George Woodford (1764 - 1811) 1796-97, 99-1802, 04-07; merchant; M.P. Southwark, 1796, Tregony, 1804-06, Barnstaple, 1807-11; brother of C. Thelusson, M.P., a member of the Court of Proprietors; a relative of 100.

119. Thornhill, John (c.1774 - 1841) 1815-16, 18-21, 23-26, 28-31, 33-36, 39-40; Bengal Civil Service.

120. Thornton, Robert (1759 - 1826) 1787-88, 90-93, 95-98, 1800-03, 05-08, 10-13**, ret. 1814; City merchant; M.P. Bridgwater, 1785-90, Colchester, 1790-1817; brother of Henry and Samuel Thornton, M.Ps., Proprietors and leading members of the Clapham Sect; Marshal of the Admiralty; bankrupt 1814, died in poverty in the U.S.A.

121. Toone, Col Sweny (1746 - 1835) 1798-1800, 02-05, 07-10, 12-15, 17-20, 22-25, 27-30, ret. 1831; Bengal Army; friend of Hastings whose bodyguard he commanded.

122. Townson, John (c.1725 - 1797) 1781, 81-83, 85-88, 90-93, 95-96; Bengal Civil Service; M.P. Milborne Port, 1780-87.

123. Travers, John (? - 1809) 1786-89, 91-94, 96-99, 1801-04, 06-09; Elder Brother of the Trinity House.

124. Tucker, Henry St. George (1771 - 1851) 1826-29, 31-33*-34**, 36-39, 41-44, 46*-47**-49, 51; son of a West Indian planter; Bengal Civil Service; Accountant General; a strong opponent of missionary activity in India; led the protest against the Afghan War; opposed to the opium monopoly; opposed to free trade; sentenced to 6 months imprisonment and fined Rs. 4,000 for attempted rape in 1806.

125. Twining, Richard (1749 - 1824) 1810-13, 15-16, ret. 1817; one of the great family of tea-merchants of the Strand.

126. Vivian, Maj.Gen. Sir John Hussey (1802 - 1887) 1856-58; Madras Army; natural son of Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, 1st. Lord Vivian.

127. Warden, Francis (? - 1853) 1836, 38-41, 43-46, 48-50, ret. 1850; Bombay Civil Service, member of the Council.

128. Whiteman, John Clarmont (? - 1866) 1844-47, 49-52; banker.

129. Wigram, William (1780 - 1858) 1809-12, 15-18, 20-22 - 23**, 25-28, 30-33 , 35-38, 40-43, 45-48, 50-53; shipowner, son of Sir Robert Wigram (1743 - 1830), the great shipping magnate; close connection of the Money family, 79, 80.

130. Williams, Robert (1767 - 1847) 1809-12, son of Robert Williams (1739 - 1814), a banker and ship's husband of Birchin Lane and M.P. Dorchester; M.P. Dorchester; nephew of 131.

131. Williams, Stephen (1741 - 1805) 1790, 91-94, 96-99, 1801-04; Elder Brother of the Trinity House; East India Company's maritime service, commander Hector, Lord Holland, Sulivan, Princess Amelia, Indiamen ; m. Charlotte D'Oyly, sister of Warren Hastings's intimate friend, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, 6th. Bt.; uncle of 130.

132. Willock, Sir Henry (1788 - 1858) 1838, 39-42, 44*-45**-47, 49-52, 54-58; Madras Army; British Resident in Teheran.

133. Willoughby, Sir John Pollard (1799 - 1866) 1854-58; Bombay Civil Service, suppressed infantanticide and suttee in Western India.

134. Woodhouse, John (? - ?) 1768, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74-76, 78-81, 84-86, 88-90, ret. 1791; City merchant; M.P.

135. Young, Sir William (1773 - 1848) 1829-31, 33-36, 38-41, 43-46.

APPENDIX FIVE

CHAIRMEN AND DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY 1784 - 1858

	CHAIRMAN	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
1784	Nathaniel Smith	William Devaynes
1785	William Devaynes	Nathaniel Smith
1786	John Michie	John Motteux
1787	John Motteux	Nathaniel Smith
1788	Nathaniel Smith	William Devaynes
1789	William Devaynes	Stephen Lushington
1790	Stephen Lushington	William Devaynes
1791	J.S. Burgess	Francis Baring
1792	Francis Baring	J.S. Burgess
1793	William Devaynes	Thomas Cheap
1794	William Devaynes	John Hunter
1795	Stephen Lushington	David Scott
1796	David Scott	*Hugh Inglis*
1797	Hugh Inglis	Jacob Bosanquet
1798	Jacob Bosanquet	Stephen Lushington
1799	Stephen Lushington	Hugh Inglis
1800	Hugh Inglis	David Scott
1801	David Scott	Charles Mills
1802	John Roberts	Jacob Bosanquet
1803	Jacob Bosanquet	John Roberts
1804	W.F. Elphinstone	Charles Grant
1805	Charles Grant	George Smith
1806	W.F. Elphinstone	Edward Parry
1807	Edward Parry	Charles Grant
1808	Edward Parry	Charles Grant
1809	Charles Grant	William Astell
1810	William Astell	Jacob Bosanquet

	CHAIRMAN	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
1811	Jacob Bosanquet	Hugh Inglis
1812	Jacob Bosanquet	Hugh Inglis
1813	Robert Thornton	W.F. Elphinstone
1814	W.F. Elphinstone	John Inglis
1815	Charles Grant	Thomas Reid
1816	Thomas Reid	John Bebb
1817	John Bebb	James Pattison
1818	James Pattison	Campbell Marjoribanks
1819	Campbell Marjoribanks	G.A. Robinson
1820	G.A. Robinson	Thomas Reid
1821	Thomas Reid	James Pattison
1822	James Pattison	William Wigram
1823	William Wigram	William Astell
1824	William Astell	Campbell Marjoribanks
1825	Campbell Marjoribanks	G.A. Robinson
1826	G.A. Robinson	Hugh Lindsay
1827	Hugh Lindsay	James Pattison
1828	William Astell	John Loch
1829	John Loch	William Astell
1830	William Astell	Robert Campbell
1831	Robert Campbell	J.G. Ravenshaw
1832	J.G. Ravenshaw	Campbell Marjoribanks
1833	Campbell Marjoribanks	William Wigram
1834	Henry St.G. Tucker	W.S. Clarke
1835	W.S. Clarke	J.R. Carnac
1836	J.R. Carnac	John Loch
1837	J.R. Carnac	J.L. Lushington

	CHAIRMAN	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
1838	J.L. Lushington	Richard Jenkins
1839	Richard Jenkins	W.B. Bayley
1840	W.B. Bayley	George Lyall
1841	George Lyall	J.L. Lushington
1842	J.L. Lushington	John Cotton
1843	John Cotton	John Shepherd
1844	John Shepherd	Henry Willock
1845	Henry Willock	J.W. Hogg
1846	J.W. Hogg	Henry St.G. Tucker
1847	Henry St.G. Tucker	J.L. Lushington
1848	J.L. Lushington	Archibald Galloway
1849	Archibald Galloway	John Shepherd
1850	John Shepherd	J.W. Hogg
1851	John Shepherd	J.W. Hogg
1852	J.W. Hogg	Russell Ellice
1853	Russell Ellice	James Oliphant
1854	James Oliphant	Elliot Macnaghten
1855	Elliot Macnaghten	W.H. Sykes
1856	W.H. Sykes	R.D. Mangles
1857	R.D. Mangles	Frederick Currie
1858	Frederick Currie	W.J. Eastwick

APPENDIX SIX

THE STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS 1784 - 1834*

1. The first class of committees (11 members)

   Committee of Correspondence

   Committee of Law Suits

   Committee of Military Fund

   Committee of Treasury

   Committee of Civil College

   Committee of Library

2. The second class of committees (6 members)

   Committee of Buying and Warehouses

   Committee of Accounts

   Committee of House

   Committee of Military Seminary

3. The third class of committees (7 members)

   Committee of Shipping

   Committee of Private Trade

* Based on Peter Auber, Analysis of the East India Company Constitution (1826) 182.

APPENDIX SEVEN
CADETS' PETITIONS

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the United East-India Company.

The humble Petition of

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner is desirous of entering the Military Service of the Company, as a Cadet for the
to which he has been nominated by Esq.
at the recommendation of Esq., and
should he be so fortunate as to appear to your Honours eligible for that station, promises to conduct himself with fidelity and honour.

That your Petitioner has been furnished with the Articles of War, has read the Terms, and also the Resolutions of the Court of the 9th August 1809, to which he promises faithfully to conform; as also to all the Rules, Orders, and Regulations, which have been, or may be established by the Honourable Court, or the Governor and Council at the Presidency to which he is appointed.

And your Petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

DIRECTOR'S NOMINATION.

I Esq., being one of the Directors of the East-India Company, beg leave to present the Petitioner as a Cadet for the on one of my Nominations of the season provided he shall appear to you eligible for that station; and I do declare, that I have inquired into the character, connexions, and qualifications of
and that in my opinion he is a fit person to petition the East-India Company for the appointment he now herein solicits.

Recommended to me

Esq.

East-India House,

Examined and passed the 182

by

The Cadets are desired to present themselves at the Cadet Office, es as underneath, and their Answers to the several Questions on the other side, filled up and signed, by Ten o'clock in the Morning, or as soon after as possible, that they may have their Nominations prepared against the Committee meet, or nating Director arrives—in failure of which they may have to wait for several hours, ne another day.

N.B. The following Forms are printed expressly for the purpose of the Blanks being properly filled up and signed previous to the Cadet's being nominated.

FIRST.

LETTER from the PARTY who interests himself in procuring the NOMINATION from the DIRECTOR.

GENTLEMEN,

I do hereby declare, upon my Honour, that I received the Nomination of a Cadet for _____ *from* (B) _____ *Esq. a ly, and that I have given it gratuitously to Mr.* (C) _____ *h Family and Connections I am well acquainted.*

I am, GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient Servant,

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the United East-India Company.

In the Blank, marked (B), write the Name of the Person who is the Bearer of this, whether for Bengal, Madras, or Bombay, as also whether Infantry or Cavalry.
In the Blank (C) write the Name of the Person to be appointed a Cadet.

SECOND.

AFFIDAVIT to be made by the CADET and Sworn before a MAGISTRATE, viz.

I, _____, presented to appointment of Cadetship _____ do make Oath and swear, that I have caused Search to be made for a Parish Register, where I can ascertain my Age, but am unable to produce the same, there being none to be found; and, further, I make Oath and swear that from the Information of my Parents and other Relations, viz. Information I verily believe to be true, that I was born in the Parish of _____, in the County of _____ on _____ in the Year _____ and that I am not at this time under the Age of Sixteen, or above Twenty-two Years.

Sworn before me this Day of

Witness my hand, this _____ Day of _____ in the Year of our Lord

THIRD.

THE PARENT'S OR GUARDIAN'S CERTIFICATE.

I do hereby certify, That the foregoing is a true and faithful Affidavit, and that it contains the Date of the Birth of my Son, _____ who is the Bearer of this, and nominated a Cadet on the _____ Establishment, by _____ and I do further declare, that I received the said Appointment for my Son _____ gratuitously and that no Money, or other valuable Consideration, has been or is to be paid, either directly or indirectly, for the same; and that I will not pay or cause to be paid, either by myself, by my Son, or by the Hands of any other Person, any pecuniary or valuable Consideration whatsoever, to any Person or Persons who have interested themselves in procuring the said Nomination for my Son _____ Director above-mentioned.

The Blanks in the Certificate to be filled up to correspond with the Affidavit.

INSTRUCTIONS *for filling in the Answers.*

These questions must be answered decidedly, as, by the Resolution of Court of 9th of August 1809, you will be subject to dismission, if your Appointment has been obtained by improper means.

Question 5. Do you believe that any person has received, or is to receive, any pecuniary consideration, or any thing convertible, in any mode, into a pecuniary benefit, on account of your nomination?

Answer. _____

Question 6. Are you aware, that if it should be hereafter discovered that your appointment has been obtained by improper means, you will be dismissed, and rendered ineligible to hold any situation in the Company's Service again?

Answer. _____

GENERAL CAUTION.

By a Resolution of Court of 30th March 1825, the Court will not attend to any application for indemnification, if you omit to observe this precaution.

Question 7. Are you likewise aware, that if you omit to ensure the amount of your passage and outfit at some one of the Public Offices, the Court, in the event of loss and damage, by Shipwreck, or other contingency, will not attend to any application for indemnification.

Answer. _____

If the Cadet has held a Commission, he must produce the same, and a Certificate from his Commanding Officer, when he attends to be passed.

Question. 8. Have you held a Commission in His Majesty's Army, or in the Militia or Fencible Corps when embodied, for one year at least, and been called into actual Service.

Answer. _____

To be signed by such Relative or Friend as may be present when the Cadet fills in his Answers, and he must also insert his address.

Cadet's Signature _____

Signed in the presence of _____ _____

This to be signed by the Nominating Director.

I do hereby declare, to the best of my belief, that the Petitioner's answers to the foregoing questions are correct.

GENERAL CAUTION.

The Cadets are desired to present themselves at the Cadet Office, with their Certificates as underneath, and their Answers to the several Questions on the other side, properly filled up and signed, by Ten o' Clock in the Morning, or as soon after as possible, in order that they may have their Nominations prepared against the Committee meet, or the nominating Director arrives—in failure of which they may have to wait for several hours, or to come another day.

N. B. The following Forms are printed expressly for the purpose of the Blanks being properly filled up and signed previous to the Cadet's being nominated.

FIRST.

The BLANKS in this LETTER to be filled up and signed by the Person who procures the Nomination from the Director for the Party to be appointed a Cadet.

GENTLEMEN,

I do hereby declare, upon my Honour, that I received the Nomination of a Cadet for the (A.) _____ *from* (B.) _____ *gratuitously, and that I have given it gratuitously to Mr.* (C.) _____ *with whose Family and Connections I am well acquainted.*

I am, GENTLEMEN,
Your most obedient Servant,

To the Honourable Court of Directors of the United East-India Company.

The Person recommending to sign at full length _____

(A.) Insert the Presidency, whether for Bengal, Madras, or Bombay, as also whether for Infantry or Cavalry.
(B.) Insert the Director's name from whom the Appointment is procured.
(C.) Insert the Christian and Surname of the Person to be appointed a Cadet.

SECOND.

EXTRACT from the REGISTER BOOK*

of the Parish of
in the County of

Resident Clergyman's, or Session's Clerk's Signature _____

Churchwardens', or Elders' Signatures _____

N. B.—The above Extract must be signed by the RESIDENT CLERGYMAN, and countersigned by the CHURCHWARDENS; or if in Scotland, by the SESSIONS' CLERK and TWO ELDERS.

THIRD.

THE PARENT'S OR GUARDIAN'S CERTIFICATE.

I do hereby certify, That the foregoing Extract from the Register of Births and Baptisms of the Parish of _____ in the County of _____ _____ contains the Date of the _____ of my Son, _____ _____ who is the Bearer of this, and nominated a Cadet on the _____ Establishment, by _____ and I do further declare, that I received the said Appointment for my Son _____ _____ gratuitously, and that no Money, or other valuable Consideration, has been, or is to be paid, either directly or indirectly, for the same; and that I will not pay, or cause to be paid, either by myself, by my Son, or by the Hands of any other Person, any pecuniary or valuable Consideration whatsoever, to any Person or Persons who have interested themselves in procuring the said Nomination for my Son from the Director above-mentioned.

Witness my Hand this _____ Day of _____

INSTRUCTIONS *for filling in the Answers.*

EXAMINATION

OF

Here insert your Names at full length.

Cadet _____

Here name the School and Situation.

Question 1. At what School have you been educated?

Answer. _____

Insert whether Classical, Mathematical, or both.

Question 2. Of what nature has your education been?

Answer. _____

If Parents are dead, insert the Name, Profession, and Residence of the nearest of Kin,

Question 3. What is the profession, situation, and residence of your Parents or nearest of kin?

Answer. _____

Insert name of Director, and against the answer write the name of the Person who recommended you to the Director.

Question 4. Who recommended you to Mr. _____ the nominating Director for this appointment.

Answer. _____ Esq.

APPENDIX EIGHT

EAST INDIA PATRONAGE

1. Number of writers appointed 1834 - 1852

1834	23	1844	33
1835	26	1845	29
1836	11	1846	27
1837	31	1847	36
1838	37	1848	38
1839	36	1849	44
1840	47	1850	28
1841	37	1851	26
1842	35	1852	45
1843	37	Total	662

[Based on P.P. 1852-53 (681) LXIX, 60-61.]

2. Number of cadets appointed 1793 - 1852

1793 - 81	1805 -428	1817 - 86	1829 -209	1841 -331
1794 -127	1806 -340	1818 -290	1830 - 93	1842 -461
1795 -216	1807 -281	1819 -409	1831 - 61	1843 -302
1796 -114	1808 -263	1820 -460	1832 - 21	1844 -306
1797 -132	1809 -114	1821 -417	1833 -N.K.	1845 -373
1798 -408	1810 -194	1822 -258	1834 -141	1846 -293
1799 -219	1811 -113	1823 -207	1835 -187	1847 -250
1800 -474	1812 - 53	1824 -368	1836 -174	1848 -239
1801 - 31	1813 - 52	1825 -367	1837 -213	1849 -279
1802 -291	1814 - 56	1826 -466	1838 -247	1850 -224
1803 -492	1815 - 26	1827 -358	1839 -310	1851 -157
1804 -357	1816 - 25	1828 -354	1840 -474	1852 -188

[Based on P.P. 1809; 9, 363; 268; P.P. 1831-32 (735-V) XIII, Table 76; P.P. 1852-53 (681) LXIX, 60-61.]

Synopsis

	Total
1793-1800	1,771
1801-1810	2,814
1811-1820	1,570
1821-1830	3,097
1831-1840	1,828
1841-1852	3,403
Total	14,483

3. Number of assistant-surgeons appointed 1796 - 1852

1796 - 32	1808 - 24	1820 - 62	1832 - 6	1844 - 32
1797 - 29	1809 - 28	1821 - 66	1833 -N.K.	1845 - 55
1798 - 36	1810 - 27	1822 - 39	1834 - 28	1846 - 47
1799 - 27	1811 - 14	1823 - 48	1835 - 25	1847 - 28
1800 - 27	1812 - 28	1824 - 39	1836 - 43	1848 - 29
1801 - 28	1813 - 55	1825 - 53	1837 - 23	1849 - 26
1802 - 31	1814 - 40	1826 - 74	1838 - 68	1850 - 26
1803 - 28	1815 - 33	1827 - 61	1839 - 64	1851 - 31
1804 - 42	1816 - 38	1828 - 59	1840 - 80	1852 - 31
1805 - 51	1817 - 29	1829 - 57	1841 - 62	
1806 - 36	1818 - 33	1830 - 42	1842 - 41	
1807 - 48	1819 - 46	1831 - 49	1843 - 32	

/Based on P.P. 1831-32 (735-V) XIII and P.P. 1852-53 (681) LXIX, 60-61./

Synopsis

	Total
1796-1800	151
1801-1810	343
1811-1820	378
1821-1830	558
1831-1840	386
1841-1852	440
Total	2,256

4a . The appointment of established and extra clerks at the India House 1813 - 1823

	Estd.	Extra		Estd.	Extra
1813	7	8	1819	1	13
1814	5	10	1820	2	4
1815	-	5	1821	3	9
1816	4	11	1822	3	10
1817	1	4	1823	-	3
1818	7	3	Total	33	80

4b . The appointment of 1st.* and 2nd.* class clerks at the India House 1838 - 1858

	1st.	2nd.		1st.	2nd.
1838	3	1	1849	3	3
1839	3	3	1850	5	1
1840	5	2	1851	8	5
1841	2	5	1852	6	6
1842	-	7	1853	6	5
1843	4	2	1854	5	5
1844	5	5	1855	13	3
1845	7	10	1856	15	12
1846	8	10	1857	14	9
1847	5	2	1858	3	1
1848	4	3	Total	126	101

[Based on Patronage Book (Committee of Correspondence) and Patronage Book (Secretary's Office), (IOR: D258, D259).]

* 1st. class clerks included clerks and writers, 2nd. class doorkeepers, office messengers, and house messengers.

5 . The number of chaplains appointed 1802 -1812 and 1834 - 1855

1802	2	1834	3
1803	-	1835	-
1804	2	1836	8
1805	5	1837	3
1806	1	1838	6
1807	3	1839	15
1808	1	1840	11
1809	7	1841	24
1810	3	1842	14
1811	-	1843	8
1812	3	1844	6
Total	27	1845	12
		1846	7
		1847	14
		1848	2
		1849	9
		1850	7
		1851	6
		1852	-
		1853	7
		1854	10
		1855	3
		Total	175

[Based on P.P. 1812-13 (189) VIII, 471 and Patronage Book (Secretary's Office), (IOR: D529).]

APPENDIX NINE

THE STAFF OF THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HAILEYBURY, 1805-1857

Principals

Rev. Samuel Henley F.S.A.*	1805-1815
Rev. Joseph Hallet Batten F.R.S.	1815-1837
Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas *	1838-1844
Rev. Henry Melvill*	1844-1857

European Department

Professors of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy

Rev. Bewick Bridge F.R.S.*	1806-1816
Rev. William Dealtry*	1806-1813
Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas*	1813-1837
Rev. Henry Walter F.R.S.	1816-1830
Rev. Frederick Smith	1831-1850**
Rev. James William Lucas Heaviside	1838-1857

Professors of Classical and General Literature

Rev. Edward Lewton	1806-1830
Rev. Joseph Hallet Batten	1806-1815
Rev. James Amiraux Jeremie	1830-1850
Rev. William Edward Buckley	1850-1857

Professors of History and Political Economy

Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus F.R.S.*	1806-1834
Rev. Richard Jones*	1835-1855
Sir James Stephen K.C.B.*	1855-1857

Professors of General Polity and the Laws of England

Edward Christian*	1806-1818
Sir James Mackintosh F.R.S.*	1818-1824
William Empson*	1825-1852
John Farley Leith	1853-1857

French Master

J. de Foligny	1806-1818

Drawing Master

Thomas Medland*	1806-1833

Fencing Master

Henry Angelo*	1806-1816

Dancing Master

Mr. Bridgeman	1806-1810

Preparatory School Master

Rev. Michael Henry Thornhill Luscombe	1806-1819

Oriental Department

Oriental Professor

Jonathan Scott*	1805

Professors of Hindu Literature and History of Asia

Alexander Hamilton F.R.S.*	1807-1818.
Graves Chamney Haughton F.R.S.*	1818-1827
Maj. James Michael	1827-1837

Professors of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani

Maj. Charles Stewart*	1807-1826
Rev. Henry George Keene*	1818-1834

Professors of Arabic and Persian

Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim	1826-1844
Col. Joseph Walker Jasper Ouseley	1844-1857

Professors of Sanskrit, Bengali and Telugu

Francis Johnson*	1825-1855
Sir Monier Monier-Williams*	1844-1857

Professors of Hindustani and Marathi

Edward Vernon Schalch	1827-1845***
Edward Backhouse Eastwick F.R.S.*	1845-1857

Oriental Assistants

Abdul Ali	1809-1812
Mirza Khalil	1809-1819
Rev. Robert Anderson	1820-1825
Lt. Col. Martin White	1826
David Shea	1826-1836

Oriental Writing Masters

Ghoolam Hyder	1809-1823
Thomas Medland*	1824-1833

Administration

Deans

Rev. William Dealtry*	1811-1813
Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas*	1814-1838
Rev. James Amiraux Jeremie	1838-1850
Rev. William Edward Buckley	1850-1857

Registrars

Rev. William Dealtry*	1811-1813
Rev. Bewick Bridge*	1814-1816
Rev. Edward Lawton	1816-1830
Rev. Henry George Keene*	1831-1834
James Michael	1834-1837
Rev. Frederick Smith	1838-1850
Rev. James William Lucas Heaviside	1851-1857

Librarians

Rev. Edward Lewton	1810-1830
Edward Backhouse Eastwick*	1851-1857

Deputy Registrar and Librarian

Robert Bellew	1809-1811

*Those with entries in the Dictionary of National Biography

**Assistant Professor until 1838

***Assistant Professor until 1837

APPENDIX TEN

STAFF OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MILITARY SEMINARY, ADDISCOMBE, 1809-1861

Superintendents

Dr. James Andrew	1809-1822
Maj. William Henry Carmichael Smyth	1822-1824

Lieutenant-Governors

Robert Houston	1824-1834
Sir Ephraim Gerrish Stannus*	1834-1851
Sir Frederick Abbott	1851-1861

Public Examiners

Maj. Gen. William Mudge F.R.S.*	1809-1820
Maj. Gen. Sir Howard Douglas F.R.S.*	1820-1823
Maj. Gen. Sir Alexander Dickson*	1824-1840
Maj. Gen. Sir Charles Pasley*	1840-1855
Maj. Gen. Sir Frederick Smith*	1856-1861

Adjutants

Cpt. Charles Chaplain	1822
Cpt. Frederick Parkinson Lester*	1822-1824
Cpt. Charles Uxenford Aveline	1825

Assistant Adjutant

Lt. Talbot Ritherdon	1824-1825

Staff Officers

Cpt. Charles Uxenford Aveline	1825-1827
Maj. Talbot Ritherdon	1827-1851
Maj. Thomas Donnelly	1851-1861

Professors of Mathematics

Dr. James Andrew	1809-1822
Alexander Anderson	1813-1841
Rev. Jonathan Cape	1822-1861
John B. Ruddock	1826-1841
Rev. Alfred Wrigley	1841-1861
Rev. William Henry Johnstone	1842-1861
Arthur Dusautoy	1848-1861
Rev. John Whitt	1857
Rev. George Roberts	1857-1861

Professors of Classics

Samuel Parlour	1810-1842
Dr. Strachan	1819-1821
Reeve Jones	1821-1823
Rev. Thomas Bisset	1823-1844
Rev. J. Fenwick	1843
Rev. Robert Inchbald	1843-1861
Rev. George Robert Tryon	1846-1848

Lecturers in Fortification

James Glennie F.R.S.*	1809-1811
Joseph Bordwine*	1809-1835
Cpt. Hector Straith	1825-1846
Maj. Basil Jackson*	1835-1836
Lt. Thomas Cook F.R.S.	1837
maj. William Jacob	1846-1854
Lt. Theodore Emilius Gahagan	1853
Cpt. John Thomas Hyde	1854-1859

Lecturers in Military Drawing and Surveying

Cpt. Charles Chaplin	1820-1836
Edward B. Metcalfe	1827-1849
Lt. Col. Basil Jackson	1836-1857
Cpt. William Ashmead Tate	1849-1859
Cpt. Peregrine Madgwick Francis	1859-1861
Cpt. John Duchterlony	

Lecturers in Civil Drawing

William Frederick Wells*	1813-1836
Theodore Henry Adolphus Fielding*	1826-1850
John Christian Schetky*	1836-1855
Aaron Edwin Penley	1851-1861
John Callow*	1855-1861

Lecturer in Science and Philosophy

William Sturgeon*	1824-1850

Professors of Chemistry

Dr. John McCulloch*	1814-1835
John Frederick Daniell F.R.S.*	1835-1845
Edward Solly*	1845-1859
Edward Frankland F.R.S.*	1859-1861

Lecturer in Geology

David Thomas Ansted F.R.S.*	1845-1861

Professors of Hindustani

John Shakespear*	1809-1829
Richard Haughton	1821-1851
Charles Bowles	1829-1859
Maj. Michael John Rowlandson	1851-1861
Cotton Mather	1859-1861

Oriental Assistant

Hasan Ali	1810-1816

Lecturers in French

Pierre Oger	1813-1825
Marin de la Voye	1825-1845
Leon Contanseau	1845-1861
M. Jourdain	1859-1861

Fencing Masters

Henry Angelo jun.*	1816-1852
Lpl. Joseph Stevenson	1852-1861

APPENDIX ELEVEN

DIRECTORS' GENEALOGIES

1. CHICHELEY PLOWDEN FAMILY GENEALOGY

- Richard (1743-1830)
  Bengal C.S.
  Dir. E.I.Co., 1803-29
  - Richard (1782-1825)
    Bengal C.S., 1798-1825
    - Richard (1804-1827)
      Bengal C.S., 1824-27
    - Augustus (1805-52)
      Bengal C.S., 1827
      - Henry Augustus d. 1877
        Bengal Army, 1858-73
    - Henry (1811-1855)
      Bengal Cavy., 1832
    - Arthur (1814-61)
      B. Cavy., 1833
      - Cornwallis Arthur d. 1894
        Punjab Police, 1867
    - Edmund (1817-66)
      B. Cavy., 1834
    - Alfred (1819-75)
      B.I.1837
  - Trevor (1784-1836)
    Bengal C.S.
    - Trevor John (1809-1899)
      Bengal C.S., 1827
    - George (1810-1871)
      Bengal C.S., 1827
    - Walter (1820-1860)
      H.B.M. Consul, Abyssinia
  - William Henry (1787-1880)
    E.I.Co.'s C.S., China
    Dir. E.I.Co., 1841-43
    - Sir William, K.C.S.I.
      Bengal C.S., 1852
      M.P. Wolverhampton W., 1886-92
      m. into the Bass brewing family

The Chicheley Plowdens

Richard Chicheley Plowden was intended for a military career and served in H.M. 70th. Foot from 1763 to 1777, when he resigned his commission in order to become Private Secretary to his brother-in-law, Edward Wheler, the newly-appointed Governor-General of India. His bright prospects were soon dimmed, however, by the death of his sister, seven months after her arrival in Calcutta, and by an impolitic quarrel with Wheler over his re-marriage. An obscure and undistinguished career, culminating in membership of the Committee of Accounts at Calcutta, ended with his return to England in 1790. A fortune of £33,000, 'invested in Consols and East India Stock', allowed him to live in some style at No. 8 Devonshire Place and to cultivate the society of French Royalist émigrés, especially 'the Duchesse d'Angoulême and the Polignac family'. After his election to the Court of Directors, in 1803, he lost no time in using his patronage to provide for his large family. His eldest son, Edward, died unmarried in 1806, aged twenty-six. 'He had no profession.' The remaining five sons were all sent to the East in the Company's service: Richard joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1799; Trevor joined the B.C.S. in 1801; and George in 1810. William Henry, Richard Chicheley Plowden's fifth son, entered the lucrative China Civil Service and became the head of the factories in Macao and Canton. He was a Director of the East India Company from 1841 to 1853, a Deputy Lieutenant of the City of London, a Justice of the Peace for Hampshire and Middlesex, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was Member of Parliament for Newport (IOW) from 1847 to 1852 and died in 1880, aged 93. Charles, the sixth son, was placed in the India Board.

In addition to his sons, however, Richard Chicheley Plowden was able to provide for his grandsons as well as to place his great-nephew, James, and others in the Company's army. The younger Richard had six sons. The eldest, also called Richard, joined the Bengal Civil Service in 1824 and died, unmarried, in 1826 Augustus, an enormous man, 6' 7" tall, weighing 27 stones and known as 'Babe', joined the B.C.S. in 1827 and served in the North-West Provinces until his death, in 1852, at Bolundshahr, where he was Magistrate and Collector. 'Babe's' only surviving son, Harry, joined the Bengal Army in 1858 and retired in 1873. He was said to be one of the strongest men in England and was blessed with a phenomenal memory, a great natural gift for music and a happy facility with the Indian vernacular. The remaining four sons of Richard received cadetships in the Indian army. Henry joined the 9th. Bengal Light Cavalry in 1832 and died of apoplexy, the family disease, at Calcutta in 1852. Arthur joined the 3rd. Bengal Light Cavalry in 1833. Despite being present at the Meerut uprising in May, 1857, he survived the Mutiny and died in 1861. His son, Cornwallis, served in the Punjab Police for nearly thirty years. Edmund joined the 5th. Bengal Light Cavalry and

served with distinction in the calamitous First Afghan War. His skill with a billiard cue involved him in a discreditable affair, 'connected with a four-handed match', which led to his court martial and dismissal from the service in 1848. He was later re-instated and retired with the rank of Major in 1853. Alfred, the youngest, could get nothing better than a cadetship in the 50th. Bengal Native Infantry, but he rose to be its Colonel and retired in 1875.

Thus, with very few exceptions, the descendants of Richard Chicheley Plowden were connected in some way with India: 13 joined the Bengal Civil Service (two of whom were made K.C.S.I.'s), 14 joined the Indian army, 5 joined the Indian Police (two of whom became Deputy Inspector-Generals) and one became a Chief Judge. One entered Parliament and became a Director of the East India Company; two were made Companions of the Indian Empire. In addition, many other descendants through thr female line were connected with the Indian services. It is doubtful whether any other servant of the Company, let alone any other Director, could boast such a record. 1

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[1]Walter F.C. Plowden (ed.) Records of the Chicheley Plowdens 1590-1913 (Printed for private circulation, 1914) 152, 153, 156, 160, 161, 166, 176, 177, 179.

2. COTTON FAMILY GENEALOGY

Joseph Cotton (1745-1825)
Capt. Royal Charlotte
Dir. E.I.Co., 1795-1823

John Cotton (1783-1860)
Madras C.S., 1801-30
Dir. E.I.Co., 1833-53

Joseph John Cotton (1813 - 1867)
Madras C.S., 1832-62

Sir Henry J.S. Cotton K.C.S.I. (1845-1915)
I.C.S., 1865-1902
Chief Sec. Gov. Bengal
Chief Commissary Assam, 1896-1902

Sir Harry Evan A. Cotton (1868-1939)
C.I.E.
Barrister of Lincoln's Inn
Editor of India
President of Bengal Legislature, 1922-6

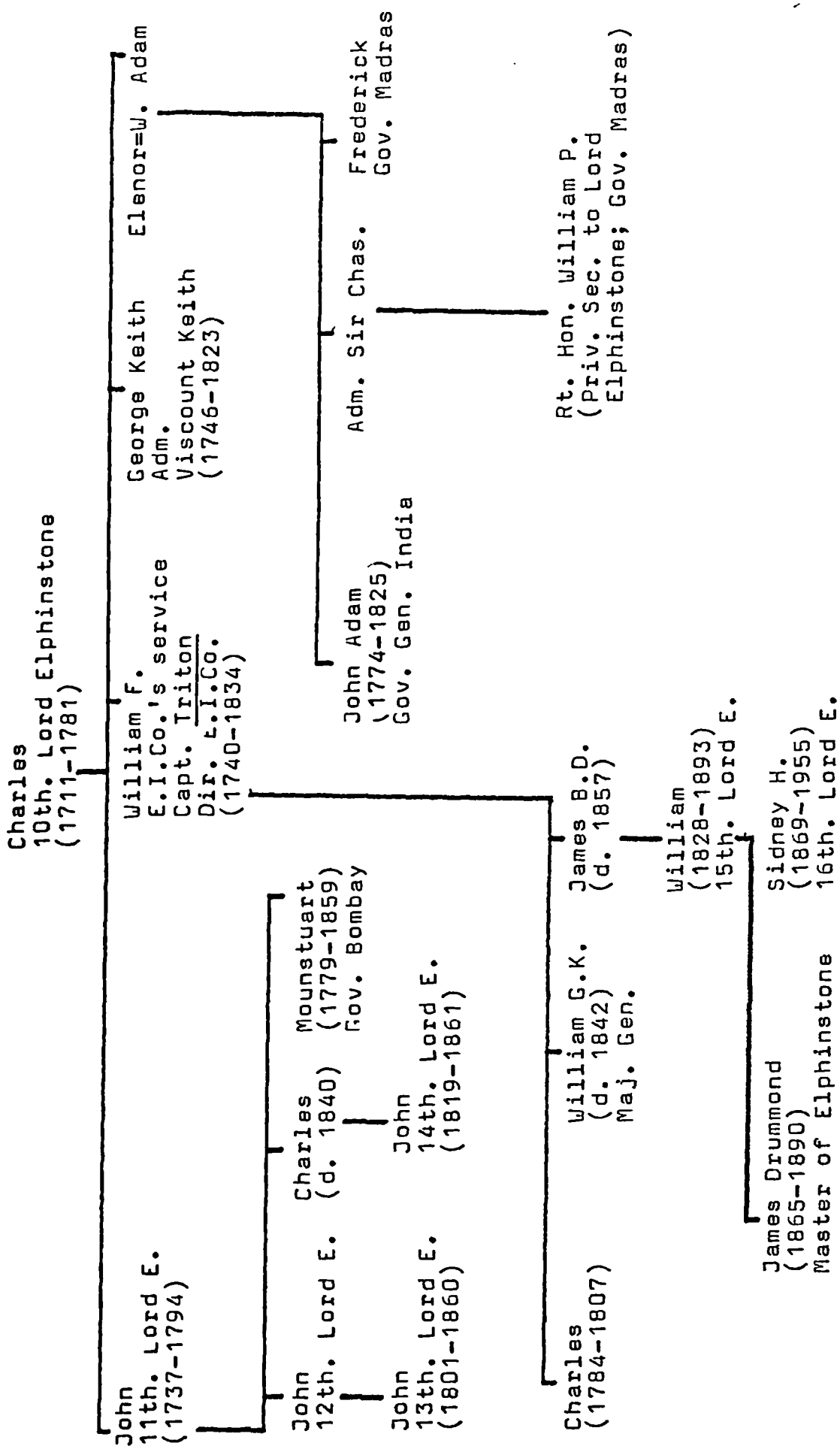
Julian J. Cotton (1869-1927)
I.C.S. Madras, 1892-1927

Col. Henry E.M. Cotton (b. 1907)
R.E., 1926-58
Ind. Est., 1934-48

John R. Cotton (b. 1909)
Maj. Ind. Army, 1928-36
Ind. Pol. Serv., 1936-47
Foreign Service, 1947
H.B.M. Consul Gen., Sao Paolo, Brazil

[Family service in India spans 1769 to 1948]

3. ELPHINSTONE FAMILY GENEALOGY



APPENDIX TWELVE

Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the existence of any abuses in the disposal of the patronage of the East India Company /P.P. 1809 (91) II, 483./

Evidence from the report

Writers

1. Mr. Edward James Smith was nominated a writer to Bengal in 1806-7 by Mr. G.W. Thellusson; the appointment was given to his first cousin, Mr. Emperor J.A. Woodford, who sold the appointment for £3,500 via Gabriel Tahourdin, solicitor, who received £100.

2. Mr. Fry Magniac wasnominated a writer to Bengal in 1807-8 by G.W. Thellusson - also given to Mr. Woodford by Mr. Tahourdin. Mr. Beale paid 3,500 gns. Mr. Woodford received £3,000, Mr. Tahourdin £150, the rest being divided between Jeremiah Donovan and Joshua Houghton Garratt.

3. Mr. Henry Gardiner was nominated a writer to Madras by Mr. G.W. Thellusson in 1807-8. Given to Mr. Woodford and £3,00 was recieved for it from Mrs. Gardiner by Mr. Tahourdin for his own use but upon an undertaking that he is to procure the next presentation of a living of the value of £300 p.a. for a friend of Mr. Woodford's. Mr. Boase, a partner in the house of Ransom & Co. was privy to the bargain between Mr. Tahourdin and Mrs. Gardiner.

Cadets

4. Mr. Henry Stoughton was appointed a cadet to Madras in January 1808 by George Abercrombie Robinson on the recommendation of Mr. Morland, who gave the appointment to Mr. Jones for a relation of his. Mr. Jones, through John Annesley Shee, sold it to Mr. Stoughton's father from whom Shee received 500gns.: he paid 180gns. to Mr. Jones, and received of him an undertaking to pay £320 upon his procuring for Mr. Jones a Woolwich cadetship.

5. Mr. Thomas Kelly was appointed a cadet to Bombay in April 1808 by Sir Theophilus Metcalfe at the recommendation of Mrs. Scott. It was exchanged with Mr. Cotton, at his request for a Madras Cadetship. William Scott, tailor, the husband of Mrs. Scott, sold this appointment to Mrs. Kelly, through the agency of David Brown, who received £150. Broun was paid £30 or £40 and a Mr. Southcomb who introduced some of the parties to each other received 10gns.

6. Mr. George Barker was appointed cadet for the Bengal Infantry in December 1808 by Edward Parry in exchange for a Madras appointment given to Captain Sealy by Jacob Bosanquet. Captain Matthew sold this appointment for £120 to Captain Holmes for a friend of his; Annesley McKercher Shee was employed as agent for Captain Matthew who paid him £30 and Captain Holmes paid him £10.

7. Mr. John Samuel Williams was appointed a cadet to Bengal by Joseph Cotton in 1808 in exchange for a Madras cadetship of Mr. Manship's. This appointment was procured by Mr. Abercrombie who was assisted with the loan of a large sum of money by Captain Williams, the cadet's father. Mrs. Elizabeth Morrison and A.M. Shee were the agents employed.

8. Mr. Benjamin Pratt was appointed a cadet to Madras 7 February 1805 by Sweny Toone at the recommendation of Capt. Kennard Smith, who exchanged it with R.C. Plowden for a nomination of the next season. Mr. Pratt was recommended to Mr. Plowden by Sir Nicholas Nugent. This appointment was purchased by Mr. Henry Foster, through Sir Nicholas Nugent, for the sum of £150. A.M. Shee acted as agent for Mr. Foster and recieved £30 or £40. The original appointment was to Bengal but it was exchanged for Madras.

9. Mr. John Power was appointed a cadet to Madras in 1804 or 1805 by Lord Castlereagh at the recommendation of Lord Longueville through the Earl of Westmorland. Mr. Power paid £200 for this appointment to Matthew Spilman Salt. A.M. Shee was the agent for both parties, and received £50 from Mr. Power.

10. Mr. Braithwaite Christie was appointed a cadet to Madras 15 July 1807 by Thomas Reid at the recommendation of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence. Mr. Page, navy agent in Great Russell Street, paid the sum of £200 for this appointment to A.M. Shee, who paid £150 to the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, chaplain to the Duke of Clarence, for procuring the same.

11. Mr. Thomas Maw was appointed a cadet to Bengal in July 1807 by Robert Thornton at the recommendation of the Rev. Nicholas Corfellis for Miss Elizabeth Spinluff. Miss Spinluff sold this appointment to Mr. Hewitt, a relation of Mr. Maw, through the agency of Mrs. Morrison and A.M. Shee and received £70 for it. Mrs. Morrison thinks the sum paid was £150 or £180. A.M. Shee received £30.

12. Mr. Arthur Denny was appointed a cadet to Madras on 18 February 1805 by G.U. Thellusson at the recommendation of the Countess Dowager of Westmorland and Mr. George. This appoinment was sold by Mr. George. Mr. Anthony Stoughton, uncle of the person appointed, paid to J.A. Shee, whom he employed to procure it, the sum of 250gns. Daivd Brown was agent for Mr. George.

13. Mr. Henry Keating was appointed a cadet to Madras on 5 June 1805 by John Manship at the recommendation of G.W. Thellusson in return for a Bombay nomination of the season of 1804, given to Mr. Manship. The uncle of Mr. Henry Keating purchased this appointment of Mr. John Henderson, ship-broker, for £250 or gns. J.A. Shee received of Mr. Henderson about £45 for his agency.

14. Mr. George Boys was appointed a cadet to Madras on 26 March 1806 by Charles Mills at the recommendation of Mr. (now Sir William) Fraser. This appointment was given by Sir William to Mr. Thomas Cusac who sold it to Messrs. Barber and Sons, Cowpers-court, Cornhill, and received of them £150. They were employed as agents to Mr. Boys' father who paid for it the sum of 300gns. £100 was divided between Mr. Barber and Mr. John Henderson. J.A. Shee was agent for Mr. Cusac.

15. Mr. William Collett was appointed a cadet for the Bombay Infantry by the India Board on 3 July 1805. This appointment was in the nomination of Lord Castlereagh who, at the recommendation of the Rt. Hon. John Sulivan, gave it to Richard Cadman Etches, for a relation of his on account of services performed by Mr. Etches for the government. Mr. Etches sold it to Mr. Chaplin, an attorney, for the sum of £250. J.A. Shee was agent for Mr. Pasmore, an attorney, who received the money for Mr. Etches.

16. Mr. John Manson was appointed cadet for Bengal 26 Feb. 1808 by the India Board at the recommendation of Edward Cooke. Mr. Cadman Etches procured this appointment through Mr. Cooke for a relation of his on account of services performed by Mr. Etches for the government. Thomas Watson was employed as agent to sell the same as mentioned in the next appointment.

17. Mr. Robert Manson was appointed cadet for Bengal in Feb. 1808 by G.W. Thellusson at the recommendation of Mr. Herbert. Thomas Watson sold this appointment and received the sum of 500gns. of Messrs. Anderson of Philpot-lane, for this and Mr. John Manson's appointment, who purchased the two for a friend of theirs for his two nephews. A.M. Shee received £35 of Watson; and Lady Leigh received from Watson about £200 for the latter appointment.

18. Mr. Thomas Casey was appointed a cadet by William Devaynes on 9 July 1806 at the recommendation of Mr. Herbert (now abroad as purser of the Euphrates, extra ship. Mr. Herbert sold this appointment to Messrs. Hendry, Houghton & Co. of King's Arms Yard, correspondents of Mr. Casey's relations, who lived in Ireland, for the sum of 250gns; Mr. John Henderson was agent for Mr. Herbert and received 50gns.

19. Mr. Thomas Locke was appointed a cadet for Madras on 3 Feb. 1807 by John Bebb at the recommendation of James Pattison in exchange for one of Mr. Pattison's Bombay nominations. This appointment was purchased by the Rev. Dr. Locke of Farnham, for his nephew, of Thomas Watson, who sold it for Lady Lumm, and paid her £200.

20. Mr. Samuel Lewis was appointed a cadet in 1800 by Sweny Toone at hte recommendation of Mr. Evans. This was passed from Mr. Evans to Mr. Sanderson: A.M. Shee seems to have procured it of Mr. Wright, and received 300gns. from the cadet's father. Mr. Samuel Lewis, being a mulatto, and thereby disqualified, procured a young man of the name of Phillips to personate himself, and pass the previous examinations, for which he paid him 20gns.

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