

**CUMBRIA'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE EAST INDIES c.1680-1829:
GENTRY AND MIDDLE PROVICIAL FAMILIES SEEKING SUCCESS**

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

In both the historiographies of Cumbria and empire respectively, there are numerous allusions to Cumbrians in the East Indies. However, the importance and implications of that encounter have never been systematically explored. This thesis enumerates well over four hundred middling and gentry Cumbrian men and women who travelled to and sojourned in the East Indies as well as a host of Cumbrians whose East Indies interests were operated from the British Isles. There were many more Cumbrians implicated in those East Indies ventures although they may not have been directly involved or sojourned there. For middling and gentry Cumbrian families, the East Indies presented a promise of success. This thesis explores their hopes and fears around ventures in the East Indies. It shows how gentry and middling families mobilised the resources necessary to pursue East Indies success and how East Indies sojourns were enmeshed with expressions of success in Cumbrian society.

This thesis illuminates the connections between individuals, families, and place in local, national and global settings. Using the new flexibility and reach provided by the digital world, it incorporates and layers quantitative and structural analysis; thematic analysis around experience, sensibility and identity; and, biographical narratives that trace the contingent and complex trajectories of people's lives. The Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies brings a new lens to historiographies beyond Cumbria's regional history: the changing fortunes of middling ranks and gentry, the social and economic history of provincial life, and British imperial expansion. It underscores the importance of regional or provincial cases in understanding experiences usually treated as a nationally determined and driven by national imperatives. It highlights, too, how the pursuit of success by individuals and families has ramifications beyond themselves and their kin.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CAS	Cumbrian Archive Service
CWAAS	Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
HEIC	Honourable East India Company. See glossary.
IOR	India Office Records held in the British Library
LAS	Lancashire Archive Service
NUM	Nottingham University Manuscripts Collection
<i>OXDNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PCC PROB	<i>Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers.</i>
PPR National Probate Calendar	Principal Probate Registry, <i>Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration made in the Probate Registries of the High Court of Justice in England.</i>

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Glossary

Anglo-Indian	In the long eighteenth century, individuals defined as a national of the British Isles but who had been born in or lived much of their lives in the East Indies. A term with multiple meanings, in the late nineteenth and twentieth century it was increasingly, but not universally, used to refer to children of fathers from the British Isles with Indian mothers. The latter were also referred to as Eurasian.
batta	Additional allowances over and above salaries and stipends.
budgerow	Large boat used on the Ganges with commodious accommodation providing a luxurious but slow form of travel. Used for goods also. Usually hired for pleasure trips, but owned by wealthy Indians and foreigners.
cadet	East India Company appointees to military service. This term also refers to a younger son but this meaning is rarely used in this thesis.
cadetship	Entry level for military appointees to the East India Company's military service.
consols	Consolidated annuities. A form of bonds issued by the Bank of England.
Cumbrian	Native of Cumberland or refers to the Cumbrian counties.
Cumbrian counties	Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands.
customary tenure	Customary tenantry gave tenants the right to devise or sell land but required payments to the manor when tenants changed and the lord of the manor changed. There were a variety of other customary dues to which the tenant was liable, but this also gave tenants significant rights including levels of fines and rents.
East India Company	Joint stock company given royal assent for the monopoly of trade in East Indies until trade was deregulated in 1694. A second joint stock company for East Indies trade was established by act of parliament in 1698. This new company, the English Company Trading to the East Indies, was merged with the old company in 1708 and a trade monopoly re-established. The amalgamated company was formally named the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.
East Indiaman	A ship built for East Indies service contracted by or built by the East India Company.
East Indies	A term of variable meaning and often applied

	inconsistently in the eighteenth century. In this thesis it refers to the areas in which the East India Company operated or sought influence including the Indian sub-continent, South East Asia and parts of China.
firman	An official permission, patent, order, passport or other recognition or proclamation issued by the Mughal emperor.
Honourable East India Company (HEIC)	The East India Company.
long Eighteenth Century	Somewhat variable in definition, in this thesis it refers to the period from the 1688 Glorious Revolution to 1829.
nabob	Anglicisation of nawab referring to Anglo-Indians who have acquired wealth, influence and power through their activities in the East Indies. A contemporary term.
nabobina	A more recently used term to refer to the wives, and sometimes daughters, of nabobs.
nawab	A title bestowed by Mughal emperors to local Muslim rulers in semi-autonomous states and provincial governors.
pagoda	A unit of currency. The British initially struck gold pagodas to emulate the coinage used by Indian rulers. They came in various forms and metals. The most valuable were star pagodas.
rupee	Silver coin used throughout India and adopted by the East India Company.
ship's husband	A managing owner of a ship, usually owning a proportion of a ship but given managerial responsibility by other owners.
sicca rupee	Applied to rupees minted in the current year.
Westmerian	Native of Westmorland.
writer	East India Company appointees to the merchant and civil services.
writership	Junior position in the East India Company's merchant and civil services.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1885 – C. W. Bardsley:

[S]he was married to Christopher Wilson, who had but recently purchased Bardsea Hall... Christopher was a sea captain in the Hon. East India Company's service, and like many another adventurer of that time, left it with his fortune made. He was a cadet... of a good Westmorland family... He wooed and won.¹

1965 – E. Hughes:

Ever since the days of Governor Pitt and 'Galloper' Curwen, Cumbrian youths of families with Jacobite or Non-Juror sympathies had entered the service of the East India Company.²

1981 – J. V. Beckett:

By the late 1730s, with only Lowther and Edward Stephenson – a former East India Company nabob who had bought himself an estate near Keswick – lending money...³

For more than a century, antiquarians and historians, amateur, academic and professional, have hinted at a Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. Yet, unlike Cumbria's involvement in the slave-based Atlantic trade and ventures in the West Indies and North America, Cumbrian ventures in the East Indies have remained largely in the shadows. Neither the patterns nor protagonists have been traced. The imperatives that drove them, the sensibilities that shaped and were shaped by them, and the experience and impact of Cumbrians' East Indies ventures lie disregarded, unexplored and, indeed, often unrecognised. If acknowledged at all, the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies is typically an embedded note in the margins of Cumbrian regional and family histories. The significance of the death and burial in

¹ C. W. Bardsley, *Chronicles of the Town and Church of Ulverston* (Ulverston, James Atkinson, 1885), p. 91.

² E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century Vol II Cumberland & Westmorland 1700-1830* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 105.

³ J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland 1660-1760* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 207.

Cumbria of the Malayan Thomas Ellen, the Indian youth Richard Fletcher, and the Indian woman Rosetta who died of smallpox in 1773,⁴ as sentinels of a broader Cumbrian interface with the East Indies in the global eighteenth century are barely noted.⁵ The threading of individuals with Cumbrian origins, attachments and interests in the historiographies of the East India Company, the commercial globalisation of shipping, banking and trade (including the opium trade), and the development of British imperial expansion, is rarely remarked on.

This thesis is a first step in foregrounding the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies and retrieving it from the shadows. It identifies over four hundred middling and gentry Cumbrian men and women who travelled to and sojourned in the East Indies during the long eighteenth century, as well as Cumbrians whose East Indies interests were operated from the British Isles. It explores the way in which the Cumbrian melding of gentry and middling class families was implicated in, and fuelled, the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. It uncovers how Cumbrian imperatives and preoccupations within a broad rubric of provincial gentry and middling class success shaped the East Indies encounter. It examines, too, the way in which the success or failure of Cumbrian ventures in the East Indies impacted on Cumbrians within their own provincial milieu.

This introductory discussion is divided broadly into two parts. The first part situates this thesis in the midst of intersecting historiographies where the long eighteenth century emerges as a period of both significant change and continuity. The discussion notes the way in which the Cumbria-East Indies encounter provides a lens

⁴ D. Rushworth, 'Tom Ellen: A Malayan in Cumberland and the Caribbean in the Later 18th Century', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, VIII (2008), pp. 169-175.

⁵ See F. A. Nussbaum (ed.) *The Global Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 5-18 for a review of this terminology and the historiography associating (and detaching) eighteenth century global networks from notions of the 'modern world'.

generating a different rendition of Cumbria from that found within the prevailing paradigm of Cumbrian history. It also suggests that the lens provided by Cumbrians' ventures in the East Indies can take us beyond the regional experience of Cumbria and read to other preoccupations in a range of usually separately conceived historiographies: the historiography of middling ranks and gentry; the historiography of provincial life; and, perhaps most particularly along with Cumbria, the historiography of the British imperial expansion and the East Indies. The second part of this introductory chapter sets out the main elements of method, sources and interpretative approach. It sets out the 'rules' which have guided the enumeration of the middling and gentry Cumbrians who became involved in the East Indies and comments on the challenges of interpretation associated with a method that combines aspects of quantitative and structural analysis, thematic analysis, and narrative concerned with biographical trajectories.

Intersecting Historiographies

At its most simple, this thesis fills a profound empirical gap around Cumbria's involvement in the East Indies. It uncovers the size and characteristics of the Cumbrians who went to the East Indies over the long eighteenth century and explores the drivers and sensibilities associated with that encounter. But in addressing that empirical gap, a more complex set of questions arise. Does filling that empirical gap materially change our understanding of the dynamics of Cumbria's regional social and economic development? Does the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies only matter for Cumbria or does it have implications beyond the regional? Does the Cumbrian lens provide anything more than a simple narrative of the coming and goings of middling and gentry Cumbrians to the East Indies?

This thesis suggests that the Cumbrian case has implications beyond its regional boundaries and is positioned at the intersect between four historiographies that are typically constituted separately. In addition to the historiography of Cumbria, it has been informed by, and seeks to contribute to: the historiography that bubbles around the middling ranks and gentry and the dynamics of social position, expression and aspiration; the historiography around the East India Company, the East Indies and the creation of the second empire in the East; and the historiography of the provincial world.

Re-visioning Cumbria

The idea that gentry and middling Cumbrians shuttled back and forth to the East Indies across the eighteenth century to advance or cement their positions in Cumbria is novel. It is an encounter repeatedly hinted at but never systematically explored. Focusing on that phenomenon situates this thesis within a broader re-visioning of Cumbria's regional history. That re-visioning shifts Cumbria from being portrayed as an inward-looking region isolated by a hostile topography and an economy inhibited by the vestiges of feudalism, to a region populated by people looking outwards, making connections, and seeking success through generating and exploiting a diversity of opportunities.

It is within the, until recently, dominant framing of Cumbria as a society unable to shake off the past, that Hughes interpreted his scattered references to Cumbrians involved in the East Indies. He treated the encounter as primarily a retreat from the politics of modern Britain. For Hughes, joining the East India Company was a haven for gentry Cumbrians hanging on to Jacobite allegiances in opposition to the

Glorious Revolution and the Hanoverian succession.⁶ That portrayal was part of a longstanding preoccupation with explaining: the retention of feudal institutions, particularly around customary tenure and rights, as Cumbria moved into an industrial society; Cumbria's apparently stuttering local economy and limited agrarian improvement; why proto-industrialisation was followed by de-industrialisation; and, why Cumbria fell short of becoming a booming conglomeration of manufacturing similar to Manchester, Lancashire and the Midlands.⁷

The preoccupation with Cumbria's 'failure' to move along a linear track to modernisation drew attention away from vibrant developments such as resource based industries like tourism. The privileging of Cumbria's industrial development in the regional historiography concerned with Cumbria's middling and gentry has meant that their mercantile activities and overseas trade have been pushed to the margins. The re-visioning of Cumbria has involved placing activity at the centre rather than passivity and inactivity. A revisionist approach takes seriously that Cumbrian trade embraced the American colonies, the West Indies, Spain, the Baltic and Africa with products including rum, tobacco, fish, timber, textiles and slaves.⁸ It recognises the dynamic potential associated with Beckett's demonstration of the interface between gentry

⁶ Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, pp.104-105.

⁷ I. Whyte, "'Wild, Barren and Frightful'" - Parliamentary Enclosure in an Upland County: Westmorland 1767-1890', *Rural History* 14, 1 (2003) pp. 21-38; J. Warren, 'Harriet Martineau and the Concept of Community: *Deerbrook and Ambleside*', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 13, 2 (2008), pp. 223-246; C. E. Searle, 'Custom, class conflict and agrarian capitalism: the Cumbrian customary economy in the eighteenth century', *Past & Present*, 110, 1 (1986), pp. 106-133; C.E. Searle, 'Customary Tenants and the Enclosure of the Cumbrian Commons', *Northern History*, 29 (1993), pp. 126-153; J. D. Marshall, Stages of industrialisation in Cumbria in P. Hudson (ed.), *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 132-155; C. M. L. Bouch and G. P. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500-1830* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1961), Chapters IX and X; J. D. Marshall and J. K. Walton, *The Lake Counties from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century: A Study in Regional Change* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 1-54; J. D. Marshall, *Furness and the Industrial Revolution* (Beckermest, Barrow in Furness Library, 1958).

⁸ Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, pp. 28-57; Bouch and Jones, *The Lake Counties*, pp. 246-274.

ambitions and entrepreneurship.⁹ The coastal ports, the coal trade and the tobacco trade were all important elements in, for instance, the Lowthers' search for regional economic and political dominance.¹⁰ The Senhouses too sought to sustain their economic position through trade, shipping and port developments. Cumbrian merchants used the Isle of Man as an entrepôt.¹¹ Joseph Symson of Kendal and his sons had extensive trade networks within the British Isles and sometimes contentious aspirations for overseas expansion into the American colonies in the first decades of the eighteenth century.¹² The diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland shows that stockings were being exported to the American colonies in the mid-eighteenth century.¹³ The import and export trade with the American colonies was pursued through a Cumbrian network of family members and Quaker affiliates that engaged middling and yeoman families, as well as wealthier merchants and their gentry associates.¹⁴ The tourism sector had its genesis in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁵ Although Cumbrian landscapes were created by generations of agricultural, industrial

⁹ J. V. Beckett, 'Regional Variation and the Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 35, 1 (February, 1982), pp. 35-51; J. V. Beckett, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century England: Some Regional Considerations', *The Agricultural History Review*, 30 (1982), pp. 97-111; J. V. Beckett, 'Absentee Land Ownership in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: The Case of Cumbria', *Northern History*, 19 (1983), pp. 87-107; J. V. Beckett, 'The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Factory System: A Case Study from the 1740s', *Business History*, 19, 1 (1977), pp. 55-67.

¹⁰ Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, pp. 102-155.

¹¹ M. Robinson, 'The Port of Carlisle: Trade and Shipping in Cumberland, 1675-1735', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, VIII (2008), p.153.

¹² S. D. Smith, (ed.), 'An Exact and Industrious Tradesman': *The Letter Book of Joseph Symson of Kendal 1711-1720* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 1-liii, lix, xcvi-ix, cvii-cvix, cxxix.

¹³ A. J. L. Winchester, (ed.), *The Diary of Isaac Fletcher of Underwood, Cumberland 1756-1781* (Kendal, CWAAS Extra Series XXVII, 1994), pp. xxiv-xxvi.

¹⁴ A. J. L. Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants: Cumberland Friends and North America in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, 80, 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 85-99.

¹⁵ I. Thompson, *The English Lakes: A History* (London, Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 19-43; Bouch and Jones, *The Lake Counties*, pp. 283-289; J. K. Walton and J. Wood, (eds.), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750-2010* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013).

and woodlands activity and management, the Lakes provided a combination of pastoral and wild landscapes which attracted tourists because of their ‘naturalness’.¹⁶

Trade enterprises were inevitably precarious and their place in Cumbria’s regional history shifted over time. Port expansion was limited by under-capitalisation. Bouch and Jones and others observe that Cumbria’s port-based trade in the latter part of the eighteenth century, especially when compared with the rise of ports such as Bristol and Liverpool, began to decline.¹⁷ The decline of the slave trade was also relatively early in Cumbria although it lingered until abolition.¹⁸ However, the ebb and flow in global interfaces should not be interpreted as a withdrawal of Cumbria from the global world. There were inevitably individual business failures, such as Peter How’s financial collapse in the 1760s, which had repercussions for many others in Cumbria’s small society.¹⁹ But other enterprises emerged just as they did under the pressure of external shocks. The War of Independence, for instance, strained the Atlantic trade for a period but it drew capital back from the Americas and stimulated the Cumbrian ship-building industry.²⁰

¹⁶ A. J. L. Winchester, *The Landscape Encountered by the First Tourists*, in Walton and Wood, (eds.), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape*, pp. 49-68.

¹⁷ Bouch and Jones, *The Lake Counties*, p. 271; Marshall, *Furness*, pp. 85-88; Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, pp. 102-114; J. E. Williams, ‘Whitehaven in the Eighteenth Century’, *Economic History Review*, 8, 3 (1956), pp. 393-404; K. Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660-1800* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 85-86.

¹⁸ N. Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the Daniel and Henry of 1700 and Accounts of the Slave Trade From the Minor Ports of England 1698-1725* (Kindle edition, Pimlico, Random House, 1998), Chapter 20; D. Richardson, and M. M. Schofield, ‘Whitehaven and the Eighteenth-century British Slave Trade’, *Transactions CWAAS*, Second Series, XCII (1992), pp. 183-204; W. G. Wiseman, ‘Caleb Rotheram, Ecroyde Claxton and their Involvement in the Movement for the Abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade’, *Transactions CWAAS Series Three*, IX (2009), pp. 154.

¹⁹ A. W. Routledge, *History & Guide Whitehaven* (Stroud, Tempus, 2002), p. 57; Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, p. 114.

²⁰ Routledge, *History & Guide*, pp. 72-74; National Museums Liverpool, Maritime Archives & Library Information Sheet 18: Thomas & John Brocklebank, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/maritime/archive/sheet/18>.

Cumbria was transformed over the long eighteenth century. Despite confiscations and reprisals after the 1705 and 1745 Jacobite rebellions, possibly because of them, Cumbria attracted new types of investment, technologies, and economic enterprise. The first atmospheric pumps were introduced into Cumberland's coal pits in 1716.²¹ The mid-eighteenth century saw a proliferation of mining, iron forges and smelting.²² Whitehaven's turnpike trust was established in 1739 and from the 1750s followed by a rash of new roading initiatives. In 1753, the London Lead Company invested in the extension of mines at Alston Moor.²³ Carriers were introduced in 1757 and the *Flying Machine* stagecoach service from Kendal to Carlisle started in 1763.²⁴ Kendal became a centre for theatre.²⁵ New roads, new industries, tourism and pressures for agricultural improvements including enclosure all encouraged extensive surveying and the development of more reliable maps in the 1770s.²⁶

Those developments reflected and contributed to a considerable demographic expansion. Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness all grew between 1688 and 1801. Over that time, Cumberland's population almost doubled to 117,230 by 1801. The Westmorland population increased from around 27,000 to almost 41,000. Furness saw

²¹ W. Rollinson, *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland* (Chichester, Phillimore Publishing Co, 1996), p. 77.

²² A. Fell, *The Early Iron Industry of Furness and District* (London, Frank Cass & Co., 1968), pp. 207-222; Rollinson, *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, pp. 75-81; Bouch and Jones, *Lake Counties 1500-1830*, pp. 246-263.

²³ T. Sopwith, *An Account of the Mining Districts of Alston Moor, Weardale and Teesdale in Cumberland and Durham: Comprising Descriptive Sketches of the Scenery, Antiquities, Geology and Mining Operations in the Upper Dales of the Rivers Tyne, Wear and Tees* (Alnwick, W. Davison, 1833), pp. 179; A. Raistrick, *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare: London (Quaker) Lead Company, 1692-1905* (3rd Revised Edition, Littleborough, George Kelsall, 1988), p. 19.

²⁴ Rollinson, *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, pp. 96-107; A. White, *A History of Kendal* (Lancaster, Carnegie, 2013), pp. 126-148; J. K. Walton, *Landscape and Society: The Industrial Revolution and Beyond*, in Walton and Wood, (ed.), *The Making of a Cultural Landscape*, p. 74; P. Hindle, *Roads and Tracks of the Lake District* (Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1998), pp. 149ff.

²⁵ M. Eddershaw, *Grand Fashionable Nights: Kendal Theatre 1575-1985* (Lancaster, Centre for North West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, 1989).

²⁶ P. Hindle, 'The First Large Scale County Maps of Cumberland and Westmorland in the 1770s', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, I (2001), pp. 139-141.

similar rates of increase. Carlisle's population doubled between 1688 and 1801. From a little more than ten thousand people in 1801, it had climbed to nineteen thousand by 1831. Penrith's population, less than 1,400 in 1688, was 3,801 by 1801²⁷ and increased to 5,385 inhabitants by 1821.²⁸ Kendal's population was about two thousand in the 1730s, eight thousand by the 1780s²⁹ and was claimed to be almost twelve thousand by the 1820s.³⁰

Ports along the western coast proliferated and even the smaller ports around Furness handled comparatively high tonnages of ships involved in coastal and foreign trade.³¹ In 1756, Furness shipping handled 2,482 tons of trade and was reputedly the base for 150 vessels. Between 1766 and 1782, Piel and Ulverston dealt with no less than 1,100 tons of coastal trade annually.³² Established as a customs port in 1685, Whitehaven developed a global presence. In 1712, 1.6 million pounds of tobacco were received there.³³ For much of the century, Whitehaven's trade, shipping and ship-building were comparable to Bristol and exceeded Liverpool.³⁴

Shipping and trade supported flourishing coastal towns. The Workington population increased from less than one thousand in 1688 to more than six thousand by 1801.³⁵ In 1821 its population was almost seven thousand including the five

²⁷ Bouch and Jones, *The Lake Counties*, p. 217.

²⁸ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory for 1828-9: Cumberland Lancashire Westmorland* (Facsimile Edition, Norwich, Michael Winton, 1995), p. 25.

²⁹ Including Kirkland, J. D. Marshall, *Kendal 1661-1801: The Growth of a Modern Town* (Kendal, Titus Wilson & Son, n.d.), p. 3.

³⁰ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory*, p.315. See also White, *A History of Kendal*, pp. 172-175.

³¹ Bouch and Jones, *The Lake Counties*, p. 217.

³² Marshall, *Kendal 1661-1801*, pp. 86, 87.

³³ Rollinson, *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 108; Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, pp. 105-115.

³⁴ R. C. Jarvis, 'Cumberland Shipping in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, LIV (1955), pp. 225-230; P. Skidmore, 'Vessels and Networks: Ship owning in North-West England's Coasting Trade in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 99, 2 (2013), pp. 153-170.

³⁵ Marshall, *Kendal 1661-1801*, p. 217.

hundred sailors based at the port but away from home during the census.³⁶ Despite the competition from Liverpool, Whitehaven was still a major population centre in 1821. The resident population was well over twelve thousand and there were about eight thousand sailors associated with the town but excluded from the town census.³⁷ The Whitehaven population had increased almost ten-fold between 1693 and 1821. Including its sailors, Maryport's 1821 population exceeded five thousand.³⁸

The diversification of the Cumbrian economy and the amenities of Cumbria's provincial towns supported opportunities in Cumbria but there were opportunities too elsewhere, in London, Europe, in the Atlantic trade, in the American colonies, the West Indies and, gradually, the East Indies. The desire and capacity to take those opportunities were shaped by periodic shocks, including business failures such as those experienced by leading Whitehaven merchants Peter How in 1763 and Thomas Lutwidge before him.³⁹ Cumbria faced chronic problems of liquidity and other inertias. Until the development of a formal banking infrastructure in the 1800s, access to capital or even operating funds relied on the benefice and prudential assessments of individual lenders, including the domineering Lowthers.⁴⁰ Cumbria, despite the considerable expansion in infrastructure, remained often difficult to move around. It was a region that could be simultaneously isolating and crowded as it was increasingly exposed to the demands of tourists and the emerging tourism industry. Far from being largely unchanging and stable over the eighteenth century, a portrayal of Cumbria used to both romanticise and vilify it,⁴¹ conditions did change and

³⁶ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory*, p. 29.

³⁷ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory*, p. 30.

³⁸ Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory*, p. 22.

³⁹ Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, pp. 113-115.

⁴⁰ G. P. Jones, 'Some sources of Loans and Credit in Cumbria before the use of banks', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 75 (1975), pp. 275-292.

⁴¹ J. Healey, 'Agrarian Social Structure in the Central Lake District, c. 1574-1830: The Fall of the "Mountain Republic"?' *Northern History*, 1, 2 (September 2007), pp. 73-75, 91; I. Whyte, Cumbrian

Cumbrians adapted. The East Indies was part of a battery of adaptive strategies. The historiography of Cumbria's regional development, especially in its trade and manufacturing, suggests partnerships and business associations were often constituted across the social hierarchy: a dynamic amalgam of gentry, yeoman, trade and merchant families. Cumbrian gentry and middling ranks often invested together and took risks together. This is perhaps most obvious in shipping.

There was a longstanding practice of ship ownership packaged into shares of one or more sixteenths.⁴² It was a practice still evident in the 1800s. Take, for instance, the ownership of the Cumberland brig the *Amphion*, which included among its owners a number of gentlemen, mariners, a yeoman, a hairdresser and a gardener.⁴³ These economic alliances between gentry and middling ranks were also evident elsewhere, including in the iron industry, manufacture and trade. Those enterprises were frequently innovative. From the mid-eighteenth century, Cumbrian ironmasters adopted business models still used today, including vertical integration and peripheralisation of production to economically marginal communities. The Cumbrian iron industry developed operations in Scotland to take advantage of secure fuel supplies and cheap labour.⁴⁴ There were technical innovations and diversification of both markets and products. Rather than aristocratic ventures, the iron industry was one 'capitalised by merchants and entrepreneurs.'⁴⁵

village communities: continuity and change, c.1750-c.1850, in C. Dyer (ed.), *The Self-Contained Village? The social history of rural communities 1250-1900* (Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), pp. 96-113; Warren, 'Harriet Martineau and the Concept of Community', pp. 223-246; Bouch and Jones, *Lake Counties 1500-1830*, p. 218; M. A. Hill, (ed.), *An Independent Woman's Lake District Writings: Harriet Martineau* (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), p. 11.

⁴² Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, pp. 186-188; Jarvis, 'Cumberland Shipping in the Eighteenth Century', pp. 212-35.

⁴³ A. Forsyth, *Highway to the World: The People and Their Little Wooden Ships, Brigs, Brigantines, and Snows of Cumberland in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Carlisle, Bookcase, 2011), p.111.

⁴⁴ Fell, *The Early Iron Industry*, pp. 256-285.

⁴⁵ A. D. George, 'The Early Iron Industry in Furness – A Revolution in the 18th Century', *Cumbria Industrial History Occasional Papers*, 5 (2005), pp. 49-53; B. Tyson, 'Attempts to Smelt Metal with

The amalgam of gentry and middling ranks in trade, manufacturing and extractive industry has been ascribed to the sparsity of the Cumbrian aristocracy and the vulnerability of a gentry unable to improve its returns from land rents.⁴⁶ The constraints on land-based income because of persistent and often effective assertion of customary tenure⁴⁷ contributed to a ‘shelling out’ of the gentry over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the rate of that decline is subject to some debate.⁴⁸ Some have interpreted these factors as creating conditions for inertia and stultification. However, customary tenure may similarly be seen as driving gentry and middling alliances into entrepreneurship and diversification in a region with a relatively small population and significant biophysical limitations.⁴⁹

Those dynamics raise a number of questions in relation to Cumbrian involvement in the East Indies. Was the co-mingling of gentry and middling families evident in the East Indies encounter? Did that early melding of gentry and middling interests evident in Cumbria provide an enabling platform for Cumbrians’ East Indies ventures? Were East Indies ventures implicated in elite social position and influence in Cumbria? Was the pursuit of success in the East Indies a continuation of, or something significantly different from, pathways previously trod by Cumbria’s minor gentry and middling ranks in continental Europe, Atlantic trades, the West Indies and North America?

Coal Near Whitehaven Before 1700’, *Cumbria Industrial History Occasional Papers*, 2 (1999), pp. 3-22; B. Tyson, ‘Heavy Transport in Cumbria before 1800: Methods, Problems and Costs’, *Cumbria Industrial History Occasional Papers*, 4 (2002), pp. 13-33.

⁴⁶ A. J. L. Winchester, ‘Wordsworth’s “Pure Commonwealth”? Yeoman Dynasties in the English Lake District’, *Armist Library Journal* (1998), pp. 91, 93, 97.

⁴⁷ Searle, ‘Custom, class conflict’, pp. 106-133; Searle, ‘Customary Tenants’, pp. 126-153; N. Gregson, ‘Tawney Revisited: Custom and the Emergence of Capitalist Class Relations in North-East Cumbria, 1600-1830’, *Economic History Review*, New Series, 42, 1 (February 1989), pp. 18-42.

⁴⁸ Whyte, Cumbrian village communities, pp. 96-113; A. J. L. Winchester, ‘Personal Names and Local Identities in Early Modern Cumbria’, *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, XI (2011), pp. 29-49.

⁴⁹ Winchester, “Pure Commonwealth”, pp. 86-113.

Middling ranks and gentry

The early melding of middling and gentry interests in Cumbria and in their East Indies encounters presents an opportunity to address broader questions around the aspirations, identity and positioning of gentry and middling ranks in the social hierarchy. There are already rich historiographical seams that cohere separately around middling ranks and gentry and their respective constitution, self-awareness and identity as a rank; the construction and nature of rank-based sensibilities; the trajectories and conditions of their rise or decline; and the extent of mobility between ranks.⁵⁰ Cumbria's East Indies experience provides a setting to explore those dynamics, particularly one of the central historiographical themes of whether middling folk sought social advancement by adopting the styles and practices of those of higher social rank.

The debate around emulation has been multi-faceted analytically and empirically. However, at its heart is the pursuit of success and the way in which success was expressed. For many years, Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption was a central, framing motif. Veblen argued that the consumption of certain goods was used to evidence wealth and 'conversely, the failure to consume in due quality and quantity ... [was] a mark of inferiority and demerit.'⁵¹ Proponents of

⁵⁰ There are extensive and cross-cutting historiographies around these themes including: P. Langford, *Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992); M. R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996); L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Revised Edition, Abingdon, Routledge, 2003); D. Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1780-1840* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995); D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth Century England* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2006); L. Stone and J. C. Fawtier-Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540-1880* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984); H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007); K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000).

⁵¹ T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Reissued Edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 53.

emulation theory have suggested that the accelerating availability of consumer goods in the eighteenth century was both driven by the desire, and fuelled the ability, of middling folk to step outside the boundaries of sober protestant ethics of work, saving and investment. Consumer goods allowed middling people to pursue social status and mobility through the emulation of the gentry.⁵²

Those arguments have been questioned both theoretically and empirically. The timing, regionality, shape and meaning of consumption have all been the subject of considerable debate.⁵³ A raft of empirical studies shows that the patterns of consumption and the array of goods found among gentry and middling folk overlapped but they were by no means identical. Certain luxury goods appear to have attracted middling rather than gentry attention.⁵⁴ Moreover, while Veblen and his proponents defined consumption as a competitive activity explicitly directed to securing upward social mobility, there are other interpretations of middling and, indeed, gentry consumption. Bourdieu, for instance, argued consumption was a transactional activity shaped by tastes bounded by rank. Consumption was, then, a process of distinction rather than motivated by a commitment to climbing out of one's social rank.⁵⁵ Consumption in one rank may imitate consumption in another but imitation is not necessarily emulation and the meanings associated with consumption

⁵² P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town 1660-1770* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 316-317.

⁵³ C. Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1987), pp. 17-35; J. Brewer and R. Porter, (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, Routledge, 1994) provides a comprehensive review; M. Berg, Consumption in eighteenth century and early nineteenth century Britain, in R. Floud and P. Johnson (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain: Volume 1 Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 257-387. See the extended discussions of regionality and consumption in H. Berry and J. Gregory (eds.) *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004).

⁵⁴ L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (2nd Edition, London, Routledge, 1996), pp. 166-189.

⁵⁵ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1994), pp. 34-55.

might be various.⁵⁶ Weatherill and Vickery are both cautious of abstractions around consumption and its dynamics, calling instead for consumption to be examined empirically within its specific context and referenced to explicit evidence of motivation and meaning as well as consumption patterns. Both highlight the complex alignments between consumption and social position as well as the close interactions and sociability between people of middling rank and minor gentry.⁵⁷

Although the emulation debate was primarily associated with the historiography of consumption, it surfaced too in the historiography around production, innovation and industrialisation. Emulation proponents embedded the decline of Britain's industrial domination in a cultural explanation suggesting that the entrepreneurial and innovative spirit of early industrialists came to be replaced by the concerns, norms and values of the gentry.⁵⁸ That position appeared consistent with the claim that the entry to the English elite was largely closed to those whose wealth resided in business.⁵⁹ Rubenstein in particular has been a vociferous critic of cultural explanations of industrial decline and the notion of elite positions residing primarily in land.⁶⁰ He accuses its proponents of being too heavily reliant on popular publications and political commentary for their evidential base. Second, he argues that

⁵⁶ C. Campbell, Understanding traditional and modern patterns of consumption in eighteenth century England: a character-action approach, in Brewer and Porter, (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, p. 41.

⁵⁷ L. Weatherill, The Meaning of Consumer Behaviour in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century England and A. Vickery, Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire consumer and her possessions 1751-1781, both in Brewer and Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, pp. 207-208, 210, 275-278; See also French, *The Middle Sort of People*, p. 121.

⁵⁸ M. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1870-1980* (2nd Edition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-10, 127-154.

⁵⁹ Stone and Fawtier-Stone, *An Open Elite?* p. 283.

⁶⁰ W. D. Rubenstein, *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain 1750-1990* (London, Routledge, 1994), pp. 140-162.

even in the most expansive industrial period, the British economy was primarily and continued to be an economy of commerce, finance and the service sector.⁶¹

In short, Rubenstein argues the debate itself was misdirected and irrelevant. Rubenstein's critique simultaneously opens up a new direction for exploring Cumbria's economic development while missing the heart of the issue. Usefully, for those concerned with the Cumbrian counties, he raises the possibility that the limited industrialisation of Cumbria represented not so much a failure of industrial spirit, but gentry and middling families choosing to focus on alternative and well-established economic sectors. This aligns with a broader re-visioning of Cumbria as a diversified regional economy. But the argument around industrialisation also creates a distraction.

The real issue is not about the relative importance of the industrial and financial sectors respectively. It is a debate around whether business success, in and of itself, provided membership of a dominant or elite class or whether the income and wealth generated from that success had to be invested in cultural capital: acquiring the right styles, learning certain behaviours, purchasing certain consumption goods, building domestic 'palaces', taking up the arts, and taking on the mantle of authority. Crucially, it is about whether that cultural capital required the acquisition of land and landed estates. It is here that the historiography of the middling ranks and gentry meets with the historiography of provincial life and the development of urban provincial elites.

⁶¹ Rubenstein, *Capitalism, Culture and Decline*, p. 24.

Provincial life

Borsay, Sweet and French all point out, that the provincial urban renaissance that characterised the eighteenth century saw an assertion of middling ranks and the economic sectors of trade, professional services and manufacturing.⁶² Their work contrasts with a succession of historians who portrayed provincial life as shaped by national imperatives and the desire to ‘assimilate metropolitan cultures and values.’⁶³ For the latter, provincial life was a pale imitation of London.

But the notion that the provinces were being shifted inexorably from the centre to the periphery of the economy, culture and politics has been overstated. Those portrayals have been countered by a raft of research showing agricultural productivity increased, provincial towns expanded, provincial medical and health services were increasingly professionalised,⁶⁴ leisure, consumption and cultural opportunities proliferated in the provinces, the provinces saw a spree of building and renovating, and a combination of improved transport and romanticism stimulated the emergence of new provincial economic sectors such as commercial tourism. Far from being simply fashion followers emulating London, some provincial towns became fashion leaders and fashionable centres.⁶⁵

Moreover, Borsay and Sweet have demonstrated that provincial life was marked by a strong tendency to celebrate local identity and an emerging desire among

⁶² Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp. 225-256; R. Sweet, *The English Town, 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (London, Routledge, 2014), pp. 178-191, 194-197; French, *The Middle Sort of People*, pp. 201-261.

⁶³ R. Porter, Science, Provincial Culture and Public Opinion in Enlightenment England, in P. Borsay, (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century Town, 1688-1820* (London, Longman, 1990), p.251.

⁶⁴ A. Withey, “Persons That Live Remote from London”: Apothecaries and the Medical Marketplace in Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Wales’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 85, 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 222-247; A. Tomkins, ‘Who Were His Peers? The Social and Professional Milieu of the Provincial Surgeon-Apothecary in the Late-Eighteenth Century’, *Journal of Social History*, 44, 3 (Spring 2011), pp. 915-935; Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 137.

⁶⁵ Marshall, Kendal; Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance*, pp. 28-29.

provincial urban elites to represent provincial towns as progressive and modern. The legitimacy of local civic powers and privileges and the authority of local elites, both of gentry and of the middling sort, were promoted by reference to the history of provincial places. Local elites presented provincial towns as different from London but not at the periphery. They sought recognition of provincial towns as the bedrock of the British Isles, its innovation and, even, its global reach.⁶⁶ They were often resistant to the centralising control of London and parliamentary politics. For instance, gentry and middling folk in the North West were known for their sympathy with American colonial anxieties around taxation, representation and the desire to control their own civic affairs.⁶⁷

The assertion of the middling sort in provincial life was, in part, a reflection of the expansion of their economic power and expanding populations. The middling population outside of London more than doubled over the eighteenth century. The provincial urban renaissance was accompanied by middling ranks increasing their influence through their participation in local governance and a network of clubs, societies and local charitable activities. This has prompted a re-thinking of the interface between national and provincial politics and imperatives. It is increasingly recognised that provincial politics, with its tussles among gentry and urban elites for local influence and position, also shaped the culture and practice of parliamentary politics.⁶⁸ Certainly issues, trivial in national terms but driven out of provincial contests of status and influence, could preoccupy and distract key actors at Westminster.

⁶⁶ Sweet, *The English Town*, pp. 186-187, 260-266.

⁶⁷ A. Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* (Houndsmills, Macmillan Press, 1998), p. 114; K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 200-201, 237-284.

⁶⁸ Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, p. 437.

For instance, in the build up to the Tea Act, legislation that was to contribute to the outbreak of the American War of Independence, Lord North was caught up in a very Cumbrian falling out between James Lowther and John Robinson, Lowther's own Member of Parliament for Westmorland. The dispute itself was over a piece of local patronage. Its resolution required the intervention of the Prime Minister, Lord North. The dispute prompted Robinson to give up the Westmorland seat and take Harwich on the Treasury interest.

Ten years later, Lord North was caught up again in this local dispute when Lowther threatened to join the opposition because the Earl of Abergavenny, John Robinson's grandson, would take precedence over himself.⁶⁹ These dynamics are consistent with, although of a different nature to, Wilson's exploration of the alignment and interface between metropolitan and provincial politics in the crucible from which eighteenth-century imperialism emerged. Wilson demonstrates how local dynamics shaped local opinion around certain imperial issues and those opinions, in turn, had an impact on government and the framing of government policy including imperial policy.⁷⁰

The East Indies

Threading through those different historiographies is a re-positioning of people and regions previously treated as peripheral. Nowhere is this more evident than in the East Indies historiography. That historiography was for many years dominated by a focus on the parliamentary politics of empire and geopolitics, the administrative, commercial and political operations of the East India Company, and the impacts of

⁶⁹ A. Connell, 'Appleby in Westminster: John Robinson, MP (1727-1802)', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, X (2010), pp. 221-223; J. Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 176.

⁷⁰ Wilson, *The Sense of the People*, pp. 137-205.

Company and colonial rule. All of those tended to reduce the encounter between the British Isles and the East Indies to the imposition of a metropolitan, effectively a London, agenda on the periphery.

That London, *de facto*, was treated as the metropole is hardly surprising. There is no doubt about its intense mix of social, economic and political dynamism in the eighteenth century.⁷¹ London saw the struggles between Parliament and the East India Company for control of interests in India. London was the setting for a parade of scandals, rifts, impeachments and litigation through the 1770s involving some of the most prominent East India Company servants. London's broadsheet writers and artists, the public, literate and otherwise, and theatre goers had an inexhaustible appetite for India, its plunder and the comedy afforded by the new caste of nabobs.⁷² The East India Company fuelled the perception of its London-centeredness by building the new East India House to tower over London's commercial centre.⁷³ Moreover, London's economy was firmly enmeshed with the East India Company's operations.

Two-fifths of East India Company stock accounts were located in London or the Home Counties in 1756. The proportion rose to well over half of all stock by 1830.⁷⁴ In excess of seventeen hundred people worked in the Company's London warehouses, wharves and offices in 1785. Most of the Company's establishment of clerks in the British Isles were located in London. Straddling the worlds of finance, trade, administration and law, they commanded high salaries. Experienced clerks in

⁷¹ See J. White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London, Bodley Head, 2012) for a recent portrayal.

⁷² T. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); C. Smylitopoulos, 'Rewritten and Reused: Imaging the Nabob through "Upstart Iconography"', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 32, 2 (Spring 2008), pp. 39-59.

⁷³ H. V. Bowen, J. McAleer, and R. J. Blyth, *Monsoon Traders: The Maritime World of the East India Company* (London, Scala, 2011), p. 97.

⁷⁴ H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 111-113.

East India House received on average an annual income of about £200 in the 1780s. By the 1820s an experienced East India clerk could expect an annual salary of £600. Their average real incomes increased 125 per cent between 1780 and 1815.⁷⁵

The conflation between London and the East India Company has been so powerful that Mentz, in his history of English merchants in Madras, stated unequivocally that ‘English society in Madras was thus entangled in a web of personal relationships which all began and ended in London.’⁷⁶ Mentz’s view is only one, relatively recent exposition, of a long historiographic tradition of what Crosbie describes as metropolitan-focused imperial history drawing ‘almost exclusively from the perspective of England or, more specifically, from London.’⁷⁷ Unevenly and sporadically, historians have begun to capture the diversity of the engagement between the British Isles and the East Indies. That engagement is being increasingly explored within broader perspectives focusing on national and subaltern imperatives, as well as framed by concerns around globalisation and the emergence of modernity.⁷⁸

Attempts to integrate debates around the metropolitan and the periphery, imperial power and the experiences of colonising and being colonised have shifted the gaze on to how empire, the global world and being a colonial power, impacted on the cultural, material, social, domestic and economic lives of those who were ‘at home’ in

⁷⁵ H. Boot, ‘Real Incomes of the British Middle Class, 1760-1850: The Experience of the Clerks at the East India Company’, *Economic History Review*, LII, 4 (1999), pp. 639-640.

⁷⁶ S. Mentz, 2005, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2005), p. 232.

⁷⁷ B. Crosbie, ‘Ireland, Colonial Science, and the Geographical Construction of British Rule in India, c. 1820-1870’, *The Historical Journal* 52, 4 (2009), pp 963-964.

⁷⁸ P. J. Stern, ‘History and Historiography of the English East India Company: Past, Present, and Future!’ *History Compass*, 7, 4 (2009), pp. 1146-1180; K. Wilson, Introduction: histories, empires modernities, in K. Wilson, (ed.) *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, Modernity, 1660-1840* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 5-13.

the British Isles.⁷⁹ Recent histories have focused on Scottish and Irish mercantile networks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as the politics of the Union and empire.⁸⁰ Those provide a more nuanced analysis than Colley's influential argument that global threats drove Union while the imperial project served to forge the British Isles into Britain.⁸¹

The enmeshing of provincial societies, the East India Company, and encounters with the East Indies has begun to attract attention. Thomas, for instance, has shown how the East India Company had a long history of contracting agents in provincial ports. The first agency was established as early as 1640.⁸² Hampshire attracted two such agencies. These provincial Company agents were typically prominent men of the middling classes, often merchants working either on their own account or within a consortium. Successful commercially, many held provincial civic responsibilities. They integrated the East India Company into the fabric of provincial life.⁸³ The East Indies also established its infrastructure in the provincial world, including Haileybury college. Similarly, it was provincial production that met the East India Company demand for European goods in its East Indies settlements.

⁷⁹ C. Hall and S. Rose (eds.), *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 22-30; See also *The East India Company at Home* <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/home/>.

⁸⁰ D. Dickson, J. Parmentier and J. Ohlmeyer, (eds.), *Irish and Scottish Mercantile Networks in Europe and Overseas in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Gent, Academia Press, 2007); B. Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012); G. McGilvray, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Tauris Academic Studies, 2008).

⁸¹ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (3rd Revised Edition, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 79, 127-130.

⁸² J. H. Thomas, East India Agency Company Work in the British Isles, 1700-1800 in H. V. Bowen, Lincoln, M., and N. Rigby, (eds.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2004), p. 35.

⁸³ Thomas, East India Company Agency, pp. 33, 42; J. H. Thomas, 'County, Commerce and Contacts: Hampshire and the East India Company in the Eighteenth Century', *Hampshire Studies*, 68 (2013), pp. 169-177.

According to Bowen, the Company expenditure on contracted commodities exported to the East Indies almost reached £28 million in the three and a half decades between 1756 and 1800.⁸⁴ Cloths, metals, particularly copper and lead, and a miscellany of goods referred to as general merchandise were almost entirely manufactured or produced in provincial centres throughout the British Isles. Lightweight worsted textiles, stuffs, were supplied by manufacturers mainly in Norwich. Broadcloth was supplied primarily out of Gloucestershire and long ells, a variety of serge, was supplied from Cornwall, Devon and Somerset. Iron was, for much of the eighteenth century, supplied by Sweden for export to the East Indies, but English and, later, Scottish, mines supplied lead. By the 1790s, the lead supply was administered out of Newcastle upon Tyne⁸⁵ by way of the Quaker affiliated London Lead Company with its mines in Wales and at Alston Moor in Cumberland.

Moreover, despite claims that the East India Company was primarily a London company, those at the core of the Company's governance, its directors, its chairmen and the politicians progressively asserting control over the Company in the late eighteenth century, had attachments and interests well beyond London. Stockholders might have been primarily London-based,⁸⁶ but they had limited sustained impact on the operations of the Company.⁸⁷ The policies, practices and culture of the Company were shaped at home by a directorship made up of a small group of individuals, their circle of business and familial networks. They had patronage to dispense and the

⁸⁴ H. V. Bowen, 'Sinews of Trade and Empire: The Supply of Commodity Exports to the East India Company during the Late Eighteenth Century', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 55, 3 (2002), p. 484.

⁸⁵ Bowen, *Sinews of Trade and Empire*, pp. 472-473, 478-482.

⁸⁶ Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 109-116.

⁸⁷ Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, p. 111; C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas 1793-1813* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-28; H. Furber, *John Company at Work: A Study of European Expansion in India in the Late Eighteenth Century* (New York, Octagon Books, 1970), pp. 268ff; H.V. Bowen, 'The "Little Parliament": The General Court of the East India Company, 1750-1784', *The Historical Journal* 34, 4 (1991), p. 859.

extent of that patronage increased over the eighteenth century as vacancies for civil and military appointments increased.⁸⁸ If those dispensers of patronage originated in, were focused on, and attached primarily to, London, this would present a significant barrier to provincial participation in the Company and the East Indies. But this was not the case.

There were chairmen with Scottish and Irish connections: Laurence Sullivan was born in County Cork while Robert Gregory went to India from Galway and bought a significant estate in Galway on his return. Charles Grant, Hugh Inglis, John Michie and David Scott were all Scotsmen. Bowen notes three chairmen with active provincial attachments: George Wombwell, who used his India earnings to restore his family estate in Yorkshire; Francis Baring from Devon; and, Henry Fletcher of Clea Hall, Cumberland⁸⁹ who, retiring from the Company's maritime service, served as an East India Company director virtually uninterrupted for thirteen years prior to taking the chairmanship.⁹⁰ Although establishing the origins of chairmen and directors is by no means a trivial task, especially prior to 1758, between 1700 and 1829 over half of the chairmen came from outside London and the Home Counties. About a quarter were drawn from Scotland, Ireland and Wales. A significant minority were from provincial counties (Figure 1.1). A similar pattern was evident among the directors (Figure 1.2).⁹¹

⁸⁸ S. Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 17-20.

⁸⁹ Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, p.127.

⁹⁰ J. Brooke, FLETCHER, Henry (c.1727-1807), of Clea Hall, Cumb., in L. Namier (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790* (1964) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/fletcher-henry-1727-1807>.

⁹¹ This analysis used biographical material from: C. G. Prinsep, (ed.) *Record of Services of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants in the Madras Presidency, from 1741 to 1858...: Including Chronological Lists of Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, Chief Justices and Judges, of the Madras Presidency, Between 1652 and 1858 As well as Lists of the Directors of the East India Company; Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen of the Direction; and Presidents of the Board of Control* (Reprint, BiblioLife, n.d.); J. G. Parker, *The Directors of the East India Company 1754-1790* (Ph.D

Figure 1.1: Origins of the Chairmen of the East India Company c.1700-1829

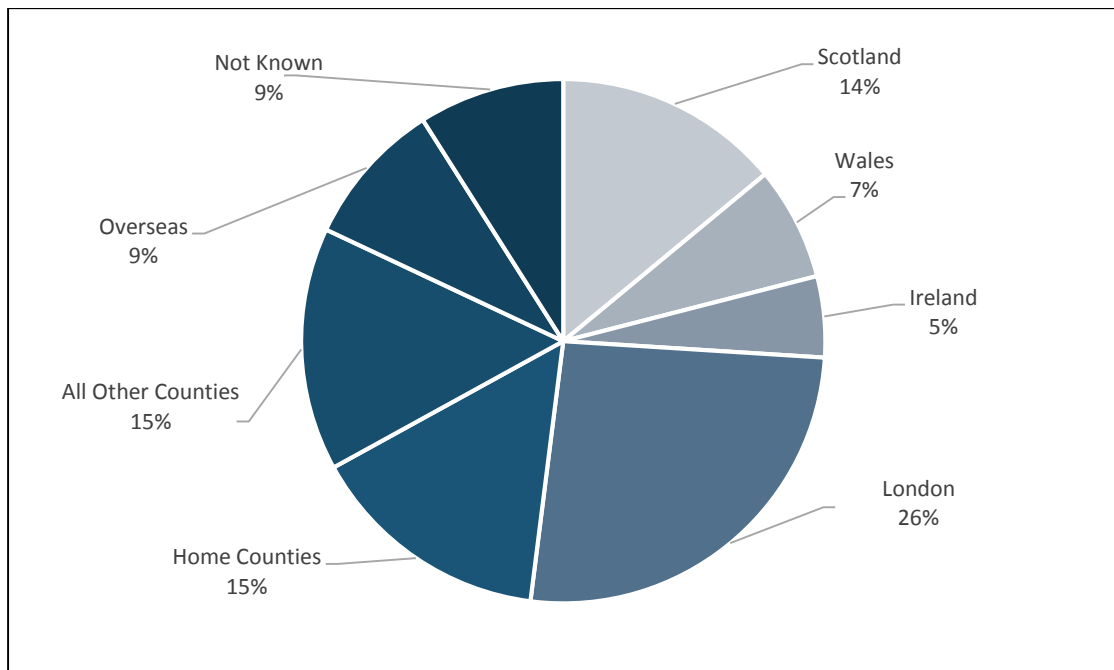
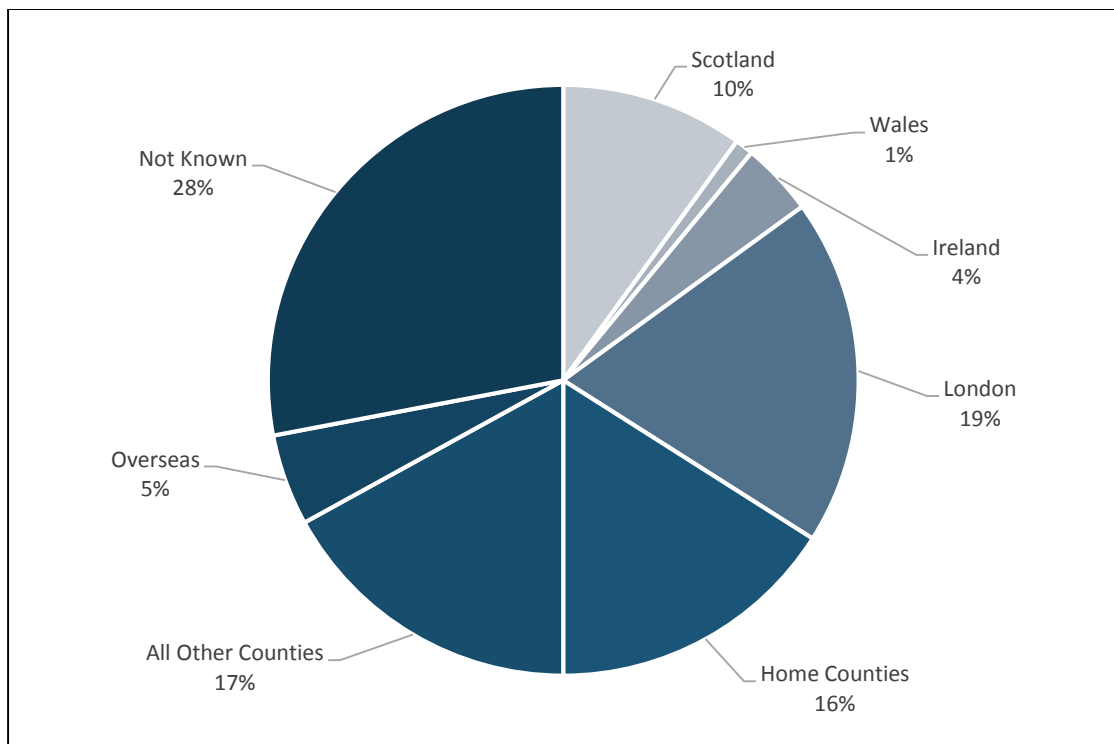


Figure 1.2: Origins of East India Company Directors c.1700-1829



Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977); and, C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834* (2nd Edition, London, Hesperides Press, 2006).

Over two thirds of directors are able to be attached to place-origins through biographical listings. Almost a fifth had their origins in London and sixteen per cent in the Home Counties of Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey and Sussex. Substantial minorities had their origins in Ireland and, more particularly Scotland. Together the English provincial counties accounted for around seventeen per cent of the individuals serving as directors in the long eighteenth century.

In short, at the intersection between the historiography of the East Indies and the historiography of provincial eighteenth century England there arises the possibility of a new viewpoint: one that treats neither provincial life and culture, politics and governance, nor economic development, nor the encounter with the East Indies as driven primarily out of national imperatives centred on London. It opens up the possibility that for many the global encounter was propelled and shaped by provincial preoccupations; that London functioned primarily as a way station in that encounter; and, that national imperatives associated with global, colonial and imperial expansion were mediated and shaped by provincial dynamics.

‘Piecing Together’ a Picture of the Past

Taking a provincial lens to what is usually treated as a national encounter means taking attention away from high politics and London and turning to the local. That shift presents distinct challenges. Cumbrian connections with the East Indies must be excavated from, and linked across, a plethora of archives, records, and material. This thesis is consequently and inevitably built on what Anderson refers to as a process of ‘piecing together’ ‘archival traces’.⁹²

⁹² C. Anderson, *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790–1920* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 4, 14–15, 41, 44–46, 122, 159.

Tracing and piecing together is an iterative method of collecting and analysing large and often disparate sets of data which involve multiple units of analysis. In that regard, it differs from micro-history which tends to intensively analyse a single event, individual, family or localised social system.⁹³ This thesis identifies Cumbrians involved in the East Indies through accessing a multiplicity of informational sites embracing formal archives, private collections and family histories, contemporary printed material, to non-traditional material such as portraits. Because this thesis goes beyond enumeration and looks to interpret the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies, it has accumulated a vast array of material across an enormous variety of published and unpublished primary sources. The following discussion provides a brief description of those sources. The discussion then turns to the enumeration 'rules' that have structured that search and, finally, comments on the approach taken to analysis and interpretation.

Sources and pursuing Cumbrians' archival traces

A method which involves 'piecing together' 'archival traces' inherently means 'reading across' and referencing a substantial number and variety of primary records, manuscripts, and contemporary print materials. Cumbrians eligible for enumeration may be found by the merest aside in a letter or report and each must be 'followed'. Inevitably there is a trawling through archival material, and in some cases close reading and transcription, before setting aside some material as not directly relevant or peripheral.

⁹³ Two examples of micro-history involving encounters with the East Indies are found in the histories of the midlands Shaw couple and the Scottish Johnstones respectively in A. Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families: Business, Marriage and Life in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Pickering & Chatto, 2012) and E. Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012).

Over three hundred entries in the Principal Probate Registry Office's (PPR) probate calendars and some sixteen hundred entries in the British Library's India Office Family Search Index have been analysed. About a hundred and fifty articles, advertisements and notices across almost forty contemporary newspapers and periodicals have been referenced. Material in an array of contemporary publications on Cumbria and the East Indies have been reviewed. Over a thousand other records and manuscripts have been reviewed including over forty bundles and files of letters and documents in the Cumbria Archives Service, numerous records, letters, diaries and journals in the India Office record collection, a journal kept at the Carlisle Public Library, records and manuscripts at the Lancashire Archives Service, manuscripts at the universities of Nottingham and Durham respectively, and the manuscript collections in the British Library.

Where apparently fruitful paths of inquiry turned out to be mere cul-de-sacs, the items have not been referenced in the text, or even, in some cases, in the bibliography. References within the text are reserved for direct quotes or where specific details of events, relations or specific matters such as bequests, expenditure or purchases and the like are drawn from the material. But the importance of engaging with extensive and rich collections such as the Hudleston and Cust letters respectively should not be under-estimated. Many, many of the letters, accounts, notes, wills and other documents found in those collections provided a compelling picture of the familial relationships and contexts preceding, occurring around the time of, or subsequent to East Indies ventures.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families*, pp. 19f., raises this issue in his critique of the tendency for business history to 'mine' familial letters and treat them as empirical fodder rather than interpret business actions within the context of familial imperatives.

The primary materials used and referenced in this thesis are various but at their core are three types: letters (sometimes associated with accounts and journals), wills and inventories, and East India Company personal records as well as records such as pension funds and service records. The numbers of those referenced in the text are set out in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Unpublished Primary Records and Manuscripts Referenced in the Text

Type of Primary Unpublished Material	Referenced Items
Letters and personal journals	162
Wills and inventories	130
East India Company personal records, personnel and service records	181

The process of systematically tracing, enumerating and piecing together Cumbrians involved in the East Indies over the eighteenth century started with five sources: The British Library's India Office Family Search Index and the wider India Office records collection; Farrington's biographical index to officers in the East India Company's maritime service; Hodson's list of Bengal army officers; and two Cumbrian armorials.⁹⁵

The approach taken in this thesis may be considered prosopographical, but its relational dimension is more akin to anthropology. An 'ego's' or a subject's relationships are used to reveal kin and community structures. That so many individuals have been tracked using that approach is indicative of the fundamental importance of place, of family and of kinship in social and economic life, both provincial and global. It is notable that those individuals who cannot be associated with family or kin pose the most difficulty when attempting to 'piece together'

⁹⁵ A. Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Officers 1600-1834* (London, British Library, 1999); V. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 Volumes 1-4* (Reprint, Eastbourne: A Naval and Military Press, 1927); C. R. Hudleston, and R. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry: With a Supplement to an Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* (Kendal, CWAAS, 1978). R. S. Boumphrey, C.R. Hudleston, and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* (Kendal, Lake District Museum Trust and CWAAS, 1975).

fragments from a multiplicity of sources. Although not hidden, these unconnected individuals float in a liminal space. Their identification contributes to our understanding of the prevalence of Cumbrian involvement with the East Indies, but they do not assist us to ground that involvement in the ‘particular’ or to use individual experience and biographical trajectories to illuminate the dynamics, imperatives or sensibilities associated with the provincial encounter with the East Indies.

The individuals who are most revealing are those who are connected to others. As successive histories of the gentry and middling ranks have shown, family and kinship were integral to the trajectories of individuals, at the hub of local communities, and the pivot of entrepreneurial ventures.⁹⁶ Certainly, family and kinship were at the heart of the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. It was within the tensions, supports and intimacies of familial aspiration and the overlapping networks of kinship and business that East Indian, and other global, encounters were played out. Consequently, while the records of the East India Company, church, local and national government constitute those parts of the archives Steedman describes as ‘selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past,’⁹⁷ Cumbrian families, kin, friends and business associates were the sources of ‘the mad fragmentations that no one intended to preserve and just ended up there.’⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; M. Finn, ‘Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33, 1 (2010), pp. 49-65; M. Finn, ‘Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780 –1820’, *Modern Asian Studies* 40, 1 (2006), pp. 203–231; Hunt, *The Middling Sort*; R. Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families*; R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780-1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005); S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011); S. Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The world of the Lascelles 1648-1834* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁹⁷ C. Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University, 2002), p. 68.

⁹⁸ Steedman, *Dust*, p. 68.

Archival traces and the digital world

The process of tracking down archival traces is by no means straightforward. After all, there is no compelling logic for material related to the encounter of Cumbrians with the East Indies to be preserved, archived or catalogued. There was no administrative branch of the East India Company dedicated to Cumbria. Cumbrians are scattered across the Company's records, their Cumbrian connections sometimes evident, sometimes not. Individuals such as John Robinson, Henry Fletcher, Henry Fawcett and Richard Atkinson, repeatedly referred to in the historiographies of the East India Company and British India, are rarely associated with Cumbria. Even when those associations are acknowledged, their depth and influence are left unexplored and their significance unrecognised.

Similarly, the records of Cumbrians 'at home' found in the Cumbrian, Lancashire or National archives are not conveniently arranged or catalogued to distinguish sojourners to the East Indies from others. Even so, the remnants of that East Indies encounter are not as obscured in the provincial space as one might assume from the little attention given to it. It is, for instance, not infrequently etched in stone. Cumbrian churches whisper of Cumbrian ventures in the East Indies in the memorials by which families commemorate their dead, assert their connections and promote their virtues.

Tracking those and other artefacts of Cumbrians involved in the East Indies, the trajectories of their lives and social milieu, and their networks has been enabled by accelerating advances in digitisation and powerful search engines. The new digital world gives historians an extended reach, allows archives to be penetrated in new ways, and facilitates access to remnants of the past residing outside formal archives and retained, preserved and protected by private individuals and families, as well as

often unpaid local historians who have ferreted out material previously only rarely embraced by academic historians. The digital world has made accessible the catalogues and backlists of businesses dealing with the artefacts of the past: fine art, manuscripts, letters and personal ephemera. Formerly, serendipity brought these to the attention of historians. These artefacts and their statements of provenance are increasingly preserved and susceptible to systematic interrogation.

As Anderson and others have already noted, there are important implications of this combination of digitisation and connectivity.⁹⁹ Digitisation and flexible search modes provide an ability to track individuals and interrogate across the walls between archives and the rigidities within archives created through their systems of categorisation. Today's new technology-based capabilities open up new opportunities, just as historians have found technologies have in the past. The historiography of the 1970s, for instance, would have looked very different without computerisation. Computerisation enabled the extensive use of quantified data and the aggregated analysis of patterns and underpinned a burst of migration studies, household constitution studies, and much economic history. In the future it is likely that the development of geospatial information systems will stimulate historical geography and the use of visualisation techniques to analyse historical dynamics through a spatial lens.¹⁰⁰

In the context of this dissertation, the enhanced ability to track individuals and their networks allows biographical narratives to be integrated with the analysis of aggregate patterns, profiles and characteristics and the thematic analysis of

⁹⁹ Anderson, *Subaltern Lives*, pp. 187-188; M. King, Working With/In the Archives, in S. Gunn, and L. Faire (eds.) *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University, 2011), pp. 13-29.

¹⁰⁰ See Gunn and Faire (eds.) *Research Methods for History* and A. von Lünen and C. Travers (eds.) *History and GIS: Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections* (New York, Springer, 2013) for recent reflections on changing tools and the impacts on the practice of history.

sensibilities. This thesis has also drawn on the example of a range of research that has taken advantage of the compression of time and distance enabled by digitisation and online access to primary sources. Researchers are increasingly following the way in which individuals threaded themselves through different global spaces as globalised systems were established and operated. That emerging approach is evident in the historiography of slaving,¹⁰¹ Anderson's work on subaltern people and the development and operation of archipelagos of penal colonies,¹⁰² and *The East India Company at Home*.¹⁰³

The new permeability of archival boundaries generated by the digital world provides new analytic possibilities. However, the researchers who have followed that path have also highlighted the fundamental limitations of 'the record'. 'Archival traces', and the narratives built on them, are still shaped by choices of the past. Past individuals and institutions have determined what is to be recorded and what is to be preserved. Irrespective of the power of the digital world, the digital world cannot create what was not created or retained.¹⁰⁴ The digital world may extend the reach of the historian but it does not dismantle the fundamental and polarised character of the record. The traces of the past are either those consciously retained because they

¹⁰¹ For example: C. Hall, N. Draper, K. McClelland, C. Donington and R. Lamb, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014); L. A. Lindsay and J. Wood Sweet, (eds.), *Biography and the Black Atlantic* (Kindle Edition, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); M. Dresser and A. Hann, (eds.) *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon, English Heritage, 2013).

¹⁰² Anderson, *Subaltern Lives*.

¹⁰³ *The East India Company at Home*, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/home/>.

¹⁰⁴ This thesis has had to take account of the loss to public access of a number of materials. Most important of those being, CAS BDX 38, which contained much of the material of the families, property and contracts related to the Cumbrian charcoal based iron industry and their connections with the East Indies, CAS DHUD 15 concerning the Hudlestons, and material related to the Ainslie family. The extensive catalogues associated with CAS BDX 38 and CAS DHUD 15 appear to have also been removed from the Cumbria Archives Service online catalogue although the catalogue for CAS DHUD 15 can be found on the National Archives Discovery site. This, however, does not appear to be the case for what was an extensive and detailed catalogue for CAS BDX 38.

legitimate or facilitate prevailing ruling relations, or they are simply inexplicably surviving detritus of past lives and events.¹⁰⁵

Enumerating Cumbrians

Enumerating Cumbrians involved in the East Indies inevitably presents a series of questions: What are the boundaries of Cumbria? Who should be counted as a Cumbrian? How can a 'Cumbrian' be identified and distinguished? Was someone born out of Cumbria but to parents or grandparents born in Cumbria, 'in' or 'out' as a Cumbrian? Conversely, what of the child born in Cumbria but whose familial and kin connections lay outside the Cumbrian counties? What is defined as involvement in, venture to, and encounter with the East Indies? Decisions around those questions are contestable, but the task of framing an enumeration is inescapable if data sources are to be approached systematically.

The enumeration of 421 Cumbrian men found in Appendix A and twenty-three Cumbrian women found in Appendix B are framed both by temporal and place dimensions. The temporal boundary is the long eighteenth century. To be enumerated, individuals must have been involved as adults with the East Indies between 1680 and 1829, although that involvement may stretch before and beyond those boundaries. Individuals born in the long eighteenth century but not in the Company or the East Indies prior to 1830 have been excluded from the enumeration, although they may be referred to in the narrative.

The place-related boundary is more complex and more challenging to apply. Enumerated individuals were either born in the Cumbrian counties – Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands – or with Cumbrian parents with an

¹⁰⁵ King, *Working With/In the Archives*, pp. 23f.

ongoing association with Cumbria; and, individuals who lived or worked in Cumbria over a long period. The enumeration also includes a small set of individuals who integrated themselves into Cumbrian provincial life after sojourns in the East Indies, such as Alexander Nowell of Kirkby Lonsdale and John Charles Bristow who died at Eusmere.

The other dimension of the place-related boundary relates to the East Indies. Cumbrians also had to be directly involved in the East Indies. In this context the East Indies uses its early meaning of India, South East Asia, and the southern coast of China. Cumbrian men must have been: appointees to the East India Company in the British Isles or in the East Indies; or a Company director, agent, ship's husband, contracted supplier, or in a position of political power over the Company. Cumbrians with commercial ventures in the East Indies or licenses to travel as free merchants are included. Excluded are those Cumbrian women and men who held East India Company stock but had no other direct or formal involvement in the East Indies or in the Company.¹⁰⁶ The enumerated Cumbrian women are those who lived in the East Indies for some period in their adult life and were either born in Cumbria, born elsewhere with a Cumbrian parent, or married men involved in the East Indies. Non-Cumbrian spouses, whether husband or wife, involved in the East Indies are excluded from the enumeration of Cumbrians although their children may be included if they meet the other criteria. Mixed race children, where they have been identified, are included in the enumeration if they meet the enumeration criteria but many do not.

¹⁰⁶ This is consistent with Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, p. 340.

Mixed race children are, nevertheless, often at the heart of some of the tensions that infused the Cumbria encounters with the East Indies. Thirty-eight mixed race children have been identified including children by women whose backgrounds are opaque (Appendix C). For instance, one of the latter was referred to as Mary Smith. Three children born in India between 1806 and 1810 to Mary Smith and John Charles Bristow were baptised at St Marylebone on 25 July 1811.¹⁰⁷ Rather than the father's name being followed by the given name of the mother designated as 'wife', there is no such designation on these children's baptismal records. That, and Bristow's own background, (he had at least three older half siblings through his father's relationship with Mahondy Khanum of Patna), are hints that his own children may have been mixed race. The mother's name, consisting of two ubiquitous names 'Mary' and 'Smith', suggests that the baptismal records of these Bristow children may be an example of what Ghosh has revealed were widespread practices in which native women become erased from the sexual and family life of British men and, often, the lives of their own children.¹⁰⁸

Steedman implies that the fragments of the past are so limited that the task of the historian is 'to conjure a social system from a nutmeg grater.'¹⁰⁹ Digitisation, search engines and connectivity combine to generate, however, an abundance of fragmentary, albeit, uneven material. Abundance in itself presents significant challenges to retrieval and analysis. Computerisation has eased that burden.

¹⁰⁷ *Church of England Parish Registers, 1538-1812*: London - Saint Marylebone, Day book of baptisms, Feb 1811-Mar 1812. Ancestry.com. *London, England, Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538-1812* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010, accessed <http://home.ancestry.co.uk>.

¹⁰⁸ D. Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 15-23, 76, 139, 144; D. Ghosh, National Narratives and the Politics of Miscegenation: Britain and India in A. Burton, (ed.), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 27-44.

¹⁰⁹ Steedman, *Dust*, p. 18.

A range of software, mainly simple and proprietary, has been used in this thesis. Thematic analysis has been facilitated by text-based search of transcriptions. Quantitative analysis of aggregated patterns has been facilitated by the use of spreadsheets. There is a range of ethnographic software for anthropologists that allow the capture of 'ego' networks in various forms. They struggle, however, to deal with large sets of 'egos', multiple generations, and extended periods of time. Consequently, ethnographic software is not well-adapted to the tracking and enumeration demanded by this research. Instead, proprietorial genealogical software designed for amateur family historians has been used. The gedcom platform used by that software allows for the export of 'ego-based' information into a variety of mapping and visualisation programmes. The use of Excel spreadsheets allowed the network analysis to be undertaken with specialist but free and open source NodeXL.

Approach to interpretation

If the process of enumerating the Cumbrians who fall within these time and place boundaries presents a challenge, so too does piecing together and interpreting the fragmentary material associated with each of the enumerated individuals. Inevitably their lives, trajectories, affiliations and associates are incompletely and unevenly rendered in the record. It is perhaps easiest to see their collective 'archival traces' as constituting a prism that allows the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies to be refracted. Quantitative analysis gives attention to the aggregate patterns of the encounter across time, the implication of place attachments in those East Indies ventures, the social profile of Cumbrian East Indies sojourners, and the structure of connections between Cumbrians involved in the East Indies. Thematic, qualitative analysis, particularly of the remnants of personal correspondence but also of contemporary printed materials and administrative records including wills and

inventories, provides an insight into the sensibilities of Cumbrians as well as economic, social and material drivers, expressions and outcomes of East Indies ventures.

Even within a single archive associated with a single organisation or institution or archives focused on a particular set of events or families, the problem of ‘what is missing’ is ever present. It is a problem multiplied when dealing with populations as aggregates of defined individuals. No doubt it has contributed to what Miller criticises as the tendency towards abstraction evident in social history and the ‘cultural turn’.¹¹⁰ Among the Cumbrians at the centre of this thesis, the density of material ranges from a simple, single reference connecting a Cumbrian to the East Indies but otherwise unconnected to any other individuals, to genealogies, to extensive collections of letters, wills, and other records, as well as references in secondary sources. Some voices inevitably remain muted. Other voices are lost entirely. Their lives are reflected only in the official, public and private commentary constructed by others. At least, however, their existence, and, for some, aspects of their lives, can be retrieved.

The material that has been generated by this process of accumulating ‘archival traces’ presents two interpretative tasks. The first is the task of taking into account the particular mode and rules by which material or the record was produced. Applications for appointment to the East India Company, to personal letters, to contemporary print material, to wills and inventories, to material sources such as portraits, houses and church memorials, are stylised in form and their meaning cannot always be interpreted directly. For instance, an East India Company applicant may state that his

¹¹⁰ J. Miller, A Historical Appreciation of the Biographical Turn, in Lindsay and Wood Sweet, (eds.) *Biography and the Black Atlantic*, pp. 21, 23, 28-32, 41.

nomination was not secured by financial payment but the sale of nominations by Company directors was widespread.¹¹¹ Such a declaration says little about the virtues, or even the compliance, of an applicant, his family or his friends. However, it says a great deal about the importance for the East India Company of personal relations, reputations and reciprocal obligations in regulating the behaviour of Company servants. Equally, declarations and the development of standardised applications, albeit unevenly used, reflect the Company's evolving bureaucratisation and its transformation from merchant company to territorial power, and, eventually, to administrative state across the eighteenth century.

Contemporary printed material, too, provides what might be termed 'information' but also, simultaneously, articulates societal values, aspirations and ambition. Cumbrian house and estate advertisements, for instance, demonstrate the way in which estates that would be small and relatively insignificant in the southern counties were in Cumbria developed to support and reflect local social elites, including garden villas on the hinterlands of provincial towns. Similarly, guidebooks, whether of the Lake District, India, aristocratic estates or provincial towns, provided description but also sketch out the changing terrains of sensibility, taste and social position. So, too, do the many histories of provincial towns produced during the eighteenth century.¹¹²

Even in personal records the individual voice was not always prominent. Diaries were often little more than jottings of time, place, appointments, weather and, occasionally, expenditure. Wills, contracts and property settlements all had ritualised

¹¹¹ Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community*, pp. 21-23; Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, pp. 15-16.

¹¹² R. Sweet, 'The production of urban histories in eighteenth-century England', *Urban History*, 23, 2 (1996), pp. 171-188; R. Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997).

forms. So too did letters. On the other hand, it should not be assumed ritualised form embodies 'real' function or meaning or prevents the expression of the individual voice. Of legal documents, wills and, where they are available, inventories, provide rich insights despite elements of linguistic ritual, for they express multiple dimensions of social, economic and cultural life: the values, mores and norms of property, expectations of and responsibilities to family and kin, bonds of friendship and consumption. Similarly, the historiography of eighteenth-century letter writing shows the complex and multi-layered meanings embodied in letters.

Earlier analysis of eighteenth-century letter writing conflated personal letters and letters for publication. They also treated letter writing as primarily a vehicle arising from, and directed to reinforcing, the emergence of the culture of politeness and sociability. Brant, however, demonstrates a diversity of personal letter-writing genres in the eighteenth century and challenges the notion that letter writing was designed merely to promote this new social paradigm of polite sociability. Despite ideals of politeness, the personal letter was still a vehicle for conveying frank demands, criticism, disdain and, even abuse. The conventions of letter writing were shaped by performance and the persona taken on by the correspondent and the circumstances of the correspondence.¹¹³ The language of politeness, humility and, on occasions, servility took account of social hierarchy, but the same language could also be a gloss for impertinence, resistance, or claims of disputed entitlement. Certainly, in the Cumbrian context, all those parts and passions are evident. The letter-rich records of the middling Cumbrian Cust family are especially resonant.

¹¹³ C. Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture* (Houndsmills, Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 15, 23, 24-27.

In short, letters were shaped by prevailing conventions, but style and convention did not necessarily mute the writer's voice. In the world of global sojourns, letters conveyed that voice to maintain intimacy over considerable distance and long periods. As Popp points out 'correspondence was... the child of absence.'¹¹⁴ But generating history from letters raises practical issues. The sheer abundance of material can be problematic, particularly where the vast majority is handwritten. Only a few of the letters in this thesis are in published form, primarily those of John Wordsworth and the letters between Daniel Fleming of Rydal and his sons.¹¹⁵ Fragments of letters otherwise lost to, or never in, public access have been retrieved through unpublished manuscripts or secondary sources. The most important of those relate to the Ainslie, Bellasis, Hasell and Hudleston families.¹¹⁶

Many of the handwritten letters were short and easy to read without transcription. Some letters were incomplete or damaged, often through removal of wax seals. Apart from physical damage and occasional fading, reading and transcription were sometimes hampered by the use of various shorthand devices by correspondents. Some of those devices were commonly used, others were idiosyncratic and personal. Similar problems were encountered with wills and, particularly, inventories and accounts. Spelling and, in some cases, severe deficiencies in grammar and syntax also posed challenges to comprehension.

¹¹⁴ Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families*, p. 11.

¹¹⁵ J. R. McGrath, (ed.), *The Flemings in Oxford: Being Documents Selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men* (Oxford, Oxford Historical Society, 1913); C. Ketcham, (ed.), *The Letters of John Wordsworth* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969).

¹¹⁶ Correspondence of these families, with the exception of the Hudlestons of Hutton John, have been drawn from A. Ainslie, *Ainslie: History of the Ainslies of Dolphinston, Jedburgh, Grizedale, Hall Garth & Their Descendants* (Unpublished Bradford Peverell Dorset, A. Ainslie, 2008); M. Bellasis, *Honourable Company* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952); F. Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain: A Cumberland Family: 1736-1794* (Kidderminster, Wyre Forest Press, 2003).

Letters raise other issues of interpretation, particularly where there is an abundance of correspondence. In the context of this thesis, the Custs, the Senhouses and the Hudlestons are associated with bodies of correspondence that extended over time and were characterised by a multiplicity of correspondents ranging across family, friends, distant kin, colleagues, acquaintances and even strangers. The letters within those different bodies of correspondence embraced intimate correspondence to correspondence directed to matters of business. Some subjects or themes threaded their way through long sequences of letters. Other subjects, incidents or events were the focus of only brief attention. How are these to be analysed and interpreted? Does each letter, or each letter within a subset of letters, constitute the unit of analysis? Or is the unit of analysis the contours of one or more bodies of correspondence as a whole or an extended strand within it? If the latter, does this draw us back from a nuanced interpretation of sense within prevailing social, institutional and cultural contexts bound by time and place or demand quantification of phrases, references and words found in content analysis or analysis of the structure of the text?

In this thesis, these bodies of correspondence have been treated as ‘places’ in which themes central to Cumbria’s East Indies encounter may be expressed. Those expressions are analysed across the multiplicity of sources. In addition, rather than formal textual analysis or transforming subjective expression into quantitative data and analysing it statistically, the analysis of these letters has involved a structured interrogation with interpretative judgements generated by qualitative thematic reading. That thematic reading has been structured by three considerations.

The first consideration was around establishing the range of experience, attitudes, expectations, perceptions and sensibilities expressed across the entire body of source material. The second consideration was to explore the extent to which letters across a multiplicity of correspondents show divergence or convergence in experiences, attitudes, expectations, perceptions and sensibilities. The third consideration was to understand those experiences, attitudes, expectations, perceptions and sensibilities by reference to the structural positions, interests and relational contexts of the correspondents themselves. The content of a letter is not, then, detached from the immediate circumstances of the correspondent, their relation with the recipient, or the explicit and sometimes less transparent function of a letter or a set of letters.

The application of those three considerations was iterative rather than sequential. Such a process of analysis and interpretation recognises that correspondence is not simply an unproblematic body of material, even when elements of content appear to simply be records of events, activities, or ‘facts’.¹¹⁷ What, then, is expressed in the text of this thesis are interpretative judgements generated out of that process rather than a description of its mechanics. I tend to provide contextual signals around the text of letters that are quoted because while those quotes are designed to illustrate convergences (or divergences) with other correspondence, it needs to be remembered that specific letters were also embedded in the trajectories of people’s lives.

That brings us to the second major interpretative task when piecing together these ‘archival traces’. That is, the task of integrating and analysing the disparate and uneven material attached to individuals and their milieu into threads that contribute to

¹¹⁷ Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families*, pp. 19f.

a broader narrative that goes beyond the individuals themselves. This raises issues around the nature of the ‘biographical turn’, in particular the distinction between biographical based analysis and narratives as ways of exploring the ‘particular’ and the practice of traditional biography.¹¹⁸

In this thesis, biographical narratives are scattered throughout, although presented most formally in the final substantive section of Chapter 2. These narratives are not designed to simply ‘humanise’ history, although as Ogborn and others point out, this is an important antidote to reductionism and reification.¹¹⁹ The approach used here reflects a view that history is constituted through, and, therefore, illuminated by, the choices and actions of individuals within the context of their immediate relations and structured positions. Unlike traditional biography, biographical fragments are not used here to constitute the individual and her or his life as reflecting a process of self-actualisation. Bourdieu refers to the latter as a biographical illusion.¹²⁰ Rather, each individual life is regarded as constituted through a series of trajectories.

While experienced personally, those trajectories are wrought by events, structures and processes beyond the control of an individual and, despite their efforts, of families and friends. At the same moment, lives, and the multiple trajectories that make up those lives, are shaped by purposeful decisions and conscious sensibilities. Each of those trajectories are only partially rendered in ‘archival traces’ and some trajectories within a single life are absent from the record altogether.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the enriched empirical environment enabled by the digital world allows us to integrate

¹¹⁸ Anderson, *Subaltern Lives*, pp. 4-22, 187-189; Miller, *A Historical Appreciation*, pp. 28-32; C. Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces: True False Fictive* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2012), p. 203.

¹¹⁹ M. Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World 1550-1800* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 9-14; Miller, *A Historical Appreciation*, pp. 46-47.

¹²⁰ P. Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge, Polity Press, 1990), p. 55.

¹²¹ Anderson, *Subaltern Lives*, pp. 15, 16, 18.

biography into the analysis of structures, networks, practices, and sensibilities.¹²²

Multiple biographical narratives provide a basis for reflecting on the transferability, representativeness or idiosyncrasy of the ‘case’ while capturing the nuances of individual experience and agency within the prevailing social, economic and political structures, networks, and sensibilities.

Chapter Structure

In summary, Cumbrian gentry and middling encounters with the East Indies, lie on the connective edges between historiographies embracing English provincial life, the East India Company, British India and new imperialism, issues of continuity and change in the structure, practices and sensibilities of class, family and kinship, and social and economic development in Cumbria. This thesis is not about the life of Cumbrian provincials in India, but how the East Indies sojourn was tied to, and expressed, ambitions for life and position in Cumbria. It recognises and unwraps Cumbria’s implication in the establishment and operation of East India settlements, the East India Company, and the parliamentary response to commercial and military expansion in India throughout the long eighteenth century.

Cumbria provides a window on the interface between provincial life and the East Indies through the period over which ‘British India’ developed. It allows us to ask whether the East Indies encounter beyond London was an integral part of the social and economic life of the provinces. Was it anything more than a disparate set of individuals with provincial origins who happened to develop, adopt and operate primarily through Anglo-Indian identities and networks? Was the provincial

¹²² See the diverse biographies presented in N. Chaudhuri, S. J. Katz, and M. E. Perry, (eds.), *Contesting Archives: Finding women in the Sources* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2010) for the application of biography as a means to illuminate women’s experiences in a variety of socio-historical contexts.

encounter simply an experience of national imperialism felt at a local level and provincials' involvement in the East Indies driven, as some might suggest, by imperatives around union and British identity? Were the imperatives for Cumbrian middling and gentry families about sustaining, retaining, and sometimes, restoring their social and economic position within their provincial milieu?

This thesis presents an opportunity to test the common view that the eighteenth-century encounter between the British Isles and the East was primarily a combination of imperial ambition and the construction of a British identity in the context of a new United Kingdom. Equally, the lens of a provincial encounter with the East Indies provides a new way of looking at Cumbria, not as a 'failed' industrial economy but as a region in which opportunities 'abroad', whether in the British Isles or overseas, were taken by an amalgam of gentry and middling rank families.

The sequence of the chapters that follow reflects this dissertation's particular combination of quantitative and structural analysis, biographical narrative, and thematic analysis which has been enabled by the digital world. The pattern of the Cumbrian encounter set out in Chapter 2 has a three-pronged focus. The social characteristics, place origins and networks of Cumbrian men and their kin involved in the East Indies are presented. Those patterns are set within their chronological context and explored further through six short biographical narratives. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 turn to a broader canvas and follow the cycle of Cumbrians' anticipation of, passage to and return from the East Indies.

Chapter 3 explores how gentry and middling Cumbrian families saw the East Indies, its potential as a pathway to success and how they managed their ambivalences about the East Indies to establish for themselves an acceptable balance between risk-

taking and reward seeking. Because the new opportunities presented by the East Indies could not be realised by desire alone, Chapter 4 shows how the passage to the East Indies depended on a complex interaction between cultural, economic, and social capital. Chapter 5 traces the pattern of success and disappointment for Cumbrian East Indies sojourners and their families and the way sojourners sustained, established or promoted their own position or the standing of their families within Cumbrian provincial society.

The final chapter comments on the materiality of the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. It comments too on how the lens of the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies brings new insights into prevailing narratives of Cumbrian regional social and economic development. In doing so, it underscores the importance of the regional or provincial case and how a provincial lens can illuminate aspects of national experience and provide insights into debates within and across historiographies typically kept separate.

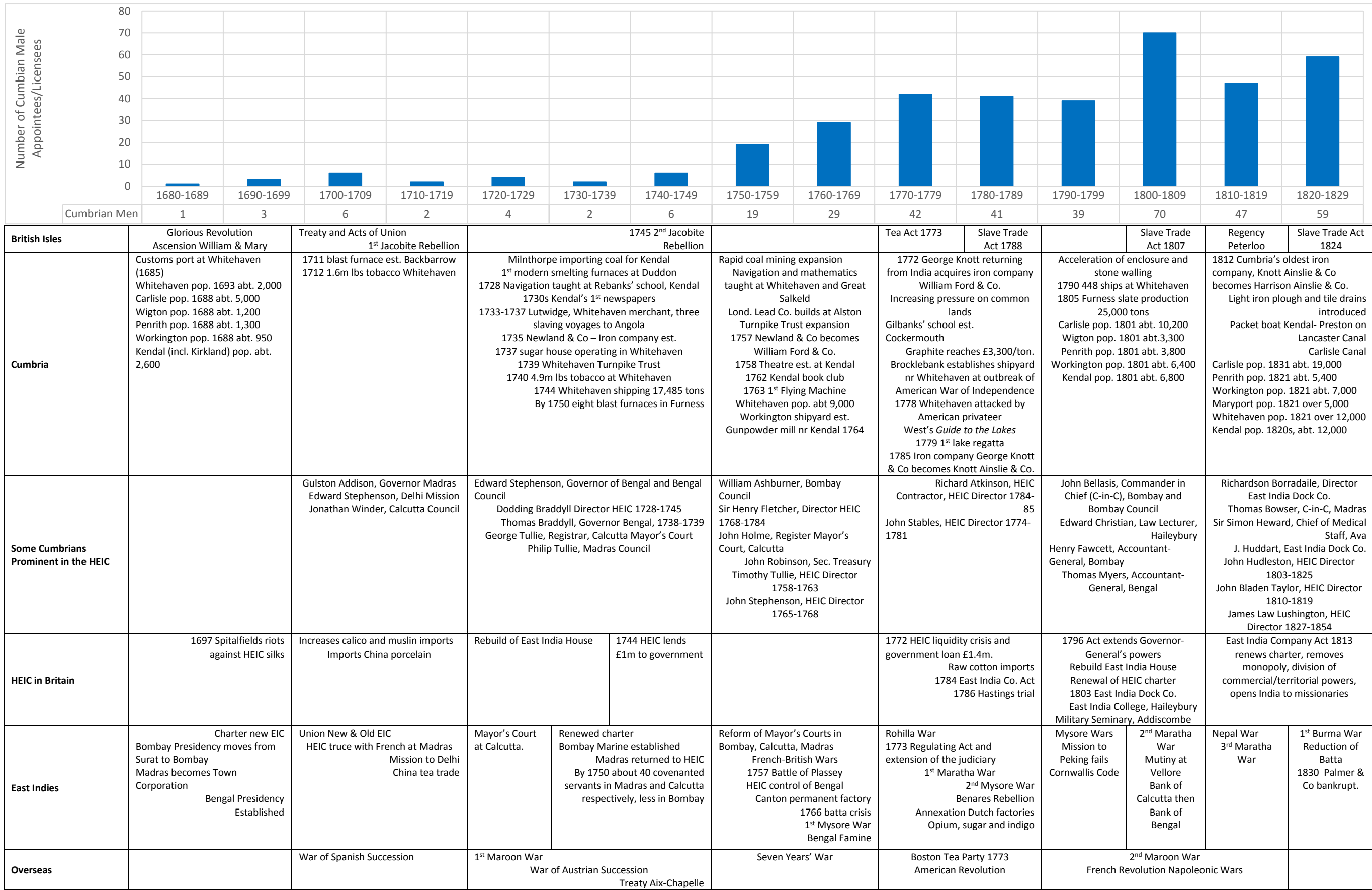
Chapter 2

Contexts, Patterns and Lives

The East Indies became enmeshed in Cumbrian life in the eighteenth century with some 444 Cumbrian men and women identified as directly involved in East Indies trade, the East India Company or East Indies sojourns. They were connected to, and supported by, many more Cumbrians. This chapter analyses the characteristics of the Cumbrians involved in the East Indies encounter, the structure of their relationships, and heralds the continuities as well as the heterogeneity of their East Indies encounters. The chapter starts with a chronological overview of the context in which Cumbrians were operating. Key aspects of Cumbrian chronology across the eighteenth century have already been touched on when discussing the re-visioning of Cumbrian in regional historiography. Those are not repeated here. Here the discussion focuses on the alignment between the numbers of Cumbrian men appointed and licensed by the East India Company, the changing operations of the East India Company, and events shaping the British Isles in the global world (Figure 2.1).

The second section focuses on the patterns of encounter and compares rates of Cumbrian involvement in the East Indies with other counties and explores the social characteristics and place origins of enumerated Cumbrian men. It explores the social structure of Cumbria's encounter with the East Indies by mapping the connections between East Indies-involved families. The final section presents six chronologically-arranged biographical narratives that highlight the way in which the pursuit of success in the East Indies comprised profound and persistent continuities, despite the social heterogeneity of Cumbrian sojourners, the diversity of their trajectories and outcomes for their families, and the chronological stretch of the long eighteenth century.

Figure 2.1: Cumbrian Men Appointees/Licensees (n=370) in the Context of Selected Cumbrian, British, East Indies and Global Events



Company Contexts

Over the long eighteenth century the numbers of Cumbrian men going to the East Indies accelerated (Figure 2.1). Four Cumbrian men were appointed or licensed by the East India Company in the twenty years prior to 1700. In the following two decades, a further eight Cumbrian men took up appointments or licenses and entry. Levels remained similar for the next thirty years. The 1750s saw a jump in Cumbrian appointments and licences. Thereafter there was a broadly upward trend.

Those Cumbrians were in the midst of extraordinary change and were exposed to a succession of decisive events.¹ Cumbrian families such as the Braddylls, Winders and Stephensons saw the East India Company struggle through the Glorious Revolution and expand under Union and the Hanoverian succession. It had been threatened by William of Orange's accession and debates around royal assent to trade monopolies.² There were attacks on the Company's monopoly and 'interloper' trade in the East Indies outside of the Company's control flourished. In 1698, two companies, the old East India Company and a new company, were each given royal assent to trade in the East Indies, although the new company was short-lived and a merger quickly occurred. One of the key players negotiating that merger and re-stabilising a Company monopoly in the East Indies was the Cumbrian merchant Jonathan Winder.

¹ Figure 2.1 is compiled from a multiplicity of source but primarily from P. Langford, *The Eighteenth Century: 1688-1815* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002); D. M. Peers, *India under Colonial Rule 1700-1885* (Harlow, Pearson Longman, 2006); J. F. Riddick, *The History of British India: A Chronology* (Westport, Connecticut, Praeger Publishing, 2006); W. Rollinson, *A History of Cumberland and Westmorland* (Chichester, Phillimore Publishing Co, 1996); M. Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World 1550-1800* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

² J. Bohun, 'Protecting Prerogative: William III and the East India Trade Debate, 1689-1698', *Past Imperfect*, 2 (1993), pp. 63-86.

From 1715 the Company was actively pursuing commercial advantages from the Mughal emperor. In 1717, a two-year, three-man Company delegation to Delhi was granted an imperial firman waiving customs duties on the Company trade in Bengal. The Cumbrian Edward Stephenson, who is the subject of a biographical narrative later in this chapter, was part of that delegation. The extension of Mughal recognition provided the Company more security in India. It also, importantly, amplified the Company's influence at home. In 1721 and 1723, parliament reinforced the Company monopoly. In 1726, the East India Company gained a new charter giving it authority over all British subjects operating within the East Indies. The key settlements, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay were progressively endowed with the paraphernalia of local rule evident in English towns: corporations: mayors, recorders and aldermen.³ In 1730, parliament renewed the Company's monopoly again in exchange for a Company payment of £200,000.⁴ It followed by lending the British government a million-pounds and effectively financed Britain's involvement in the Austrian War of Succession. The close relations between Company and Crown saw France returning Madras to the Company after a three-year occupation by the French under the Treaty of Aix-le-Chapelle.⁵

A combination of European geopolitics, the fragmenting Mughal empire, the Company's close relationship with the British government, and its own anxieties around competition in the Indian market, saw the East India Company increasingly embroiled in military conflicts on the Indian sub-continent. Those culminated in 1756 by the loss of Calcutta and Fort William to the nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula,

³ T. A. Mansfield, *Calcutta, from Fort to City: A Study of a Colonial Settlement, 1690-1750* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Leicester, 2012), pp. 107-111; Riddick, *The History of British India: A Chronology*, p. 6.

⁴ L. Sutherland, *The East India Company in 18th Century Politics* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 30.

⁵ Sutherland, *The East India Company in 18th Century Politics*, pp. 30, 46.

followed by Clive's defeat of the nawab at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The conquest was a pivotal moment. Calcutta was retrieved, French influence on the India sub-continent were diminished, and the Company was given territorial powers over Bengal. The Company was, from that point on, moving from a commercial company to a fiscal-military state combining commercial activities with increasingly intense military, judicial and civil administrative operations.⁶

The considerable increase in the number of Cumbrian men appointed or licensed to the East Indies from the 1750s was aligned to a broader expansion of Company settlements in the post-Plassey era. The personnel collecting revenues in Madras numbered 175 Europeans in 1787, almost as many as the entire civilian European population, male and female, of Madras in 1740.⁷ By 1787, the Madras Army had some 850 European officers. A third of the 6,000 rank and file were Europeans and there were around fifty military surgeons.⁸ The pattern was similar in Calcutta. Prior to 1750 around fifty Company civilian men from the British Isles were at Calcutta at any one time.⁹ After Plassey, the civil establishment reached seventy-six.¹⁰ European merchants outside the Company, as well as European men captaining country trade ships, and the populations of resident European women also increased.¹¹

The British government became deeply implicated in, and benefitted from, the success of the East India Company. Co-dependency generated the complex

⁶ T. Roy, 'Rethinking the Origins of British India: State Formation and Military-Fiscal Undertakings in an Eighteenth Century World Region'. *London School of Economics Working Papers*, No. 142/10 (2010), pp. 3, 8-11.

⁷ H. Furber, *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th Century* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), IV, p. 284; S. Mentz, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2005), p. 244.

⁸ Furber, *Private Fortunes*, IV, p. 287.

⁹ P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 14-15.

¹⁰ S. Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. p. 1.

¹¹ Furber, *Private Fortunes*, VIII, p. 3.

articulation between the British government's and the Company's interests in the American colonies which climaxed in the American War of Independence. The taxation crisis with the American colonies had its roots in the government's attempt to simultaneously maintain its own tax revenues, relieve the East India Company of tax liabilities on imported and re-exported tea, resolve the Company's over-supply of tea, and deal with the financial pressures on the Company associated with the Bengal famine.¹² The eventual loss of the American colonies prompted a new focus on the East Indies as an imperial domain.

The gaze shifted from proprietorial Atlantic colonialism to commercial and imperial rule in the East.¹³ All those factors contributed to refocusing the Company from merchant operations supported by maritime and military services to something very different. By 1813, trading opportunities were pursued by free, rather than Company, merchants. The Company had been largely transformed into a professional administration of civil service, judiciary and military. By the early nineteenth century, the Company's transformation diversified career opportunities in the East Indies, but it also constrained private trade and the personal acquisition of plundered wealth.

Patterns of an Encounter

Within the broad sweep of change, Cumbria's involvement in the East Indies manifested three critical patterns. The first was the over-representation of Cumbrians in the East Indies compared to other English counties. The second was the dispersed pattern of Cumbrian origins found among Cumbrians appointed to or licensed by the

¹² B. W. Labaree, *Catalyst for Revolution: The Boston Tea Party* (Massachusetts, Bicentennial Commission Publication, 1973), pp. 5, 9, 11, 17-21.

¹³ A. Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832: National Identity and Local Culture* (Houndsmills, Macmillan Press, 1998), pp. 68-70; P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India and America, c.1750-1783* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 4-12, 373-379.

East India Company. The third pattern was related to the social profile of Cumbrian appointees and licensees to India.

Counties and the East Indies

In the 1960s an analysis of the place-origins of officers in the Bengal military found that, while six percent of the British population had London origins, London origins were found among almost twice that proportion of officers in the Bengal army.¹⁴

Razzell's research reinforced a prevailing view that London was at the centre of the East India Company and, consequently, it was the interests of London merchants that drew the British Isles and the East Indies into a nexus of trade, colonialism and imperialism.

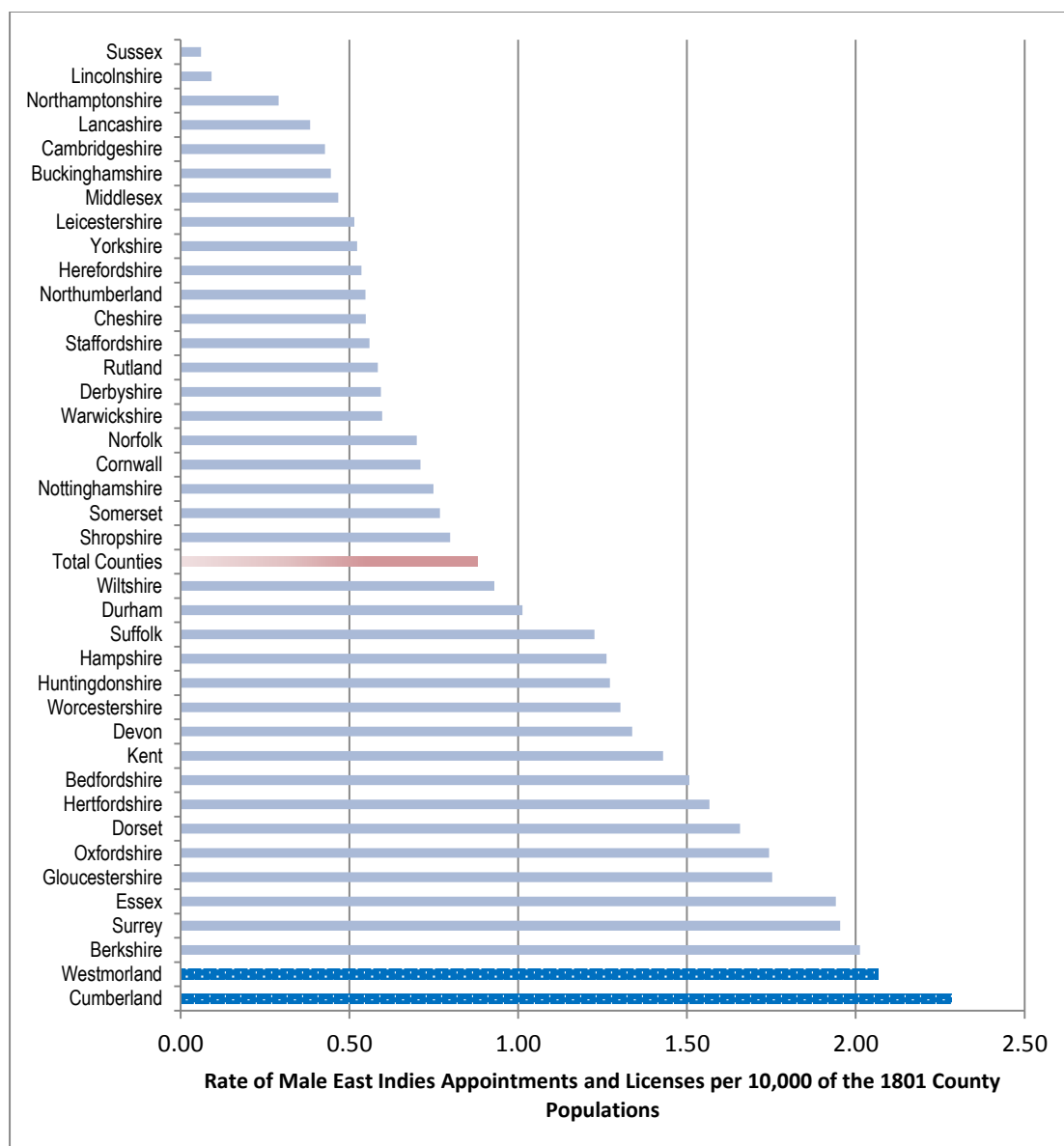
The methodological limitations of Razzell's analysis should have signalled caution. The dataset was limited to officers in the Bengal military. It excluded military appointments to the Madras and Bombay presidencies. It excluded all civil appointments and licences to free merchants in Bengal as well as Madras and Bombay. Razzell's categorisation of origins also problematically used broad regional conglomerations. He conflated counties with very different characteristics. The industrial conurbations of Lancashire and Cheshire, for instance, were amalgamated with the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland.

The British Library India Office Family Search Index provides a more robust basis for analysing county origins and presents a somewhat different picture. The county origins of around 1,600 men appointed or licensed prior to 1830 can be found in the British Library India Office Family Search Index. The rate of East India Company appointment and licensing across all the counties was around 0.88 men per

¹⁴ P. Razzell, 'The Social Origins of the Indian and British Home Army: 1758-1962', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 14, 3 (1963), pp. 248-260.

10,000 of the 1801 population. But, as Figure 2.2 shows, county rates of East Indies appointments and licenses varied considerably.

Figure 2.2: Rate of Male Appointment and Licences to the East Indies Prior to 1804¹⁵



The London-proximate counties of Berkshire, Surrey, Essex, Hertfordshire and Kent all had higher rates than the total counties population rate. However, other London-proximate counties such as Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and Sussex

¹⁵ Sourced from the British Library *India Office Family Search Index* online database accessed 2012 <http://indiafamily.bl.uk/ui/home.aspx>

apparently had very low rates, although arguably Middlesex residents may have been styled as Londoners in the records.

Westmorland and Cumberland had high rates compared to other English counties with 2.07 and 2.28 men per 10,000 of their 1801 populations respectively. The sheer size of the London-proximate county populations compared to the smaller populations of Cumberland and Westmorland meant that men from London-proximate counties made up larger proportions of the English men appointed and licensed to the East Indies. Nevertheless, Cumbrians were over-represented. While Westmorland and Cumberland constituted less than two per cent of the English population in 1801, men from those counties made up four percent of all the East India Company's English appointees and sojourners over the long eighteenth century.¹⁶

That over-representation and the high rates of Company appointments and licences among Cumbrian men have two important implications. First, they suggest that the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies was not simply a local expression of national imperatives. If it was so, the proportion of Company appointments and licences by county would be similar to the proportion of each county's demographic contribution to the national population. Second, it implies that many Cumbrians were exposed to people involved in the East Indies. That conclusion is also suggested by the spatial pattern of the births and baptisms of Cumbrian men appointed or licensed by the East India Company.

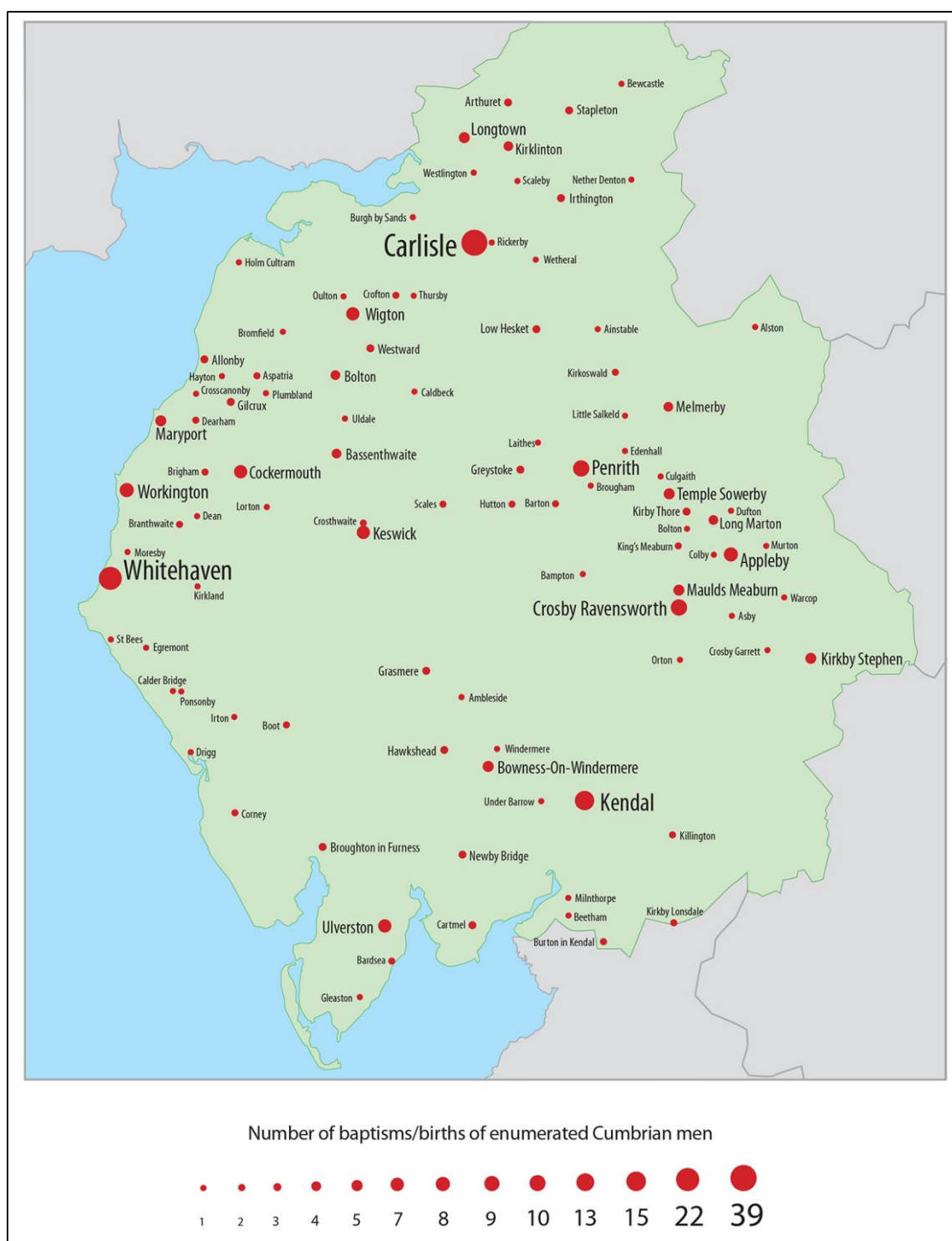
¹⁶ The baseline 1801 population is taken from B. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 30-31; Razzell, 'The Social Origins of the Indian and British Home Army', p. 250.

The spatial patterns of enumerated men's origins

The vast majority of the enumerated Cumbrian men involved in the East Indies were born in Cumbria. They had their origins across almost a hundred Cumbrian towns and villages (Figure 2.3). In some localities, East Indies involvement was dominated by a small set of resident families. For instance, the thirteen men involved in the East Indies and born or baptised in Crosby Ravensworth represented only four family names: Addison, Dent, Wilkinson, and Rigg. The three men from Allonby were all Huddarts. Dalton-in-Furness was represented in the East Indies only by the Ashburners and James Romney. Gilcrux was similarly represented only by the Hall family and Maulds Meaburn by the Dent family. All but one of the men involved in the East Indies from Temple Sowerby were named Atkinson. Newby Bridge's encounter with the East Indies was dominated by the Taylors.

In most places, however, the patterns were much less concentrated and involvement in the East Indies was spread across a number of different families. For instance, in Bassenthwaite, Cartmel, Hawkshead, Bardsea, Barton, Brigham, and Kirkby Thore, each of the enumerated men had different family names. Penrith was similar. In Whitehaven, only a quarter of the men involved in the East Indies shared a family name. There were twenty-five different family names among the thirty-nine enumerated men from Carlisle and its surrounds. Seven different family names were found among the men from Kendal and its surrounds. Two Stanleys were among the Workington men involved in the East Indies but the remainder were from different families.

Figure 2.3: Cumbrian Natal Locations of Enumerated Men Involved in the East Indies



Overall, more than half of the Cumbrian settlements with East Indies connections contributed only a single man to the East Indies. Around a third of the enumerated Cumbrian men had no kinship or familial relationships with other Cumbrian men with East Indies interests. Those spatial patterns of birth and baptismal places indicate that provincial, rather than dynastic, dynamics drove the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies.

British India and East India Company historiography has long portrayed British India as shaped by the succession of fathers and sons over many generations, marriages forged *in* India, and the creation of an Anglo-Indian identity among British official families.¹⁷ A dynastic tendency was certainly evident in a few Cumbrian families, including the Ashburners, Pattensons of Melmerby Hall, the Bellasis family, and Taylors of Newby Bridge. However, it should not be overstated. If the Cumbrian experience of the East Indies was principally driven by dynastic Anglo-Indian families, the births and baptisms of these men could be expected to concentrate around a few locations. Clearly, this was not the case. Indeed, far from a pronounced dynastic tendency, the fathers of around eighty percent of the enumerated Cumbrian men were not themselves involved in the East Indies or the East India Company.

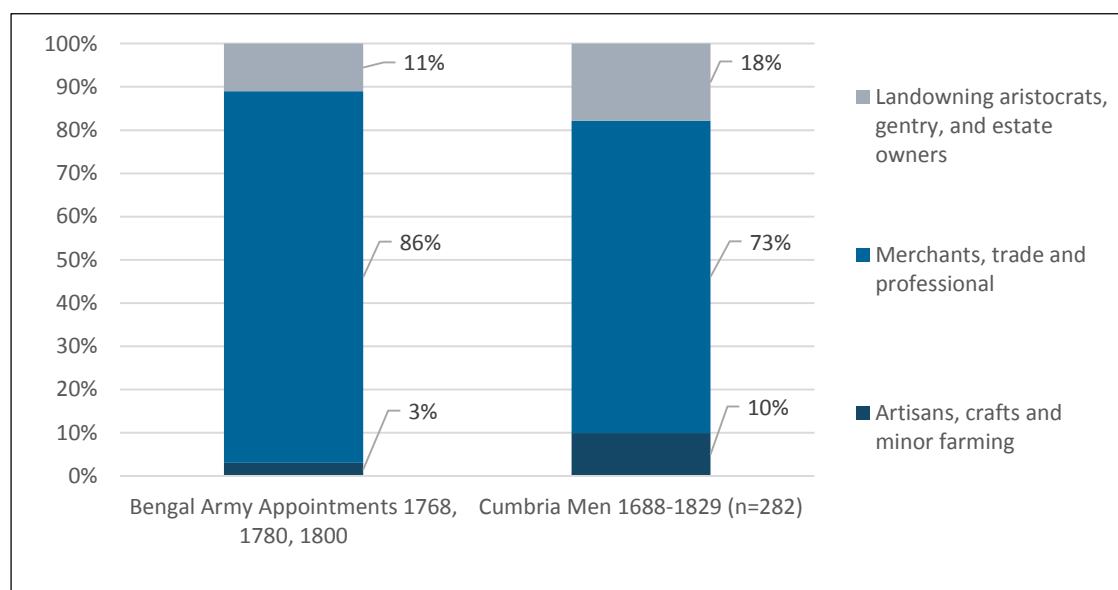
Social rank

The spatial dispersion of Cumbrians' East Indies involvement was matched by social dispersion. It has long been argued that East India Company appointees and licensees had primarily mercantile origins. According to Ghosh, 86 per cent of writers and cadets appointed to the Company's Bengal Presidency in 1768, 1780 and 1800

¹⁷ Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal*, pp. 33-56; Mentz, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work*, pp. 42-46, 215-259; J. G. Parker, *The Directors of the East India Company 1754-1790* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 354f; Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 11-12.

respectively were from merchant, trader or professional families.¹⁸ That profile was somewhat different from that of the Cumbrian men associated with the East Indies. By comparison, only 73 per cent of Cumbrian appointments and men licensed to the East Indies prior to 1830 can be categorised as from merchant, trader or professional families. Around 10 per cent of Cumbrian appointees and licensees were from artisan, craftsman and minor farming families compared to Ghosh's three per cent of appointees to Bengal. Men from gentry and landowning families accounted for 18 per cent of the Cumbrian appointees compared to eleven percent of appointees to the Bengal army (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Social Composition – Bengal Army and Cumbrian East Indies Appointees¹⁹



Those comparisons should be treated with caution. The database of enumerated Cumbrian men developed for this thesis stretches over the long eighteenth century. Ghosh's data were drawn from three periodic snapshots and his treatment of 'upper' class and 'middle' class categories is unclear. Nevertheless, it appears Cumbrians involved in the East Indies were more likely to be of higher or of lower

¹⁸ Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community*, p. 31.

¹⁹ Cumbrian percentage totals to 101% due to rounding.

rank. Certainly, the Lysons' 1816 list of gentlemen's seats in Cumberland show gentry families had strong East Indies associations (Table 2.1).²⁰ All but six of the Lysons' gentlemen had some kin-based involvement in the East Indies in the eighteenth century. Over a quarter of the residents of these 'gentlemen's seats' had at least one close relation (father, son, brother, grandfather, first cousin or uncle) who had served in the East India Company or lived in the East Indies. Four residents on the Lysons' list had lived in the East Indies.

Table 2.1: Lysons' Cumberland Gentlemen & Baronets Seats 1816 and the East Indies

Seats	Lysons' Owners or Occupiers	East Indies Connection
Armathwaite Castle	Robert Sanderson Milbourn, Esq.	Not known
Brayton	Wilfred Lawson, Esq.	Distant kin
Carleton-hall	Rt. Hon. Thomas Wallace.	Kin
Calder Abbey	Miss Senhouse.	Kin
Corby-Castle	Henry Howard, Esq.	Not known
Dalemain	Edward Hasell, Esq.	Kin
Dovenby-hall	Joseph Dykes Ballantine Dykes, Esq.	Kin
Dalehead	Thomas Stanger Leathes, Esq.	Not known
Ewanrigg	John Christian, Esq.	Kin
Hayton-Castle	Mrs. Joliffe (Rev. Isaac Robinson.)	Uncle and kin East India Co
Holmrook	Major Skeffington Lutwidge.	East India Co
Hutton-hall	Occupied by J.O. Yates, Esq.	East India Co
Hutton John	Andrew Hudleston, Esq.	Son in East India Co
Irton-hall	Edmund Lamplugh Irton, Esq.	Brother in East India Co
Isel	The property of Wilfred Lawson, Esq.	Distant kin
Justice-town	Thomas Irwin, Esq.	Son in East India Co
Kirkoswald	Timothy S. Fetherstonhaugh	Brother at India House
Linethwaite	Thomas Hartley, Esq.	Not known
Melmerby	Rev. Thomas Pattenson.	Brothers in East India Co
Mirehouse	John Spedding, Esq.	Brother in East India Co
Moor-park	Joseph Liddell, Esq.	Great Nephew East India Co
Nether-hall	Humphrey Senhouse, Esq.	Kin
Newbiggin-hall	Rev. S. Bateman.	Kin
Ponsonby-hall	Edward Stanley, Esq.	Kin
Rickerby	James Graham, Esq.	East India Co
Salkeld-Lodge	Lt. Col. Samuel Lacy.	Not known
Staffold	Richard Lowthian Ross, Esq.	Not known
Skirwith Abbey	John Orfeur Yates, Esq.	East India Co
Tallantire-hall	William Browne, Esq.	Uncle in East India Co
Walton-hall	William Ponsonby Johnson, Esq.	Father in East India Co
Warwick-hall	Robert Warwick, Esq.	Son in East India Co
Woodside	Executors of the late John Losh, Esq.	Grandson in East India Co
Workington-hall	John Christian Curwen, Esq.	Uncle and kin in East Indies

²⁰ D. Lyson and S. Lyson, *Magna Britannia; being a Concise Topographical Account of the Several Counties of Great Britain – Volume the Fourth: Cumberland* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1816), pp. XCVIII-C.

Like the spatial dispersion of origins among the Cumbrian men involved in the East Indies, the heterogeneity of social rank among Cumbrians in the East Indies suggests that the East Indies penetrated deep into Cumbrian life. Moreover, Cumbria's early fusion between land, commerce, trade and manufacture was evident in many of the Cumbrian families involved in the East Indies. On the Lysons' list, for instance, the gentry Lawson family was connected to other gentry families such as the Curwens, Hudlestons and Musgraves. But they also became connected to the solidly merchant and middling Adderton and Addison families, and, eventually, to the prominent Whitehaven merchant family, the Gales. The Gales' trading operations embraced North America, London and St Petersburg from their base in Whitehaven. The Gales infiltrated gentry families in addition to the Lawsons. Isabella Gale married Henry Curwen of Workington Hall. Robert Gale married Mary Senhouse and in doing so cemented ties to Nether Hall. Through Mary Senhouse, the Gales connected themselves to the Flemings of Rydal. There are numerous examples of a network of marriages conjoining families from different social positions.

The Flemings of Rydal in Westmorland were drawn into marriage with an, albeit rising, statesman family when Sir Daniel Fleming's granddaughter Susannah married Rydal's estate steward, Michael Knott in 1738. Her nephew, the fourth baronet, married Diana Howard, daughter of the fourteenth earl of Suffolk and Berkshire. Her niece, Elizabeth, married Andrew Hudleston of Hutton John, while another niece, Dorothy, married George Stanley of Ponsonby Hall. Susannah made a less socially exalted alliance, but then her early years had been precarious. Nonetheless, in marrying Michael Knott, the builder of Rydal Mount and steward to the Fleming estates, Susannah Fleming made an alliance with a family, which Armitt

describes as ‘the cheerful (and unusual) spectacle of a rural family who rose by steady steps to wealth.’²¹

Armitt goes on to note, most tellingly, that the Knott’s ‘advance to riches and gentility was not by husbandry alone, but by trade, by office or by commerce.’²²

Michael Knott was, at the time of his marriage, already acquiring land beyond the tenements inherited from his father. He was dabbling in charcoal as well as timber. By 1746, Michael Knott was investing in the charcoal and iron industries. He actively supported his children’s marital alliances with families in the developing iron industry in Furness. Knott kin were already involved in the East Indies. Michael’s son, George, returned from the East Indies after Michael Knott had composed his will in 1772. Their close kinsman, John Knott, died in Calcutta.

In essence, Cumbria’s East Indies ventures were built on an existing, structured network between middling and gentry families. The structure of that network can be exposed by examining the connections between kin-nodes which share a mutual relative in the East Indies (Figure 2.5). Kin-nodes are groups of kin sharing the same surname. While there were some enumerated Cumbrian men who shared no related East Indies sojourners with other families or kin, there were eighty-seven interconnected kin-nodes among the 421 enumerated Cumbrian men. Some kin-nodes were connected to only one other kin-node but some were connected to a multiplicity of other kin. The number of shared relations is signified by the size of the symbol associated with each kin name.

²¹ M. L. Armitt, *Rydal* (Kendal, Titus Wilson & Son, 1916), p. 341.

²² Armitt, *Rydal*, p. 341.

The graph displays a dense network of relationships between individuals. The nodes are color-coded and shaped to represent different categories or roles. The connections (edges) are thin grey lines. The layout is circular, with many nodes in the center and others on the periphery. The names of the individuals are written next to their nodes, often rotated to fit the space. The graph is a complex web of interconnected nodes, with many nodes having multiple connections to other nodes.

The Gale, Benn and Hudleston families have the largest symbols in Figure 2.5. The Gale and Benn families respectively shared East Indies-involved male relations with eighteen other extended families. The Hudlestons shared East Indies-involved men with seventeen other extended families, including those in Appendix D. Conversely, families like the Dockers were only connected to a small number of other kin-nodes by way of mutual relatives involved in the East Indies.

Figure 2.5 shows that kin-nodes were clustered within the network of families with shared relatives in the East Indies. Clusters are made up of kin-nodes with a higher probability of being connected to each other than the probability of being connected to other kin-nodes within the network as a whole.²³ Clusters are signalled by kin-nodes sharing a colour and symbol. There were thirteen significant clusters among kin-nodes within a network of families involved in the East Indies. Close examination of these clusters indicates that endogamous practices were prevalent among Cumbrians. That is, families of a particular rank tended to be connected to families of a similar rank.

For most gentry families, the probability was that they shared a kinsman in the East Indies with one or more other gentry families. The cluster of Yates, Hasell, Salmond, Pattenson and Aglionby showed endogamous practices among Cumbria's minor gentry families. Similarly, there were middling family clusters. The most obvious of those was a robust cluster—signified by the light blue squares—involving the middling Stephenson, Winder, Ritson, Farish, Farrer, Pennington of Kendal and Fawcett families. That cluster was attached to the network as a whole by way of the socially and economically fragile Bellasis family.

²³ The clusters are generated by the Girvan-Newman algorithm using NodalEXL. See A. Lancichinetti, and S. Fortunato, 'Community Detection Algorithms: A Comparative Analysis', *Physical Review E*, 80, 1 (2009), p. 056117-1.

The rank endogamy indicated by the clusters within the kin-node network is consistent with a substantial body of research showing that, despite continued controversies around rates of social mobility, English society was marked by constrained movement between ranks in the eighteenth century. At the same time, it is well established that eighteenth century England also allowed some social mobility and there was cultural fluidity around the expression of gentility which drew gentry and middling ranks together.²⁴ Notably the clusters within the network show a pronounced predilection towards ‘bridging’. That is, forming ties between kin-nodes of differing social positions or ranks. That bridging between gentry and middling families existed before, and drove, East Indies ventures.

The bridging of land, commercial and professional ranks was particularly evident in the two largest clusters. One of those large clusters—denoted by the dark green diamonds—shows that the gentry Hudlestons were conjoined to the gentry Senhouses and the prominent gentry Flemings of Rydal, Westmorland. But within the midst of that cluster lay the solidly merchant Gales and the middling Knotts. The other large cluster—denoted by the blue ovals—shows that the gentry Stanley family was closely connected to the gentry Fletchers, Irtons and Christians as well as a set of more socially ambiguous families including the Benns, with their connections to the prominent Whitehaven merchant and tobacco importer, Timothy Nicolson,²⁵ and the Law family. Within that cluster were also some solidly middling families based in Carlisle and Furness such as the Hodgsons, Taylors and Fells.

²⁴ G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Routledge, 2007), pp. 80-85; F. M. L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture: Britain 1780-1980* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.52-53; H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 148-152; J. Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688-1783* (2nd Edition, London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), pp. 94f.

²⁵ J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland 1660-1760* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 112.

Continuities and Contrasts in Biographical Narratives

The patterns presented in the previous section suggest that pursuing success in the East Indies was a shared experience across Cumbria's gentry and middling families, both merchant and professional. At the same time, the long eighteenth century saw significant changes in Cumbria, the East India Company, the British Isles and its position within an expanding global world. The six biographical narratives presented in this section are designed to illuminate how temporal conditions, place and social origins played out for a selected set of individuals.

These short narratives represent a 'biographical turn' in so far as they place individual experiences and trajectories at the centre of inquiry. These individuals and their families are not treated as pre-determined by abstract social, economic or political processes. Nor are the narratives about individuals' socio-psychological development. Rather they illustrate the way experiences, networks, attachment, identity, place and aspiration can mesh in different ways generating sometimes similar and sometimes different outcomes.

The narratives are presented chronologically and stretch across the long eighteenth century (Figure 2.6), starting with the middling Edward Stephenson, whose career began as the East India Company was re-consolidating a single monopoly. His biography is followed by that of Catherine Holme, who, as daughter and wife, encountered the East Indies in the period immediately after Plassey. Thomas Cust, a fortune seeker from a middling family, like Catherine Holme, pursued success in the post-Plassey India. Richard Ecroyd, as a posthumous, probably mixed-race, son of a Cumbrian ship's surgeon shows both the attenuation and the persistence of Cumbrian identity in the East Indies late in the eighteenth century. Two men, the middling

Montagu Ainslie and gentry Andrew Hudleston, started their Company careers early in the nineteenth century when the Company turned from trade to taxation and rule.

Figure 2.6: Six Cumbrian Sojourners in the East Indies

	Edward Stephenson	Catherine Holme	Thomas Cust	Richard Ecroyd	Montagu Ainslie	Andrew F. Hudleston
1690	Born Keswick 1691					
1700	India 1708					
1710						
1720	Leaves India 1729					
1730		Born Carlisle 1736				
1740						
1750		India 1758	Born Penrith 1752			
1760	Died 1768 Buried Keswick	India 1764	India 1768	Born Calcutta 1766		
1770		Died Surrey 1771		Educated England 1775		
1780				Returns to India 1784		
1790			Died 1795 Barrackpore	Died Bengal 1797	Born Kendal 1792	Born 1795 Cumberland
1800					India writer 1807	India writer 1812
1810						
1820						Leave in Cumbria 1822
1830					Returns to Cumbria 1835	Leave and return to Cumbria
1840						
1850						
1860						Buried Greystoke 1861
1870						
1880					Died Cumbria 1884	

Edward Stephenson (1691-1768)

Edward Stephenson, Esq
Late Governor of Bengal
OB^T SEPT^R 7th 1768 ÆTAT 77
– Memorial Crosthwaite
Church, Keswick.

Edward Stephenson lies as if an aristocrat before the altar of Crosthwaite Church at Keswick. His merchant brother and his nephew are memorialised nearby (Plate 2.1). Both he and his brother had long Company careers in India. They were part of a network of Cumbrian families involved in global trade in the early part of the eighteenth century.



Plate 2.1: Governor of Bengal at Crosthwaite Church, Keswick

Source: The author

Stephenson was possibly descended from a Whitehaven family involved in sea trade and the rope industry. His father was almost certainly providing wood and wine to the churchwardens at Keswick in the early 1700s. He married into another Cumbrian merchant family, the Winders of Lorton, (Appendix E).

Edward was seventeen years old when he was sent to India, sponsored by his brother-in-law, Jonathan Winder, then a London merchant and active in merging the two East India Company monopolies.²⁶ Winder himself had been a merchant to Calcutta, but unlike his nephew Edward, was a very experienced merchant at the time

²⁶ J. J. Fisher Crosthwaite, 'Some of the Old Families in the Parish of Crosthwaite', *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Association Advancement of Literature and Science*, 10 (1884-85), pp. 19-22; C. R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal. Being the Bengal Public Consultations for the First Half of the Eighteenth Century. Vol. II, Part II: The Surman Embassy* (Calcutta, The Bengal Secretariat Book Deposit, 1911), pp. xi-xv; J. W. Kaye, 'Governor's House Keswick', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, LXVI (1966), pp. 339.

of his Company appointment. The Winders were also trading in Barcelona as well as the West Indies and North Africa from the late seventeenth century.²⁷

By 1714 Edward was appointed to the three-man Company delegation to Delhi in search of commercial privileges, which resulted in the firman of 1717.²⁸ For his success in Delhi, Edward was awarded £800 and promoted to a succession of factories. Appointed to the Bengal Council in 1720, he was second in Council by 1728. The death of Henry Frankland, the Bengal governor, saw Stephenson's appointment as governor. His governorship lasted less than two days. Unknown in Calcutta, the Company's Court of Directors had replaced Frankland with John Deane who arrived in Calcutta within two days of Stephenson's succession. Stephenson returned to his previous position. He resigned and returned to England the following year.²⁹

Like all East India Company servants, Stephenson was involved in private trade while in India. It was built on a wider familial trading network. His Winder cousins were actively trading to and from Calcutta. In 1720 Samuel Winder sought to export to the East Indies three table clocks, a box of glasses and mathematical instruments valued at sixty pounds, as a 'a separate venture'.³⁰ The Winders maintained a trading presence in Barcelona.³¹ Diverse and extensive trading ventures were typical of Cumbrian merchants involved in the East Indies at the time. In addition to the Stephensons and the Winders, there were too the Braddylls based near Ulverston. Long represented in the East India Company's operations and governance

²⁷ F. A. Winder, 'The Winders of Lorton', *Transactions CWAAS*, Old Series XII (1893), pp. 439-457; F. A. Winder, 'Further Notes on the Winders of Lorton', *Transactions CWAAS*, Old Series XV (1898), pp. 229-238.

²⁸ Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, pp. xii-xiii.

²⁹ Kaye, 'Governor's House Keswick', pp. 341-342.

³⁰ IOR/E/1/12 ff. 52-52v [20 Jan 1721] – Letter 33 Samuel Winder to the Court requesting permission to ship out table clocks, glasses and mathematical instruments as part of his private allowance.

³¹ Winder, 'Further Notes', pp. 229-238.

(Appendix F), in 1709, Roger Braddyll of Conishead could ship to the Cumbrian Gulston Addison in Madras twelve chests of wine, twenty-four gallons of Florentine oil, twelve dozen gallons of olives, sixteen dozen gallons of elder vinegar, six hams, six kegs of sturgeon and two barrels of herring.³²

Stephenson's trading ventures made him a wealthy man. He acquired houses in London, and Essex. He built in Keswick and acquired Holme Cultram, Scaleby Castle, Stonegarethside Hall,³³ and the Royal Oak hotel.³⁴ He was reputed to have purchased in Cumbria and elsewhere in the British Isles land 'sufficient to yield him an annual income of £1,245' by 1750.³⁵ Edward had enough economic power to worry the Lowthers and was a provider of credit to merchants and gentry in Cumbria at a time when there were few other substantial lenders.³⁶

Stephenson epitomised the aspirations of fortune seekers in the East Indies. He, and indeed, his brother and Winder cousin all survived India, returned to the British Isles and lived long lives. Edward Stephenson died without children and his wealth passed first to his brother, John, and then to Rowland Stephenson of Scaleby Castle, one of the promoters of the Keswick regattas in the latter part of the eighteenth century.³⁷ He not only retained interests in Cumbria, but his East Indian fortune fuelled the economic, social and political influence of a network of Cumbrian middling families, including the prominent India merchant and shipping magnates, the Fawcetts, well into the nineteenth century.

³² IOR E 1/11 ff. 423-424 [9 December 1709] – Letter 240 Roger Braddyll to Thomas Woolley requesting permission to send several chests of wine to Governor Gulston Addison at Madras.

³³ Kaye, 'Governor's House Keswick', p. 344.

³⁴ Fisher Crosthwaite, 'Some of the Old Families in the Parish of Crosthwaite', p. 21.

³⁵ J. V. Beckett, 'English Landownership in the Later Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: The Debate and the Problems', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 30, 4 (November, 1977), p. 571.

³⁶ Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco*, pp. 207-208.

³⁷ A. Hankinson, *The Regatta Men* (Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1988).

Edward Stephenson was of middling origin. He died a nabob. He acquired land in Cumbria and he built himself a large house in Keswick. His achievement was signalled by its styling as the 'Governor's House'. Some suggest that the fields outside Keswick known as the Howrahs referred to Stephenson's residence in Bengal.³⁸ The regalia of his success included the use of esquire and the prominent use of arms on his monumental slab. His burial in Keswick signalled simultaneously his deep attachment to Cumbria and the Indian pathway to his wealth and influence. There was no attempt here to acquire the persona of longstanding Cumbrian gentry. His success was referenced directly to trade and commercial ventures.

Catherine Holme – (Mrs William Brightwell Sumner) (1736-1771)

Edward Stephenson was a nabob before the term became almost universally pejorative. When Catherine Holme returned from India, the nabob was increasingly the subject of envy, anxiety and ridicule. Nabobinas, the wives and daughters of nabobs, were perhaps doubly stigmatised, living as they did on the margins of a very male world and making fortunes through their connections to already suspect men.³⁹ Her memorial at East Clandon was perhaps, then, a testimonial designed to redress a prevailing public discourse:

Those exemplary virtues which as a daughter, wife, parent and friend distinguished and endeared her living are worthy of remembrance and imitation.⁴⁰

Catherine Holme travelled at least twice to India. First as an unmarried daughter in the company of her widowed father and brother, and, second, returning to India after a brief retreat in the British Isles. Her father, John Holme of The Hill,

³⁸ Kaye, 'Governor's House Keswick', p. 345.

³⁹ T. W. Nechtman, 'Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Women's History*, 18, 4 (Winter 2006), pp. 8-30.

⁴⁰ Church of St Thomas of Canterbury, Monumental Inscriptions, http://www.eastclandon.org.uk/PDF-Files/Monumental%20inscriptions_EC%20website.pdf.

Dalston was a Carlisle attorney but also a minor gentry landowner. His first sojourn in the East Indies had allowed him to return to Cumbria and marry the well-connected Catharine Brisco of Crofton Hill (Appendix G). They had two children; Catherine and John who was educated with John Smith of Carlisle in ‘Writing, Arithmetick and Merchant Accompts’ and appointed as a Company writer around 1760.⁴¹ In 1764, John Holme returned to Calcutta with his children and became Notary Public and later Registrar of the Mayor’s Court in Calcutta. Catherine was already married and a mother. She had also sojourned in the East Indies before. Her first child to William Brightwell Sumner was born in Calcutta in 1758.⁴² Two children followed before the Sumners returned to England around 1762. Her children were painted in England by Zoffany around 1764 (Plate 2.2).⁴³



Plate 2.2 Sumner Children c. 1764 by Zoffany

Source: The Athenaeum <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=204070>

⁴¹ IOR J/1/3 f.216 and J/1/4 f.44.

⁴² IOR N/1/2 f.27

⁴³ <http://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/detail.php?ID=204070>.

It was Clive who persuaded William Sumner back to Calcutta. Clive also accompanied Catherine on the voyage back to Calcutta in 1764. It was a tedious, ill-humoured journey. Clive complained of Catherine.

To give you a Specimen of this Lady's Natural Abilities, she gave us to understand that she understood Music and could play upon the Harpsichord & to convince Us of this she has been playing two hum drum Tunes for four Hours every day since she has been on Board (Sunday excepted) without the least Variation or Improvement.⁴⁴

Catherine gave birth to a short lived son on arrival in Calcutta,⁴⁵ and her husband's career did not prosper, although his coffers did. He fell out with Clive who, suddenly anxious of his reputation in London, sought to distance himself from the purchasing and price-setting cartel, the Society of Trade, designed and managed by Sumner. Having encouraged him back to Calcutta and appointed him second in Council, Clive then persuaded Sumner to resign.⁴⁶

The Society of Trade generated Sumner around £23,000 in two years.⁴⁷ Overall, Henry Verelst suggested Sumner accumulated £90,000 in India.⁴⁸ Catherine Sumner was transformed from the provincial daughter of an ambitious father straddling the middling ranks and the minor gentry into a nabobina.⁴⁹ Like all nabobs, her husband successfully conformed to the eighteenth century cultural aspiration of wealth but strained the boundaries of socially legitimate, and at times legal, means to achieve it. When the Sumners returned to England they acquired Hatchlands, Surrey. It was an ostentatious signal of success. Proximate to London, its interiors were

⁴⁴ G. Forrest, *Life of Lord Clive* (London, Gassell and Company, 1918), p. 248.

⁴⁵ IOR N/1/2 ff. 61-62.

⁴⁶ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 169.

⁴⁷ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 131-133.

⁴⁸ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 131-133, 237.

⁴⁹ Nechtman, 'Nabobinas', pp. 8-30; T. W. Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41, 1 (2007), pp. 71-86.

designed by Robert Adam,⁵⁰ and it had the aura of its previous owner, that exemplar of British heroism, Edward Boscawen.⁵¹ Catherine died the following year.

Superficially, Catherine's trajectory appears entirely different to that of Edward Stephenson's. There were, however, dimensions that bound them together. Both demonstrated to ambitious Cumbrians at home that the East Indies could be a pathway to success. The size of Catherine and William's fortune was probably widely known in Cumbria. Henry Verelst's secretary was the Cumbrian John Knott. Knott's cousin and future brother-in-law was George Knott, a lieutenant in the Bengal army. Also in the Bengal army were Catherine's cousins, Horton and William, the Westmerians Thomas Pearson and John Stables, and William Gawith. In the civilian establishment, there were from Kendal Francis Drinkel and Richard Ecroyd. There were also John Johnson of Whitehaven and Ewan Law, the son of the Bishop of Carlisle and Mary Christian of Unerigg Hall.⁵² The Cumbrian East Indiaman officers, Henry Fletcher and John Orfeur Yates, were part of the Calcutta circuit at the time.

Clive's letters mean that Catherine is destined to be characterised as pretentious, vulgar and 'troublesome'.⁵³ Yet she followed the marital patterns and practices of her family which was characterised by forming marital connections with families of wealth, status or influence. Her mother's family, the Briscos or Briscoes, were longstanding gentry and assiduously contracted marriages with both gentry and merchant families.⁵⁴ Catherine Holme's maternal grandmother was a Musgrave, an

⁵⁰ E. Harris, *The Country Houses of Robert Adam: From the Archives of Country Life* (London, Aurum Press, 2007), pp. 24-27.

⁵¹ 'G. H Sumner', *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 10 (1838), pp. 326-327.

⁵² R. G. Thorne, LAW, Ewan (1747-1829), of Lower Brook Street, Mdx. and Horsted Place, Little Horsted, Suss. in R. G. Thorne (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (1986) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/law-ewan-1747-1829>.

⁵³ Forrest, *Life of Lord Clive*, p. 253.

⁵⁴ C. R. Hudleston and R. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry: With a Supplement to an Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* (Kendal, CWAAS, 1978), pp. 37f.

aunt married Sir Christopher Musgrave of Edenhall,⁵⁵ and another married into the Hiltons or Hyltons.⁵⁶ Through a tangle of marriages, they were also connected to the Morlands of Capplethwaite Hall.⁵⁷

Like the Stephenson network of kin, all those families were involved in global trade. The Musgraves were early supporters of the new, second East India Company.⁵⁸ The Morlands were involved in the sugar trade with Barbados and became part of the Kendal elite.⁵⁹ The Briscos also had West Indies interests and received £10,600 compensation after the abolition of slavery.⁶⁰ The network of Musgrave, Morland, Holme and Brisco kin bridged Cumbria and the East Indies for much of the long eighteenth century.

In the context of her family's marital strategies and material ambitions, Catherine was almost certainly a success. William Brightwell Sumner may have failed in his quest to succeed Clive in Bengal, but great wealth was a great healer. When Sumner died in Bath in 1796, he was described as a 'gentleman of great respectability' who provided 'distinguished service' on the Council of the Bengal Presidency.⁶¹ Whiffs of corruption and plunder had dissipated. If she had lived, Catherine would have shared in that distinction. Unlike, Edward Stephenson, however, East Indies wealth drew Catherine Holme away from Cumbria. She had inherited her father's

⁵⁵ Hudleston and Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry*, pp. 237f.

⁵⁶ Hudleston and Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry*, pp. 159f.

⁵⁷ R. S. Boumphrey, C. R. Hudleston, and J. Hughes, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* (Kendal, Lake District Museum Trust and CWAAS, 1975), pp. 209f.

⁵⁸ E. Cruickshanks and R. Harrison, MUSGRAVE, Sir Christopher, 4th Bt. (c.1631-1704), of Edenhall, Cumberland in D Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, and S. Handley (eds.) *History of Parliament* (1802) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/musgrave-sir-christopher-1688-1736>.

⁵⁹ S. Smith, 'The Provenance of Joseph Symson's Letter Book (1711-20)', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, III (2003), pp. 157-168.

⁶⁰ *Legacy of British Slave Ownership Database*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25598>.

⁶¹ 'Oxford, June 25', *Oxford Journal*, 4 June 1796.

Cumbrian estate, but it was allowed to fall into disrepair and was eventually sold to another East Indies sojourner who had returned to Cumbria.

Thomas Cust (1752-1795)

If Catherine Holme realised the wealth generating opportunities presented by the East Indies, Thomas Cust did precisely the opposite. If Edward Stephenson provided an exemplar of aspirations fulfilled, Thomas demonstrated that the encounter with the East Indies could be marked by death and disrepute.⁶²

Thomas Cust was appointed as a military cadet to the Bengal Presidency around 1768. He rapidly acquired a commission owing, according to his mother, to their good friends, probably Catherine Holme's brother or father.⁶³ But Thomas' career thereafter was slow. He was still a captain in the Bengal Native Infantry at his death in 1795.⁶⁴ He died at Barrackpore after returning from extended sick leave at the Cape of Good Hope. His estate was complex. It took many years to establish that he had little capital after his extensive debts were paid. Thomas illegally left entailed property to illegitimate children, seeding an extended battle between his brother and his children's trustees, as well as resentments that lasted well into the 1870s.⁶⁵ There were liabilities to four native women and eight surviving mixed-race children (Appendix H). Thomas' brother, Richard, and his mother took care of a succession of Thomas' children. By 1794, Susan, Richard, Charles, and possibly William, were

⁶² Letter from Charlotte Crackenthorpe, Newbiggin Hall, to Richard Cust London, 3 May 1796, CAS DCART/C11/44iR.

⁶³ A draught in favour of a Mr Holme for just over £173 had been given to Thomas when he left for India. Letter Elizabeth Cust to her son Thomas Cust, India, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

⁶⁴ V. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 Vol. 1* (Reprint, Eastbourne, A Naval and Military Press, 1927), p. 486.

⁶⁵ IOR L/AG/34/29/9 f. 62; IOR L/AG/34/27/19 f.57; Letter Robert Mounsey to Richard Cust, 10 August 1796, CAS DCART C11/51xxiiiR.

resident in England. The remaining children, Charlotte, Elizabeth, Jane and Thomas were despatched to England a year after their father's death in 1797.⁶⁶

Thomas borrowed from whomever he could convince to lend to him, including the mothers of his children,⁶⁷ his younger brother, friends, fellow Cumbrians, colleagues and strangers. Peremptory letters to his mother demanded she honour various bills including £140 in 1775,⁶⁸ £80 in June 1776 and £80 the following month.⁶⁹ Strained financially, in April 1776, Elizabeth Cust refused a bill of £140 and another in September of £23.⁷⁰ A bill of £80 remained unpaid in November 1776.⁷¹ Claims on his mother stopped after she refused a bill of Lady Hay of Pitfour's son in 1777, but Thomas continued to borrow. His Crackenthorpe relatives were repaid £200 in 1795.⁷² A substantial twelve-month loan contracted in 1787 from James Graham of Rickerby, Carlisle,⁷³ was eventually repaid from his estate in 1804.⁷⁴

Cutting the costs of the children's education was a preoccupation of Thomas' agents both before and after his death. The Mounseys demanded that Richard remove the boys from Dr Burney's school in London and send them north for an education not exceeding £25 annually each for their entire 'Board, Cloathes and Learning'.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ Letter John Palling, Calcutta, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 8 January 1797, CAS DCART C11/55fR.

⁶⁷ Inventory of Thomas Cust's account with John Palling, Calcutta audited accounts 1800, CAS DCART C11/61/19b.

⁶⁸ Letter Thomas Cust, Calcutta, to his mother Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, 15 June 1775, CAS DCART/11/42ii.

⁶⁹ Letter Thomas Cust, Calcutta, to his mother Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, 9 July 1776, CAS DCART/11/42viii V.

⁷⁰ Letter Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to John Watson, 1 September 1776, CAS DCART/11/42ix R.

⁷¹ Letter Kenneth MacKenzie, London, to Elizabeth Cust, 19 November 1776, CAS DCART /11/42xiR.

⁷² Letter Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament St, London, 12 August 1795, CAS DCART C11/51viiR.

⁷³ Thomas Cust to James Graham, bond, Calcutta, 30 June 1787, DCART C11/54cm.

⁷⁴ A lengthy correspondence between Richard Cust, Robert Mounsey in Carlisle, James Graham at Barrock Lodge and others over the period 1803-1804 is in CAS DCART C11/54ceR, C11/54ceV, C11/54chR, C11/54chV, C11/54clR, C11/54ck, C11/54ciV, C11/54cnR.

⁷⁵ Letters G and R Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 21 July 1794 and 26 July 1794, CAS DCART C11/51iiR and CAS DCART C11/51iiiR, Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust Parliament street, London, 13 March 1795, CAS DCART C11/51vR; Letter Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 25 July 1795, CAS DCART C11/51viR.

Thomas also sucked cash out of his Cumbrian estates. His agent wrote to one of his tenants that Thomas had no intention to ‘interfere in the management of [the] Estate, but [required] his moiety of the rents and Profits from time to time becoming due.’⁷⁶ When Thomas unilaterally decided to sell the Woodside estate in Westmorland, his brother was forced to purchase it at auction at a price thought to be inflated.⁷⁷ It was rumoured that Thomas would break the Great Smeaton entail so the property could be sold.⁷⁸ In 1794, Mounsey recommended that the Rockliff Tithes be sold to pay off a £750 mortgage.⁷⁹

Thomas’ very conspicuous consumption explains his need for cash. Thomas’ inventory included numerous neck cloths, shirts, breeches of all sorts, ten pairs of silk stockings, eight dressing gowns, a variety of military and civilian coats, household goods and furniture, glassware, silver domestic ware, silver and gold uniform accoutrements, and a variety of gold pieces including watches, seals, buckles and buttons. He had books, sporting equipment, musical instruments, carpets, liquor, pistols, a three-foot telescope, an opera glass, portable writing table, candlesticks, and goats. Most extravagantly, in addition to his horse and palanquin, he owned an eight oared budgerow ‘built of the best materials ... [with] two bedrooms one 12 feet by 10 feet the other 8 by 6.’⁸⁰ Perhaps that display of wealth encouraged a number of dubious suitors to pursue his daughter Susan when she returned to Calcutta:

⁷⁶ Letter G and R Mounsey, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Great Smeaton, 29 March 1791, CAS DCART C11/55aR.

⁷⁷ Purchase and contract by Edward Graves agent for Richard Cust, 12 March 1793, CAS DCART C11/57eR.

⁷⁸ Letter Robert Ellis, Bolton, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 2 May 1793, CAS DCART C11/54aR.

⁷⁹ Letter Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 12 August 1795, CAS DCART C11/51viiR.

⁸⁰ IOR L/AG/34/27/18 f70.

One being a Gambler, who I judge had an Eye to Property, supposing it 10 Times more than ever I fear can be realized, the other a young Man of too high Rank in Society to have, as by his Conduct he evinced, any other design that against her Honor.⁸¹

There was no fortune. John Palling, Thomas' agent in Calcutta, reported to the Mounseys and Richard Cust that there was probably no more than £800 to remit to England.⁸² The Mounseys tried to persuade Richard that entailed property should be given to Thomas' illegitimate nieces and nephews.⁸³ He refused. In response they threatened to go to Chancery unless Richard took on the trust, which he reluctantly did.⁸⁴

Elizabeth Cust's investment in her son's East Indies career never saw the return for which she hoped. Ultimately it was the younger son, apprenticed to the stationer's trade in London, not the son in the East Indies, who provided for Elizabeth Cust's old age. Thomas never returned to Cumbria although he despatched his mixed-race children there. His younger brother, Richard, did return to Carlisle. He styled himself 'esquire'.⁸⁵ The value of Richard's spinster daughter's estate in 1870 at <£25,000 was a measure of his success.⁸⁶ The deaths and distress of his children were a measure of Thomas' failure. Susan and Charlotte died of consumption, Susan at sea

⁸¹ Letter John Palling, Calcutta, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 30 August 1798, CAS DCART C11/60/17R.

⁸² Letter John Palling, Calcutta, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 30 August 1798, CAS DCART C11/60/17R.

⁸³ Letter Robert Ellis to Mr Frankland, 17 April 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxxviiiR.

⁸⁴ Letter Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 10 August 1796, CAS DCART C11/51xxiiiR; Letter Robert Ellis, Bolton, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 10 October 1796, DCART C11/47ixR. Letter Robert Mounsey Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 6 August 1797, CAS DCART C11/51xxxR; Letter Richard Cust to Robert Mounsey, 31 October 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxviiR; Letter Robert Mounsey Carlisle, to Richard Cust, Parliament street, London, 4 November 1797, CAS DCART C11/51xxxiiiR; Letter Robert Ellis to Robert Mounsey, 20 November 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxviiiR; Letter Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Robert Ellis, Bolton, 10 December 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxxiR; Draft letter Richard Cust to Robert Mounsey, 16 December 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxxivR; Letter Robert Mounsey to Richard Cust, 17 April 1798, CAS DCART C11/49x; Letter Robert Mounsey to Richard Cust, Parliament street, 13 July 1798, CAS DCART C11/51xIR.

⁸⁵ *U.K. and U.S. Directories, 1680-1830.*

⁸⁶ PPR, *National Probate Calendar*, 1870.

returning from India and Charlotte in Carlisle. Elizabeth and Jane were apprenticed as milliners in Newcastle and married tradesmen.⁸⁷

Richard purchased army commissions for the surviving boys. The eldest boy, Richard, was surprisingly successful in the 1820s and 1830s, a period in which it was increasingly difficult for mixed-race children.⁸⁸ He was described as of ‘amiable disposition, mildness of manners and sincerity’ when he died young.⁸⁹ His younger half-brother, Charles, borrowed extensively and eventually disappeared.⁹⁰ Thomas, the youngest boy, married, lost his wife and child, sold his army commission, re-joined as a private and was subsequently dismissed as ‘unfit’.⁹¹ He was imprisoned for three months at York and sentenced to death for cattle stealing.⁹² The sentence was commuted. In August 1827, he arrived in Sydney, deported for stealing from a counting house.⁹³ Success, then, was not the only story associated with the Cumbrian East Indies encounter.

The East Indies presented risks and ambivalences, not least of which were mixed-race children. The latter were by no means rejected by Thomas’ mother or brother. Richard provided for his mixed race nieces and nephews, albeit reluctantly

⁸⁷ Statutory declaration R. H. Clutterbuck, 8 February 1879 and associated papers CAS DCART C11/32/64.

⁸⁸ C. Hawes, *Poor Relations: The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India 1773-1833* (Richmond, Curzon Press, 1996), pp. 62f.

⁸⁹ S. Hibbert, J. Palmer, W. Whatton, and J. Greswell, *History of the Foundations in Manchester of Christ's College, Chetham's Hospital, and the Free Grammar School*, vol. 2 (London, William Pickering, 1834), p. 251.

⁹⁰ Undated note CAS DCART C11/32/78; Letter Richard Cust, Malta, to his uncle Richard Cust, 6 January 1802, DCART C11/54bqR and V.

⁹¹ Undated note CAS DCART C11/32/81.

⁹² *England and Wales, Criminal Registers, 1791-1892* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2009. Original data: Home Office: Criminal Registers, Middlesex and Home Office: Criminal Registers, England and Wales; Records created or inherited by the Home Office, Ministry of Home Security, and related bodies, Series HO 26 and HO 27; The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Kew, Surrey, England., HO 27(28) p. 327; HO 27(30) p. 239; HO 27(34) p. 361.

⁹³ *New South Wales Convicts Indents 1788-1842*, State Archives New South Wales Series: NRS 12188 Item: [4/4012] Microfiche: 665, online database.

and often clumsily. Their presence had significant and on-going repercussions for him which were emotional as well as material. Richard felt his brother's agents manipulated the children and was incensed when accused of profligately sending his servant with the children as they travelled to the Mounseys in Carlisle. He replied to those accusations angrily:

As [my servant] had been a short time used to the children and seemed fond of them, I therefore thought her the properest person to attend them, your authority therefore I did not think necessary to obtain, and consequently did not pay you the compliment to consult you upon the Business, well judging that 4 young Children such as they are could not travel 300 miles unattended by any person. Common Humanity one should think would teach us this, but you it appears, think otherwise...⁹⁴

He was almost certainly irritated when Charlotte Crackenthorpe congratulated him on sending Susan to her father in Calcutta:

I think you be very happy that you had sent out Susan [to India] ... poor thing she will have a melancholy arrival but by your account she is much properer for the East than England. I mean her Ideas.⁹⁵

He was sensitive to implied criticism of the children's race and refused a request by relatives to change the children's surnames.⁹⁶ But he, especially after his eldest nephew's death, became resentfully distanced from the children and they, equally resentful and distressed, distanced from him. Their deaths, the shadows of disrepute, social decline and marginalisation presented a stark contrast to Richard's successful pursuit of Cumbrian respectability and gentility.

⁹⁴ Draft letter Richard Cust to Robert Mounsey, 16 December 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxxivR.

⁹⁵ Letter from Charlotte Crackenthorpe, Newbiggin Hall, to Richard Cust London, 3 May 1796, CAS DCART /C11/44iR

⁹⁶ Letter Richard Cust, 23 April 1799, CAS DCART C11/52gV.

Richard Ecroyd (1766-1797)

A year after Thomas Cust's death, the Calcutta-born Richard Ecroyd was attempting to close the gulf between his life in India and his Cumbrian relatives. He wrote from Moorshedabad to an aunt that he was searching for a Cumbrian wife.

I should look out for a little Quaker wife – nor should I study her Wealth or Beauty; but her Goodness of Heart and Discretion ... my sole Idea or prospect which I form to myself of future happiness is to close my life (after a total separation thus long) in the Centre of my Father's family.⁹⁷

Whether this reflected material opportunism or psychological yearning cannot be established. But Richard had made contact with his father's family only after a failed attempt in 1791 to get Warren Hastings to find him 'some fixed Employ in which I may earn my Bread, either in Bengal or Europe.'⁹⁸

Richard is an elusive figure. He was unnamed, sometimes unacknowledged, in family pedigrees.⁹⁹ Traces of his life are found in his father's will and, primarily, Richard's six letters to his widowed aunt Deborah Ecroyd. He was born posthumously in 1766 to Maria Seniour and named after his father. His parents were unmarried.¹⁰⁰ He was his father's second child. The surgeon Richard Ecroyd senior already had a child by a native woman, Manoo.¹⁰¹

Richard Ecroyd senior was the son of a Lancashire apothecary whose elder brother was a Kendal apothecary and surgeon. Richard senior's sister-in-law was the daughter of Dr Rotheram, a member of Kendal's middling, urban and non-conformist elite. Richard senior's niece married the Kendal surgeon and apothecary, John Claxton. Their children were involved in the slave trade and contributed to its

⁹⁷ Letter Richard Ecroyd junior, Moorshedabad, to his aunt Deborah Ecroyd, Kendal, 18 June 1796, CAS WDFA 2/1/37.

⁹⁸ BL Add MS 29172 f. 362 - Letter Richard Ecroyd junior to Warren Hastings, 1791.

⁹⁹ Ecroyd genealogical notes and correspondence, CAS WDFA 2/4/46.

¹⁰⁰ Letter Richard Ecroyd junior, Calcutta, to Deborah Ecroyd (nee Davies), Atherstone, Warwickshire, 20 March 1793, CAS WDFA 2/1/37.

¹⁰¹ Will of Richard Ecroyd, National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 921.

abolition.¹⁰² Notably the East Indiaman, *Royal George*, to which Richard senior was appointed as an East Indiaman surgeon, continued on to a slaving voyage after Ecroyd had disembarked in Calcutta.¹⁰³

From about 1764, Richard senior was living in Calcutta. He died there in August 1765.¹⁰⁴ He left 400 rupees to the mother of the pregnant Maria. One thousand rupees was set aside for Maria if she should prove not to be pregnant. £1,000 was set aside for his expected child. Richard Barwell, known for his sexual relations with multiple women and one of the wealthiest nabobs in Calcutta, was appointed the child's guardian.¹⁰⁵ Richard junior was not, then, left unsupported although he claimed that he thought himself 'the only solitary one of the Name' until 'joyful tidings of' his aunt in Cumbria.¹⁰⁶

Richard's version of his detachment from Cumbria seems disingenuous. It appears that neither Richard junior nor his relatives were keen to contact each other, although Richard senior's will indicates that they must have at least known of each other. In Cumbria there may have been discomfort about his illegitimacy and, possibly, his race. Richard claims his mother to be French, descended, he writes grandly, from the Comte de Flandres.¹⁰⁷ But there is no other mention of French kin. His mother and grandmother may have been of French-Indian descent. Richard repeatedly commented he was required to make provision for them in India. By his own account, Richard junior did not pursue contact with his Cumbrian relatives while

¹⁰² W. G. Wiseman, 'Caleb Rotheram, Ecroyde Claxton and their Involvement in the Movement for the Abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade', *Transactions CWAAS*, Series Three, IX (2009), pp. 153-160.

¹⁰³ *Royal George* Journal, 11 Oct 1764-1 Jul 1767, IOR L/MAR/B/17H.

¹⁰⁴ IOR N/1/2, p. 116.

¹⁰⁵ Will of Richard Ecroyd, National Archives, *PCC*, PROB 11 Piece 921.

¹⁰⁶ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Atherstone, Warwickshire, 20 March 1793, CAS W DFA 2/1/37.

¹⁰⁷ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Atherstone, Warwickshire, 20 March 1793, CAS W DFA 2/1/37.

being educated in England. Richard was in London under the care of Richard Barwell's brother until 1784. After nine years in England, he returned to Calcutta.¹⁰⁸ It was almost a decade later that an apparently chance meeting in Bengal with a Cumbrian, probably the mercenary Joseph Harvey Bellasis, that allowed Richard junior to eventually make contact with his Ecroyd relatives.

In his correspondence, Richard junior assiduously promoted himself as a desirable family member: a man of education and respectability, a gentleman embedded in Europe but with standing in India. He referred to his residence as 'my seat at Culpee...'. He represented himself as a moral man caring for his mother, working hard despite economic adversity, committed to a simple life and desirous of maintaining his virtuous life into the future and satisfied:

if by honest Means I can provide the Necessaries of Life for my family & self & have a Mite to contribute towards the Relief of the Distressed it's my utmost Ambition ... And while with these I continue to keep my Place in the first & most respectable Society...¹⁰⁹

He was persistently anxious to demonstrate that he could provide well for a Quaker wife. In February 1795 he described Bengal as 'very dull, very little or no trade going on' but he was, nevertheless, able to leave his mother with an annuity of more than £300 a year.¹¹⁰ His inability to raise ready money for travel to England that year was balanced by the information that he had invested in an 'indigo Manufactory'.¹¹¹ Any aspiration to return to the British Isles ended when Richard died in May 1797. His estate was valued at 460 Sicca Rupees, around £57.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Atherstone, Warwickshire, 20 March 1793, CAS WDFA 2/1/37.

¹⁰⁹ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Atherstone, Warwickshire, 20 March 1793, CAS WDFA 2/1/37.

¹¹⁰ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Kendal, n.d., CAS WDFA 2/1/37.

¹¹¹ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Kendal, May 1795, CAS WDFA 2/1/37.

¹¹² Inventory of Richard Ecroyd, L/AG/34/27/21.

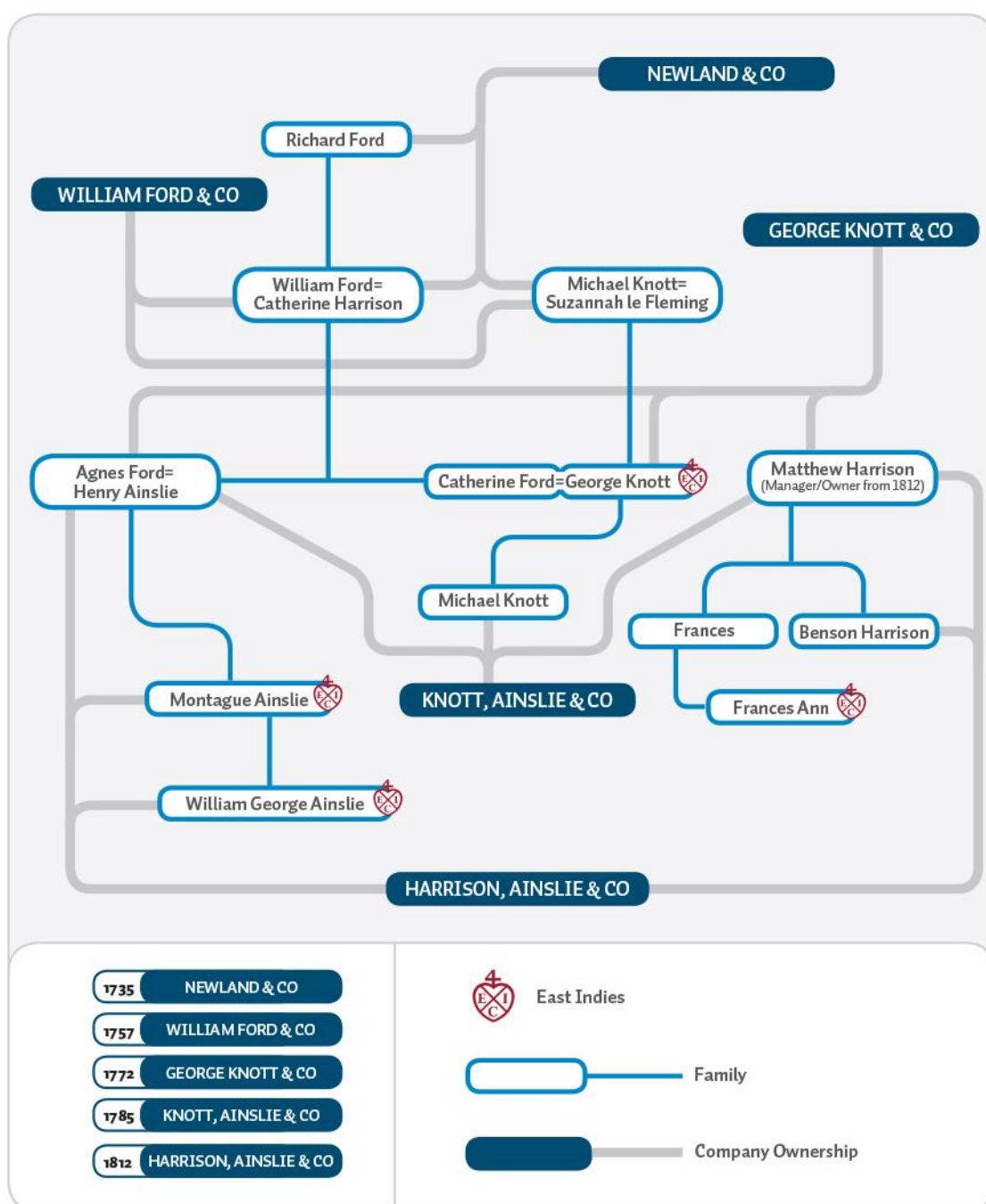
Richard exemplified the simultaneous stretching and retention of connections between Cumbria and the East Indies. His trajectory showed, too, that while the East Indies was a pathway to success for Cumbrians, Cumbria offered a pathway for Richard Ecroyd to climb out of the liminal space created by his illegitimacy, posthumous birth, and, possibly, mixed-race. His desire to search out opportunities in Cumbria and a Cumbrian wife contrast with Montagu Ainslie's apparent desire to stay in India.

Montagu Ainslie (1792-1884)

Montagu was born into the confluence of a burgeoning Cumbrian middling professional class, Kendal's non-conformist elite, powerful local families in the Lowthers and the old gentry Flemings, local industrial enterprise, and connections to the East Indies. Like Thomas Cust and Richard Ecroyd, Montagu's origins were in the rising but socially ambiguous occupations of surgeons, apothecaries and physicians.¹¹³ Both his grandfather and father were physicians. His father married Agnes Ford, a wealthy iron master's daughter. His aunt married the East Indies sojourner George Knott and the family had an ownership share in Cumbria's most dominant, and long-lived, iron company (Figure 2.7). Montagu's father formed at Cambridge a lasting friendship with William Lowther, the successor in 1802 to 'Wicked Jimmy' the Earl of Lonsdale. It was undoubtedly through Lonsdale that he was appointed to the East India Company.

¹¹³ A. Tomkins, 'Who Were His Peers? The Social and Professional Milieu of the Provincial Surgeon-Apothecary in the Late-Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Social History*, 44, 3 (Spring 2011), pp. 915-935; A. Withey, "'Persons That Live Remote from London': Apothecaries and the Medical Marketplace in Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Wales', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 85, 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 222-247; P. J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London, Routledge, 2000), pp.1-13.

Figure 2.7: Ainslie Kin, the East Indies and the Cumbrian Iron Industry



At Haileybury, Montagu won the Hindustani prize before leaving for Bengal where he was appointed to a variety of quasi-judicial positions. He married in 1818 and had six children with his wife who died from cholera, along with their youngest daughter, in 1833.¹¹⁴ His surviving children were relocated to England and he

¹¹⁴ IOR N/1/10 f.533.17

remarried in 1834 before returning to Cumbria. Having sold his house at Humeerpore for 35,000 rupees,¹¹⁵ but indebted to his father's estate, on return to Cumbria, Montagu established himself at Ford Lodge, Grizedale which had descended to him through his mother. He then invested heavily in Cumbrian property. He purchased the Eagles Head at Satterthwaite in 1838. He had an ownership interest in the Ship Inn at Barrow. Among his landholdings were cottages around Satterthwaite and the 700-acre Hill Top Farm. By 1873, his landholdings in Lancashire were almost 2,600 acres.¹¹⁶

In association with his partners in Harrison, Ainslie & Co, he invested in shipping, including the schooner *Mary Kelly* in 1841.¹¹⁷ In 1856 he took about a quarter share in the sloop *Melfort*.¹¹⁸ In 1845, he was one of the provisional directors of the Furness & Windermere Railway.¹¹⁹ Montagu was an agricultural improver, installing extensive drainage in the Grizedale state.¹²⁰ He promoted breed improvement by presenting various silver challenge cups and prizes to the North Lonsdale Agricultural Society¹²¹ and the Windermere Agricultural Association.¹²² Following his parents' example he established a twelve hundred acre plantation of trees¹²³ and built a new house at Grizedale (Plate 2.3).¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ East India Company Permission to Montagu Ainslie to sell his house, Jan-Nov 1834, IOR F/4/1524-60227.

¹¹⁶ *England, Return of Owners of Land, 1873* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010, Lancaster and Cumberland.

¹¹⁷ A. Ainslie, *Ainslie: History of the Ainslies of Dolphinston, Jedburgh, Grizedale, Hall Garth & Their Descendants* (Unpublished, Bradford Peverell Dorset, A. Ainslie, 2008), p. 7.

¹¹⁸ P. Sandbach, Harrison Ainslie's Shipping Interests, <http://lindal-in-furness.co.uk/History/harrisonainslie.htm>; A. Crocker and P. Sandbach, 'A Harrison Ainslie Gunpowder Stock Book of 1871-1876', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, XX (2010), p. 26.

¹¹⁹ 'Furness and Windermere Railway', *Westmorland Gazette*, 17 May 1845.

¹²⁰ J. Richardson, *Furness, Past and Present: Its Histories and Antiquities*, vol. 1 (Barrow-in-Furness, J. Richardson London, Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1880), p. 109.

¹²¹ 'North Lonsdale Agricultural Society', *Kendal Mercury*, 26 October 1844.

¹²² 'North Lonsdale Agricultural Society', *Kendal Mercury*, 21 May 1859; 'Windermere Agricultural Exhibition', *Westmorland Gazette*, 20 September 1856.

¹²³ Richardson, *Furness, Past and Present*, p. 110; T. W. Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (London, Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 27, 164.

¹²⁴ Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 11.



Plate 2.3 Montagu Ainslie's Grizedale Hall

Source: A. Ainslie, *Ainslie: History of the Ainslies of Dolphinaton, Jedburgh, Grizedale, Hall Garth & Their Descendants* (Unpublished Bradford Peverell Dorset, A. Ainslie, 2008), Part IVa, p. 12.



Plate 2.4 Residence of Montagu Ainslie at Humeerpore

Source: Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p.3.

Montagu was appointed a justice of the peace, magistrate and, eventually, deputy lieutenant for Lancaster in 1852,¹²⁵ a position from which he promoted local militia such as the High Furness Mountaineer Rifles.¹²⁶ His son, William George Ainslie, after a brief career in India, took on the management of Harrison Ainslie & Co and was the establishment chairman of the North Lonsdale Iron and Steel Company, and represented North Lonsdale in parliament. Montagu's long life at Grizedale makes his return from India appear inevitable, part of an ordered cycle of seeking success through an East Indies sojourn and returning as a successful man. But Montagu's return was by no means certain. His father wrote to Lord Lonsdale that:

The Agents of my son in India have stopped payments, & I know of no property he has which was not in their hands. I fear the loss of one half of his entire gains will prevent his return as he intended in Dec^r 1834 & that I have very little chance of seeing him again.¹²⁷

Montagu's substantial house at Humeerpore (Plate 2.4) and his previous marriage in India left one of his siblings also unconvinced that he would return:

I remember his saying long since, that if it was not for coming home to see him [Dr Henry Ainslie, his father] he should prefer staying where he was; though now he has lost his wife, he may now think differently, and should he remain in India, I should expect to hear of another Wife.¹²⁸

Like Thomas Cust, Montagu sent his children back to England, dividing their care between his brother, sister and sister-in-law. Like Thomas Cust, this did not necessarily signal a return to Cumbria. It was a typical, although not universal, practice for children of sojourners to be sent to the British Isles. Montagu's remarriage in Simla just over a year after his first wife's death raised new questions among his siblings about his readiness to return:

¹²⁵ *The London Gazette* <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/Edinburgh/issue/6208/page/744/data.pdf>.

¹²⁶ 'High Furness Mountaineer Rifles', *Kendal Mercury*, 28 January 1860.

¹²⁷ Letter Henry Ainslie to Lord Lonsdale, 9 October 1833 cited in Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 5.

¹²⁸ Letter Agnes Mansel, Barmouth to Gilbert Ainslie, 3 January 1835, cited Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 6.

Now do you think he will entirely give up his situation in India? Will it not be kept open for his return there, should he find it expedient to, on account of an increase of his family: Now, it appears, he certainly intends to come home but are you sure that circumstances will not alter cases.¹²⁹

Speculation about Montagu's intentions illustrated a deep ambivalence among Cumbrians 'at home' about Cumbria's East Indies sojourners. Material interests were involved. Montagu was in debt to his father's estate to the extent of £1,000. Just as Richard Cust found the expenses associated with the care of sojourners' children could be a strain so too did Montagu's brother.

Gilbert Ainslie, based at Cambridge and caring for his brother's two sons, complained that his house was 'scarcely fit for my own family. Else his two little boys are dear little fellows. They are now at School again.'¹³⁰ School may have provided some respite in Gilbert Ainslie's household, but it did not relieve the financial pressure. A little later, Gilbert noted with relief:

I this morning received your letter dated 4th inst. Enclosing a bill for £157.5.5 on my brother's Account, which I have taken without delay to my Bankers. It has come opportunely as I have a school Bill to pay for his boys and I have had so much to pay lately my own finances are rather low...¹³¹

The entwining of fears about Montagu's ability and desire to re-attach himself to Cumbrian life, anxieties about the liabilities associated with caring for his orphaned children, and a sense that Montagu was refusing to realise the benefits associated with his East India career were all captured in his brother's exasperated note to their sister:

You are right about Montagu – instead of coming home on his pension of £1,000 a year he is on furlough of £500 a year. This will enable him to return [to India] if he pleases – a plan to which I shall strongly object.¹³²

¹²⁹ Letter Agnes Mansel to Gilbert Ainslie, 26 January 1835, cited Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 7.

¹³⁰ Letter Gilbert Ainslie to unstated, February 1835, cited Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 7.

¹³¹ Letter Gilbert Ainslie to Roper, 6 February 1835, cited Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 5.

¹³² Letter Gilbert Ainslie to unstated, February 1835, cited Ainslie, *Ainslie: History*, Part IVa, p. 7.

The requirements of his family that he should come to and stay in Cumbria prevailed. He brought his valuable pension home just as his contemporary, but gentry, fellow Cumbrian Andrew Fleming Hudleston did a few years later.

Andrew Fleming Hudleston (1795-1861)

Montagu Ainslie and Andrew Hudleston were the same generation. Both returned to Cumbria after extended careers in India. Both were in the civil service and trained in the Company's new civil service college at Haileybury. They also had a common relative in George Knott.

The Hudlestons were particularly well connected. But the family struggled financially. Andrew's father was sent to London to practice law. Returning to Hutton John late in life, Andrew senior married Elizabeth Fleming, daughter of the third baronet of Rydal. Connections to the East Indies were intense (Figure 2.5 and Appendix D). Links with the Lowthers, Flemings, and John Hudleston, the East India Company director, ensured Andrew Fleming Hudleston's Company appointment. East Indies money from Susannah Knott, the daughter of John Knott, supplemented by his aunt Isabella Hudleston, ensured Andrew could afford to travel to India.¹³³

In a career marked by prudence and order, in 1817 Andrew was appointed assistant collector of sea customs at Canara and Malabar.¹³⁴ Hudleston revelled in the diversity of the people and the climate.¹³⁵ He wrote enthusiastically, for instance, of a Jewish wedding at Cochin.¹³⁶ He delighted in the countryside. He visited and

¹³³ Letter Elizabeth Hudleston to her son Andrew Fleming Hudleston, 19 November 1829, DHUD 5/9/1; Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, to his mother, Hutton John, 19 September 1814, CAS DHUD 13/2/7R; Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Cecil Street, Strand, to his aunt, Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 28 February 1814, CAS DHUD 14/3R.

¹³⁴ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, to his aunt, Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 10 August 1816, CAS DHUD 14/10V.

¹³⁵ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Calicut, to his mother, Hutton John, 17 December 1817, CAS DHUD 13/6/5R and DHUD 13/6/5V.

¹³⁶ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Calicut, to his mother, Hutton John, 23-25 May 1819, CAS DHUD 13/6/11.

appreciated Jain and Hindu temples and pagodas.¹³⁷ After an interregnum as assistant to the Secretary of the Revenue and Judicial Department in Madras, he was allowed to return to Canara. In 1831 he was appointed principal collector and magistrate at Malabar and a year later was the third judge of the Provincial Court, Western Division.¹³⁸ His income was around £2,000-£2,500 annually and he was eligible for a pension of £600. He was determined, despite expressions of homesickness, to stay and maximise his earnings and his pension.¹³⁹

Unlike his Hudleston cousins, who were born and raised outside of Cumbria and were busily establishing themselves among the dynastic, official families of British India, Andrew was explicit in his ambitions to provide his parents and, ultimately himself, with the means to maintain and live comfortably at Hutton John. He was careful with his expenditure. For many years he shared quarters to reduce costs.¹⁴⁰ Except for a very early request to his parents for additional funds when he first arrived in India, he did not seek funds from home. He used credit but stayed free of long term debt. He had a detailed knowledge of his accounts and the workings of his household.¹⁴¹ In 1821 and 1833, prompted by his father's, then his mother's, ill-health, Andrew took leave in England and had the means to do so.

While in India, Andrew Hudleston took an active interest in Cumbria and Cumbrians. He rejoiced in the receipt of Cumbrian newspapers.¹⁴² He welcomed Cumbrian compatriots to India, although his mother warned him to be careful of the

¹³⁷ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, to his parents, Hutton John, 2 February-10 March 1815, CAS DHUD 13/3/1pp3.

¹³⁸ Letter to Andrew Fleming Hudleston, 15 March 1831, CAS DHUD 12/37/4; Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Calicut, to his mother, Hutton John, 9 February 1831, CAS DHUD 13/3/12aR.

¹³⁹ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston to his mother, 24 October 1829, CAS DHUD 14/8.

¹⁴⁰ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, to his parents, Hutton John, 2 February to 10 March, 1815, CAS DHUD 13/3/1pp8.

¹⁴¹ Letters from P. Calayanasoodarum to Andrew Fleming Hudleston, 1826-1830, CAS DHUD 12/19/1aR to DHUD 12/19/1xV.

¹⁴² Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, to his mother, Hutton John, 28 April 1816, CAS DHUD 13/3/5V.

Cumbrian Mr Church who, sponsored by the Missionary Society, was a Methodist.¹⁴³ His letters pronounced on Cumbrian everyday life from marital alliances, how to manage Susannah Knott's predisposition to drink, and the importance of his parents acquiring a 'chay' or chaise. He was kept informed of the comings and goings at Hutton John and Whitehaven as well as the gentry and their estates—Ponsonby, Dalemain, Acorn Bank, Rydal, and, of course, the Lowthers. He commented on Cumbrian politics. A supporter of the Norfolk rather than the Lowther interest, he commented favourably on the Brougham candidature, although Brougham was described by his aunt Isabella in Whitehaven as a dangerous radical.¹⁴⁴

He corresponded with the Knotts and the aristocratic Lady Diana le Fleming.¹⁴⁵ Lady Diana made Andrew a substantial bequest in her will.¹⁴⁶ He advised the reclusive Lady Anne Frederica le Fleming to reconsider her plan to evict the Wordsworths from Rydal Mount.¹⁴⁷ He helped her to lay the foundation stone for the new chapel at Rydal,¹⁴⁸ and she implicated him in the development even when he was living on the Malabar coast. In describing progress on Rydal chapel, she acknowledged his role in it by writing 'I ought to say our Chapel as we were both present at laying the foundation stone, and to your kind exertions much of its first progress was owing.'¹⁴⁹ She left him the entire Rydal estate at her death.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Letter Elizabeth Hudleston, Hutton John, to her son Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, 2 October 1816, CAS DHUD 13/5/8R. See Church's obituary in the *Missionary Register*, May (1824), pp. 201-207.

¹⁴⁴ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to her nephew, Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Coimbatore, 13 October 1819, CAS DHUD 11/2/7V.

¹⁴⁵ See A. Galbraith, *The Fleming Family of Rydal Hall* (United Kingdom, Shoes With Rockets, 2006) for a useful description of the descent of the Rydal Estate, pp. 50-65.

¹⁴⁶ Annotated Will of Lady Diana le Fleming, 1816, CAS DHUD 5/12/5.

¹⁴⁷ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston to his mother, 28 June 1827, CAS DHUD 15/4.

¹⁴⁸ 'Westmorland News – Rydal Chapel', *Westmorland Gazette*, 5 July 1823.

¹⁴⁹ Letter Lady Anne Fredica Fleming to Andrew Fleming Hudleston, 12 December 1825, CAS DHUD 15/11/11.

¹⁵⁰ Letters Archdeacon William Jackson to Andrew Fleming Hudleston, 1861 regarding Ann Frederica le Fleming's legacy, CAS DHUD 15/26; 'Rydal', *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, 30 April 1861.

While in India, Andrew Hudleston's correspondence was full of domestic matters at Hutton John. He commented and advised on estate planting at Hutton John and his father's estate improvements. He and his parents exchanged gardening notes. On return from India, Andrew continued estate improvement. On his return, he supported various agricultural, educational and literary societies. In 1838 he joined the committee for establishing the Penrith and Carlisle Railway.¹⁵¹ By 1846, Andrew was nominated among the sheriffs for Cumberland,¹⁵² and in 1852, deputy lieutenant for Cumberland.¹⁵³

His life in India and Cumbria had a certain symmetry. He was a keen attendee of balls and parties in Madras and Cumbria. He constructed a style in which India clearly stayed with him, not as an Anglo-Indian identity but, rather, as a Cumbrian gentleman returned from India. An obituary comments on his many eccentricities and his admired sociability:

In private life he was hospitable, affable, lively of conversation, and full of anecdote. No man could tell a story with more grace or humour ... Mr Hudleston will be a missed man, and much regretted in his own neighbourhood.¹⁵⁴

The obituary went on to note that his property, including the Rydal estate, was bequeathed to a distant relative in the East Indies. One of Westmorland's most renowned estates, Rydal, as well as Cumberland's ancient Hutton John were thus embedded in the East Indies.

¹⁵¹ 'Cumberland and Westmorland Agricultural Society', *Carlisle Patriot*, 27 August 1853; 'Consecration of the New Christ Church at Penrith', *Carlisle Journal*, 1 November 1850; 'Christmas at Penrith &c', *Westmorland Gazette*, 4 January 1851; 'Working Men's Reading Room, Penrith' *Carlisle Journal*, 19 October 1855; 'Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School', *Cumberland and Westmorland Advertiser, and Penrith Literary Chronicle*, 16 March 1858.

¹⁵² 'High Sheriffs', *Lancaster Gazette*, 21 November 1846.

¹⁵³ 'The London Gazette, September 24', *Morning Chronicle*, 25 September 1852.

¹⁵⁴ 'Death of Mr Huddleston [sic] of Hutton John', *Kendal Mercury*, 7 September 1861; 'Death of Mr Hudleston of Hutton John', *Carlisle Journal*, 6 September 1861.

Conclusion

The early discussion in this chapter analysed aggregated data around the county rates of East India Company appointment and licensing, data showing the spatial pattern of enumerated men's origins, data related to the social profile of enumerated men, and network analysis of connections between Cumbrian kin with mutual relatives in the East Indies. All those patterns emerged from decisions made by families and individuals across four or five generations. Decisions were made in the context of social, economic and political transformations and events, many of which the protagonists may have been only dimly or not at all aware of at the time. The chronological narrative is intended to illuminate the broad sweep of those events. The biographical narratives provide a corrective to the temptations of structural over-determinism where focusing on structural change in social, political and economic formations can obscure individual agency, the agency of families and the operation of networks. The progression through those different evidential platforms is designed to connect structure with agency and change with continuity.

The pattern of appointment and licensing across the eighteenth century aligns with the broader chronology of Company demand for merchants prior to Plassey and civil and military men following that pivotal battle. The question of why Cumbrians were able to exploit those opportunities is addressed in detail in Chapter 4, but the data on enumerated Cumbrians' social rank and the clusters of kin-nodes suggest that middling and gentry interests together mobilised resources needed to get to India. The six biographical narratives reinforce the picture of social heterogeneity among Cumbrians involved in the East Indies as well as the diverse conditions under which success in the East Indies was pursued.

The trajectories of those individuals differed, but while conditions changed and new forces and formations emerged across the long eighteenth century, there were continuities. Firstly, the East Indies encounter was all about success, but its promise was neither without risk nor simply a matter for individuals. The Cumbrian East Indies encounter was a collective rather than an individual enterprise. Second, an array of people was implicated in East India ventures. Sojourners were connected by family and business to those at home who shared in the costs of failure and the benefits of success. No matter how attractive residence in the East Indies became to individual sojourners, the driving force and its *raison d'être* was a return on significant investments of financial and social capital. Third, the East Indies success was to be expressed in Cumbria. Tensions became palpable, as the cases of Thomas Cust and Montagu Ainslie show, if sojourners became distracted from bringing their success back to Cumbria.

Underpinning the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies was cycle of preparation, passage and return. These are dealt with through the thematic analyses in chapters three, four and five. Fundamental to that cycle was an anticipatory logic in which fear was balanced by optimism and risk-taking was an accepted part of pursuing success in the East Indies. It was that anticipatory logic which defined why Cumbrians wanted to go to the East Indies.

Chapter 3

Why Go to the East Indies?

In 1783, Edmund Burke thundered:

In India, all the vices operate by which sudden fortune is acquired ... Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom will find the best company in this nation ... Here the manufacturer and the husbandman will bless the ... hand that in India has torn the cloth from the loom, or wrested the scanty portion of rice and salt from the peasants of Bengal, or wrung from him the very opium ... They marry into your families; they enter into your estates by loans; they raise their value by demand; they cherish and protect your relations which lie heavy in your patronage.¹

It was a speech that brought together themes developed over three decades of pejorative discourse about the East Indies and those who ventured there from the British Isles. The men and women who went to the East Indies and returned were portrayed as venal, uncouth nabobs and nabobinas. They were depicted as disconnected from the moral restraints of polite society and corrupted culturally with wealth unnaturally acquired. They were the stuff of satire in pamphlet, picture and play. At best they were ridiculous in their pretensions. At worst, they were disruptors of the rightful order, displacers of the landed gentry and debasers of the middling ranks.²

No doubt the vociferousness of that public discourse persuaded some that a career in the East Indies was to be avoided. But that same discourse also conveyed and reinforced another motif which served to encourage rather than dissuade; that of

¹ E. Burke, *Mr. Burke's speech, on the 1st December 1783, upon the question for the Speaker's leaving the chair, in order for the House to resolve itself into a committee on Mr. Fox's East India Bill* (London, J. Dodsley, 1784), pp. 32-33.

² T. W. Nechtman, 'Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialism in India in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Women's History*, 18, 4 (Winter 2006), pp. 8-30; P. Lawson, and J. Phillips, "'Our Execrable Banditti': Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 16, 3 (Autumn 1984), pp. 225-241; T. W. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 143-147; M. Edwardes, *The Nabobs at Home* (London, Constable, 1993), pp. 42-43.

the East Indies as a place of abundant opportunities for the acquisition of wealth.

Certainly, there appears to have been no appreciable difference in the propensity of Cumbrians to seek success in the East Indies. Prior to Burke's speech in 1783, around 129 Cumbrian men are known to have been appointed or licensed to East Indies. At least a further 241 Cumbrian were appointed or licensed from 1783 to 1829.

Nevertheless, the deep ambivalence evident in the British Isles about East Indies ventures cannot be ignored. It shaped the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. The way in which Cumbrians expressed and managed the ambivalences around the East Indies encounter demonstrates the nuanced and contingent nature of success.

Through Cumbrian letters, the first of which was written in 1695, this chapter explores how gentry and middling Cumbrian families saw the promise of the East Indies, what they hoped for and what they feared. It is concerned with the aspirations that drove Cumbrian families to risk the death of their children and financial loss. It is about how, in the context of an often lurid discourse about both death and wealth in the East Indies, Cumbrian gentry and middling families managed to balance their optimism and fears, their reward-seeking and their risk-taking. Those themes were most evident in Cumbrians' letters at three critical moments. Firstly, the leave-taking of sojourners tended to prompt reflections on the purpose, hopes and fears associated with the East Indies. The second moment at which reflection was prompted was when some sort of crisis had arisen. That crisis might be in the East Indies or in Cumbria. Death, illness, debt or hardship were the triggers for reflection. Reflection was also prompted when sojourners are making decisions to come home.

Women were frequent correspondents in the letters that reflect on those issues. Only a small number of Cumbrian women may have travelled to the East Indies, but as mothers, aunts, wives and sisters they were intimately connected with East Indies

ventures. They were part of a correspondence with Cumbrian sojourners and others, which was notable by the way in which the pursuit of success was not reduced to economic success. There is no doubt that the acquisition of wealth, or at least a comfortable income, was a core element to the East Indies encounter. But the correspondence also shows other imperatives, both individual and familial. Concerns with status and reputation, as well as emotional attachments and material outcomes all surface. Implicit, and sometimes explicit, in this correspondence is a mutual negotiation and attempts to align individual with familial interests, the emotional with the instrumental.

What is clear is that the reasons for Cumbrians going to the East Indies cannot be simply understood as unproblematic economic decisions. This resonates with Popp's findings in his history of familial entrepreneurship. The decision of the midlands family company, Shaw and Crane, to extend operations into Calcutta in the 1830s was one driven by entrepreneurial imagination rather than certain economic returns. It was shaped, too, by familial relations, not simply economic imperatives.³ Likewise, the letters of Cumbrians involved in the East Indies show that the East Indies encounter was an imaginative venture supported by complex rationalisations of, and strategies to manage, risk and reward. Those were driven out of the social and emotional lives of the correspondents as much as by any calculative, economic logic. The discussion around those dynamics are structured around three central themes; the temptations of wealth, issues of respectability, death and loss, and, finally, the reconciliation of risk and reward.

³ A. Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families: Business, Marriage and Life in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Pickering & Chatto, 2012), pp. 7, 60-68, 71-2.

Temptations of Wealth

Wealth was a powerful magnet in the eighteenth century. Wealth brought (and bought) power and position. According to Marshall, few travelled to the East Indies in the eighteenth century without a financial incentive to do so.⁴ Yet the financial incentives for Cumbrians were never conceived of as unproblematic. There were anxieties around whether the economic promise of the East Indies would be realised. There were anxieties around the impacts of the pursuit of wealth on other aspects of a family's position, as well as concerns around the potential for loss.

The tensions around risk and reward, the promise of success and the fear of failure were recorded very early in the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. This was no more apparent than in the exchange between George Fleming (1667-1747) and his father Sir Daniel Fleming (1633-1701) of Rydal. George Fleming (1667-1747), scion of one of the leading gentry families in Westmorland, wrote to his father in 1695 expressing an intention to seek appointment as chaplain to a fleet of East Indiamen then readying for departure.⁵ His father firmly refused permission.

George Fleming was at St Edmund Hall, Oxford at the time. He and three of his ten brothers followed their father to an Oxford education. Their father had entered Queen's College as a seventeen-year-old commoner in 1650. George, the fifth of Daniel's sons, was admitted to Oxford in 1688, completed a bachelor of arts in 1692, and was awarded a master's degree in March 1695.⁶

⁴ P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 214.

⁵ J. R. McGrath, (ed.), *The Flemings in Oxford: Being Documents Selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men* (Oxford, Oxford Historical Society, 1913) vol. 2, pp. 242-244.

⁶ *Oxford University Alumni, 1500-1886* [database on-line]. Accessed <http://home.ancestry.co.uk/> Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007. Original data: Foster, Joseph. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886* and *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*. Oxford: Parker and Co., 1888-1892.

Perhaps because of his long and expensive education, George was at pains to assure his father of the benefits of an East Indies venture. So he noted that while the stipend of an East Indies chaplain was small, he had hope of acquiring wealth of a goodly sum. 'There are so many advantages, as have very well rewarded my predecessors' journeys [sic], particularly the last who brought £3000 home with him.'⁷

George's relatives were unconvinced of the benefits of modelling a career on an East Indies 'merchant parson'. Two days later, George's cousin Henry Brougham, also at Oxford, wrote to his kinsman and godfather, Daniel Fleming, in a panic:

Yesterday, and not before, I was informed of my Cous George's intention to go to the East-Indies ... I look upon it to be one of the most unaccountable projects that was ever Set a foot ... 'Tis great odds but he looses his life in the voyage ... [but] there is neither interest, improvement or reputation to be got by it.⁸

As the twelfth child of a long established but minor gentry family whose mother was the daughter of a Carlisle merchant, Brougham was well aware of the nuances and enmeshed nature of money, status and prospects. He once commented of his own situation as a commoner at Queen's College, that he had to live like a gentleman 'for his credit's sake'.⁹

Daniel Fleming's view of his son's East Indies aspirations was as disapproving as Brougham's. He wrote to George refusing his consent, in part, because of 'fearing that I shall then never see you more.' But just as importantly, Sir Daniel reminds his son that, 'it is not for you to turn Trader, that was never raised in

⁷ McGrath, *Flemings of Oxford*, vol. 2., pp. 243.

⁸ McGrath, *Flemings of Oxford*, vol. 2, pp. 245.

⁹ Cited in S. Wright, 'Brougham, Henry (bap. 1665, d. 1696)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3580>.

it.' Finally, Daniel Fleming points out to George that there was no need to go to India because 'you are not (God be prayed) in a Desperate condition.'¹⁰

For Daniel Fleming, the strands of life important to him, his love for his sons, his demand for obedience, his pride as one of Westmorland's ancient gentry families and his attachment to the north, combined with a calculation of the probabilities of a positive economic return.¹¹ Daniel Fleming reckoned the odds of his son surviving a venture in the East Indies was a hundred to one and the probability of making a fortune a thousand to one.¹² Twisted together, they strangled George's East Indies ambitions. Similar strands were evident in the complex calculations that other Cumbrians made around the East Indies ventures, but their disposition led to different outcomes. Families already involved in the world of trade around the turn of the eighteenth century, the already mentioned Braddylls, Winders and Stephensons, saw the East Indies as a way of extending their existing business reach.

By the end of the 1760s success in the East Indies was represented by an accumulation of other examples. Christopher Wilson returned in 1726 from the East Indies with wealth enough to purchase property at Bardsea and marry the daughter and heiress of Miles Dodding of Conishead.¹³ John Taylor, who had left Kendal for the East Indies in 1734 burdened by an indebted father, returned two decades later with a fortune and married the sister of the governor of Madras.¹⁴ In 1768, one of

¹⁰ McGrath, *Flemings of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 247.

¹¹ M. L. Armitt, *Rydal* (Kendal, Titus Wilson & Son, 1916), pp. 561-674; A. Galbraith, *The Fleming Family of Rydal* (United Kingdom, Shoes With Rockets, 2006), pp. 30-39; B. Tyson, (ed.) *The Estate and Household Accounts of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, Westmorland from 1688-1701* (Kendal, CWAAS Record Series Volume XIII, 2001), pp. xvii-xxvi.

¹² McGrath, *Flemings of Oxford*, vol. 2, p. 247.

¹³ C. W. Bardsley, *Chronicles of the Town and Church of Ulverston* (Ulverston, James Atkinson, 1885), p. 91; N. Penney (ed.) *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. x, xv, 131, 375, 525, 555, 564.

¹⁴ S. D. Smith, (ed.), *'An Exact and Industrious Tradesman': The Letter Book of Joseph Symson of Kendal 1711-1720* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. cxviii.

Henry Fletcher's protégés, John Orfeur Yates commenced building a sizable house on his newly acquired estate, reputedly funded by an East Indian fortune accumulated in Bombay in less than eight years.¹⁵

Edward Stephenson may have been the governor of Bengal but so too, a little later, was Thomas Braddyll. A raft of other Cumbrians had also risen to positions allowing them to access significant East Indies wealth: Gulston Addison was the president of Madras, William (Bombay) Ashburner from Dalton-in-Furness was warehouse keeper and a member of the Committee of Accounts in Bombay, George Tullie was the registrar of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, Philip Tullie sat on the council of the Madras presidency. The Holmes had established themselves in Calcutta and Catherine Holme had married an East Indies nabob. Henry Fletcher, the seventh son of John Fletcher of Clea Hall, had retired from his East Indiaman command, made a lucrative marriage and been elected as a director of the East India Company. Other Cumbrians were common in the Company's court of directors. In this earlier period, they included Dodding Braddyll, Timothy Tullie and John Stephenson, kinsman of Edward Stephenson.¹⁶

For middling Cumbrians, then, accumulating a fortune was certainly an ambitious aspiration, but it was not a fantastical one. For someone like the young Thomas Cust, appointed against his mother's wishes, to the Company's military service as a cadet, the East Indies was associated with fortune and freedom from the responsibilities of an eldest son to a mother widowed young. Although the salaries associated with military service were relatively modest, compared to the wealth someone like Thomas was likely to accumulate in Cumbria at the time, even the

¹⁵ H. Summerson, *'An Ancient Squires Family' The History of the Aglionbys c. 1130-2002* (Carlisle, Bookcase, 2007), p. 124.

¹⁶ See Appendix A for selected references.

salary of an ensign was significant. The losses of his father and the debts of his mother meant his prospects of a significant income from already encumbered land and property were limited.¹⁷ Elizabeth Cust's hopes for great wealth were limited, but she was clear as to her expectations of Thomas and her investment in his East Indies venture. He was to be self-sufficient in India:

Your pay is more than sufficient for your maintenance, but if it were much less than it really is you must fall upon such a method of economy as to make it answer.¹⁸

Thomas was to support his family at home. After all, his mother writes, one old man in Penrith has already been returned £50 by his son who has been in a similar situation to Thomas in India for two years. Finally, Thomas was to revitalize the fortunes of his family and to provide for himself on his return home.¹⁹

The East Indies pull associated with prospects of wealth was a powerful one. Through the 1750s to the end of the 1770s, over thirty Cumbrian men like Thomas Cust and John Yates from middling and gentry families started their careers in the East Indies. In some cases, the East Indies presented a means by which longstanding financial difficulties within the family could be remedied or at least ameliorated. John Orfeur Yates was very aware of the familial expectations resting on him when he first travelled to India in 1762. He revelled in the role of his mother and sister's financial saviour. At his father's death he wrote to his sister promising to defend his family from his father's weakness of character and unworldliness, from a predatory world of lawyers and litigation, and to augment his sister's:

slender prospects ... on my own part I've reason, from my present situation, to hope it will soon be in my power to render you some service... I was often apprehensive my hon^d Fathers open and generous Temper, unsuspecting of Deceit himself; would at some time lead him into difficulties in his office,

¹⁷ Letter Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Barrackpore, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iV.

¹⁸ Letter Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Barrackpore, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR

¹⁹ Letter Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Barrackpore, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

which those vile retainers of the Law, void of conscience or equity themselves, are always ready to turn to their own purposes of advantage or Envy.²⁰

Personal advantage and familial benefits went hand in hand. The Westmerian Reverend George Bellasis wrote to his brother John of Long Marton, Westmorland, who was about to leave for India as a military cadet in 1763 advising him to gain ‘Honour, Friends and Preferment.’ The acquisition of these was not seen as an end in itself. Rather, their achievement was desirable because they would enable John Bellasis ‘to be useful to the Publick and your Relations.’²¹ Twenty-five years later, John Bellasis, like John Yates, writes from Bombay in the role of financial saviour to his brother Hugh who was struggling on a Westmorland farm:

I will help you out! I cannot positively say when but be assured the time is not long to come ... [because] of late Years been very successful and flatter myself by the Year 90 I shall have it in my power to return to Europe with a very handsome Fortune and be assured (my dear Hugh) that the greatest Happiness I have in view, is the glorious idea I have of the good offices I shall be able to afford you all.²²

John Wordsworth the poet’s brother showed a similar desire, not only to be a wealthy man, but a successful man able to support his extended family.

In 1800, John Wordsworth wrote to Mary Hutcheson that he had been told he would be rich within ten years,²³ but he also wrote to his brother William of the way in which he intended to invest that wealth. ‘I will work for you ... Could I but see you with a green field of your own and a Cow and two or three other little comforts I should be happy’.²⁴ He was disappointed and in the frustration of disappointment of his financially disastrous first voyage as commander, John Wordsworth not only recognised the implications for his family and its circle of the losses, he sought to

²⁰ Letter John Yates, Calcutta, to Jane Yates, Cumberland, 1 February 1763, CAS DAY/6/4/3/aR.

²¹ Cited M. Bellasis, *Honourable Company* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952), p. 47.

²² Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 6 January 1785, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/p28b.

²³ C. Ketcham, (ed.), *The Letters of John Wordsworth* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 77.

²⁴ Ketcham, *The Letters of John Wordsworth*, p. 57.

implicate them in his actions. He wrote 'Oh! I have thought of you and nothing but you; if ever of myself and my bad success it was only on your account'.²⁵

The interlocking concerns of individual and family were continuing motifs throughout the period. In 1810, Mrs Pattinson of Kirklington wrote to her son in Bombay saying she had heard news that he would soon be promoted and reinforced the importance of success for the sake of his 'worthy father' and sisters:

The happiness of so many depends on you—It is now five years since you arrived in India I hope and expect that in five more we shall have the comfort the unspeakable happiness of seeing you at Kirklington.²⁶

But by the time Mrs Pattinson was reminding her son of his obligations, what constituted financial success and the financial incentives associated with the East Indies had changed. By the late 1780s, the ambition for the acquisition of vast wealth through entrepreneurial and military adventure was less conspicuous. Particularly in the East India Company's civil and military appointments, the windfall fortune was being gradually replaced with the more modest, but compared to home, substantial incomes attached to what was emerging as a 'professional' career course.²⁷

Those developments were evident to Cumbrians at the time. In 1788, John Bellasis noted to his brother in Westmorland that opportunities in the army were limited, particularly for men unable to get an appointment as an officer. It was better for such a young man to attach himself to a free merchant if he was to acquire an 'independency'.²⁸ Even so, for women, marriage to a senior member of the East India Company offered security. As Andrew Hudleston advised in 1813:

²⁵ P. J. Kitson, 'The Wordsworths, Opium, and China', *Wordsworth Circle*, 43, 1 (2012), p. 3.

²⁶ Letter Mary Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, 31 August 1810, CAS DX 249/14iR

²⁷ P. Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London, Curzon Press, 1980), pp. 39-41.

²⁸ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 21 December 1788, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/29a and WDX 1641/1/1/29b.

Tell Miss Fleming India is a very fine place for getting married & she cannot do better than to come out...²⁹

Four years later, however, Andrew suggested that a young man in India had very diminished prospects compared to the two generations before him. He wrote from Madras to his parents at Hutton John, Cumberland:

Fortunes are not now so rapidly made in India as formerly; many of the great situations having been cut down, & those which fluctuated reduced to fixed Salaries. Still however a person with prudence & economy may look forward to the time when he may return to his Native Country, not with a large fortune, but with a comfortable Independence. This is as far as regards the Civil Service; but the prospects of the Military are bad in the extreme.³⁰

Whatever the fluctuations in the financial opportunities presented by the East Indies across the eighteenth century, hopes of great wealth and the memories of Cumbrian nabobs who made their fortunes persisted for decades. An instance lies in the landlady of the Royal Oak in Keswick sending one of her sons, John Janson, to the East Indies as a military cadet in 1807³¹ reputedly in the hope he would return with a fortune similar to that of the Cumbrian nabob, Edward Stephenson.³² There is some evidence that Mrs Janson's judgement was idiosyncratic and unreliable. In 1810 Southey writes that Keswick has only two items of news. One was the Keswick Regatta was to be hosted by William White (1753-1811), another Cumbrian nabob. The other was Mrs Janson:

She, poor deluded woman, a few days since turned away a Noble Lord from her own door before she had glanced her eye at the Coronet upon his Carriage which she did not discover until he was on the wing, but her despair was witnessed by some of her servants who relate the story with no small glee.³³

²⁹ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 8 October 1813, CAS DHUD 11/8R.

³⁰ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Madras, to his mother, 19 March 1817, CAS DHUD 13/4/2V.

³¹ IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.221.

³² J. Fisher Crosthwaite, 'Some of the Old Families in the Parish of Crosthwaite', *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Association Advancement of Literature and Science*, 10 (1884-85), p. 22.

³³ Letter 1805. Robert Southey and Edith Southey to Elizabeth Browne, 12 September 1810, *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey*, L. Pratt, T. Fulford, and I. Packer (eds.) http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEEd.26.1805.html#.

But even if Mrs. Janson was, as Southey delights in portraying her, a mix of commercial opportunism, social pretension and inept discernment, she was by no means the only Cumbrian who believed that India provided worthwhile careers. Gentry such as Humphrey Senhouse (c.1731-1814) and his wife Kitty supported both their orphaned great nephews, Humphrey Senhouse Gale, and William Gale, into careers in the East Indies. William was bonded as a free mariner in 1817 and Humphrey Senhouse Gale entered as a military cadet. Descended from the prominent Whitehaven merchant family and related to the Flemings of Rydal as well as the Senhouses of Netherhall, William and Humphrey were orphans. When appointed to the East Indies they were not being deserted by their kin, these were appointments designed to secure their futures.

Issues of Respectability

The pursuit of financial success was accompanied by fears of loss and failure. The ramifications went beyond material losses. The articulation of pursuing financial success, the acquisition of wealth and the risks of financial failure were all suffused by a motif of respectability. Material acquisition was not the only preoccupation of gentry and middling families involved in the East Indies, anxieties around respectability thread their way through the letters of Cumbrian families and their circles. It is evident, for instance, when Mary Pattinson, wife of the reverend Thomas Pattinson of Kirkclinton, wrote to her son Thomas in Bombay in 1813:

You must always remember, you are our only Son, & you know your Father's family as well as mine (tho' not rich) are very respectable, & that you should be a credit to both.³⁴

³⁴ Letter Mary Pattinson, Carlisle, to Thomas Pattinson, Bombay, 21 August 1813, CAS DX 249/14/gR.

Here success was less about riches, and more about approval within one's social milieu. Ann Pattinson was so pleased to have received favourable comments by the middling but influential and wealthy Fawcetts on her son's progress in Bombay, that she 'stay'd late, and came home quite happy' from her visit to Scaleby Castle ³⁵ A similar theme of not compromising respectability by an unfettered pursuit of wealth was expressed by Isabella Hudleston to her nephew, Andrew Fleming Hudleston. He received his aunt's letter while he prepared to leave for India for the first time. For this gentry family, despite having battled declining material circumstances for some generations, the pursuit of wealth was to be balanced with the maintenance of honourable conduct. Isabella Hudleston wrote:

Your Ancestors my Dear, were never famed for possessing great riches, but they possessed what was much better, an Honest, Honorable, & upright Conduct, without which Riches are of little avail.³⁶

Part of that conduct involved publically and privately acknowledging the support of and duty to family. The opportunity for success in the East Indies depended on the sacrifices and 'kindnesses' of others who, in turn, deserved a reciprocal commitment. So Isabella Hudleston reminds her nephew Andrew that:

kindness has placed you in a situation to make a fortune, & from your present good intentions & conduct & your own good sense, I trust please God will enable you to be a good Man, remember the first step towards it, is Duty towards your Parents.³⁷

Respect for parents, kin and their social position was expressed, in somewhat different circumstances, by Joseph Huddart when he exhorted Kitty Senhouse not to be too indulgent when dealing with the entreaties of her great nephew Humphrey Gale.

³⁵ Letter Mary Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, Bombay, 31 August 1810, CAS DX 249/14iR.

³⁶ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to Andrew Hudleston, Bath, 7 March 1814, CAS DHUD 14/2/iR.

³⁷ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to Andrew Hudleston, Bath, 7 March 1814, CAS DHUD 14/2/iR.

Humphrey had requested additional financial assistance to pay off his debts in India.

Huddart advised Kitty Senhouse that:

He has no right to expect [more] after what you have done for him, he ought to look at those Cadets who have landed with a little money and a little credit, instead of those gentlemen who have money and credit at will.³⁸

Here Huddart was not merely being curmudgeonly, but reinforcing the notion that respectability involved living within one's means. Consistent with Bourdieu's view that taste and consumption are about distinction not mere emulation,³⁹ Huddart was expressing the view that the practices of one's own social milieu should be maintained. He raised the spectre of debt as not merely carrying with it the risk of financial failure, but as compromising the Senhouse's social standing and constituting a threat to respectability.

Uncontrolled indebtedness was one of the great fears of families sending their children to the East Indies. There was a continuing theme that easy money would 'seduce' sojourners into activities that would bring disrepute. There were both economic and social dimensions to that anxiety. Respectability was the platform on which credit was built and credit, in turn, was absolutely critical to the business of personal life as well as to trade and manufacturing in Cumbria, as it was in many provincial towns throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ Provincial businesses and households frequently operated on credit and spent considerable time managing both their own indebtedness and those to whom they had provided credit.⁴¹ Borrowing and lending were critical to the pursuit of business as well as day to day living in the East

³⁸ Letter Joseph Huddart, Greenwich, to Kitty Senhouse, Edinburgh, c. March 1811, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57cV.

³⁹ P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1994), pp. 34-55.

⁴⁰ M. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp.76-80; J. D. Marshall, 'Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-Industrial Cumbria', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 33, 4 (1980), pp. 514-515.

⁴¹ Finn, *The Character of Credit*, pp. 76-80.

Indies. But uncontrolled debt in the East Indies could easily rebound on families at home, as Thomas Cust's biographical narrative in Chapter 2 indicates.

Interest rates were higher in the East Indies than at home and writers and junior military appointments could easily accumulate debts beyond the ability to repay. In 1811, for instance, the Madras rate of interest was around six percent.⁴² Rates of twelve percent were not unknown, as Richard Ecroyd reported to his Cumbrian aunt in the 1790s and as Thomas Cust's 1787 debt to James Graham of Rickerby testifies.⁴³ In Britain the bank rate or minimum lending rate was five percent in 1797 and the rate for consols in 1811 was 4.7 percent.⁴⁴ More importantly, credit in the British Isles largely rested on, and was regulated by, a network of longstanding reciprocities, friendship, business and familial connections.⁴⁵ By contrast, credit in the East Indies created dependencies on strangers, both native and European. Strangers were unconstrained by any broader commitments, obligations or connections to the interests of a debtor's family and kin.

Even where there were local connections between creditor and borrower, the outcome could be unpalatable to the borrower's family. For instance, while difficult to disentangle, it is clear that Thomas Cust was more and more in the power of the Mounseys, his Cumbrian agents who themselves had a family member in India. Thomas Cust was attempting to sell land in Cumberland to pay for debts he contracted in India. Some of those debts in India were with George Stephenson Mounsey, a

⁴² Letter Joseph Huddart, Greenwich, to Kitty Senhouse, Edinburgh, c. March 1811, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57cR.

⁴³ Letter Richard Ecroyd, Calcutta to Deborah Ecroyd, Kendal, May 1795, CAS WDFA 2/1/37; Thomas Cust to James Graham, bond, Calcutta, 30 June 1787, DCART C11/54cm.

⁴⁴ B. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 678-679.

⁴⁵ M. R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England 1680-1780* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1996), pp. 22-34.

fellow officer in Bengal. At his death, Cust's debt to Mounsey in India was about £500.⁴⁶

Some of the impacts of Thomas' debt have been noted in the previous biographical narrative, but the profound threat to reputation generated by debt and the deep distress debt caused was illustrated by the reaction of his mother and her friends to Thomas' bills. There was considerable moral pressure put on debtors' families. Elizabeth Cust, for instance, found it hard to resist a bill drawn on her by her son Thomas when it was eventually presented in London with the following correspondence penned by the creditor's father:

I intended returning [the Bill] to my Son, protested, but recollecting that the Drawer is an Officer, that he has received the money from the paymaster General of his Brigade, on the Assurance that his Bill would be honoured in England ... I am convinced it will do him great Disservice, in regard to his future Credit ... To convince you of my readiness to do everything in my Power to prevent such Consequences I therefore wish to know whether Mistress Cust will pay any part, or the whole at a longer date to prevent the Disgrace that must attend her Son if the Bill is sent back.⁴⁷

In 1776, the Cumbrian Charles Nevinston, then operating an apothecary business from Duke Street, Westminster wrote to Elizabeth Cust notifying her that a Major Brooke had arrived from India with a duplicate of a bill of credit against her made out by her son Thomas. His advice was not to pay:

I took the Liberty of opening the Letter for which I ought to beg your pardon, but expected it might contain some Explanation of the matter and for what purpose the money was taken up and might therefore serve as some Rule how to proceed, but finding in it nothing satisfactory in that way, neither Explanation or Apology. It confirmed, I confess my former opinion that you ought not to distress yourself by answering it ... No one Reason being assigned makes one rather suspect the debt had been incurr'd in some extravagant way ... I think you ought not to pay it.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Inventory of Thomas Cust's account with John Palling, audited accounts 1800, CAS DCART C11/61/19b.

⁴⁷ Letter William Brooke, St Albans, to Charles Nevinston, London, 20 June 1776, CAS DCART C11/42viR.

⁴⁸ Letter Charles Nevinston, London, to Elizabeth Cust, 15 July 1776, CAS DCART C11/42xiiR.

Refusing to pay bills of credit presented a profound risk that went beyond the individual who contracted the debt. Andrew Hudleston was undoubtedly aware of these sensitivities when applying to his parents for financial assistance on arrival in India in 1814:

I may require in addition to my pay for the first few months of my setting up for myself. Indeed it gives me the greatest concern to be under the necessity of writing to my Parents for the Sum of a hundred pounds, after their having been so kind & liberal to me, even though attended with inconvenience to themselves; However I think it more agreeable to myself, & I am sure it will be more pleasing & satisfactory to you, & my Father; that I have made my application to you; than if I had contracted debts or borrowed money of my own accord.⁴⁹

Elizabeth Cust's exchange with Lady Hay of Pitfour illustrates the depth and emotional, material and reputational complexity of refusing a bill.

In 1777, Elizabeth Hay of Pitfour appealed to Elizabeth Cust to honour Thomas' debts to her son Charles. Before approaching Elizabeth Cust, she sought advice from Captain Thomas Conway recently returned from India. Conway's advice was clear. Charles' mother had a moral duty to pursue the matter, not for the creditor but for the debtor. He wrote that it would be:

cruel that he [Thomas] should be disappointed in the Bill – when an Officer's Character is hurt the world will know the consequences it may be the young mans last Drafts and for a trifle his Mother if capable should endeavour beyond a Doubt to discharge it, if not you must return one with the Protest to Charles the Lieut's credit will be ever ruined inevitably ... [Payment would] be the making of him and he may shortly in Return remit ten times the sum to his Parents...⁵⁰

When Lady Hay forwarded Conway's advice to Elizabeth Cust, she received an emotional but uncompromising response, which called on their shared positions as mothers:⁵¹

⁴⁹ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Madras, to Elizabeth Hudleston, Hutton John, 19 September 1814, CAS DHUD 13/2/7V.

⁵⁰ Letter Thomas Conway to Lady Hay, Pitfour, 7 January 1777, CAS DCART /11/42xiv R and CAS DCART /11/42xiv V.

⁵¹ Letter Elizabeth Cust to Lady Hay, Pitfour, CAS DCART /11/42xv.

I could not Comply to my sons demand ... oh Madam – what shall I say – we and our situation in life are unknown to you. I have two sons he in India is the Elder I have already Raised too large a share of My little fortune for my Eldest son Had I properly considered Myself or my other son. He in India has had many cautions not to draw Bills on me as I could not Raise them ... tis surprising that mine should be so distressd ... he has had a lieutenancy above these three years past and friends also who would be very attentive to his welfare if he has prudence ... [I hope] Madam never experience[s] the distress of mind wch I do My happiness was centrd in my children...⁵²

Elizabeth Cust knew that dishonouring her son's bills called into question her commitment as a mother and her position as a respectable person.

Nothing was more likely to raise protective hackles among Cumbrian men at home than when young Cumbrian men in India applied to their mothers or aunts to honour their bills. So when Humphrey Senhouse Gale sought his great aunt Kitty Senhouse's agreement to be drawn upon for debts in India in 1811, the Cumbrian Joseph Huddart, an East Indiaman commander, navigator, shipbuilder, entrepreneur and merchant who based himself in London, advised against complying with his request. Humphrey Gale had accumulated his debts as a young ensign in Madras. It was not an unusual story. His great aunt was an indulgent and loyal correspondent to Humphrey Gale and perhaps he was confident of her response. His request foundered in the face of Huddart's advice because of the long term intimacy of Huddart's relations with the Gale and Senhouse families and Huddart's own India experience.

Huddart had risen from being the son of a farmer and shoemaker to an East Indiaman commander, a celebrated hydrographer, adviser to the building of the East India Dock, and rope manufacturer. Kitty Senhouse was the sister-in-law of Sir Joseph Senhouse (1749-1829) with whom Huddart had attended school and maintained a lifelong friendship. Huddart's boatbuilding and early ventures into trade

⁵² Letter Elizabeth Cust to Lady Hay, Pitfour, 15 March 1777, CAS DCART /11/42xvi R and DCART /11/42xvi V.

with North America had been undertaken out of Maryport, the Senhouse family's port development designed to rival Lowther-controlled Whitehaven. Huddart had direct experience of conditions in Madras. He had a strong prudential sense and clear views around the 'proper' expectations and requirements of a young ensign. When he heard that Humphrey Senhouse Gale had sought relief from his creditors, Huddart was incensed. He wrote to Kitty Senhouse:

sorry to hear... [he] has got involved in debt... he did say he had an ensign's pay about £200 per annum in a country that every article of provisions that the country supplies is cheaper than in England, and sufficient for the necessities of life, and he certainly has it in his power to support himself directly on and ensigns pay... I am afraid if you advance this sum readily, you or his friends may be called upon again.⁵³

Huddart advised that Humphrey Gale should immediately dispose of unnecessary accoutrements including his horses which, Huddart pointed out, would relieve Gale of the costs of grooms, grasscutters and a raft of servants associated with owning horses.

While for Cumbrians at home the East Indies were associated with a menace of debt and reputational degradation, paradoxically, the East Indies also presented a solution to dealing with individuals bringing familial reputations at home into disrepute. The East Indies became a repository for disreputable family members and thus a way of shifting them out of local society. For instance, the gentry Hasells of Dalemain were relieved when John Hasell was driven to return to Bombay sometime in 1779. His elder brother Edward wrote that John:

behaved very ill ... He has made a great debt. My father and Messrs Musgrave will lose a great sum of money by him. His affairs have taken up much of my time in writing about them to London, Dalemain etc.⁵⁴

⁵³ Letter Joseph Huddart, Greenwich, to Kitty Senhouse, Edinburgh, c. March 1811, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57cR and DSEN 5/5/1/9/57cV.

⁵⁴ F. Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain: A Cumberland Family: 1736-1794* (Kidderminster, Wyre Forest Press, 2003), p. 101.

The dissociation that followed was profound and inexorable. Even his death remained unknown to his family. A recent detailed history of the Hasells speculates that it may have been in 1782.⁵⁵ John Bellasis, from a distinctly middling family, however, notes in a letter to his brother at Long Marton, Westmorland, that John Hasell's death occurred soon after arrival back in Bombay around May 1781.⁵⁶

A similar withering of familial connections is evident with two of Thomas Cust's children. The previous Chapter notes that Thomas junior was eventually deported to Australia. His elder brother's trajectory was equally problematic. Charles was arrested in 1800 for debt and bailed by his uncle, Richard Cust. In 1802, having lost or sold his commission in the British army, he was reduced to working a transport ship the *Carlisle Bridge*. His half-brother, Richard, an ensign with the 33rd Regiment, was deeply shamed by meeting Charles in Malta and wrote to his uncle seeking financial assistance:

Little can you conceive how it hurt me when he called to see me that Charles should be placed in a Situation worse than a Servant. Several of the Officers of our Reg^t that knew him when at Chatham and whilst with me at Canterbury now slyhts him and myself too. I have hardly the power of walking with him in his distress. He has not an atom to change himself or fit to appear in.⁵⁷

Charles Cust was reported dead in 1813 but was subsequently reputed to be commanding a ship in the East Indies. In 1815 he was rumoured to be in London with a wife and two children in 'great distress' and in 1816 imprisoned. By 1820 he was believed to be in Calcutta.⁵⁸ The uncertainties around his life and death suggest no one sought to sustain the relationship, even among his mixed-race siblings. His

⁵⁵ Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain*, p. 101.

⁵⁶ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 16 May 1781, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/p. 27b.

⁵⁷ Letter Richard Cust (II), Malta, to his uncle Richard Cust, 6 June 1802, CAS DCART C11/54bqR.

⁵⁸ Anon. undated memorandum, CAS DCART C11/32/78.

father's relatives also saw the return to the East Indies as more appropriate for Thomas Cust's mixed-race children.⁵⁹

Others, despite misbehaviour or failure at home, were desperate when in the East Indies to sustain or repair relations with family in Cumbria. For instance, the Gilpin involvement in the East Indies was prompted by debt.⁶⁰ John Losh was sent to Madras in 1824 after his academic career at Queen's College, Cambridge was curtailed less than two years after admission.⁶¹ Jeremiah Adderton of Workington, related to the prominent gentry Curwen family, was probably always destined for India. Nevertheless, his appointment in 1778 was in the context of some scandal of his own making.⁶² In an attempt to repair his relations with his family, he writes from Pondicherry to his uncle Henry Curwen and assures him:

That heedlessness of which led me into innumerable troubles at home, I have long felt myself totally divested of, and trust my conduct in this country has been such, as if known, would more than atone for the follies that have preceded ... I again take the liberty to request you will indulge me with a letter.⁶³

⁵⁹ Letter from Charlotte Crackenthorpe, Newbiggin Hall, to Richard Cust London, 3 May 1796, CAS DCART/C11/44iR; Draft letter Richard Cust to Robert Mounsey, 16 December 1797, CAS DCART C11/45xxxivR.

⁶⁰ Letter John Addison junior to Francis E Barker regarding Richard Gilpin, 1814, CAS BDBROUGHTON/19/39/2.

⁶¹ *Cambridge University Alumni, 1261-1900* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 1999. Original data: Venn, J. A., (comp.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. London, England: Cambridge University Press, 1922-1954. Accessed <http://home.ancestry.co.uk/>; J. Uglow, *The Pinecone: The Story of Sarah Losh, Forgotten Romantic heroine – antiquarian, architect and visionary* (London, Faber and Faber, 2012), p. 166.

⁶² Letter from Jeremiah Adderton, Pondicherry, to Henry Curwen, Workington, Hall, 4 September 1778, CAS DC/3/7.

⁶³ Letter Jeremiah Adderton, Pondicherry, to Henry Curwen, Workington, Hall, 4 September 1778, CAS DC/3/7.

Loss and Death

Pursuing an East Indian fortune was not so much a gamble but an adventure: an activity known to be risky. Investments could be lost, wealth squandered and earning potential left unfulfilled. Shipwrecks, bankruptcies, dismissal (although many of the merchants dismissed by the East India Company returned with substantial fortunes),⁶⁴ indebtedness, the inability to transfer their fortunes from the East Indies to the British Isles, disputes over the Company's terms of payment, and even draining litigation on return to the British Isles, were all features of the East Indies encounter.⁶⁵ The following discussion highlights the uncertainties and disappointments associated with East Indies ventures before turning to what has become accepted as one of the greatest fears for those going to the East Indies, death.

Perhaps Cumbrian correspondents avoided commenting on loss and disappointment in their letters. As Popp points out, letters were semi-communal and not all private troubles, sometimes self-inflicted and sometimes inflicted by others, would have been paraded in letters likely to be circulated to many.⁶⁶ The disappointments of Thomas Cust's brother and mother have already been noted. There is a voluminous correspondence involving Thomas' brother, Richard, Thomas' India agent John Palling, and his disapproving cousin, the elderly lawyer Robert Ellis.⁶⁷ But little new is added by rehearsing those further in detail. The tone in those letters was similar to the tone evident in Edward Hasell's previously cited exasperated letter regarding the activities of his brother, John Hasell.

⁶⁴ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 230, 230n, 237.

⁶⁵ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 214-256 and see examples in H. Furber, *Bombay Presidency in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (London, Asia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 3-4, 15-17.

⁶⁶ Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families*, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁷ Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain*, p. 101.

The losses and disappointments associated with the trajectories of those men were, in part, at least in the public arena. But this was not always the case. Failures in East Indies ventures were not always apparent. Such was the case of John Orfeur Yates, who married into the minor gentry Aglionby and less minor Musgrave families. Having entered the Company's service initially as one of Henry Fletcher's recruits on his East Indiaman, Yates remained in Calcutta for a handful of years. He had returned to Cumberland in 1768 and proceeded to build Skirwith Abbey reputedly with his East Indies fortune. It was not until years later that his wife, children and friends found that their nabob's expenditure might have been conspicuous in its lavishness but it depended on unsecured credit and inaccessible assets he claimed were in India. His annual income in 1800 was a mere £464 annually and he was living on a series of loans provided by his brother.⁶⁸

Yates attributed his financial difficulties to the insolvency of others. It seems more likely that insolvencies among agents in India precipitated the disclosure of, rather than caused, the parlous state of his finances. Nevertheless, it was true that complications in remitting funds and losses due to the failure of agents in India were persistent problems for sojourners, both while in India and after they returned home. In 1821, the very successful East Indies merchant who operated particularly in Java, Cumbrian Robert Addison, told a select committee that remittances from trade in the East Indies remained difficult.⁶⁹ There were too, periodic banking crises. Yates died too early to have been affected by the collapse of Palmer & Co., when it went bankrupt in 1820, but many others were caught up in it.⁷⁰ It is quite possible that

⁶⁸ Summerson, 'An Ancient Squires Family' pp. 124-125.

⁶⁹ Parliamentary Papers, *House of Commons and Command*, Volume 6 HM Stationery 1821, House of Commons, p. 228.

⁷⁰ A. Webster, *The Richest East India Merchant: The Life and Business of John Palmer of Calcutta, 1767-1836* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 110-112, 122-131.

Montagu Ainslie's losses and fragile financial position was attributable, in part at least, to the collapse of Palmer & Co.⁷¹

Losses associated with business risks were not, however, the only source of disappointment for Cumbrian sojourners. For some, the East India Company itself was seen as the perpetrator of misfortune. For instance, John Addison of Whitehaven wrote repeatedly to the East India Company directors in 1720 requesting payment of a gratuity of one hundred pounds he claimed was in lieu of commission agreed by Council in Surat. He cites ill-treatment by a commander of an East Indiaman, the continuing liability for the interest he now has to pay on borrowing to meet the expenses of his voyage, recurrent illness in India, and the loss of social and economic opportunities at home:

I am obliged to humbly further acquaint you that through several dangerous and frequent sicknesses in India with other impediments to that most expensive voyage on board *Godolphin*, it has cost me (without extravagance) not less than the sum of five hundred pounds sterling from my going from London in your service till my return ... the great part of which I am now to pay ... and besides all these hardships have spent above eleven years of my precious youthful days in your services which by sad experience I am conscious that I could have spent with God's blessing in Great Britain among my relations and known friends to good advantage.⁷²

John Addison's sense of injury arises not simply from his losses or foregone income, but from the sense of betrayal by the Company of a mutual compact to share the risks and rewards of the East Indies venture. A similarly anxious, if less combative tone, is to be found forty years later in George Knott's plea to Clive's private secretary that his status and re-appointment as an officer to the Bengal army be resolved:

⁷¹ Letter Henry Ainslie to Lord Lonsdale, 9 October 1833, cited in A. Ainslie, *Ainslie: History of the Ainslies of Dolphinston, Jedburgh, Grizedale, Hall Garth & Their Descendants* (Unpublished Bradford Peverell Dorset, A. Ainslie, 2008), p. 5.

⁷² IOR E/1/12 138-139v [1 March 1720] – Letter 78 John Addison at Whitehaven to William Dawsonne and the Committee of Correspondence concerning a £100 gratuity for his work in the Company's service at India and St Helena.

I cannot avoid begging the favour of you to lay before his lordship and the general distress I have for some time suffered [despite] the solicitations that have been made ... by H Verelst and myself in relation to my being readmitted to the service ... I have [been in] Monghier since the 20th June and as you know how disagreeable such a situation must be I beg you would take the first opportunity to inform me of my fate...⁷³

There are no surviving records as to why George Knott (1743-1784), son of the Rydal Fleming's steward and kinsman, Michael Knott (1696-1772), found himself constrained to seek readmission. He had been appointed as Company cadet in 1762 and made relatively rapid advancement. In August 1763 he was appointed ensign and then, a little over six months later, lieutenant. His fragile circumstances in June 1766 almost certainly arose from the double batta mutiny among European officers the month before, another example where the Company's employees felt their compact with the Company had been abused.⁷⁴

George Knott's role in the mutiny is unknown. What is known is that the resolution came swiftly. Six days after his letter, George Knott was not only readmitted but appointed to a captaincy.⁷⁵ No doubt his readmission and promotion was eased by John Knott (d.1779), George's cousin and brother-in-law, who was secretary to a senior member of the Bengal Council and eventual successor to Clive, Henry Verelst. When George Knott returned to England sometime between 1768 and 1772, he almost undoubtedly had already remitted or brought back with him a substantial amount of capital. He died within a decade, quickly followed by his wife. His early death in Cumbria was a proof that excess mortality was by no means restricted to the East Indies.

⁷³ IOR Mss Eur G37/41/1 f.3 [2 July 1766] – Letter Henry Strachey and George Knott 2 July 1766.

⁷⁴ L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers: Monghyr* (New Delhi, Concept Publishing, 2007), p. 48; R. Holmes, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India 1750-1914* (London, Harper Perennial, 2005), pp. 53f, 272f.

⁷⁵ V. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834 Volumes 1-4* (Reprint, Eastbourne, A Naval and Military Press, 1927), vol. 2, p. 605.

Nevertheless, there was a persistent motif of impending death associated with India. Indeed, the East Indies featured in one of the earliest obituaries in English print; an account of an East India Company captain who was killed during a skirmish at sea with the Portuguese in 1621.⁷⁶ Thereafter, expatriate deaths in the East Indies and the deaths at home of those with East Indian connections were regularly featured in print. From about 1780, English language newspapers and journals in the East Indies also printed birth, marriage, and death notices. Deaths in particular provided a substantial amount of easy copy. They contributed to a perception of the East Indies as a place in which survival was constantly in the balance. Stories of individuals transformed within a day from robust health to a moribund state with no hope of recovery were widely circulated, including by Andrew Hudleston writing from Calicut to his aunt at Whitehaven in 1819:

Many people apparently in good health, while walking along the road, have been seized with a giddiness in the head, fallen down, vomited & died in the short space of half an hour, but in general the disease does not prove fatal in under 5 or 8 hours.⁷⁷

For Europeans the rapidity of death in the East Indies contrasted starkly with what had become one of the most common causes of adult death in the British Isles by the latter part of the eighteenth century, the slowly progressing tuberculosis. By then it had become, unlike cholera, a thoroughly romantic disease linked to poetic sensibility.⁷⁸

It has been estimated that over half the 645 covenanted Company servants appointed to the Bengal presidency between 1707 and 1775 never returned to the British Isles and died in India. The proportion of non-covenanted residents who never

⁷⁶ E. Barry, 'From Epitaph to Obituary: Death and Celebrity in Eighteenth-Century British Culture', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 11 (2008), p. 259; N. Starck, *Life after Death: The Art of Obituary* (Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 2006), p. 5.

⁷⁷ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Calicut, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 15 March 1819, CAS DHUD 14/16V.

⁷⁸ P. Bourdelais, *Epidemics Laid Low: A History of What Happened in Rich Countries* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 115; C. Lawlor, *Consumption and Literature: The Making of the Romantic Disease* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2006), pp. 2, 51-55.

returned to the British Isles was higher again.⁷⁹ The net mortality above that which would have occurred if these individuals had stayed in the British Isles would have been less dramatic than these estimates suggest. Nevertheless, it is clear that many families held reasonable fears that they would never see their East Indies-bound kin again.

The sense of the uncertainties of life for those leaving the British Isles for the East Indies was reinforced by early travelogues complaining of the unhealthy locations of principal settlements. In 1727, the Scotsman Alexander Hamilton claimed a third of Calcutta's European population had been buried in a period of less than six months.⁸⁰ Although European mortality rates in the East Indies declined over the next century, the probability of death remained substantially higher than in the British Isles. In the 1830s, the annual death rate among soldiers stationed in Britain was a little over 15 deaths per thousand, compared to 48 deaths per thousand for British soldiers on 'peacetime' service in India.⁸¹

Death, then, was the preoccupying fear of Cumbrian families sending their children to the East Indies, but the chances of returning home increased over the long eighteenth century. The 175 Cumbrian men appointed or licensed to the East Indies between 1800 and 1829 entered the East Indies at a time when significant falls in mortality were being achieved. The probability of death from disease, despite Andrew Hudleston's description of rapid death, was declining rapidly even among those most vulnerable to death, soldiers. Military peacetime deaths fell from 70 per thousand of population per year in the period 1806-1809, to 48 deaths per thousand of population

⁷⁹ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 218–19.

⁸⁰ R. Travers, 'Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth Century India', *Past and Present* 196 (August 2007), p. 87.

⁸¹ P. Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 7, 23.

per year in the period 1827-1838.⁸² Even so, death rates were twice as high as those in the British Isles. That was reflected in the death or burial places of Cumbrian men appointed to the East Indies during the long eighteenth century. Many did not return. Fifty-one percent of the men for whom deaths or burials can be established, died outside the British Isles.

It was in the context of the threat of death that, notwithstanding the multiple exemplars of successful Cumbrian careers in the East Indies, Thomas Cust's mother conjured a vision of the East Indies. For Elizabeth Cust, India was loaded with ambivalences. Hopes of gain were mixed with fears. She feared that her younger son's future, and her own, would be compromised by her elder son's recklessness far away from the moderating influences of family. She feared he would pre-decease her. That anxiety was not simply around the grief of losing a son. Elizabeth Cust was apprehensive about how her old age would be supported if her eldest son did not return. For her, Thomas' death would have undermined any possibility of a financial return on her considerable investment in Thomas' Company bonds, his fitting out and travel.⁸³

Anxiety was an inherent part of the encounter with the East Indies. For Cumbrians, loss and disappointment were part of their correspondence throughout the long eighteenth century and evident in letters with business associates, family and friends. There were persistent references to illness, to the loss of ships, and narrow escapes from death. The tone of those references ranged from a sort of 'matter of fact' asides to expressions of sorrow and grief. Perhaps as a forerunner of the Victorian fascination and celebration of death and its intersect with an increasingly militaristic

⁸² Curtin, *Death by Migration*, p. 23.

⁸³ Letter Elizabeth Cust to Thomas Cust, India, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

pursuit of imperial dominance in the nineteenth century, there were instances where death was connected to a compensatory heroic legacy. That compensatory heroism was obvious in the public memorial in the *Bombay Courier* to Thomas Pattinson killed at Corry Gaum in 1818 and private condolences to his parents from the East Indies merchant and owner of Scaleby Castle, Henry Fawcett:

Lieutenant Pattinson was early in the action, shot through the body, and put in a place of safety, where his heroic spirit would not allow him to remain. When he conceived the overwhelming numbers of the enemy must overpower us, he appeared again noble exerting the noble strength left him, and encouraging the men, until another wound in the breast totally disabled him, and finally caused the death of as gallant officer who ever lived.⁸⁴

Oh I wish to say be comforted! “Casting all your care upon him who careth for you.” “Thy will be done” but it is hard practically to learn that lesson, so often repeated with our lips. M^r F continues better, w^h I know will give you some comfort – he sends you a letter, received yesterday Even^s from James Graham – making such kind & affectionate mention of your dear Son & also of his Gallant & noble conduct, in the trying hour & manifesting the love of his bro^r Officers so as must be gratifying and consoling to his dear parents.⁸⁵

Reconciling Risk and Reward

Fears that those bound for the East Indies would never return were firmly based in material experience. So too were fears of loss and failure, rather than success and wealth. At the same time, the individual and familial opportunities presented by the East Indies were by no means illusory. Cumbrians were neither unaware of the risks nor the rewards of the East India encounter. Nor were these Cumbrian families driven by instrumental considerations unalloyed by affection. Indeed, adventurous youths were frequently more enthusiastic about the East Indies than their families. Thomas Pattinson’s parents, for instance, were willing to forego the considerable investment that must have been made into his fit-out and travel. Even at the point of departure to India in 1805, Thomas’ parents were providing him with opportunities to

⁸⁴ Enclosed in CAS DX 249/16a.

⁸⁵ Letter Mr Fawcett to Mary Pattinson, no date, CAS DX 249/14wV and DX 249/14wR.

change his mind. His father writing on one side of a sheet of paper was followed by Thomas' mother writing on the other side of the page:

My dear Boy, My Mother receiv'd your letter last night, which gave us all very real pleasure to hear you were well, and that your inclination is still to go to India

We are happy to find you are well & that you write in good spirits. I longed to know what your sentiments now are in regard to going abroad, for if you had in the least disliked it you should not have gone. No! Not for all the Indies but as you write me that you still prefer it I will endeavour to rest satisfied...⁸⁶

Gentry and middling Cumbrian families contextualised the risks of an East Indies encounter with other alternative activities in global trade as well as conditions at home. They rationalised risk at a multitude of levels and had accepted a view that the East Indies were not only survivable but liveable. Some families, it appears, adopted a pattern of sending younger rather than elder sons to the East Indies. It is difficult to establish precisely how common this was without undertaking a comprehensive family re-constitution study enumerating all births, birth orders, and the deaths of siblings. Such a task is beyond the scope of this thesis, but among the gentry families prominent in Cumbrian affairs, such as the Senhouses, the Fletchers, the Christians, the Stanleys, and the Flemings, the East Indies venture was very much the domain of younger sons. There were exceptions. Notably, Andrew Hudleston of Hutton John sent not only his eldest son but his only child to India.⁸⁷ His second cousin, John Hudleston (1749-1837), descended from a younger line of the Hutton John family, was experienced in India and as a director and influential member of the India faction of the Company found positions for a multitude of his own sons, as well as the sons of a wide circle of kin and friends.

⁸⁶ Letter Thomas and Mary Pattinson, Kirklington, to their son Thomas Pattinson, 16 February 1805, CAS DX 249/14vR.

⁸⁷ IOR J/1/27 f.97.

It is possible, but unlikely, that choices about which children went to India were constituted around prudential concerns and designed to manage East Indian risk. It is more likely that the East Indies presented for the Cumbrian gentry another solution to the problem of supporting younger sons.⁸⁸ Certainly, a prudential approach is not obvious among those Cumbrians involved in the East Indies trade. Very early in the eighteenth century, John Braddyll, eventually of Conishead Priory, was active in the East Indies. Of John Braddyll and Sarah Dodding's five surviving sons, four were in the East Indies prior to 1750. Similarly, Edward Stephenson of Keswick, as well as his only brother, were in India around the same time, along with multiple Winders and Addisons. John Taylor, who returned to Cumbria after service as a surgeon with the East India Company, subsequently committed his three sons to the East Indies in 1770, 1778 and the 1790s respectively.

Similar to Quaker families operating in the North American colonies, many Cumbrians in the East Indies relied on familial networks to operate their ventures.⁸⁹ This was certainly evident in the connected Dent and Wilkinson as well as the Fawcett families who situated sons across both the Indian sub-continent and China to maintain their extensive trading, shipping and agency businesses, including opium. James Graham, the Carlisle banker, repeatedly spent time in India with his children. The Bellasis, Huddart and Wordsworth families, ambitious middling families all, sent multiple offspring to the East Indies. This pattern was part of a broader tendency among merchant and trading families to place close kin in overseas posts. The

⁸⁸ In Cumbria this is noted by Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, p. 89 and explored by D. R. Hainsworth, 'The Lowther younger sons: a 17th-century case study', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 88 (1988), pp. 149-60. The difficulties for middling and gentry families of supporting younger sons and business is an ongoing motif in R. Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English-Speaking World, 1580-1740* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 78, 190, 198, 208-210.

⁸⁹ A. J. L. Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants: Cumberland Friends and North America in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, 80, 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 85-99.

management of Cumbrian business interests in this way was evident in the West Indies, Africa, the Baltic and Europe as well as the East Indies.⁹⁰ By the nineteenth century, the East India Company had become part of the taken-for-granted career options for gentry and middling ranks. Gentry and middling families in Cumbria were, as Andrew Hudleston's mother notes in 1821, despairing when depressed trade meant that even the influence of Lord Lonsdale could not deliver East India Company appointments.⁹¹

Perhaps, too, people simply accepted that life was short, whether in the East Indies or at home. The observations of deaths in Carlisle from 1779 to 1787 reported by the Carlisle physician, John Heysham, suggest that average life expectancy was a little under thirty-nine years.⁹² Under those circumstances, perceptions of the risk of death in the East Indies were perhaps mitigated by views about the uncertainties of life at home and the other places to which Cumbrians were connected globally. Certainly, India was not seen as presenting the same risks as some other parts of the world. In 1806, Ann Pattinson, when writing to her brother Thomas in Bombay, noted:

David Story is ordered to the West Indies. He is just going to sail for Barbados. They are all very anxious about him here. It is so unhealthy a climate.⁹³

⁹⁰ See for example, E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century Vol 11 Cumberland & Westmorland 1700-1830* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 335-354; F. A. Winder, 'The Winders of Lorton', *Transactions CWAAS*, Old Series XII (1893), pp. 439-457; F. A. Winder, 'Further Notes on the Winders of Lorton', *Transactions CWAAS*, Old Series XV (1898), pp. 229-238; Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain*, pp. 22-25, 28-29, 55-58.

⁹¹ Letter Elizabeth Hudleston to Andrew Hudleston, 1821, CAS DHUD 13/11/1.

⁹² W. A. Armstrong, 'The Trend of Mortality in Carlisle between the 1780s and the 1840s: A Demographic Contribution to the Standard of Living Debate', *Economic History Review*, New Series, 34, 1 (February 1981), p. 99.

⁹³ Letter Ann Pattinson, Penrith, to Thomas Pattinson, Bombay, 14 January 1806, CAS DX 249/14sR.

The issue of climate should not be neglected. It has become axiomatic that the Indian climate was one of the determinants of the British imperial model in India. In particular, official interest in developing India as a settlement colony waned as acclimatisation was increasingly seen as degrading to the British constitution and likely to engender effeminacy.⁹⁴ That developing view among government and Company officials did not necessarily align with the views expressed by Cumbrians. In their correspondence, Cumbrians expressed a broader ‘everyday’ or ‘common sense’ discourse around the interaction between health and weather. Certainly views around the deleterious effects of the climate were by no means restricted to the Indian climate.

Cumbrians ‘at home’ and Cumbrian sojourners in the East Indies similarly expressed anxieties about the climates of both parts of the world. Neither the climate in the British Isles nor the climate in the East Indies were portrayed in universalistic terms. The effects on health of Cumbrian cold and wet were repeatedly referenced as were a parade of family, friends and neighbours moving around the British Isles in an effort to find weather that would restore health. Similarly, some areas of, and seasons in, India were described as climatically trying, uncomfortable and unhealthy, while other places, seasons or times of day were described as pleasant. There was undoubtedly a sense of an ‘English constitution’ but the impacts of climate were also frequently personalised. Andrew Hudleston, for instance, wrote that Madras was

⁹⁴ M. Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India, 1600–1850* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 19; J. Beattie, Health Panics, Migration and Ecological Exchange in the Aftermath of the 1857 Uprising: India, New Zealand and Australia, in R. Peckham, (ed.) *Empires of Panic: Epidemics and Colonial Anxieties* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong University, 2015), pp. 87–110.

unsuited to his constitution, but he found that the Malabar Coast and Mysore were much more amenable.⁹⁵

The risks of ill-health and death from the Indian climate were, then, treated by Cumbrians as variegated rather than uniform, and contingent rather than inevitable. Indeed, there was a continual theme in Cumbrian correspondence that presented parts of India as relatively healthy. As Thomas Pattinson prepares to leave for India in 1805, he received from his mother both blessing and reassurance when she stated ‘I will trust in the Almighty for your preservation and humbly hope, yes ardently, long for your safe return. Bombay is said to be a healthy climate...’⁹⁶ A decade later, Isabella Hudleston writing from Whitehaven to Andrew Fleming in Madras commented:

I think if the object you went to India can be acompleashed at Calicut I wou’d not wish you to make a change as all I know that have been in Calicut says it is the most Healthy place for the English Constitution.⁹⁷

Half a century before, Elizabeth Cust, while disputing her son’s notion that India was ruining his constitution, stressed ‘Gentlemen that have returned from India are the healthiest men that I am acquainted with in the Little Circle of my acquaintance’.⁹⁸

This is not to suggest that Cumbrians ignored the exposure of their kin to new diseases and a very different climate. They accepted that diseases largely unknown in England, as well as the heat, presented challenges to the Cumbrian constitution. At the same time, it was also believed that the challenges of climate and disease could be managed in much the same way as illness was managed at home. That is, through physic, travel to healthy climes and spas, and prudence.

⁹⁵ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Calicut, to his aunt Fleming, 29 December 1817, CAS DHUD 14/12R and DHUD 14/19V.

⁹⁶ Letter Thomas and Mary Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, 16 February 1805, CAS DX 249/14vR.

⁹⁷ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to Andrew Hudleston, Madras, 20 January 1821, CAS DHUD 14/2/13R.

⁹⁸ Letter Elizabeth Cust to Thomas Cust, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

Even the most feared of epidemic diseases, cholera, was susceptible to physic and the expansion of medical expertise.⁹⁹ In 1818, Andrew Hudleston writes to his aunt Isabella of the efficacy of treatment during a cholera outbreak:

At present nine cases have occurred in Calicut but from being taken in time only two of them were fatal. The dose which is usually given, (& which is taken within an hour from the time the patient is first attacked rarely fails to effect his cure) consists of 18 grams of Calomel taken in powder, to be washed down by 15 drops of essence of peppermint & 80 or 100 drops of Laudanum in a wine glass of water.¹⁰⁰

Elizabeth Cust was also confident in medical intervention. Almost undoubtedly influenced by the popularisation of the inoculation for smallpox which had been practised in Carlisle since the mid-1750s,¹⁰¹ she cautioned Thomas against exaggerating the dangers of India:

Every Body says you have kept your Health vastly well, the violent fever you had at your first arrival was what you were to Expect and is undoubtedly of service to you and to every Body at their first arrivals.¹⁰²

In both Cumbria and the East Indies the unwell travelled to find cures in healing climes and natural treatments. In the British Isles, Cumbrians travelled to Harrogate, Bath, Brighton and Cheltenham. Isabella Hudleston wrote to her nephew Andrew in Calicut ‘Your friend Henry Lowther has lost His beloved Wife, has been in a very bad state of Health, ordered to Bath & from there to Brighton.’¹⁰³ Notably Andrew Hudleston, who returned to Cumbria in the 1830s after a long career in India, travelled from Cumberland to Brighton thirty years later in an effort to improve his

⁹⁹ P. Chakrabarti, “‘Neither of meate nor drinke, but what the Doctor alloweth’: Medicine amidst War and Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Madras”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 80 (2006), pp. 1-38.

¹⁰⁰ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Calicut, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 30 September 1818, CAS DHUD 14/15.

¹⁰¹ Armstrong, ‘The Trend of Mortality in Carlisle’, p. 105.

¹⁰² Letter from Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Barrackpore, 1772. CAS DCART C11/42iV.

¹⁰³ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to Andrew Hudleston, Calicut, 21 February 1819, CAS DHUD 14/2/6V.

declining health. It was unsuccessful. He died there and his body had to be transported back to Cumbria for burial at Greystoke.¹⁰⁴

In search of health, Cumbrians sojourning in the East Indies similarly travelled to the Cape of Good Hope, mountain towns in India, the Malabar Coast or simply took a local sea voyage. Andrew Hudleston's cousin William frequently had recourse to sea voyages and the Cape.¹⁰⁵ Thomas Cust spent considerable time at the Cape in the year before his death in 1795.¹⁰⁶ Three years later, his daughter Susan, who had undoubtedly contracted consumption in England before returning to Calcutta, was pronounced to be in need of a sea voyage:

It is with much concern that I inform you that for some months past, Miss Cust's state of Health has been so bad, that an immediate Voyage to Sea has been in the Opinion of the medical Gent who attends her, Dr Hare, became absolutely necessary and the only prospect there is of saving her life.¹⁰⁷

Others, such as John Bellasis, appeared to remain in rude health. While advising his brother Hugh to add their lately departed brother's name to the family tombstone, John Bellasis, already close to forty years in India, added:

One Day or another, my name may be added to the List—at present I have very good Health. I have scarcely had one Days Illness since I left England and have almost forgot the taste of Physic.¹⁰⁸

Retaining one's health was seen by Cumbrian families as necessary if sojourners were to successfully realise the opportunities presented to them by the East Indies. Health was not taken for granted. But premature death and debility were also seen as preventable. Of particular importance to the retention of health was avoiding excess.

¹⁰⁴ 'Death of Mr Hudleston of Hutton John', *Carlisle Journal*, 6 September 1861.

¹⁰⁵ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Madras, to Andrew and Elizabeth Hudleston, Hutton John, 9 June 1815, CAS DHUD 13/3/3V.

¹⁰⁶ G. Theall, *Records of the Cape Colony 1793-1831 Copied for the Cape Government, from the Manuscript Documents in the Public Record Office* (London, Cape Colony Government, 1897), pp. 115, 123.

¹⁰⁷ Letter John Palling, Calcutta, to Richard Cust, 6 April 1798, CAS DCART C11/61/11R.

¹⁰⁸ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 1 July, 1802, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/37c.

In 1814 Isabella Hudleston expressed the contingent nature of health in the East Indies when she reported to her nephew Andrew then in Madras that she:

met the other day a M^r Hall Brother to the late Vicar of Ponsonby who had been 27 years in Madras. He gave me a most pleasing account of the Place, & said it was he believed the Healthiest Situation in the World, if it was not counteracted by intemperance; Keep this in remembrance, I am sure he has, for a Healthier looking Gentleman I don't know.¹⁰⁹

Moderation and health were imbued with moral dimensions. Health was associated with wealth. Ill-health was connected to excess, debt and disgrace. Debt and disgrace were, indeed, the manifestations of over-indulgence, extravagance and a lack of moderation. Nowhere is that connection more evident than in the Ulverston physician John Fell's description of Christopher Wilson to the eminent physician William Cullen from whom he was seeking advice regarding Wilson's gout and heart problems in 1773. In his eighty-fourth year at the time of Fell's enquiry, Wilson had married Margaret Braddyll and acquired Bardsea as well as the Braddyll's Conishead Priory, having returned in 1726 in his late thirties after a career in the East India Company army:

Mr Wilson is descended from healthy Parents, who never had the Gout. He has enjoyed a very strong & vigorous Constitution and took great Care of it, being remarkably temperate, both in Respect to Eating and Drinking. He mostly drank Water and seldom took more than two or three Glasses of Wine a Day. He has spent a good Deal of his Life in the service of the East-India-Company, in which he was a Captain for many Years, and acquired a plentiful Fortune with an excellent character. When he quitted this service, he bought a large Estate, & amused himself with Hunting...¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to Andrew Hudleston, Bath, 7th March 1814 CAS DHUD 14/2/1V.

¹¹⁰ Letter from John Fell, Ulverston, to Dr William Cullen, Edinburgh, 1 November 1773, ID 857 *The Cullen Project: The Consultation Letters of Dr William Cullen (1710-1790) at the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* <http://cullenproject.ac.uk/>.

The sentiments expressed in the letters of Cumbrians in the long eighteenth century persisted well into the late nineteenth century. Hull's *vade mecum* for Europeans bound for India published in 1878 warned that the 'problem' with India was not so much its climate but that 'every facility is afforded the thoughtless and self-indulgent for getting into debt in India... and no habit is more apt to grow, than one of gratifying every wish as it occurs...'.¹¹¹ Avoiding excess and maintaining health in the East Indies, consequently, provided not only a rich vein of subject matter in private correspondence but in print throughout the long eighteenth century and thereafter. Thomas Williamson in his 1813 advisory publication *The European in India* stated unequivocally that:

A young person of good health, disposed to moderation in general, and avoiding the sun during the great heats, may expect to live as long in Calcutta as in any part of the world ... many have not been blessed with strong constitutions; but they have, by prudence and forbearance, obviated the greatest dangers...¹¹²

Conclusion

Ambivalence was at the heart of Cumbrians' encounters with the East Indies. Fears of social marginalisation were accompanied by even more pressing anxieties that an East Indies venture would culminate not in vast wealth, but in loss, disaster and death. The tension between risk and reward was a persistent feature of the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. Wealth, respectability and success were the entwined hopes of Cumbrian families as they dispatched their children to the East Indies. Loss, debt, disgrace, and death were their greatest fears.

¹¹¹ E. Hull, *The European in India, or, an Anglo-Indian's Vade-Mecum* (New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2004), p. 70.

¹¹² T. Williamson, *The East India Vade Mecum or the Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company, vol. 1* (London, Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1810), p. 2.

Cumbrians were by no means ignorant of the risks of an East Indies sojourn. But the East Indies offered a promise of wealth beyond that which could be achieved in Cumbria or, even, elsewhere in the British Isles. For Sir Daniel Fleming there were opportunities to place a son with East Indies ambitions advantageously at home. He was influential enough for George to be installed as a canon at Carlisle Cathedral. George's career culminated in appointment as Bishop of Carlisle.¹¹³ For others, both gentry and middling class, the balance between risk and reward meant that the East Indies were not so obviously unacceptable. Middling Cumbrians, often in consort with gentry kin, were already operating within an extensive network of global trade in which the risks of loss, debt and death were familiar. Opportunities for younger sons in particular were limited. For both families and individuals with access to the resources necessary to the pursuit of opportunities in the East Indies, there was the promise of success. Individuals were not thrust out to the East Indies without consideration of the nature of success or the risks associated with East Indies ventures.

Nor was being 'put out' to India simply a means by which the obligations associated with kinship could be avoided and young men and women sent off to 'go it alone'. Within the exception of Bombay, which was considered particularly inhospitable to young men without connections, there was considerable emphasis placed on providing hospitality in the East Indies.¹¹⁴ An East Indies sojourn was a strategy to deliver mutual benefits to the sojourner and his family. Certainly, it was one riven with anxieties, hopes, and ambivalence about whether the venture would deliver a worthwhile return of its costs.

¹¹³ W. Gibson, Fleming, Sir George, second baronet (1667–1747) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lancs.ac.uk/view/article/9698>.

¹¹⁴ Spear, *The Nabobs*, pp. 73f.

The outcome of an East Indies venture was not treated fatalistically. The perceived risks associated with the East Indies were conceived of as manageable: risks mitigated through prudence and healthy living and rewards grasped through ambition and hard work. Many Cumbrians believed that the balance between risk and reward could be struck, that the rewards were worthwhile, and that there would be benefits stretching beyond individual sojourners to their families at home. Those beliefs are apparent in the way in which Cumbrian families mobilised a raft of resources to take family members to the East Indies.

‘Passage to India’

Unworthy, brutish Captain Carter and an officer of his has been pleased to beat me abt purely to let me know their powers – John Addison, Whitehaven, 1720.¹

John Addison was one of many passengers on their voyage to or from the East Indies who protested treatment by the captains and officers of East Indiamen. Indeed, travellers' anxieties about possible abuse was a theme that persisted across the long eighteenth century. Almost a century later Cruikshank caricatured the voyage (Plate 4.1) and Williamson's *East India Vade Mecum* provided extensive instructions about



Plate 4.1 George Cruikshank, An Interesting scene on board an East-Indiaman, showing the Effects of a heavy Lurch, after dinner, circa 1818

Source: National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, PAG8632

¹ IOR/E/1/11 ff. 184-185v [3 May 1720] – Letter 113 John Addison in London to Thomas Woolley.

how to select a ship, a captain, fellow travellers, and a cabin to avoid the journey to India becoming a nightmare of filth and mistreatment.²

But the passage to India was not simply a matter of preparing for, or surviving, what could be a tedious, sometimes frightening, and often uncomfortable trip. Travel to the East Indies was merely one, relatively brief, phase in a much more extended process. The high rate of Cumbrian engagement with the East Indies had its genesis in the comparatively high levels of educational achievement among young Cumbrians. They had to meet, too, the burden of the financial demands associated with preparation, fit-out, travel and the provision of venture capital for private trade. The passage to India was determined by the extent to which Cumbrian gentry and middling families could mobilise a network of friends to: gain patronage appointments into East India Company; financially support them in their East Indies venture; and, provide care and support to preparations for an orderly and successful departure for and arrival in the East Indies. In short, the passage to India was paved by a complex interaction between what Bourdieu would describe as cultural, economic, and social capital.

For Bourdieu, cultural capital is produced out of the intersection between family and the institutional structures of education. Cultural capital are assets in the form of competencies, qualifications and skills which allow (or deny) individuals opportunities to connect to the processes of economic capital accumulation. Cultural capital also provides the foundations of taste which, in turn, both constructs and maintains social distinctions. According to Bourdieu, social distinction feeds the processes of identity and identification that underpin institutionalised 'relationships of

² T. Williamson, *The East India Vade Mecum or the Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company* (London, Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1810), vol., 1, pp. 31-60.

mutual acquaintance and recognition'.³ It is those which bind class, kin and place networks together and generate social capital. That is, the material and symbolic resources and benefits that amass because individuals and groups share social spaces recognisable in common interests, tastes and mores.⁴

This chapter explores the splicing and re-splicing of these forms of capital and how they shaped the passage to India of Cumbrian sojourners. It starts with the way in which Cumbria's educational opportunities provided Cumbrians with particular advantages in the pursuit of Company and other appointments. The chapter then turns to the financial challenges of seeking success in the East Indies and the way in which comparatively under-resourced gentry and middling Cumbrians dealt with the burden of costs. Finally, the discussion then focusses on how the social capital embedded in Cumbrian networks, and the eighteenth-century concept of friends, combined to lever patronage, influence and resources to drive forward the pursuit of success in the East Indies.

Cumbria's Educational Landscape and Cultural Capital

In November 1783, an East India Company director, Francis Baring, wrote that the Company's Cumbrian chairman and Member of Parliament for Cumberland, Henry Fletcher was 'neither capable of forming accounts himself nor of digesting those which are formed by others.'⁵ It was a pronouncement written in the heat of Fox's East India Bill designed to establish parliamentary control over the East India Company and constrain its patronage. Baring and Fletcher were on opposing sides.

³ P. Bourdieu, The forms of capital, in J. Richardson, (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, Greenwood, 1986), p. 88.

⁴ Bourdieu, The forms of capital, pp. 81-95; P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1994), pp. 112-125.

⁵ Cited J. Brooke, FLETCHER, Henry (c.1727-1807), of Clea Hall, Cumb., in L. Namier (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790* (1964) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/fletcher-henry-1727-1807>.

The two embodied persistent tensions between the Company's city faction, London-based merchant directors like Baring, and the India faction made up of directors who had themselves sojourned and operated in the East Indies. Under those circumstances, what is interesting is not so much that Baring chose to make a pejorative comment about Henry Fletcher, but that comment has served as the summary motif of Henry Fletcher's career in *The History of Parliament*.

It is an assessment at odds with a man who sustained his parliamentary position in opposition to the Lowther interest, a man who was an influential director of the East India Company after a successful career as an East Indiaman, and a man who both made and married a fortune. It is, however, an assessment consistent with a common portrayal of the provincial North as less literate than the South⁶ and Cumbria as an isolated backwater with Cumbrians stultified and resistant to innovation.⁷ Yet propositions of widespread illiteracy, limited intellectual opportunities and innovation sit, for Cumbria's middling and gentry classes at least, uneasily with the evidence.

In 1820 Henry Brougham declared Westmorland to be a beacon in the gloom of English educational performance. He asserted that one in seven of Westmorland's children accessed elementary education compared to a national average of one in sixteen children. Westmorland, he claimed, was superior to the rest of England in its rate of educational provision. He went on to claim Westmorland's ratios of child education were in excess of Holland, Scotland and Switzerland where there was one educated child to every eight to eleven children in the population.⁸ Subsequently,

⁶ R. Houston, 'The Development of Literacy: Northern England, 1640-1750', *Economic History Review*, 35.2 (May 1982), pp. 199-216.

⁷ C. L. M. Bouch, and G. Jones, *A Short Economic and Social History of the Lake Counties 1500-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 218, present examples of this view expressed in 1790. A similar view is expressed by Martineau in the 1840s see M. A. Hill, (ed.), *An Independent Woman's Lake District Writings: Harriet Martineau* (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), p. 11.

⁸ H. Brougham, Education of the Poor, House of Commons Debate 28 June 1820, vol 2., *Hansard*, cc. 49-91; M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 321-322.

historians have shown that while the precision of Brougham's estimates might be debated, his claim that the Cumbrian population was literate has some substance.

Analysis of northern circuit assizes, which included Cumberland and Westmorland, found that literacy rates in the Northern English counties increased among male deponents and was over two thirds by the 1730s. All the gentry and professional male deponents between the 1720s and 1740s were literate. Among the middling classes involved in crafts and trades or yeoman, around three quarters of male deponents were literate. The proportions of women who were literate were smaller, but were, nevertheless, substantial. Over eighty percent of women deponents from gentry families between 1640 and 1750 were literate.⁹ Literacy unquestionably underpinned middling Cumbrian women's involvement in business.¹⁰ The extent and depth of literacy undoubtedly varied. A flavour of the educational limitations for Cumbrian gentry women in the mid-eighteenth century can be found in the letters of Andrew Fleming Hudleston's faithful correspondent, his unmarried aunt Isabella.

Born in 1741, and resident in Whitehaven for much of her adult life until her death in 1823, Isabella Hudleston's education was patchy at best. Avidly interested in political affairs and news, public and private, Isabella plaintively comments in replying to one of her nephew's letters from India:

Your Letters are all most charming do pray continue to favor me with them you have quite the power of letter writing tis quite uphill with me having never been properly taught how to spell I am quite ashamed to write & send a Letter but to you I do it because I love you & you will excuse... tis true I might turn to the Dictionary but my eyes fail me & I find that I have wrote all this Letter without spectacles I cou'd not see to read that small print without them & that takes up much time & makes writing very troublesome if it was not for the

⁹ Houston, 'The Development of Literacy', pp. 206-213.

¹⁰ C. Churches, Putting Women in Their Place: Female Litigants at Whitehaven, 1660-1760, in N. E. Wright, M. W. Ferguson and A. R. Buck, (eds.), *Women, Property and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004).

above I shou'd have great pleasure in sending letters to you but it was not the Fashion in my Day to teach Ladies the Grammar.¹¹

By contrast, gentry and middling Cumbrian men had a myriad of opportunities for both elementary and vocational education. Indeed, such was the proclivity to schooling, the Cumbrian Thomas Rumney of Melfell wrote that the northern counties became: 'quite a manufactory for Bankers' and Merchants' clerks' for London in the eighteenth century.¹² Indeed, Cumbria was exporting schoolmasters to other counties. 'Expatriate' Cumbrian schoolmasters teaching at private schools and successfully preparing pupils for Cambridge and Oxford included Adam Barnes at Higham, Suffolk, William Bordley from Hawkshead who ran a school at Lancaster, and the Westmerians Robert Shaw and Robert Dent who headed schools at Burnley and Ottrington respectively in the early half of the eighteenth century. Later there was John Kendall of Whitehaven who had a school in Warwickshire and Thomas Lancaster of Barton who established schools in Fulham and Wimbledon. The most prominent was William Gilpin appointed as headmaster of Cheam in 1757 and succeeded by his son twenty years later.¹³

Cumbria was simply awash with schools. Sixty-two of the eighty-one grammar schools in England's northern counties operating during the eighteenth century were situated in Cumberland and Westmorland.¹⁴ Opportunities for vocational training were rich. There were formal apprenticeships and vocational placements. Young Cumbrian men were situated in counting houses, the offices of merchants and tradesmen, articulated to attorneys or taken on as midshipmen and mates on coastal or

¹¹ Letter Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, to Andrew Hudleston, Coimbatore, 13 October 1819, CAS DHUD 14/2/7R.

¹² Cited Bouch and Jones, *Lake Counties*, pp. 201.

¹³ N. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1951), pp. 121-127 and Appendix 1.

¹⁴ F. Robinson, *Trends in Education in Northern England during the Eighteenth Century: A biographical study* (PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1972), vol. 3. Frontispiece.

international shipping. Oxford and Cambridge, the vocational training grounds for young men destined for the church, had longstanding connections into Cumbria. Queen's College, Oxford is particularly prominent in the education and the provision of livings to middling and gentry Cumbrians.¹⁵

This plethora of academies, private schools, and grammar schools had a reputation for providing a quality, affordable education for gentry and middling class sons.¹⁶ It was a reputation that went beyond the Cumbrian counties. William Senhouse wrote from Barbados in 1787 that his acquaintances there 'whose connexions are principally with the Southern parts of England are surprised at the very moderate expense of [educating their] boys.'¹⁷ In Cumbria itself middling and gentry families showed an almost feverish desire to provide their boys with an education that would deliver successful careers. Towards the end of the century, some gentry families sent their sons to public schools such as Eton, Harrow or Winchester or private schools such as Cheam. For instance, George Stanley's mother, Mildred the daughter of Sir George Fleming, Bishop of Carlisle, moved her son from the Carlisle Grammar School with only nominal fees in 1757 to the care of William Gilpin at Cheam. Gilpin himself had been educated at Carlisle Grammar School.

At Cheam, Gilpin was charging £25 per annum for basic tuition and about the same amount again for board and additional subjects. By 1760, George had been shifted to Eton at about a cost of £100 annually to his mother.¹⁸ But the costs were high and the advantages questionable. Typically, Cumbrian gentry and middling families sent their boys to local grammar schools for elementary education. Some

¹⁵ For example, Benjamin Hill and his kinsman George Bellasis, Ewan Law, and the Flemings of Rydal.

¹⁶ E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century Vol 11 Cumberland & Westmorland 1700-1830* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 293f.

¹⁷ Cited Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, p. 293.

¹⁸ F. Robinson, 'The Education of an Eighteenth Century Gentleman: George Edward Stanley of Dalegarth and Ponsonby', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 70 (1970), pp. 181-191.

families admitted their sons to a succession of schools or supplemented school with private tuition.¹⁹ Most importantly, Cumbrian middling and gentry families commonly ‘finished’ their sons with vocational training.

Navigation and other applied sciences related to seafaring were taught throughout Cumbria. Rebanks was teaching navigation in 1728 at Kendal and in 1760 Rowland Wetherald was teaching navigation at Great Salkeld, near Penrith. In Whitehaven John Scott was teaching navigation and mathematics as early as 1753. He tutored William Senhouse prior to his admittance to the navy. In the 1770s, navigation and ancillary subjects were offered in Whitehaven by Ward’s Academy, William Chambers who published a textbook on navigation in 1774, John Drape, and Joseph Wood. Joseph Fullerton, who started a school in Whitehaven in 1800, included navigation in its curriculum. Joseph Gilbanks taught navigation for two decades at Cockermouth from 1775. Navigation was being taught at Underbarrow and at Brampton. Navigation was accompanied by an array of applied sciences central to success in the emerging world of global enterprise. John Dalton was teaching mechanical and civil engineering in Kendal in 1787. Green-Row Academy offered navigation, astronomy, geography and drawing.²⁰ Many schools and academies combined classics and modern languages with disciplines fundamental to commerce and trade. Robert Hood, for instance, established a school in Brampton advertised in 1777 as specifically directed to preparing boys for a ‘mercantile’ life. Ten years later Septimus Hodgson of Whitehaven advertised a curriculum of English, writing and

¹⁹ Robinson, ‘The Education of an Eighteenth Century Gentleman’, pp. 183-185.

²⁰ Robinson, Trends in Education in Northern England, vol. 2, Appendix 1; F. Robinson and P. Wallis, ‘Early Mathematical Schools in Whitehaven’, *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 75 (1975), pp. 262-274.

spelling, branches of mathematics and arithmetic, as well as surveying, measurement, and ‘the use of globes’.²¹

Evidence around school attendance among Cumbrians appointed to the East India Company is fragmentary but it is clear that even those taking up seafaring careers were commonly educated at local grammar schools. For instance, Joseph Huddart, who joined the service in 1771 after many years seafaring, had been educated at the local clergyman’s school at Allonby. Carlisle Grammar School delivered a number of its pupils into the maritime service of the East India Company including Patricius Curwen, who joined the Company in 1702, and a number of the Tullies who attended in the subsequent decade or so. Other pupils of Carlisle Grammar school among the East Indies mariners were William Boak, appointed to the Company in 1758, John Aglionby appointed in 1763, Thomas Dobinson, Henry Adderton who entered service in 1772, and Robert Robson appointed in 1796.²²

Joshua Langhorne, appointed in the 1780s, attended Bampton School. Peter Crosthwaite attended Crosthwaite Grammar School and entered the Company service in 1758. Of a similar age, although very different social standing, Joseph Senhouse was educated at Cockermouth Grammar School. John Hasell, also appointed in the 1750s, attended Appleby Grammar School, along with his contemporary Richard Pearson. The latter’s son also attended Appleby Grammar School before entering the Company’s service in the 1780s. Charles Cust, the son of Thomas Cust and Noor Begum Bibby, was sent to St Bees for his education at the insistence of his father’s agents, the Mounsey brothers of Carlisle.²³ The ill-fated John Wordsworth attended,

²¹ Robinson, *Trends in Education in Northern England*, vol. 2, Appendix 1.

²² Robinson, *Trends in Education in Northern England*, vol. 2, Appendix 1.

²³ Letter George and Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, London, 26 July 1794, CAS DCART C11/51iiiR.

like his brother, Hawkshead Grammar School, before his appointment to an East Indiaman in the 1780s.²⁴

After completing a grammar school education, Cumbrian families then invested in ‘finishing’ their young men. There was a raft of tutors employed in ‘finishing’ young men specifically for the East Indies. The result was that, unlike some applicants to the Company,²⁵ many Cumbrians came with extensive certification of their educational history and skills. In 1759, John Holme was certificated by John Smith, as having successfully completed a study in ‘Writing, Arithmetick and Merchants Accompts.’²⁶ In 1770, William Douglas referred to expertise developed through Mr Smith’s courses in ‘Book Keeping and Merchants Accounts.’²⁷ Abraham Brown cited tuition prior to his appointment as a writer in 1754 in bookkeeping with a Daniel Blaney and in Kendal with Gilbert Crackenthorp and Thomas Rebanks.²⁸ Thomas Edmunds, after private schooling in Ambleside, took a course of mathematics and classics at Green Row Academy, Cumberland to ready him for a cadetship.²⁹ Reverend William Addison and his wife Isabella Curwen were less interested in a classical education. They sent their son to Thomas Abraham of Workington for instruction in arithmetic, book keeping ‘in the Italian manner’ and ‘merchants accounts by double entry’ in the 1770s.³⁰ A little earlier, Edward Ritson, a younger cousin of Edward Stephenson and Jonathan Winder, went through a:

regular course of mathematical learning in the following branches Viz Arithmetic Vulgar & Decimal, Mensuration, trigonometry, navigation and Merchants Accompts after the Italian method of Double entry.

²⁴ T. Thompson, *Wordsworth’s Hawkshead* (London, Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 32.

²⁵ S. Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 29.

²⁶ IOR J/1/3 f.215.

²⁷ IOR J/1/8 f.214.

²⁸ IOR J/1/2 f.231f.

²⁹ IOR L/MIL/9-166 ff.471.

³⁰ IOR J/1/8 f.410.

The subjects were taught by George Mackreth at Lamplugh, Cumberland.³¹

The education of Cumbrians appointed by the East India Company raises questions around the balance between patronage and education typically promoted in the historiography of the East India Company. Suresh Ghosh states that the inability of candidates to provide certificates of educational attainment were set aside where the familial interests of Company directors were concerned.³² There is an implication in Ghosh and others that patronage and the vested interests of certain families were the primary factors shaping access to Company appointments.³³ There is, however, a considerable difference between a preparedness to forego certification of educational attainment and a willingness to appoint irrespective of educational attainment. Patronage, as the later discussion will show, was critically important, but it appears that it was not sufficient in itself. That a vocational education was crucial to a career in the East Indies is highlighted by John Bellasis. In 1794, John Bellasis, by then commander in chief of the Bombay Presidency's army, suggested his nephew:

go on with writing and Accounts to the last moment and if you have an opportunity for him to learn navigation do not neglect it, also Geometry and Trigonometry, it will be of very great consequence to Him, if it can be accomplished. One day or other, please God, you may both live to see him return with independence.³⁴

The superior educational opportunities of middling and gentry Cumbrians positioned them in relation to the Company's Indian appointments. It also positioned them well in London. London was, for some, an intermediary step to the East Indies. James Denis Hodgson, for instance, the son of a Carlisle grocer was apprenticed to

³¹ IOR J/1/6 f.222.

³² Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community*, pp. 28-30.

³³ S. Mentz, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740* (Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2005), pp. 229-232; Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community*, pp. 33-56.

³⁴ Letter General John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, Westmorland, 16 March 1794, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/34b.

John Chapman, oilman and salter of Broken Wharf, Upper Thames Street, prior to being appointed as a writer to the East India Company.³⁵ Shared education and the cultural capital associated with it underpinned a raft of Cumbrian connected businesses in London in banking, legal practice, insurance, and ship brokerage. The Dents, Borradailes, Atkinsons, Winders, Fawcetts, Sowerbys and Stephensons, all used London as a way-station to success in India. Those families operated across a triangle connecting Cumbria, London, and the East Indies.

Cumbrians' accumulation of the cultural capital necessary to secure appointments to the East Indies was undeniably facilitated by the relatively low cost of Cumbrian education. Attendance at Cumbrian grammar schools incurred relatively minimal costs, even when boys were boarding. In the 1750s, Joseph Ritson was charging a guinea a year for teaching at the grammar school in Cockermouth. St Bees was charging a little more than £7 annually for teaching in the 1770s with a weekly fee for board of five shillings.³⁶ In the 1780s, John Wordsworth, along with his brothers, was boarding in Hawkshead and attending the grammar school there. Grammar school subjects were free, although fees were charged for additional tuition in 'specialist' subjects. Fees varied but appear to have been around a little over a pound a year for writing tuition in the mid-1780s. Board was in the region of six shillings weekly.³⁷ In 1797, the grammar school at Blencowe was charging a little over £21 for board over the school year with tuition fees per subject set at £1.10s.³⁸

Vocational subjects of interest to the East India Company and apprenticeships attracted more substantial fees. Even so, the base tuition fee at Green Row Academy

³⁵ IOR J/1/11 f.191.

³⁶ Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, pp. 293-296.

³⁷ Thompson, *Wordsworth's Hawkshead*, pp. 89 and 89n.

³⁸ Robinson, 'The Education of an Eighteenth Century Gentleman', p. 129.

at Abbey-Holme was only 25 guineas annually as late as 1817. By way of contrast, Elizabeth Cust estimated that educating Thomas, most likely at the Kensington Academy, in the 1760s cost her £120. This was more than her annual income.³⁹ There is a certain irony that two decades later, Thomas was himself complaining from Calcutta of the costs associated with educating his sons sent from India to reside with their uncle in London. Mounsey, Thomas' agents in Carlisle, advised the children's uncle that the boys should be removed from Dr Burney's and sent to St Bees grammar school to reduce the financial burden on their father.⁴⁰

Financing Success

The considerable price variation between education in Cumbria and education elsewhere, combined with Cumbria's reputation for superior educational opportunities, meant that Cumbria's gentry and middling families had some discretion around educational costs. There were, however, other costs associated with an East Indies career over which they had less choice. In the case of appointments to East Indiamen, commands were openly purchased until 1796 and quite probably more discretely thereafter.⁴¹

The cost of a command varied in the latter quarter of the eighteenth century but was claimed to be as high as £9,000⁴² although more typically in the region of £3,000.⁴³ Ship owners or shareholders who could provide a discount on the price of a

³⁹ Letter Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Barrackpore, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

⁴⁰ Letter George and Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, London, 26 July 1794, CAS DCART C11/51iiiR.

⁴¹ C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834* (2nd Edition, London, Hesperides Press, 2006), p. 86.

⁴² W. Medland and C. Weobly, *A Collection of Remarkable and Interesting Criminal Trials, Actions at Law, &c: To which is Prefixed, an Essay on Reprieve and Pardon, and Biographical Sketches of John Lord Eldon, and Mr. Mingay, vol. 2* (London, J. D Dewick, 1804), pp. 184-185.

⁴³ E. Keble Chatterton, *A World for the Taking: The Ships of the Honourable East India Company* (Tucson, Fireship Press, 2008), pp. 84-85.

command or could gift a command found that they could simultaneously promote the interests of family and friendship while securing the loyalty of the commanders they had appointed.⁴⁴ Kin and place attachments between Cumbrian commanders, officers, and ship owners were important. The younger John Wordsworth's captaincy of the *Earl of Abergavenny* was virtually certain because of the ship's Cumbrian connections. Two of Wordsworth's cousins, John Wordsworth and Hugh Parkin, each had a sixteenth share in the ship and William Dent was the managing owner.⁴⁵

There was no equivalent legitimate pathway into the Company's merchant or military services. Indeed, applicants, nominating directors and those recommending an applicant, were all required to swear that they had neither given nor received payment to promote a nomination for a cadetship or writership. Notwithstanding, such payments did occur. A number of Bengal appointments involved inducements to directors of between £2,000 and £5,000 in the 1770s. Between 1800 and 1808 these shady payments varied from £150 to £3,500.⁴⁶ There is no direct evidence of such payments among the Cumbrian men appointed to the East Indies. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that they were not unknown.

Whether inducements were being paid or not by Cumbrian families, there is no doubt that some families went to considerable expense to present their candidates well to Company directors. The cost of travel to, and accommodation in, London could be significant, especially when individuals destined for the East Indies found themselves cooling their heels in the South for considerable periods. Many families

⁴⁴ Medland and Weobly, *A Collection of Remarkable and Interesting Criminal Trials*, pp. 184-185.

⁴⁵ C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas 1793-1813* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 186-187.

⁴⁶ Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community*, pp. 20-27.

relied on the hospitality of Cumbrian relatives, friends and acquaintances to reduce the burden of those costs. But expense was unavoidable.

The costs of fitting out and travel to the East Indies could be substantial. For instance, the embittered John Addison suggested that his voyage on the *Godolphin* and operating in the East Indies on behalf of the Company for eleven years between about 1709 and 1720 had cost him ‘not less than the sum of five hundred pounds sterling.’⁴⁷ Fifty years later, Elizabeth Cust estimated her expenditure on her son Thomas’ travel to India was in excess of £550. In addition to £123 which appears to have been the expenses associated with travel to and residence in London while awaiting departure, there was £65.15.0 for passage. Fitting out was at a cost of £142.8.0. Thomas also borrowed against her £17 lent by his brother in London, £33 at the Cape of Good Hope, and £173.5.0 in India on arrival.⁴⁸ The latter had been provided by a Mr Holmes, probably the father of Catherine Holme from Carlisle and registrar of the Mayor’s Court in Calcutta. Notably the needs of Thomas’ daughter, Susan, were calculated to be significantly less by her father’s agents when she was returning from England to Calcutta thirty years later. As Robert Mounsey wrote to Susan’s uncle, Richard Cust:

I rec^d yours by last Post and agreeable to your request inclose you £85 viz. a Bank Bill value £55 and a draft value £30 which will discharge the two Bills drawn on you by Captain Cust and leave £40 towards fitting out his Daughter.⁴⁹

In 1794, General John Bellasis estimated that an expenditure of £150 would be required to fit out his nephew, William, in a fashion that would allow him to ‘appear

⁴⁷ IOR E/1/12 138-139v [1 March 1720] – Letter 78 John Addison at Whitehaven to William Dawsonne and the Committee of Correspondence concerning a £100 gratuity for his work in the Company’s service at India and St Helena.

⁴⁸ Letter from Elizabeth Cust, Carlisle, to Thomas Cust, Barrackpore, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

⁴⁹ Letter Robert Mounsey, Carlisle, to Richard Cust, London, 8 February 1796, CAS DCART C11/51xvii.

in a proper manner' in India. His letter implies that passage and ancillary expenses would be no more than an additional £50.⁵⁰ A year later, John Wordsworth required eight guineas for a new uniform when promoted to fourth mate on the *Osterley*. He had previously been given £30 for fitting out in 1789 and another £100 in 1791 to fit him out and as venture capital on a possible voyage to China.⁵¹ In 1812, Susannah Knott appears to have gifted her cousin Elizabeth Hudleston about £500 to fund Andrew Fleming Hudleston's fit out and the expenses of taking up a writership in Madras. It appears that those costs were around £350, for Hudleston notes to his aunt that he arrived in Madras with £150 pounds.⁵² He subsequently had to ask for another £100 from his parents to set himself, despite staying with his cousin William Hudleston in Madras.⁵³

The financial burdens of an East Indies venture were not easily sustained. Access to ready money was persistently problematic in eighteenth-century Cumbria.⁵⁴ Both Cumbrian gentry and middling families could be stretched by the costs of a Company appointment. There were some, of course, in the most desperate of conditions. John Hasell has already been mentioned. There was Richard Gilpin whose family had suffered almost three generations of economic decline and debt. He sold the Eccleriggs estate to set up a career in India.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the significant sums

⁵⁰ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 16 March 1794, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/34a.

⁵¹ C. Ketcham, (ed.), *The Letters of John Wordsworth* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 11, 13, 17.

⁵² Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Madras, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 8 October 1813, CAS DHUD 14/8V.

⁵³ Letter Andrew Hudleston, Madras, to Elizabeth Hudleston, Hutton John, 19 December 1814, CAS DHUD 13/2/7V.

⁵⁴ J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland 1660-1760* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 207.

⁵⁵ Letter John Addison junior to Francis E Barker regarding Richard Gilpin, 1814, CAS BDBROUGHTON/19/39/2.

invested in East Indies ventures suggest that families supporting those ventures were not in deep distress or unable to access credit.

Some middling families used mortgages to fund their children's East Indies ventures. Thomas Cust's appointment as a cadet to Bengal appears to have contributed to his mother mortgaging properties in Penrith and Carlisle. She complained to her son later that the interest on those mortgages at four percent was 'lessening my little income thirty pounds a year [from £100 per annum] ... I keep but one servant and very little company as you may suppose I can't afford to do otherwise.'⁵⁶ Local gentry families were applied to for funds as Anthony Sharpe's letter to Henry Curwen of Workington Hall illustrates:

I have had some late difficulties in fitting out my Son who is going Officer in the Hector East India man to overcome with I have a present want of £30 I have applied to Mr Charles Udale to be relieved he says he does not lend money without your knowledge & consent, & and that he wd mention my request first time he saw you but as the matter requires dispatch I presume upon this freedom humbly desiring that you'll be graciously pleased to signify your consent by a line and that your benevolent temper will excuse this liberty and attribute it to faithful motives.⁵⁷

Financial facilities were also sought from Cumbrian merchants, bankers, and East Indiamen owners operating in London and India. In 1806, Thomas Pattinson's family drew on the Routledges to ensure that Thomas had £20 for voyage expenses over and above his passage and another £40 for use on arrival in India. This was not enough to fit him out for his appointment as ensign in Bombay. Thomas Pattinson required a further £30, the provision of which was facilitated by Henry Fawcett's reputation and influence as a member of the Bombay Council, as a merchant, and as an owner of a

⁵⁶ Letter Elizabeth Cust to Thomas Cust, India, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

⁵⁷ Letter Anthony Sharpe of Dearham to Henry Curwen, Workington Hall, 30 March 1776, CAS DCU 3/7.

tranche of ships including the East Indiaman *Scaleby Castle*, the largest ship at Bombay.⁵⁸

Perhaps the most challenging aspect of the East Indies was accumulating venture capital. For those with maritime careers, the rewards of command were substantial but remuneration was insufficient until the rank of second mate had been reached.⁵⁹ Even then the promise of wealth resided in mariners' private trade, as it did for writers and cadets for much of the eighteenth century. Army officers benefitted from access to batta. Batta was a range of compensatory payments and additional allowances and it was jealously guarded. Periodic attempts by the Company to withdraw batta sparked a number of mutinies among European officers. George Knott of Coniston was probably caught up in one such incident during the 1760s.⁶⁰ Army officers and seamen could also look to shares of plunder captured in military engagements to compensate for long periods of low and, often, irregular payment.⁶¹

Although remuneration for writers and army officers gradually became more regulated towards the end of the eighteenth century, Company appointments were frequently associated with continued demands on families for financial support. That support included what was effectively venture capital to pursue private trade. Private trade could involve a range of activities: import and export on one's own account to the British Isles; taking advantage of the high rates of interest prevailing in the East by lending to fellow Europeans but also to locals in East Indies businesses and nawabs; trading in silver; developing coffee and indigo estates; opium distribution;

⁵⁸ Letter from Bombay to Henry Fawcett, 25 August 1806, CAS DX 249/14nR; Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas*, p. 337; A. Bulley, *The Bombay Country Ships, 1790-1833* (Richmond, Curzon Press, 2000), pp. 189f.

⁵⁹ Chatterton, *A World for the Taking*, p. 85.

⁶⁰ IOR Mss Eur G37/41/1 f.3 [2 July 1766] – Letters Henry Strachey and George Knott 2 July 1766.

⁶¹ See R. Holmes, *Sahib: The British Soldier in India 1750-1914* (London, Harper Perennial, 2005), pp. 272ff.

ship-building and brokerage; and, building business partnerships with the already thriving trading and manufacture of the East Indies. All these held the promise, not always realised, of wealth.

The goods transported to and from the East Indies by Cumbrians were diverse. In 1709, the Braddylls were requesting Company permission to take wine, olives, oil, vinegar, fish and cured meat to India for private trade.⁶² It has already been noted that in 1720, Samuel Winder sought permission to carry a range of European domestic goods to India with him.⁶³ In 1768 John Hasell brought eighteen hundred pieces of East Indies cloth in handkerchiefs back from his voyage to the East Indies with the expectation of selling them into the West African market.⁶⁴ The goods he was attempting to collect off Brazil in 1770 for private trade are unclear. What is clear that as commander of the *Duke of Portland*, private rather than Company trade was Hasell's primary concern. He over-stepped the line between that which was acceptable to the Company and that which was not. He was dismissed from the Company and only reinstated after intervention by the Musgraves.⁶⁵

Twenty-five years later, John Wordsworth was dealing in Spanish dollars in China and bought cloth, fibre and china in Canton for trade in England. Similar goods probably made him a £400 profit in 1798. In 1802 he was attempting to sell woollen goods in Canton and brought tea, among other goods, back to England. In what was to

⁶² IOR E 1/11 ff. 423-424 [9 December 1709] – Letter 240 Roger Braddyll to Thomas Woolley requesting permission to send several chests of wine to Governor Gulston Addison at Madras.

⁶³ IOR/E/1/12 ff. 52-52v [20 Jan 1721] – Letter 33 Samuel Winder to the Court requesting permission to ship out table clocks, glasses and mathematical instruments as part of his private allowance.

⁶⁴ F. Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain: A Cumberland Family: 1736-1794* (Kidderminster, Wyre Forest Press, 2003), p. 54.

⁶⁵ Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain*, p. 58.

be his final voyage, Wordsworth determined to private trade in rice and illegal opium between India and China and to return with tea.⁶⁶

The acquisition of venture capital was by no means easy. Capital was in short supply in Cumbria. There were some Cumbrians whose ventures in the East Indies drew on wealth previously generated by India. The Stephensons and Fawcetts, Dents, Wilkinsons, Riggs and Addisons undoubtedly leveraged their businesses in the late eighteenth century off extravagant fortunes acquired in India in the earlier part of the century. The Winders, Braddylls, Wilsons, Taylors and, of course, Edward Stephenson were all advantaged by their comparatively early operations in India. Henry Fletcher and the elder John Wordsworth were positioned to take advantage of the rapid expansion of global trade in the mid-eighteenth century.

For many, however, venture capital was a matter of stitching together small sums, often from immediate family. In 1695 when George Fleming of Rydal ill-advisedly sought his father's permission to go to the East Indies, he also desired that his father would assist:

with a sum of monies to venture by ye way of trade (for yet I am allowed) & I hope you will not refuse to grant me, what my Vicarage will in 2 years, or 2^{1/2}, repay. I desire you S^r to direct yours to the Blew-Bell in War. Lane Lond. the Fleet goes within a Month at the Longest.⁶⁷

John Hasell, after being reinstated by the Company after his dismissal, turned to his relatives for venture capital. His alcoholism and inability to turn the considerable investments made by the Musgraves and Edward Hasell into his trading ventures into profit left him bereft. His brother, Edward Hasell, wrote to their sister Elizabeth in 1779 that John:

⁶⁶ Ketcham, (ed.), *The Letters of John Wordsworth*, p. 41; P. Kitson, 'The Wordsworths, Opium, and China', *Wordsworth Circle*, 43, 1 (2012), pp. 2-12.

⁶⁷ J. R. McGrath, (ed.), *The Flemings in Oxford: Being Documents Selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford men* (Oxford, Oxford Historical Society, 1913), Letter DCXXXI, pp.242-244.

I know not what he will do or if he goes to Bombay or not ... He has acted very dishonestly ... and went to Dalemmain to get more money from my father but did not succeed. He does not owe me much. I shall not be at all surprised that he takes some desperate step, so you may be prepared for it.⁶⁸

John Wordsworth also turned to his relatives for venture capital. His uncle Kit Crackanthorpe, his grandmother Cookson, the elder John Wordsworth by way of a bond in 1801, his uncle Richard, his sister Dorothy and brother William all contributed to successive voyages. He drew on credit provided by local and London tradesmen and attracted support from William Lowther. Despite some losses and indifferent profits in the past, his long connections in Cumberland and the Company, combined with a widespread belief in the profitability of the East Indies trade, allowed Wordsworth to raise venture capital to the extent of £20,000.⁶⁹ It was lost when the *Earl of Abergavenny* was wrecked in 1805 still in British waters at the Portland Roads.

The Importance of Friends

Critical to managing the economic burdens of East Indies ventures, as well as taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the East Indies, were friends. Friends were Bourdieu's 'durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships' characterised by recognition and direct or indirect acquaintance that generated the resources that can be referred to as social capital.⁷⁰ It was through friends that formal patronage and informal influence were mobilised to access Company appointments and pursue success in the East Indies. Cumbrian friends in London were crucial to successfully managing the intricacies of departure and ensuring sojourners were given

⁶⁸ Cited Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemmain*, p. 101.

⁶⁹ Ketcham, (ed.), *The Letters of John Wordsworth*, p. 41.

⁷⁰ Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital*, p. 248.

the best chance of a successful arrival. Cumbrian friends welcomed sojourners at ports across the East Indies from Java to China, Ceylon and the Indian sub-continent.

Socio-culturally, friends and friendship were broadly positioned in the eighteenth-century. Friends could embrace kin and family members, but equally importantly the concept of friends embraced non-related individuals. As Tadmor shows, friends were those who were supporters. They were ‘patrons, guardians, employers and other allies... well-wishers, companions, members of social circles and intimates’.⁷¹ The essence of friendship and being a friend lay in its active quality. The heart of friendship was service⁷² and it was sustained sometimes by instrumental reciprocities and sometimes by affection. The eighteenth-century idea of friends and the practice of friendship could involve those in intimate, affectual relationships with an individual. Friends could equally comprise of a diffuse set of people, many who had little contact with a particular individual who might benefit from the exercise of friendship, but a group whose loyalties and support were generated and accessed by way of common acquaintances.⁷³

The exercise of patronage and influence within the Company on behalf of Cumbrian nominees was not simply mobilised by kinship, but framed by the language of friendship. So too were the acquisition of venture capital and necessary financial resources. The importance of friends is alluded to by John Bellasis in discussing the future of his nephew:

I mentioned to you a Plan of William’s being sent out to me [in Bombay] and wrote at the same time to Cap^t Christie and some of my other Friends in London respecting his appointments, outfits &c – I also wrote to my Brother at

⁷¹ N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 167.

⁷² Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 179.

⁷³ Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England*, pp. 213-215.

Kendal to consult with you respecting it, and desired He would correspond with Cap^t Christie for you on the Business.⁷⁴

The desperate need for friends, the way in which it was spliced with kinship, its potential fragility, and its importance in establishing one's social position beyond intimate circles is expressed in a letter from Humphrey Senhouse Gale to his great aunt Kitty Senhouse not long after his arrival in India. Reflecting on his past requests for financial assistance, Gale writes:

My [great] Uncle I knew very well would never have indulged me so far... In all probability he would have withdrawn his protection from me and cast me off upon the World, and where to look for a friend afterwards it is hard to say.⁷⁵

Patronage

Friendship forged the chains of patronage and influence which in turn produced appointments and facilitated success in the East Indies.⁷⁶ Those chains were not always easy to discern even at the time.⁷⁷ The links in a chain of patronage can be even more opaque in retrospect. Nevertheless, the importance of provincial attachments in the nominations of Cumbrians to Company appointments is clear.

The nominating directors for less than forty of the Company's over four hundred Cumbrian appointments during the long eighteenth century have been identified. Among those, about a fifth of the enumerated Cumbrian cadets and writers were nominated by a set of Cumbrian directors: Henry Fletcher, John Bladen Taylor, John Hudleston, and James Law Lushington. All those Cumbrian nominating directors had sojourned in the East Indies. Henry Fletcher was an East Indiaman

⁷⁴ Letter General John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 16 March 1794, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/34a.

⁷⁵ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Wallajaput, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 1 January 1812, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57hR and CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57hV.

⁷⁶ J. M. Bourne, *The Civil and Military Patronage of The East India Company 1784-1858* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Leicester, 1977), pp. 9-10, 62, 162-164, 188.

⁷⁷ Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal*, pp. 14-29.

commander. John Bladen Taylor was born in Calcutta and returned to Westmorland after an army career in Madras.⁷⁸ John Hudleston, connected to Hutton John, was sent to Madras in 1766 as a writer. The Company recognised his long service with a bonus of ten thousand star pagodas.⁷⁹ He was a director from 1803-1826. James Law Lushington, whose great grandparents brought together the Christians and the Senhouses, was appointed in 1796 to Madras. On his return he entered parliament to support the East Indies interest then contested and won Carlisle against the Lonsdale interest in the 1827 by-election. He entered the Company's Court of Directors in the same year. A director until 1854, Lushington chaired the Company three times between 1838 and 1849.⁸⁰

These and other Cumbrians were at the heart of the East India Company. Cumbrians maintained a presence in the Company's Court of Directors over much of the long eighteenth century. Dodding Braddyll was elected to the directorship in 1728, served as deputy chairman in 1744 and was chairman from 1745 until his death in 1748. John Stephenson was a director from 1765 to 1768.⁸¹ Richard Atkinson was elected to the Court of Directors in 1783. John Stables followed a lucrative civil and military career in India before appointment as a director in 1774.⁸² Robert Clerk, a

⁷⁸ J. W. Anderson, TAYLOR, John Bladen (1764-1820) in R. Thorne (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (1986) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/taylor-john-bladen-1764-1820>.

⁷⁹ Petition John Hudleston and response East India Company directors, 1787-1788, IOR J/1/6, ff.7-13; J. W. Anderson, and R. G. Thorne, HUDLESTON, John (1749-1835), of Bathwick, Som., in R. Thorne (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (1986) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/hudleston-john-1749-1835>.

⁸⁰ M. Escott, LUSHINGTON, James Law (1780-1859), of 14 Portman Square, Mdx., in D. R. Fisher (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832* (2009) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/lushington-james-1780-1859>.

⁸¹ M. Drummond, STEPHENSON, John (?1709-94), of Brentford, Mdx., in L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790* (1964) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/stephenson-john-1709-94>.

⁸² J. G. Parker, *The Directors of the East India Company 1754-1790* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 263-264.

director from 1812 until his death in 1815,⁸³ was brother-in-law to Dorothy Taylor the daughter of Cumbrian nabob and owner of Abbott Hall, John Taylor and his wife Dorothy Rumbold.

These directors undoubtedly enhanced not only the probabilities of Cumbrian appointments but also the advancement of Cumbrians. John Brownrigg Bellasis writes tellingly in 1825 of the importance of influence to mitigate the usual rigid adherence in the Company to promotion by way of seniority: 'Unless assisted at first as I was by my Uncles, promotion goes by seniority and is consequently slow...'⁸⁴ But non-Cumbrian directors could also promote Cumbrian interests. Friendship, business and political associations were all activated by Cumbrians to promote Cumbrian prospects with East India Company directors. Humphrey Senhouse Gale was, for instance, recommended by the Cumbrian Joseph Huddart to the non-Cumbrian director and East Indiaman ship's husband, Joseph Cotton in 1808. Huddart and Cotton both shared the experience of East Indiaman command. They also had a series of interlocking interests in the East India Dock Company and as Elder Brothers of Trinity House.⁸⁵ Cotton's son joined Joseph's innovative cordage manufacturing company in Limehouse and was admitted as a partner to Huddart & Co in 1807.⁸⁶

Similarly, George Canning's support of Patrick French was occasioned by a member of parliament who noted he was well acquainted with Patrick's Cumbrian family and their connections. The East India Company director George Millett

⁸³ Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, p. 336.

⁸⁴ John Brownrigg Bellasis' letterbook and diary, 1825, IOR and Private Papers Mss Eur Photo Eur 035, p. 37.

⁸⁵ H. V. Bowen, Cotton, Joseph (1745–1825) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6421>; S. Fisher, Huddart, Joseph (1741–1816) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14023>.

⁸⁶ A. C. Howe, Cotton, William (1786–1866) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Oct 2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6432>.

declared that his nomination of the orphaned William Dent reflected his ‘long friendship’ with William’s uncle.⁸⁷ Likewise, John Manship stated that James de Vitre’s nomination in 1808 was because de Vitre’s uncle was the Cumbrian Henry Fawcett of Scaleby. Manship declares Henry Fawcett to be ‘my very old acquaintance and whom I also sent to Bombay.’⁸⁸ The non-Cumbrian director Abram Robarts states that his nomination of the younger John Sowerby was prompted by ‘long acquaintance with and friendship for [the Cumbrian] John Sowerby Esq who is stated by the Petitioner to be his uncle’.⁸⁹

More opaque and attenuated chains of influence can be gleaned although they are difficult to establish definitively. For instance, George Colebrooke nominated two Cumbrians in 1770. If Colebrooke had Cumbrian sympathies, they were probably bound up in his relations with Thomas Rumbold. Rumbold’s East Indies career culminated in the governorship of Madras and was inextricably linked to Cumbria. He was reputed to have been propelled from boot boy at the London club, Whites, to the East Indies by the Westmerian bookmaker and usurer Robert Mackreth.⁹⁰ It was said that in 1752, an embarrassed debtor to Mackreth and Rumbold was able to commute the debt by facilitating Rumbold’s cadetship.⁹¹ In 1762, Rumbold’s sister married the Westmerian and Company surgeon, John Taylor.⁹² Ten years later Rumbold himself married the daughter of Dr Edmund Law, the Bishop of Carlisle.

⁸⁷ IOR J/1/28 f.249.

⁸⁸ IOR J/1/23 f.78.

⁸⁹ IOR L/MIL/9/120 f.28.

⁹⁰ R. Thorne, Mackreth, Sir Robert (*bap.* 1727, *d.* 1819) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17629>.

⁹¹ T. H. Lewis, (ed.), *The Lewin Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence & Diaries of an English Family 1756-1884*, vol. 1 (London, Archibald Constable & Co Ltd, 1909), p.17.

⁹² IOR N/1/2/78.

In addition to promoting the interests of Cumbrians to George Colebrooke, the Rumbold connection may have contributed to James Law Lushington's East Indies career. Lushington was a nephew of Rumbold's wife, Joanna Law. Similarly, it is difficult not to conclude that John Bellasis's long and successful career was triggered by connections with Robert Mackreth and Rumbold. While preparing for a career, Bellasis had been sent from Cumbria to reside with his maternal uncle, the Cumbrian Ben Hill, and vicar of Monk Sherborne in Hampshire.⁹³ The church at Monk Sherborne memorialises Robert Mackreth who acquired the surrounding estate of Ewhurst in 1761 and became a generous patron of the church's restoration.⁹⁴ In 1765, Bellasis was appointed as a Company cadet.⁹⁵

There were also convoluted connections between non-Cumbrian directors and powerful Cumbrian interests. Lowther was probably implicated in a number of appointments. For instance, in 1759 John Stables was recommended to the East India Company by his kinsman John Robinson for appointment as a cadet.⁹⁶ Although the nominating director is unclear, it was probably pressed by James Lowther to whom Robinson was agent. Lowther had already supported Robinson's cousin Charles Deane into a position on the *Bombay Castle*, the same ship on which Clive travelled to India that year.⁹⁷ Lowther's interests here were part of a broader strategy around the control of provincial loyalties. Charles Deane was the son of Whitehaven's tide surveyor, a position very much influenced by Lowther interests.⁹⁸

⁹³ M. Bellasis, *Honourable Company* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952), pp. 45-46.

⁹⁴ W. Page, (ed.), *Parishes: Ewhurst, A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 4* (London, Victoria County History, 1911), pp. 247-249.

⁹⁵ Bellasis, *Honourable Company*, p. 46.

⁹⁶ See Plate 5.10 for Romney's portrait of John Stables.

⁹⁷ A. Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Officers 1600-1834* (London, British Library, 1999), p. 209.

⁹⁸ A. Connell, 'Appleby in Westminster: John Robinson, MP (1727-1802)', *Transactions CWAAS* Third Series, X (2010), p. 221.

Half a century later, the Lowther connection was probably associated with the nominations of brothers William and Montagu Ainslie. Their father, Henry Ainslie, a physician and iron master, was kin to the Knotts and through them connected to the Flemings of Rydal as well as the Knotts' past involvement in India. Henry Ainslie sustained a long friendship with William Lowther, the successor to the Lowther estates. Lowther, in turn, was a parliamentary colleague of Robert Smith, Baron Carrington, who recommended the Ainslie boys of Kendal to his brother and Company director, George Smith.⁹⁹

That aristocratic and upper gentry support was believed to be critical to appointments of provincials to the supposedly London merchant driven East India Company is illustrated by Helena Adderton's (nee Curwen) repeated applications to the Duke of Portland for assistance in securing East India Company appointments for her sons.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in 1785 Edward Wilson applied to Sir Michael le Fleming of Rydal, providing instructions as to where le Fleming's influence might be most effectively directed. Wilson wrote:

Not meeting with the encouragement in the Country I was taught to expect I therefore have with the advice of a friend and consent of my parents returned to London and entered as a Volunteer in the Honble East India Company's service and being informed that I can with the least Recommendation from such a gentleman as your Honour soon meet with preferment ... [I am] praying your Honour will condescend as far as to procure me a Recommendation to Lord McCartney ... but provided your Honour should not have any particular acquaintance with him, the interest your Honour may have with George Johnston, I doubt not but a letter from him would soon procure me a situation in India.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ IOR J/1/22 f.176 and IOR J/1/21/part 2.

¹⁰⁰ Letter Helena Adderton, Carlisle to 3rd Duke of Portland; 9 December 1769, NUM Pw F 52; Letter Helena Adderton, Carlisle to 3rd Duke of Portland, 5 September 1770, NUM Pw F 53; Letter Helena Adderton, Carlisle to 3rd Duke of Portland, 24 September 1770, NUM Pw F 54; Letter Helena Adderton, Carlisle to 3rd Duke of Portland, 29 January 1772, NUM Pw F 55; Letter Helena Adderton, Carlisle to 3rd Duke of Portland, 22 July 1772, NUM Pw F 56.

¹⁰¹ Letter Edward Wilson to Sir Michael Fleming 21 May 1785, CAS WDRY 3/3/8.

There were appeals made to some of the Company's most powerful characters, many of whom were themselves of provincial origins. For instance, in 1765 Clive was requested by his cousin that he consider the merits of Francis Drinkel when distributing his favours in Bengal. The appeal referred to Drinkel's connection with a friend, the banker Rowland Stephenson, a cousin of governor Edward Stephenson:

Mr Stephenson being an old acquaintance of mine and a friend of ours in India Affairs I take the liberty of introducing his Brother Mr Francis Drinkel who is going out a Free Merchant to Bengal to your Lordships Notice and I hope he will deserve your favour in India...¹⁰²

In addition, as the Company became interlocked with the machinery of government, so ministers and their supporters were able to nominate for Company appointments.¹⁰³

As secretary to the Treasury, the Westmerian John Robinson actively promoted relatives and Cumbrians to the East Indies. In addition to those noted previously, Hugh Parkin was appointed to an East Indiaman at Robinson's request in the 1770s,¹⁰⁴ John Benn (later Benn Walsh) was appointed as a writer in 1776 to Bengal¹⁰⁵ and Myles and James Lowther Cooper were appointed after Robinson bought their father's Wha House estate in 1784.¹⁰⁶

While directors were important in the formal distribution of patronage, there were other pathways to success in India. One was through appointment to the business of a free merchant or planter already operating in the East Indies. The Riggs, for instance, were sponsored by their kinsmen, the Addisons, into agency and trading around Java. They were enabled to become proprietors of the Jasinga plantation on

¹⁰² IOR Mss EUR G37/33/3 f.22 [25 March 1765 Letter George Clive, probably to Clive.

¹⁰³ Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal*, pp. 9-19.

¹⁰⁴ C. B. Norcliffe, *Some Account of the Family of Robinson of the White House, Appleby, Westmorland* (Westminster, Nichols & Son, 1874), p. 92.

¹⁰⁵ IOR J/1/9 f.229; B. Murphy and R. G. Thorne, BENN WALSH, John (1759-1825), of Warfield Park, Berks in R. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (1986) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/benn-walsh-john-1759-1825>.

¹⁰⁶ T. Cockerill, 'Myles Cooper, President of King's College, New York', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, LXIV (1964), p. 341.

Java.¹⁰⁷ The Dents and the Wilkinsons assiduously maintained control over their operations, including the sale and distribution of opium, in India and China through intermarriage in Cumbria and the subsequent appointment of kin to their East Indies business interests.¹⁰⁸ John Robinson of Kirkby Thore found a place in his Bombay business for Thomas Cooper of Long Marton.¹⁰⁹

Of particular importance in the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies were appointments to East Indiamen. Those appointments largely resided in the hands of managing owners, certainly until the 1790s. Director George Colebrooke reminded the Duke of Portland of this when the Duke sought to advance Jeremiah Adderton on behalf of the Curwens:

My Lord, I rec'd your Grace's letter by Mr Adderton recommending him to be advanced from third mate ... if, upon inquiry he found out a vacancy, and would inform me of it, I would do all that I could to secure him, which is to apply to the owners on his behalf, in Case I had any Connection with them which would intitle Me to apply to them. Perhaps your Grace imagines that an appointment of Captains or Mates to be a Directors. Appointment is in a husbands and we are obliged to solicit their favour in matters of Mates appointments like any other persons.¹¹⁰

Once appointed as a commander to an East Indiaman, a man was effectively transformed from being the recipient of patronage to being a dispenser of it.

Appointments to command of men like Huddart, Henry Fletcher and the two Wordsworths had a pronounced multiplier effect as they sought officers and mates from the communities and families with which they were connected. Take for instance, Henry Fletcher, seventh son of John Fletcher and Isabella Senhouse.

¹⁰⁷ D. M. Campbell, *Java: Past & Present A Description of the Most Beautiful Country in the World, its Ancient History, People, Antiquities and its Products*, vol. 1 (London, William Heinemann, 1915), p. 650.

¹⁰⁸ P. K. Law, Dent family (*per. c.1820–1927*), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2015 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53862>].

¹⁰⁹ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 21 December 1788, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/29a.

¹¹⁰ Letter George Colebrooke, Company director to the 3rd Duke of Portland, 22 September 1770, NUM PwF 2991.

After experience of coastal and Atlantic shipping, Henry Fletcher entered the Company's maritime service as a fifth mate on the East Indiaman *Lynn* in 1745.¹¹¹ In 1758, possibly with the support of Christopher Musgrave, he was appointed captain to the East Indiaman *Stormont*. Immediately, he set about constituting its officers and crew. He sought assistance from his cousin, Humphrey Senhouse and mentioned the possibility that one of Humphrey's own sons might be recruited. Senhouse agreed and Fletcher also recruited his cousin, John Orfeur Yates, as purser.¹¹² Even when Henry's complement of seamen was almost complete, he still saw the recruitment of experienced seamen with local attachments he could trust as a means of promoting his own career. In December 1758, Henry wrote again to Senhouse at Netherhall:

I beg you would not give yourself any further trouble about any seamen, as they are now pretty plenty here; But if you should meet with any good clever compleat seamen, that one would have some credit in promoting, I should be glad if you could recommend them...¹¹³

Other Cumbrian East Indiamen commanders showed a similar pattern. The elder John Wordsworth's commands of the East Indiaman *Earl of Sandwich* and the *Earl of Abergavenny* were through the influence of Charles Deane, a protégé and mutual kinsman, of a past secretary to the Treasury and Westmerian, John Robinson of Appleby.¹¹⁴ It was a career supported by the Gales, the Whitehaven merchant family with significant shipping and trading interests in the Atlantic, London and Russia,¹¹⁵ and the Cumbrian London-based East Indiaman owner William Dent.¹¹⁶ In

¹¹¹ IOR L/MAR/B f.627.

¹¹² Letter Henry Fletcher, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 4 November 1758, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12cR.

¹¹³ Letter Henry Fletcher, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 5 December 1758, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12eR and CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12eV.

¹¹⁴ H. C. Hardy, *A Register of Ships, Employed in the Service of the Honorable the United East India Company, from the Year 1760 to 1810: With an Appendix, Containing a Variety of Particulars, and Useful Information Interesting to Those Concerned with East India Commerce* (London, Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1811), pp. 55, 82, 156, 169, 183.

¹¹⁵ Wordsworth's first wife Anne Gale was sister to John Gale merchant of Whitehaven, London and St Petersburg and Thomas Gale who, after considerable maritime experience, was approved for an East

turn, John Wordsworth appointed his cousin John Wordsworth as a mate on voyages to Bombay and China.¹¹⁷ After his retirement he supported the younger John Wordsworth's nomination as commander to the *Earl of Abergavenny*.¹¹⁸ Joseph Wordsworth, another cousin, was subsequently appointed third mate on John Wordsworth's disastrous last voyage.¹¹⁹ With the Cumbrian attached Dents, Borradailes,¹²⁰ Hotham, Haistwell, and, even earlier, the Braddylls, all owning ships involved in the East Indies, Cumbrians were particularly well endowed with opportunities to find their way to the East Indies.

London Friends

Nowhere was the mobilisation of friendship as explicit as over the period immediately prior to sojourners' departures for the East Indies. It was through friends that sojourners and their families sought a well-ordered leaving characterised by passage on a safe ship with a decent commander, well fitted out with the clothing, books and kit that would make the voyage bearable, equipped to avoid ill-health and able to deal with temptations of excess and profligacy. Friends, too, were instrumental in furnishing sojourners with letters of introduction which, on arrival, would ensure they were not only welcomed but could aspire to good prospects at their destination.

The importance of friends was highlighted when the circumstances surrounding the separation of sojourners from family in Cumbria were fraught. For them departure was, or at least felt to be, friendless. For these young men,

Indiaman appointment in 1774 and sailed as 2nd mate on the East Indiaman *Osterley* (II) in 1777/8. See Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Officers 1600-1834*.

¹¹⁶ Hardy, *A Register of Ships*, pp. 137.

¹¹⁷ J. H. Thomas, *The East India Company and the Provinces in the Eighteenth Century Volume II: Captains, Agents, and Servants: A Gallery of East India Company Portraits* (Lewiston, Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), vol. 2, Chapter 2; Hardy, *A Register of Ships*, pp. 212.

¹¹⁸ Ketcham, (ed.) *The Letters of John Wordsworth*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹⁹ Thomas, *The East India Company and the Provinces*, vol. 2, pp. 59, 96-98.

¹²⁰ A. Borradaile, *Sketch of the Borradailes of Cumberland* (London, MacClure and MacDonald, 1881).

communications with home were characterised by apologetic letters and a desire for reassurance that, irrespective of the circumstances, their friends and family would forgive and re-embrace them.¹²¹ The desperation associated with being friendless was conveyed in Jeremiah Adderton's letter from an encampment in Pondicherry to his uncle, Henry Curwen of Workington Hall:

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you by the ships of last year ... and have been not a little mortified at finding they have procured me no letter in return. You will naturally suppose, leaving me destitute of all feeling, that the manner of my leaving England three years ago was such as must have cost me many anxious moments, and that it must be proportionally pleasing for me to hear that I have in any degree regained the good opinion of my Friends, and that while they are disposed to inform me so I must conclude myself most fortunate.¹²²

For the most part, however, in the weeks and sometimes months prior to departure, sojourners were surrounded by friends, related and non-related, determined to smooth the way. The Cumbrian community in London, in particular, was galvanised by the opportunity to act as way-station between Cumbria and the East Indies. London-based Cumbrians took letters, both optimistic and apologetic, from the hands of embarking cadets and writers and sent them to variously anxious, angry or optimistic parents in the North. They made sure that young Cumbrians were fitted out, able to organise passage and accommodated over the long wait before weather and full cargos allowed East Indiamen to leave. These London-based Cumbrian friends guided candidates for writerships and cadetships around London to interviews with the Company directors, to the docks, and to meet their own and their charges' relatives also residing in London. They took their charges sightseeing, lent them money, introduced them to banks and agency houses, acted as guarantors and paid

¹²¹ Letter John Ritson, Chatham Barracks, to his sister Elizabeth Ritson, Carlisle, 16 June 1815, CAS DX38/38.

¹²² Letter Jeremiah Adderton, Pondicherry, to Henry Curwen, Workington, Hall, 4 September 1778, CAS DC/3/7.

bonds to the Company. They corresponded with parents and relatives about the progress, virtues and futures of the young people left in their care.

Facilitating East Indies departures by London-based Cumbrian friends was a pattern that persisted across the long eighteenth century. The experience of the young Joseph Senhouse in 1758 was not dissimilar to the experience of his great nephew, Humphrey Senhouse Gale, in 1809 or Andrew Hudleston's experiences when he waited to board the *Bengal* as a writer in 1814. For Joseph Senhouse, waiting to board the *Stormont*, his cousin Fletcher's ship, the primary friend was Richard Machell, a London lead merchant living at Knightrider Street, Blackfriars. It was with Machell that Joseph resided for the three months prior to departure. If this was an imposition, it was one that Machell sought. It had been Richard Machell who, on hearing of Joseph's likely arrival in London, initiated a correspondence with Humphrey Senhouse:

I understand one of your sons is to come up [to London]... I shall be very glad if you will let me have the pleasure of his Company... I this day [saw] Capt. Fletcher who told me you were desirous of master Senhouse should be with him, but he said he was not quite certain that they could make room for him in their house, if not he would be glad to have him with me¹²³

By offering to bring Joseph into his own household, Machell gave Senhouse the opportunity to save a guinea a week in accommodation costs. For Machell, the offer reinforced his ties with Cumbria. He used his acquaintance with Fletcher to recommend himself to the gentry Senhouses and ingratiated himself with that up and coming East Indiaman commander Henry Fletcher.

¹²³ Letter Richard Machell, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 18 November 1758, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12dR.

Machell was assiduous in his care. Joseph wrote to his father expressing how grateful he was for Machell's advice on fitting out costs.¹²⁴ Anxious to ensure that Joseph remained safe in London, although Joseph himself rather boasted of his own ability to find his way around, Machell accompanied Joseph to Blackwall to see the *Stormont*.¹²⁵ Joseph wrote home that Machell took him sightseeing: 'On Monday we had the curiosity to go and see the armoury and lyons [sic] at the Tower, Mr Machell was so obliging as to go with us.'¹²⁶ The experience and provision of friendship as these young men were being sent to the East Indies shows continuities over many years.

Fifty years later, Joseph's great nephew, Humphrey Senhouse Gale, was the object of similar care.¹²⁷ He was accommodated by the retired East Indiaman commander Joseph Huddart in Huddart's house in the prosperous, gated suburb of Highbury Terrace, Islington.¹²⁸ Close to the eve of his departure, Gale wrote to his great aunt Kitty Senhouse of Nether Hall:

I take this opportunity of writing to you to inform you that Captain H[uddart] came along with me down to Gravesend and saw me safe on board my ship on Wednesday last.¹²⁹

Andrew Hudleston's preparations were framed by the care of Cumbrian friends in London in much the same way as Humphrey Gale's a decade or so before and Joseph Senhouse's almost fifty years previously.

¹²⁴ Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 1 March 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12mR.

¹²⁵ Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 23 January 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12jR.

¹²⁶ Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 19 January 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12iR.

¹²⁷ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, London, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 30 March 1809, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/65y.

¹²⁸ A. P. Baggs, D. K. Bolton and P. Croot, Islington: Growth: Highbury, in T. Baker and C. R. Elrington (eds.) *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 8: Islington and Stoke Newington Parishes* (London, Victoria County History, 1985), pp. 37-41.

¹²⁹ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, London, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 16 April 1809, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/65x.

Andrew's preparations were undertaken under the supervision of his second cousin, retired Company servant and East India Company director, John Hudleston. Andrew stayed with Hudleston at his home in Old Windsor until his last few weeks in London. At that point his mother came down from Hutton John with her cousin Susannah Knott and they took lodgings with Andrew at Cecil Street off the Strand.¹³⁰ Together John Hudleston and Susannah Knott, whose father had served in the East Indies, prepared Andrew for the voyage.¹³¹ As Andrew wrote to his aunt, John Hudleston was, 'very kind in assisting me in getting all things necessary for my outfit for India.'¹³²

The help of experienced friends was necessary. Their care was more effective than that of anxious parents. As Williamson complained in the *East India Vade Mecum* of 1810, there was a tendency for cadets and writers to be weighed down with paraphernalia by nervous families:

I cannot deprecate more forcibly the practice of burthening [sic] young folks with a variety of useless apparel ... The grand object should be to provide what may be efficient after arrival in India.¹³³

Even so there was a lot to purchase before leaving. Apparently the necessities for men seeking their fortunes in the East Indies included, but was not limited to, no less than four dozen calico shirts, two pairs of thick pantaloons, two pairs of thin pantaloons along with four pairs of long cotton drawers, a dozen pairs of worsted half-stockings, three dozen cotton half-stockings, a dozen pairs of silk stockings, breeches, waistcoats,

¹³⁰ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Cecil Street, Strand, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 28 February 1814, CAS DHUD 14/3V.

¹³¹ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, on board the East Indiaman *Asia* to Elizabeth Hudleston, Hutton John, 19 September 1814, CAS DHUD 13/2/7R; Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Cecil Street, Strand, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 28 February 1814, CAS DHUD 14/3R.

¹³² Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, Cecil Street, Strand, to Isabella Hudleston, Whitehaven, 28 February 1814, CAS DHUD 14/3V.

¹³³ Williamson, *The East India Vade Mecum*, p. 8.

a great-coat, two pairs of boots, one pair of heavy shoes, a pair of light shoes, coats and a quantity of blankets, sheets and a raft of other impedimenta.¹³⁴

A complete review of the ships, captains and travellers before committing to a particular ship was also advised. In particular, foreign ships were to be avoided.

Although Williamson admitted that there might be some exceptions, the foreign ship was, he wrote:

rarely sea-worthy; they are badly equipped, and worse manned; their decks are low' their accommodations dark, dismal and offensive; their water execrable; their provision scarce and bad; their commanders ignorant, avaricious, mean, proud and deceitful!¹³⁵

Andrew Hudleston was protected from these horrors no doubt by his cousin's interventions. Andrew was secured a berth on the rather new *Bengal* under the command of Captain George Nicholls who had been a midshipman under Captain John Wordsworth.¹³⁶ He also had secured a place at the captain's table. With sixty live sheep on board, there was the prospect of numerous mutton dinners. Even so, despite the guidance of his director cousin, the sheep and the captain's connection with John Wordsworth, now a prominent investor in East Indiamen, Andrew still felt he was treated stingily.¹³⁷

By contrast John Bellasis remembered his first voyage to India under the supervision of fellow Cumbrian, John Hasell with fondness and remained Hasell's friend until his death despite the inconveniences of doing so. In 1781, Bellasis wrote that Hasell's death was a:

fortunate circumstance both to himself and Friends; ... He was very different person to this, at the time I was a Voyager to India with Him, so that I could

¹³⁴ Williamson, *The East India Vade Mecum*, pp. 8-15.

¹³⁵ Williamson, *The East India Vade Mecum*, p. 24.

¹³⁶ Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Officers 1600-1834*.

¹³⁷ Letter Andrew Fleming Hudleston, St Helena, to Andrew Hudleston, Hutton John, 21 June 1814, CAS DHUD 13/2/2.

not help pitying Him, and in consequence has a great deal of trouble with him.¹³⁸

London-resident Cumbrians ensured that young provincial Cumbrians in transit to the East Indies fulfilled obligations to friends. There was a whirl of visiting prior to departing London for the East Indies. Some visiting involved paying respects to, and receiving largesse from, relatives. In 1757, Joseph Senhouse went with Aglionby and the other Cumbrian mates to toss pancakes with his cousin Captain Fletcher at Fletcher's lodgings.¹³⁹ He repeatedly met with his aunt Fleming,¹⁴⁰ and visited with Captain Fletcher's sisters.¹⁴¹ Andrew Hudleston had a similar flurry of visits. This sociability in London prior to leaving for the East Indies was not simply about reinforcing kinship connections. Visits frequently involved socialising with Cumbrians, either themselves visiting from the Lake Counties, or resident in London. Joseph Senhouse, for instance, was taken by Mr Sharp, a Cumbrian friend of Machell's, to drink tea with a Mr Watson of Carlisle.¹⁴²

Cumbrians in London did more than simply supply board, lodgings, entertainment and supervision. They also acted as moral guardians, intelligence gathers, and assessors. Reports were sent from London to the Cumbrian counties on sojourners' characters, prospects and behaviours. Machell, for instance, informed the Senhouses at Netherhall that Joseph Senhouse was 'well and in great spirits ... he is a charming young Gentleman ... no doubt he will turn out greatly for your

¹³⁸ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 16 May 1781, CAS WDX 1641/1/1 pp. 27b-27c.

¹³⁹ Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 1 March 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12mR.

¹⁴⁰ Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 19 January 1758 [1759], CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12h and CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12iR.

¹⁴¹ Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 4 April 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12oR.

¹⁴² Letter Joseph Senhouse, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 1 March 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12mR.

satisfaction...'¹⁴³ Thomas Pattinson was staying with the Routledges in Cheapside prior to leaving for India in 1805 when he received a letter from his mother writing from Kirklington stating: 'Your friends in London M^r Routledge & M^r Latimer & Co say you conduct yourself with great propriety which believe me is a great comfort to us all'.¹⁴⁴ Some old India hands interceded on behalf of Cumbrian families by mobilising Cumbrians in India itself. For instance, when Humphrey Senhouse Gale got into debt not long after his arrival in India, Huddart promised Kitty Senhouse that he would request his Cumbrian friend, almost certainly Henry Hall:

to advise Mr Gale to consider what you have done for him, and the little right he has to expect more at your hands ... Mr Hall ought to advise him to adapt his expenses to his income...¹⁴⁵ .

For Cumbrian expatriates in London, providing these supports and services was an opportunity to show off their success. Joseph Huddart was reinforcing the fact of his positive social trajectory from son of a shoemaker to a man of considerable influence when he reported to Kitty Senhouse that he had sent Humphrey Gale's new flute to India 'under the care of Mr Durham who I got appointed a cadet.'¹⁴⁶ The services provided by London-based Cumbrians reached to the core of reciprocity and identity. Being a Cumbrian in itself constituted friendship and generated social capital. Cumbrians in London, related or unrelated, even strangers, were implicated in the project of ensuring that sojourners got the best possible departure, voyage and chances in the East Indies.

¹⁴³ Letter Richard Machell, London, to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 14 January 1759, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/4/12g.

¹⁴⁴ Letter Mrs Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, London, 25 March 1805, CAS DX 249/14tR.

¹⁴⁵ Letter Joseph Huddart, London, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, undated, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57cV.

¹⁴⁶ Letter Joseph Huddart, London, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 20 June 1813, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/67nR.

The benevolence extended to Cumbrians departing to the East Indies was an extension of, and mirrored, the mutual assistance and sociability encouraged by both the Cumberland and the Westmorland societies established in London in 1734 and 1746 respectively.¹⁴⁷ Those societies were active throughout the long eighteenth century and beyond. Society events were about attachment and identity. In 1777, a Cumberland Society dinner was entertained with verse:

The sons of refinement reproach us in vain,
 'Tis our pride that our language and manners are plain,
 Old Bess thought them courtly and so they were then
 'Ere nonsense and *ton* had made monkies of men.¹⁴⁸

Provincial patriotism was also celebrated in song in 1802 when over three hundred members of the Westmorland Society sat for dinner at the London Tavern in Bishopgate Street.¹⁴⁹

The societies did more than have rollicking dinners. Middling and gentry alike were concerned with the preservation of Cumbrian and Westmerian culture and the wellbeing of Cumbrians away from home. Both the Cumberland and the Westmorland societies established charitable operations in London.¹⁵⁰ Cumbrian gentry and other members of respectable Cumbrian society living in London used the charitable benevolence dispensed there as a way of reinforcing their positions in, and attachments to, the Cumbrian counties. The societies were middling affairs, but the Lowthers and the Flemings were prominent in London's Cumbrian societies. So, too, were Cumbrians involved in the East Indies. Henry Fletcher, having only recently relinquished the chairmanship of the East India Company, took the chair of the annual

¹⁴⁷ J. D. Marshall, 'Cumberland and Westmorland Societies in London, 1734-1914', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 84 (1984), p. 239.

¹⁴⁸ Cited Marshall, 'Cumberland and Westmorland Societies', p. 240.

¹⁴⁹ 'Poetry for the Lancaster Gazeteer: The Following Provincial Song', *Lancaster Gazette*, 20 March 1802; 'Westmorland Society, London', *Lancaster Gazette*, 20 March 1802.

¹⁵⁰ Marshall, 'Cumberland and Westmorland Societies', pp. 241-242.

Cumberland Society dinner in April 1785. More than 150 attended at the *Globe Tavern* in Fleet street.¹⁵¹ The sixty-seventh Cumberland Society dinner was held at the *Crown and Anchor* on the Strand in 1802.¹⁵² The Duke of Norfolk, John Christian Curwen, and Henry Fletcher led proceedings.¹⁵³

The ties evident in the Cumberland and Westmorland societies were also evident in the generosity shown to Cumbrian families sending children to the East Indies. London-based Cumbrians were part of a chain of Cumbrians involved in the East Indies stretching from returned sojourners living in the Cumbrian counties, to East Indies involved Cumbrian ship-owners, insurers, contractors, politicians and bankers, to Cumbrians operating in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, China and South East Asia. They not only ensured that sojourners worked their way through the intricacies of fit out, voyage and credit, they also organised letters of introduction to Cumbrians in India.

East Indies friends

Friends in India were important. Elizabeth Cust put down her son's early commission on arrival in Bengal to the influence of friends:

You have been more lucky than most young men. You met with very good friends and a commission immediately on your arrival – many you know were not so fortunate.¹⁵⁴

It was a diffuse network in which letters of introduction were as important as a letter of credit. Mrs Pattinson reminded her son Thomas to take the greatest care of the letters of introduction written by their Cumbrian friends in England to their friends' Cumbrians friends in India:

¹⁵¹ 'Untitled', *Newcastle Courant*, 23 April 1785.

¹⁵² 'Cumberland Society', *Carlisle Journal*, 8 May 1802.

¹⁵³ 'Cumberland Society', *Carlisle Journal*, 22 May 1802.

¹⁵⁴ Letter Elizabeth Cust to Thomas Cust, India, 1772, CAS DCART C11/42iR.

M^r Fawcett's Father [in-law, John Bellasis] is great in the Army there and M^r Fawcett has wrote us that he will give you a letter of introduction to him, this is truly kind of M^r Fawcett & we hope it will be a means of your getting better forward. The two letters we have already sent you will we hope also do you great service, so pray seal them all up together & take the greatest care of them & always deliver these letters yourself & if the person be not at home leave a Card with your Name upon it, & where you are to be found – be sure you do this for fear of a mistake.¹⁵⁵

What with letters of recommendation you have from M^r Wallace, worthy M^r Fawcett and the rest of our friends you certainly go out with as great advantage as a Cadet possible can.¹⁵⁶

Forty years previously, George Knott's India career was reactivated by letters from his cousin to Henry Verelst, Clive's successor as governor. Andrew Hudleston had a raft of introductions as well as his cousin's hospitality when he arrived in Madras. Similarly, Joseph Docker's career in 1827 was no doubt assisted by the following letter to William Jardine at Canton which mention the writer's and recipient's mutual friendship with another Cumbrian sojourner in the East Indies, Robert Addison:

My dear Willie, The bearer of this is Mr Docker, surgeon of the *Windsor*, a very Gentlemanlike young man. He is the nephew of my old cronie Rob Addison formerly *one of you*. I chin chin you to be kind to him.¹⁵⁷

The importance of introductions and connection are illustrated by Humphrey Senhouse Gale's constant search for further letters of introduction. He wrote to his great aunt, Kitty Senhouse:

Could you possibly get me a Letter of Introduction to the Governor, Commander in Chief, Counsellors, or to any of the Men in power on the Madras Establishment ... Interest is everything in Madras ... more particularly in India two or three Letters to some of our Fashionable fair ones ... would not altogether be superfluous, by the way Ladies have nearly as much say in

¹⁵⁵ Letter Mrs Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, Cheapside, 16 February 1805, CAS DX 249/14vR.

¹⁵⁶ Letter Mrs Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, London, 25 March 1805, CAS DX 249/14tR.

¹⁵⁷ Letter J. Gledstanes, London, to William Jardine, London, 16 April 1827 cited in A. Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827-1843* (Reprint, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 64.

Government as Gentlemen ... I cannot too often repeat how very necessary they [letters] are to anyone who expects to rise in the World.¹⁵⁸

This anxiety was a persistent tone in Gale's surviving letters and at first glance lies oddly with his kin connections. On his maternal line he was the great, great grandson of Sir George Fleming, the Bishop of Carlisle. His great grandmother married Humphrey Senhouse. His paternal line was the prominent merchant Gale family.

Humphrey Gale, however, was the son of Gustavus Gale who was prohibited from his Senhouse grandmother's house due to his 'undutiful elopement' from university.¹⁵⁹ Having conceived two children out of wedlock, marrying a widow against his family's wishes and subsequently deserting her and his children, as well as failing as a private schoolmaster, Gustavus avoided his responsibilities altogether by dying young and estranged in York.¹⁶⁰ His wife and numerous children were thrust upon the charity of the Senhouses.

The Senhouses activated their network of friends to find places in the East Indies for two of Gustavus Gale's boys. But one of them, Humphrey Gale, was clearly largely ignorant of his wider kin. After arriving in India he wrote to his great aunt:

I wish you would inform me how my Father became connected or related to my Uncle Senhouse my ignorance of my own family is a great source of uneasiness to me.¹⁶¹

Without a clear sense of his position within his own kin network, Gale struggled to make the connections that he felt would be advantageous to him. He had to ask his great aunt if he was related to Wilson Braddyll because a Colonel Hare, who was about to be made a General, had an acquaintance with Braddyll and Humphrey was unsure

¹⁵⁸ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Wallajaput, to Kitty Senhouse, 1 January 1812, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57hV.

¹⁵⁹ Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, p. 314.

¹⁶⁰ Prerogative & Exchequer Courts of York, *Probate Index, 1688-1858* <http://search.findmypast.co.uk>.

¹⁶¹ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Wallajaput, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 1 January 1812, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57hR and CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57hV.

of whether to approach him for support. Humphrey Gale also enquired whether he was related to a 'General Gale'.¹⁶²

It was the anxiety around his familial status and his uncertainty about whether he could make claim to friends that makes Humphrey Gale stand out. Introductions, making connections, seeking the support of friends, and finding and making connections with fellow Cumbrians were routine. Cumbrians in the East Indies provided credit to other Cumbrians, they found positions for newcomers, they gave advice and they used fellow Cumbrians as a convenient postal service whenever one of them returned home. Cumbrian sojourners avidly reported home on the doings, circumstances and fates of other Cumbrian sojourners. Sojourners' letters became a sort of Cumbrian 'who's who', partly as a way of retaining attachments at home and partly because that information acted as a list of contacts for those coming out to India. As John Bellasis in Bombay noted when referring to Humphrey Hall of Gilcrux among a long list of Cumbrians he was in contact with or knew about:

He belongs to [the] Madras [army] ... We have troops from every port of India, so that Country [Cumbrian] Men soon find each other out.¹⁶³

Conclusion

Access to affordable schooling and vocational education gave middling and gentry Cumbrians a unique platform from which to launch their East Indies ventures. They also had friends. They used their shared identity as families from Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness to secure the patronage necessary for appointments or licence to operate in the East Indies. Cumbrian sojourners were supported through a chain of business connections, social relations and familial relations that stretched

¹⁶² Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Wallajaput, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 1 January 1812, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9/57gV.

¹⁶³ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, CAS WDX 1641/1/1 p. 27c.

from Cumbria through London, across the fleet of East Indiamen and into European settlements across the East Indies. Just as Cumbrians living in the Lake Counties retained active contacts with expatriates in London, so London Cumbrians served as a way station for East Indies sojourners.

In London, Cumbrians destined for the East Indies were fed, watered and bundled up with letters, equipment and advice. When they reached the East Indies they were embraced by the fellow Cumbrian men and women who had gone before them. Many of those who went to the East Indies shared mutual experiences in education. They often had intimate friends in common. Inevitably, they had a wide circle of shared acquaintances. It was the ability of gentry and middling Cumbrian families to bring together their cultural, economic and social capital that got them to the East Indies. The challenge thereafter was to bring home the wealth and prestige to which sojourners and their families aspired.

Chapter 5

Returning and Returns

Near this place lye the remains of John Braddyll, Esq., descended from an ancient family long seated at Portfield and Conishead, in Lancashire, who from his youth traversed the oceans of Europe and the Indies as a merchant, and having made a handsome fortune, the due reward of honest industry, and learned therewith to be content, he retired to this village, and enjoyed the fruits of his labour with temperance and moderation. Born at Conishead, 1695. Died at Carshalton, 13 May, 1753, aged 58 – Memorial in Tower, All Saints Carshalton, Surrey.

The splendid Indian Pagoda, recently presented to the [Carlisle] Museum, with so much munificence, by Sir Simon Heward, was the theme of general admiration and wonder – *Carlisle Journal*, 1842.¹

This chapter is about the legacy of East Indies sojourns. It traces the pattern of bodily return, or failure to return, among the Cumbrian women and men who went to the East Indies. It explores the financial and social outcomes for sojourners and their families after, often, years of physical separation and emotional and material investment in East Indies ventures. It is about how returning Cumbrians reinserted themselves and expressed their success in the Cumbrian world. It also considers how the East Indies infiltrated the fabric of provincial Cumbria in civil society, its politics and the day-to-day institutions of local authority.

At the heart of those processes was a dynamic interplay between place attachment, identity and expressions of success. As previous chapters have shown, going to the East Indies was fundamentally about returning and returns. Yet as sojourners prepared, and were prepared for the East Indies, not coming home was as probable as returning. Financial failure was a constant anxiety. Returning and returns, therefore, cannot be considered without giving attention to the issue of those who did

¹ 'Horticultural Society Show', *Carlisle Journal*, 24 September 1842.

not return to Cumbria. Consequently, the discussion starts with the pattern of bodily return to Cumbria. It notes that some returning sojourners resided outside of Cumbria when they returned to the British Isles. It notes too how the cycle of aspiration, passage and return was interrupted for many by death. It is in the context of death and the way in which Cumbrian sojourners were memorialised, that issues of Cumbrian attachment and detachment associated with the East Indies is initially explored.

Straddling the experience of both bodily return and non-return were the financial pay-offs associated with East Indies ventures. This is the focus of the second part of the discussion. Again, death becomes a pivot point for the analysis with the value of personal estates, bequests and the inventories of sojourners providing, albeit fragmented, insights into the patterns of wealth among East Indies sojourners, even where Cumbrian sojourners' returns were prevented by death. The analysis then turns to those sojourners who did return to Cumbria and the ways in which they expressed their success in the midst of Cumbrian provincial life. The focus is initially on the interlock between East Indies experience and positions of local authority followed by a consideration of how East Indies wealth was implicated in the politics around Cumbria's political representation. The discussion then enters the realm of consumption and social positioning. It gives particular attention to East Indies returners' commitment to house building and their pursuit of recognition as gentlemen through the exercise of benevolence and sociability.

Bodily Return, Residence, Death and Attachment

Of the Cumbrian men and women who went to the East Indies, many did not return. About thirty percent of enumerated men cannot currently be accounted for. Of the remaining seventy percent, almost half died in the British Isles and of those over half died in Cumbria. Some, like, Andrew Fleming Hudleston died while temporarily away from Cumbria but were buried in Cumbria. Others were buried elsewhere. The largest, albeit still a minority, proportion were buried in the East Indies. Notably, enumerated Cumbrian women sojourners were less likely than enumerated men to die in Cumbria; nine are known to have died in India or at sea and eight of the other twelve known to have returned to the British Isles died outside of Cumbria.

A tranche of returners resided or had businesses in London including Jonathan Winder, Edward and John Stephenson, the Routledges, Dents, Fawcetts, and Sowerbys. East Indies-involved Cumbrians with parliamentary interests maintained London addresses or properties in proximate counties, including Henry Fletcher, John Robinson and Alexander Nowell. The Braddylls bought lands at Woodford in Essex and both Thomas and his brother Dodding died and were buried there.² Huddart was for very many years established at Islington and then Greenwich. His ropery was built near the East India Company warehouses and docks on the Thames. John Hudleston lived mainly at Windsor.

Residence or businesses in London should not be interpreted as detachment or disconnection from Cumbria. Previous chapters have shown, along with Marshall's seminal analysis of county societies,³ that this residential dispersion generated a

² D. Lysons, *The Environs of London: Volume 4, Counties of Herts, Essex and Kent* (London, T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1796), p. 278.

³ J. D. Marshall, 'Cumberland and Westmorland Societies in London, 1734-1914', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 84 (1984), pp. 239-254.

network of Cumbrians with strong provincial attachments and identity. Most East Indies returners maintained property and business interests in the Cumbrian counties. Indeed, John Hudleston died in Whitehaven while on a business excursion from the south. As Beckett has pointed out, Cumbria's absentee landowners, including successive Lowthers, could be, and were at times more, innovative and effective managers of their businesses and property in Cumbria than full-time residents.⁴

In his history of the parish, identity and belonging, Snell argues that memorials and gravestones show that parish loyalties were particularly strong prior to the nineteenth century, with county loyalties increasing during the Victorian era. He attributes that tendency to a proliferation of multiple residences among a rising middle class and the impacts of global mobility.⁵ If that is the case, Cumbrian East Indies returners in the eighteenth century were forerunners in an emerging trend. The Westmorland and Cumberland county societies were some of the earliest established in the British Isles. Cumbrian East Indies sojourners carved their connections to Cumbria in stone.

John Braddyll's handsome memorial, the inscription of which was quoted at the beginning of this chapter, was only one example (Plate 5.1). Catherine Holme's memorial at East Clandon (Plate 5.2) notes her father's estate at Holme Hill, Cumberland. Even earlier, Jonathan Winder marked connections with Cumberland, the marital alliance between the middling Winders and the Cumberland gentry Williams, and the East Indies, with a wall monument redolent with signs of status and accomplishment; an ionic column, arms, a crest and elaborate carving (Plate 5.3).

⁴ J. V. Beckett, 'Absentee Land Ownership in the Later Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries: The Case of Cumbria', *Northern History*, 19 (1983), pp. 93-106.

⁵ K. D. M. Snell, *Parish and Belonging: Community, Identity and Welfare in England and Wales, 1700-1950* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 21, 464.

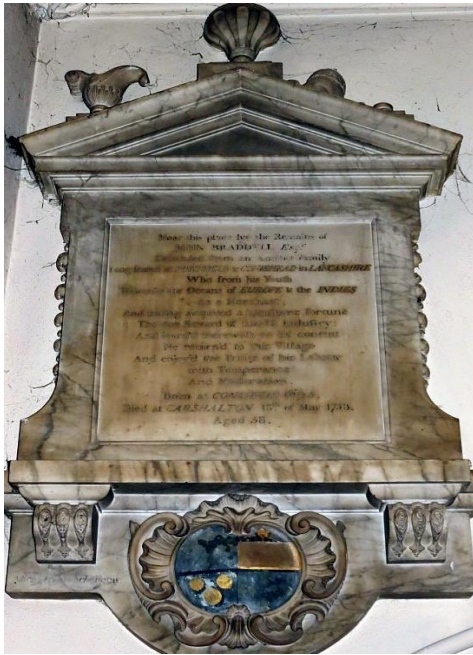


Plate 5.1 Memorial John Braddyll at Carshalton

Source: All Saints Carshalton
<http://www.carshaltonallsaints.org.uk/Interior>



Plate 5.2 Memorial Catherine Holme at East Clandon

Source: John E. Vigar
<http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/41621108@N00/15171449349/>



Plate 5.3 Winder Memorial at All Hallows, Barking

Source: Stiffleaf
<http://cdn.ipernity.com/127/23/23/17182323.8f00b0c5.240.jpg?r2>



Plate 5.4 Memorial John Bellasis at St Thomas' Cathedral Bombay

Source: B. Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858* (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1995)

The Winder memorial inscription was prepared as a narrative of success and connection:

Near this Place lieth interred the Body of John Winder of Grays Inn Esq^r. Barrister at Law Eldest Son & Heir of John Winder, Gent. of Lorton in y^e County of Cumberland where y^e Family flourished, in a Lineal Succession, above 300 Years. He married Lettice, one of y^e Coheirs of William Williams of Johnby Hall in y^e same county Gent. by whom he had two Children, William and Mary, and died 27 Jul. 1699 Aged 41. And also the Body of Jonathan Winder, Esq^r. his 3d Brother, sometime Agent for y^e Hon E. India Com' at Bengal who departed this Life, unmarried, 12 Jan 1717, in the 48th. Year of his Age. Pursuant to whose Will and Desire, his Executors erected this Monument. And likewise the Body of Samuel Winder.⁶

There were, too, memorials in the Cumbrian counties designed to commemorate Cumbrian East Indies sojourners buried elsewhere. John Bellasis' career was recorded in the church at Long Marton, as well as on a grand affair in St Thomas' Cathedral, Bombay (Plate 5.4).

Interred at Mysore, Jonathan Moorhouse was memorialised at Clifton, Westmorland.

Charles Denton was memorialised at Crosthwaite, Keswick (Plate 5.5). At Kendal,

James Pennington's memorial

commemorating his death in India was

"erected by his three surviving brothers as a tribute of their sincere affection." In the East Indies, there were memorials explicitly connecting individuals to Cumbria.

James Fawcett was memorialised in the Cathedral at Bombay and his inscription tied a Cumbria, London, India triangle together:



Plate 5.5 Memorial Crosthwaite Church of the Vicar's son Charles Denton

Source: The author

⁶ G. H. Gater and W. H. Godfrey (eds.) *Survey of London: Volume 15, All Hallows, Barking-By-The-Tower (Part II)* (London, London County Council, 1934), p. 88.

James Fawcett, 2nd son of Henry & Helen Hutchins Fawcett, MP for Carlisle and only daughter of the late Major Gen. John Bellasis, died in London 17 September 1831, aged 31 years. Leaves a widow and 2 infant children. Buried alongside his father at St John's Wood Chapel

Carlisle connections were evident in the South Park burial ground in Calcutta where

Catherine Holme's brother was memorialised:

The Remains of JOHN HOLME, Esq. of the City of Carlisle, Cumberland, who died the 2 day of January 1779, are here deposited, Aged 49 years. This Monument was erected To perpetuate the Memory of A Sincere Friend and Honest Man by his surviving Friends as a Testimony of their regard for his virtues.

Memorial and gravestone inscriptions were purposeful and meaningful. They could be costly. Even on the simplest of memorial stones, the inscription itself attracted a separate charge, costed by the letter.⁷ As Buckham points out gravestones and memorials were 'social markers. They embodied the memory of the deceased as a member of a family unit which was in turn located in a wider social structure'.⁸ Snell notes that place references on memorials and gravestones increased over the eighteenth century, but for much of the long eighteenth century, references were largely around the parish.⁹ This was not the case with many memorials of Cumbrians who failed to return from India. Those memorials positioned Cumbrian sojourners within a Cumbrian identity while simultaneously referencing their global ventures. Their elaborate memorials were a 'proof' of success and indicative that, for some at least, East Indies ventures paid off.

⁷ Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, p. 457

⁸ S. Buckham, 'The men that worked for England they have their graves at home': Consumerist issues within the production and purchases of gravestones in Victorian York, in S. Tarlow and S. West (eds.) *The Familiar Past: Archaeologies Britain, 1550-1950* (London, Routledge, 1999), p. 199.

⁹ Snell, *Parish and Belonging*, pp. 471-476.

The Pay-Offs

The financial ‘payoffs’ associated with East Indies ventures are neither easily established nor interpreted. Evidence is fragmentary and disparate. An array of records associated with deceased estates – wills, probate values, inventories, probate accounts, and death duties – all provide a window on to the wealth and material circumstances of Cumbrians with East Indies interests, but they bring with them a raft of difficulties.

The most commonly available documents are wills and probate values.

Probate values are problematic in so far as they only value personal estates. There are issues of comparative reliability too because valuation audits could be variable. East Indies sojourners sometimes had estates in multiple jurisdictions, consequently, there may be uncertainty about whether a single probate value represents the whole of their personal estate.¹⁰ Wills tended to be standardised in form but the value of bequests may or may not be made explicit and estate residuals could not, in any case, be quantified. Inventories can be powerful evidence, but for comparative purposes over a large dataset such as the enumerated Cumbrians they are less consistently available. Inventories were gradually removed from the formal process of issuing probate or administration, although they persisted in India. In addition, lack of standardisation in accounting practices can make them difficult to interpret.

¹⁰ J. Cox and N. Cox, *Probate 1500-1800: System in Transition*, and N. Goose and N. Evans, *Wills as a Historical Source* in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose, (eds.), *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2004); L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour & Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (2nd Edition, London, Routledge, 1996), pp. 2-6; W. D. Rubenstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain Since the Industrial Revolution* (2nd Edition, London, Social Affairs Unit, 2006), pp. 18-24; C. Hall, N. Draper, K. McClelland, C. Donington and R. Lamb *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 48f and Appendix A.

There are also questions of attribution. What part of William Wilson's probated personal fortune at <£200,000 can be credited to his East India sojourn compared to that inherited from his grandfather, father and elder brother, all of whom were involved in hosiery manufacture and banking interests in Cumbria? ¹¹ Can wealth accumulated by the end of life be attributed to the East Indies when a sojourner has spent a considerable time back in the British Isles? John Hudleston, for instance, left a personal estate of considerable value in 1823.¹² He entered the East India Company as a writer in the Madras Presidency in 1766 and returned to the British Isles in 1787. The Company's directors awarded him a bonus of 10,000 star pagodas in 1788.¹³ He was briefly a member of parliament and twenty-three years a director of the East India Company. Between 1774 and 1776, he held one of the largest holdings of stock by director.¹⁴ He had business interests in Cumbria and London. It is doubtful whether the fraction of personal wealth that can be attributed to the East Indies will ever be established for men who had career cycles such as Hudleston. What is certain is that John Hudleston believed that India made him and he sought to provide those opportunities to his sons, relatives and friends.

This thesis treats the value of estates associated with Cumbrians with East Indies connections as reflecting East Indies activities, if not entirely attributable to them. In doing so, it follows the approach used by Hall and her colleagues in analysis of slave-generated wealth and its lasting implications after the abolition of slavery.¹⁵

¹¹ Christopher Wilson left his wife cash in excess of £300. J. Satchell and O. Wilson, *Christopher Wilson of Kendal: An Eighteenth Century Hosier and Banker* (Kendal, Kendal Civic Society & Frank Peters Publishing, 1988).

¹² Valued at <£120,000.

¹³ Around £4,000.

¹⁴ H. Furber, *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th Century* (Aldershot, Variorum, 1997), III, p. 145.

¹⁵ Hall *et al.*, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, pp. 48f and Appendix 1.

Despite the problems associated with the paraphernalia of wills and probate, their relative accessibility and coverage makes them too rich to ignore.¹⁶ Some sense of the wealth associated with East Indies sojourners can be grasped from the sworn estates of those dying after 1857. Their probate values can be found in the National Probate Calendar. Looking at that subset of sojourners provides some control over the problem of shifts in comparative purchasing power over longer periods of time. Fifty-five enumerated Cumbrian men have been identified as dying after 1857. All but nine had estate values listed in the National Probate Calendar. Those are set out in Table 5.1.

The smallest estates were those noted as restricted to property situated in England, implying that those men had wealth falling into other jurisdictions.

Table 5.1: Probate Values East Indies Cumbrian Men Dying After 1857 in England and Wales

Enumerated Cumbrian men dying after 1857	Death	Probate Value (<£)
Francis Warwick*	1857	£300
Richard Benson	1858	£120,000
Michael Falcon	1858	£6,000
James Law Lushington	1859	£12,000
James Steel	1859	£25,000
William Wilkinson	1859	£14,000
Jonathan Fallowfield	1860	£7,000
Alfred Borradaile	1861	£1,000
Andrew Fleming Hudleston	1861	£12,000
Robert Addison	1862	£140,000
William Page Ashburner*	1862	£5,000
George Hutchins Bellasis	1862	£1,500
John Boustead	1862	£20,000
John Losh	1862	£9,000
James Masterson Pennington	1862	£6,000
Jonathan Rigg	1862	£2,000
William James Symons	1863	£3,000
Josiah Andrew Hudleston*	1865	£450
William Simonds	1865	£12,000
Henry Cookson Airey	1866	£6,000
Joseph Ashley Senhouse	1867	£3,000
Montagu Watts	1867	£20,000
Thomas Wilkinson	1867	£35,000
Charles Hamilton Wake	1871	£4,000
Thomas Dent	1872	£500,000
Frederick Clerk	1873	£18,000
Robert Clerk	1873	£1,500
James Farish	1873	£20,000
James Denis de Vitre	1875	£25,000
Edward Gordon Fawcett	1875	£10,000
William Dent	1877	£45,000
Robert Burland Hudleston	1877	£1,500
George Cumberland Hughes le Fleming	1877	£18,000
Robert Lowther	1879	£12,000
Robert Addison	1880	£2,000
James Bell	1880	£2,000
David Ewart	1880	£45,000
William Wilson	1880	£200,000
John James Watts	1883	£6,800
Montagu Ainslie	1884	£84,400
James Gandy Gaitskell	1885	£9,343
Wilkinson Dent	1886	£183,400
Joseph Carleton Salkeld	1886	£48,400
Robert Wilkinson	1887	£73,103
John Brownrigg Bellasis	1890	£2,122
Patrick Theodore French	1890	£2,038

* In England

¹⁶ See Arkell *et al.*, *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* and Appendix A of Hall *et al.*, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* for extended discussions.

The average value across personal estate values was about <£38,500. The median value was <\$11,000.¹⁷

Those values can be placed in a broader perspective. Green and Owens suggest that 89 percent of London men's wills in 1830 were valued <£10,000 while 94 percent of men's wills across England and Wales were valued at <£10,000 in 1859.¹⁸ By comparison, none of the three East Indies Cumbrian men dying in 1859 and probated only in England had a probate value less than <£10,000. Indeed, over the period 1858 to 1890, only 47 percent of the probated East Indies Cumbrian men returning to England had probate values of personal estates less than <£10,000.

Some comparison can be made between the value of the personal estates of Cumbrian men who went to the East Indies and those who did not. All the estates of the three hundred men from Westmorland or Cumberland, excluding the East Indies returners, who died in the month of April for each year from 1858 to 1867 were analysed. The average estate value of those men was <£2,000 and ranged between <£5 and <£160,000. Among the East Indies associated Cumbrians dying over the period 1858-1867, probate values ranged from around £1,000 to <£140,000. This tendency for estates of Cumbrian men associated with the East Indies to be higher than other Cumbrians is graphically demonstrated in Figure 5.1.

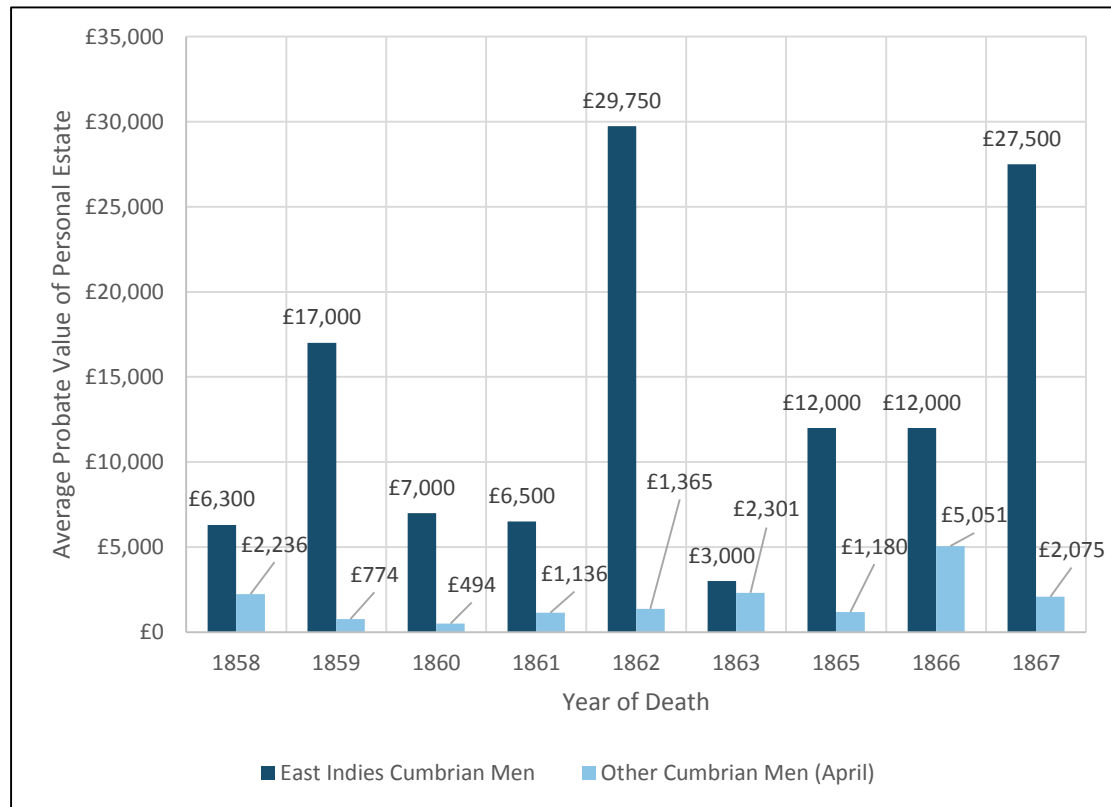
Enticing though it might be to attribute the higher probate values among East Indies returners to East Indies wealth, those values were almost certainly generated by an interplay between multiple factors. As previous chapters have shown, East Indies ventures relied on access to both social and financial capital. Under those conditions,

¹⁷ Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 compiled from PPR, *National Probate Calendar*.

¹⁸ D. Green and A. Owens, 'Gentlewomanly capitalism? Spinsters, Widows and Wealth Holding in England and Wales, c. 1800-1860', *Economic History Review*, LVI, 3 (2003) p. 517.

a wealth differentiation could be expected between these men who became involved in East Indies ventures and those who did not.

Figure 5.1: Average Probate Value (England and Wales) of East Indies Cumbrian Men and Westmorland and Cumbrian Men with Probate Dying April (1858-1867)



What Figure 5.1 suggests, then, is that East Indies ventures reinforced and augmented the pre-existing advantages of the Cumbrian men who went to the East Indies. But while comparisons need to be treated with caution, caution should not allow the difference the East Indies made to people's material situation to be understated. A direct illustrative biographical comparison is helpful here. Take, for instance, the considerable financial success of John Bellasis described later in this chapter, which was unequivocally attributable to his East Indies career. The financial outcomes of his career can be compared to his elder brother, George Bellasis. George Bellasis was educated at Oxford. As a Doctor of Divinity he was appointed to a series of desirable livings. Nevertheless, his career ended in financial ruin. In 1772, George

Bellasis was forced to leave the living of Yattenden and subsequently his other livings were sequestrated. The family became homeless. His wife returned to her parental home and George Bellasis was reduced to preaching engagements at Oxford and tutoring his own children.¹⁹

It has been suggested that it is reasonable to assume that individuals could generate an annual income of around three to five percent of the value of their personal wealth.²⁰ If that is the case, over two thirds of the fifty-four Cumbrian men who returned from East Indies sojourns with known personal estates would have generated annual incomes of £200 or more. Almost a third would be able to generate annual incomes of £1,000 or more.²¹ Where does this place these Cumbrian East Indies sojourners in England's income profile over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Such a question takes us into what Lindert and Williamson describe as the 'tempting but treacherous' territory of social tables.²²

Social tables which attempted to align wealth, social rank and occupation, were a persistent preoccupation of the Georgians throughout the eighteenth century. Lindert and Williamson, based on a revision of the latest of those social tables undertaken by Colquhoun at the beginning of the nineteenth century, suggest that average annual household incomes varied between from around £30 among labourers and the poor to £8,000 among the peerage. Less than one percent of households had incomes of £1,000 or more while a little more than 6 percent of households had average annual incomes of £200 or more.²³

¹⁹ M. Bellasis, *Honourable Company* (London, Hollis & Carter, 1952), pp. 53-56.

²⁰ J. Heldman, 'How Wealthy is Mr. Darcy Really?' *Persuasions* 12 (1990), pp. 40f.

²¹ Estimates are in nominal pounds.

²² P. Lindert, and J. Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1812', *Explorations in Economic History*, 19 (1982), p. 385.

²³ Lindert and Williamson, 'Revising England's Social Tables 1688-1812', pp. 388-405.

Although East Indies ventures tended to amplify wealth and income, deceased estates show the payoffs for Cumbrians were variable. Take, for instance, Humphrey Senhouse Gale who was part of a wide middling and gentry network of kin.²⁴ His central desire was to rise to a position of independence and relieve his relatives of the burden of him.²⁵ He estimated it would take twelve years to return to Cumbria with a fortune.²⁶ He barely completed eight years in the East Indies, dying in 1819. Gale's will, made two years before his death, shows he was aware that his fortune had yet to be made. His specific bequests were small—500 Spanish dollars and 500 pagodas bequeathed to his 'girl', Chindanah. The value of Gale's cash bequests was a little over £210.²⁷ By comparison Eldred Addison who died in 1787 after a career as a writer in Calcutta specified cash bequests to family and friends in excess of £11,000.²⁸

Multiple factors contributed to the gap between the two men. Addison was a favoured son of the respected clergyman and the grandson of Eldred Curwen of Sella Park. Gale was a 'poor orphan', the son of a disreputable man thrust upon the charity of his Senhouse relatives.²⁹ Gale was appointed to the army, Addison to the civil service. Addison's career was more than twice as long as Gale's. Gale was under-capitalised, or as Huddart saw it, extravagant, on arrival in India and became entangled in high interest debt. It is unlikely that Gale ever accumulated enough funds to invest in lucrative private trade.

²⁴ See Appendices C and D.

²⁵ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Madras. to Humphrey Senhouse, Netherhall, 30 July 1811, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9 57eV; Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Madras, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 17 October 1811, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9 57fR.

²⁶ Letter Humphrey Senhouse Gale, Vellore, to Kitty Senhouse, Netherhall, 31 March 1812, CAS DSEN 5/5/1/9 57iR.

²⁷ IOR L/AG/34/29-219 f.1.

²⁸ National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 1158.

²⁹ E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century Vol II Cumberland & Westmorland 1700-1830* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 314-315.

This pattern of contrasting fortunes was a persistent pattern among Cumbrian men dying in the East Indies. John Bellasis' estate was valued in excess of 160,000 rupees or in the region of £18,000 in 1808.³⁰ It can be compared to the estate of the thirty-year-old Westmerian Thomas Rumbold Taylor, an East Indiaman commander, who died in Madras in 1804. Taylor's inventory contained an impressive list of chattels and promissory notes, but there was an equally impressive list of liabilities. From a gross value of almost 12,500 pagodas, after the debts were paid, the estate proved to be worth less than 800 pagodas or around £290.³¹

Indeed, the estates of some Cumbrians did not meet their liabilities. William Varty of Hawkshead, a lieutenant for twelve years in India, died intestate in Madras. Varty's estate had net liabilities of more than 3,500 Madras rupees.³² Captain Thomas Birkett of Moresby Cumberland, similarly intestate at his death at Barrackpore in 1836, was found to have over 12,000 rupees in claims against his estate that had to 'remain unsatisfied' despite a career of twenty-eight years in the Bengal Army.³³

Other deceased estates did allow for substantial remittances 'home'. George Hutchins Bellasis, based at Holly Hill Windermere, received a substantial allowance from his father in Bombay of around £6,000 annually.³⁴ Even men with modest careers could direct substantial sums back to the British Isles and Cumbria. For example, Jonathan Moorhouse, who died in Madras in 1823 after twenty-four years in the army, had a respectable but not lofty career. His estate was valued at 313,024 rupees. Some monies stayed in India. There was a payment to a local woman, Fattamah, with whom Moorhouse was probably in a sexual, and possibly domestic,

³⁰ IOR L/AG/34/29/343 f.7.

³¹ IOR L/AG/34/29/205 f.41.

³² IOR L/AG/34/27/267 f.133.

³³ IOR L/AG/34/27/116 f.82.

³⁴ IOR L/AG/34/27/389 f.1.

arrangement. She received eighty pagodas at five pagodas per month to cover the period between Moorhouse's death and probate. Fattemah received about 280 pagodas in compensation for her 'allowance ceasing'. There were payments to shopkeepers, servants, and a substantial payment for probate fees and a memorial. Around 3,700 rupees remained in India in the form of a four percent loan. Moorhouse's local executors received a little over 11,000 sicca rupees, about a £1,000, which they lodged with Binny & Co., for transfer to England. The vast majority of the remaining estate of around £26,000 was remitted to the care of Moorhouse's executors, William James and Thomas Law, both of Penrith, for distribution to his Westmerian cousins.³⁵ No doubt a small portion funded the memorial to Moorhouse and his parents found in St Cuthbert's at Clifton.³⁶

Many Cumbrian East Indies returners brought with them little more than debts, as John Addison complained in the 1720s as he tried to wring compensation out of the East India Company.³⁷ More than a century later, in 1843, the Cumbrian East Indiaman commander Joseph Douglas was incarcerated at Fleet Street for debts arising from his actions in the first Opium War. In his case, compensation was sought, not from the Company but from the 'nation'. Douglas claimed he lost £30,000 through arming and deploying his East Indiaman as a warship for the British government in the China Sea.³⁸ The nature of his losses, whether he had received government compensation or not, and the reasonableness of his expenditures were long contested by his creditors. What is clear, is that his previous, reputedly large,

³⁵ IOR L/AG/34/27/256 f.24 and IOR L/AG/34/29/222 f.55.

³⁶ E. Bellasis, (ed.), *Westmorland Church Notes: Being the Heraldry, Epitaphs and other Inscriptions in the Thirty-two Ancient Parish Churches and Churchyards of that County Volumes 1 and 2* (Kendal, Titus Wilson, 1889): Clifton.

³⁷ IOR E/1/12 138-139v [1 March 1720] – Letter 78 John Addison at Whitehaven to William Dawsonne and the Committee of Correspondence concerning a £100 gratuity for his work in the Company's service at India and St Helena.

³⁸ 'National Ingratitude', *Worcester Journal*, 30 March 1843.

fortune never recovered. In 1865 prior to his death, Douglas' debts were estimated at £194 secured against property to the value of £50.³⁹

Addison and Douglas were not unique, but nor were they typical. Thomas Braddyll returned after thirty-one years in Bengal, quitting as governor of Bengal. Just prior to his death in 1747 he purchased the Woodford estate in Essex for £19,500, in his will he made cash bequests of almost £8,000, and his personal estate was reported as in excess of £70,000.⁴⁰ He died with in excess of £10,000 in Bank of England stock.⁴¹ In addition to the estate John Braddyll left to his youngest son, Braddyll made a generous payment of £100 annually for the care of his oldest son. Along with annuities, he also set aside £15,000 for his daughter.⁴² The value of Dodding Braddyll's estate is not known, but he had £3,333 in Bank of England stock in 1748.⁴³ Edward Stephenson was reputed to have returned from India with a considerable fortune in 1730. He was reputed to have £150,000 ready to spend on the acquisition of property in Cumbria in 1744.⁴⁴ Edward's younger brother, John, a merchant in Calcutta, made bequests in his will to the value of £2,620 in addition to a commitment of £1,000 annually to be paid from his estate for the upkeep of his son who suffered from some sort of mental disorder.⁴⁵ Hugh Parkin, at his death in 1838, bequeathed an annual annuity of £1,400 to his wife living at Skirsgill.⁴⁶

³⁹ 'Court of Bankruptcy', *Berkshire Chronicle*, 29 July 1865.

⁴⁰ National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 758.

⁴¹ *Bank of England Wills Extracts 1717-1845*, Film 65/2 N Reg. 54.

⁴² National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 801.

⁴³ *Bank of England Wills Extracts 1717-1845*, Film 65/2 N Reg. 208.

⁴⁴ J. V. Beckett, 'The Making of a Pocket Borough: Cockermouth 1722-1756', *Journal of British Studies*, 20, 1 (Autumn 1980), p. 147; J. W. Kaye, Governor's House, Keswick, *Transactions CWAAS*, Second Series, LXVI (1966), pp. 339-46.

⁴⁵ National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 968.

⁴⁶ National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 1897. The PPR, *National Probate Calendar* records Sarah Parkin's personal wealth as sworn <£2,000 in 1859 after an initial probate value of <£3,000 in 1858.

Among the Cumbrian men returning in the latter part of the long eighteenth century, at least seven died with personal wealth in excess of £100,000. They included the merchant and opium dealer brothers Thomas and Wilkinson Dent;⁴⁷ Sir John Benn Walsh, also a dealer in opium and reputed recipient of £80,000 of ‘gifts’ as resident at Benares, a £10,000 dowry at his marriage to the niece of the nabob John Walsh, and, eventually, the latter’s fortune through inheritance to his wife;⁴⁸ William Wilson, appointed as a writer to Madras in 1829; the Java coffee grower and merchant, Robert Addison; Richard Benson, a major-general in the Bengal Army and son of a Cockermouth attorney;⁴⁹ and, John Hudleston from the gentry family of Hutton John which had struggled and feuded over declining financial fortunes over many generations.⁵⁰

Authority and the Politics of Parliamentary Representation

At the core of anxieties around East Indies wealth during the eighteenth century was a fear that East Indies wealth would threaten existing national and local elites.⁵¹ There can be little doubt that East Indies experience or connections were common among those in positions of local authority in the Cumbrian counties. East Indies returners were found among or connected to mayoralities and aldermen in both Westmorland and Cumberland.

⁴⁷ See Table 5.1.

⁴⁸ P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 165, 206; H. Furber, *John Company at Work: A study of European expansion in India in the late eighteenth century* (New York, Octagon Books, 1970), pp. 91, 121; K. Smith, Warfield Park, Berkshire Longing, Belonging and the Country House, *East India Company at Home* (August 2014), p. 11 <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Warfield-Park-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf>.

⁴⁹ See Table 5.1.

⁵⁰ W. D. Rubenstein, *Who Were the Rich? A biographical directory of British wealth-holders Volume One 1809-1839* (London, Social Affairs Unit, 2009), p. 405.

⁵¹ T. W. Nechtman, ‘A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late Eighteenth Century’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 41, 1 (2007), p. 72.

In Appleby, Westmorland's county town, the East Indies sojourners in mayoral office included Robert Addison, and the opium dealers Wilkinson Dent and William Wilkinson. Families combining connections to the East Indies with representation within Appleby's town corporation were the Atkinsons, the Robinsons, and the Parkins. Hugh Parkin's father, James, was mayor in 1748, again in 1756, twice in the 1770s, three times in the 1780s, in 1790 and died in office at the age of 77 years in 1793. The tradition was maintained by Hugh's son who became mayor in 1860.⁵²

In Kendal, the connection with the East Indies started early. John Taylor, the East India Company surgeon who made a fortune enough to purchase Abbot Hall, was the grandson of Joseph Symson who was appointed mayor twice. Francis Drinkel, three times mayor of Kendal, sent his son to Calcutta in the 1760s. His daughter married into the longstanding East Indies and banking family, the Stephensons of Keswick. Kendal's mayor, William Berry, sent his son to Madras where he died. His mayoral successor three years later, Christopher Wilson, had a grandson return from a successful merchant career in the East Indies. Thomas Holme Maude, brother-in-law to the East Indies returner George Hutchins Bellasis of Holly Hill, was appointed mayor in 1799 and again in 1813.⁵³

A similar pattern was evident in Carlisle. Lowther's supporters Henry Aglionby and Humphrey Senhouse both served as mayors. Both had sons who went to the East Indies with Henry Fletcher. Indeed, Humphrey's son, Joseph, also became a

⁵² Appleby-in-Westmorland, *Mayors of Appleby*, <http://www.applebytown.org.uk/uploads/Town%20Council/Info/Mayor/MAYORS%20OF%20APPLEBY.pdf>.

⁵³ C. Nicholson, *The Annals of Kendal: Being a Historical and Descriptive Account of Kendal and the Neighbourhood: with biographical sketches of many eminent personages connected with the town* (2nd Edition, London, Whitaker & Co., 1861), pp. 286f.

mayor of Carlisle. But the most pronounced intermeshing of Carlisle's city corporation and the East Indies was in the Hodgson family. Richard Hodgson, a mercer was an alderman of Carlisle. He had at least thirteen children between 1744 and 1764. The eldest boy, William, appears to have entered the East India Company although records of his career are sparse. His second son, Richard, established a successful brewery and became the mayor of Carlisle. He was eventually knighted. The third son, George, was sent to Bengal where he died in 1780 as secretary to the revenue department, leaving legacies to his mother, siblings and kin of about £6,000.⁵⁴ The youngest son was sent to Bengal as a cadet in 1782, returning sometime in the early 1800s and formally retiring from the East India Company in 1822. He was elected alderman of Carlisle in 1808.⁵⁵

Many of those returning from East Indies sojourns met the property qualifications necessary to act as magistrates. East Indies sojourners were also prominent members of grand juries established for the assizes. For instance, in 1802, Joseph Senhouse, Hugh Parkin, James Graham of Barrock Lodge, John de Whelpdale, and Charles Fetherstonhaugh were all East Indies returners on the grand jury for the Cumberland assizes. The grand jury for August 1818 consisted of the East Indies sojourners John Wordsworth and Thomas Salkeld as well as John de Whelpdale, and

⁵⁴ F. Jollie, (ed.), *A Political History of the City of Carlisle from the Year 1700 to the Present Time* (Carlisle, F. Jollie jun. and J. Jollie, 1820), pp. 10, 17; B. Bonsall, *Sir James Lowther and Cumberland and Westmorland Elections 1754-1775* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1960), p. 62; S. Jefferson, *History of Carlisle* (Carlisle, S. Jefferson, 1836), pp. 448; R. S. Ferguson and W. Nanson, (eds.), *Some Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle : viz., the Elizabethan Constitutions, Orders, Provisions, Articles, and Rules from the Dormont Book, and the Rules and Orders of the Eight Trading Guilds, Prefaced by Chapters on the Corporation Charters and Guilds : Illustrated by Extracts from the Courtleet Rolls and From the Minutes of the Corporation and Guilds Extra Series* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society), no. 4 (Carlisle, C. Thurnam & Sons, 1887), p. 116; *Monthly Magazine Or British Register*, vol. 22 (1806), p.190; IOR N/1/2 f.172 and IOR L/AG/34/29/4 f.9.

⁵⁵ 'Untitled', *Lancaster Gazette*, 3 December 1808.

Charles Fetherstonhaugh.⁵⁶ Andrew Fleming Hudleston was on the grand jury along with the perennial Hugh Parkin and Charles Fetherstonhaugh in 1822.⁵⁷

There was, too, a longstanding interlock between those appointed as sheriffs and those with East Indies connections. For instance, Westmorland's High Sheriff appointed in 1851, Edward Wilson, married the daughter of the governor of Bombay in 1843. His younger brother, William, was an East India Company writer. Five years later, William Wilkinson, one of the five sons of James Wilkinson of Flass who went to the East Indies and was part of the Dent trade, banking and opium network throughout India, China and Hong Kong, was appointed sheriff. He was followed, in 1858, by the Java merchant, Robert Addison of The Friary in Appleby. The East Indies-involved Tullies, Lutwidges, and Hasells accounted for a succession of sheriffs in Cumberland. Edward Stephenson was a sheriff in 1757. John Brisco, John de Whelpdale, Thomas Salkeld, Fretchville Ballantine-Dykes and Andrew Hudleston were all East Indies returners subsequently appointed as sheriffs of Cumberland. Some sheriffs were the fathers of Company appointees and other sheriffs had parents who were East Indies returners. Charles Fetherstonhaugh has two sons appointed county sheriff. John Johnson's son William Ponsonby Johnson of Walton House was appointed as a county sheriff in 1815. In 1762, Thomas Braddyll, the son of Dodding Braddyll was appointed as a sheriff of Lancashire.⁵⁸

Those interlocks had their roots in Cumbria. The East Indies consolidated and amplified provincial influence. The social and economic influence that facilitated East Indies ventures also underpinned access to positions of local authority in Cumbria. In that sense, East Indies wealth acted to support existing institutions and, indeed, may

⁵⁶ 'Cumberland Assizes', *Carlisle Patriot*, 15 August 1818.

⁵⁷ 'Grand Jury', *Westmorland Gazette*, 24 August 1822.

⁵⁸ Compiled from *The London Gazette* online database.

have stabilised provincial elites. At the same time, however, East Indies wealth could be a disruptive and often unpredictable element on the politics of parliamentary representation. It is a thread that has been noted but not addressed in the various analyses of Cumbria's parliamentary politics and the complexities of the aristocratic manoeuvrings and interests of the Lowthers, Tuftons, Cavendish-Benticks, and, later the Howards.⁵⁹ The machinations of those aristocratic families are not detailed here, except to note that the resistance to the Lowther interest from the Dukes of Portland and Norfolk, and later Brougham, reflected not only their own ambitions but also a broader constituency. There was widespread concern among Cumbrian freeman, both gentry and urban, with Lowther dominance.⁶⁰ In the context of this dissertation, the discussion focuses on the enduring presence of an East Indies strand in struggles for control over Cumbrian parliamentary representation.

The first evidence of anxiety around the potential threat of East Indies wealth was Lowther's wariness of the nabob Edward Stephenson's interest in Cockermouth in 1744.⁶¹ The Lowther interest was humiliated by resistance cohering around Henry Curwen and Henry Fletcher for the Cumberland election in 1768. Henry Fletcher of Clea Hall, a successful, retired East Indiaman commander who had promoted the East Indies careers of the Senhouse, Hasell and Aglionby boys, claimed a Cumberland seat and retained it for forty years. He was for much of that time an East India Company director. The Curwen-Fletcher alliance that mortified Lowther was sustained beyond the 1768 election. It was an alliance that manifested the complex reciprocities emerging from the interaction between the East Indies and parliamentary

⁵⁹ Bonsall, *Sir James Lowther and Cumberland and Westmorland Elections 1754-1775*, pp. 62-73; J. R. McQuiston, 'The Lonsdale Connection and its Defender, William, Viscount Lowther 1818-1830', *Northern History*, 11, 1 (1979), pp. 143-163.

⁶⁰ Bonsall, *Sir James Lowther and Cumberland and Westmorland Elections 1754-1775*, pp. 69-70.

⁶¹ Beckett, 'The Making of a Pocket Borough', pp. 146-147.

representation. Local alliances around parliamentary representation could shape East Indies careers. That dynamic was illustrated by Curwen's later careful entwining of the politics of parliamentary representation with appreciation of past East Indies patronage. In 1770, Curwen wrote to the Duke of Portland:

I should not have been so long in returning your Grace my best thanks for your great kindness to my Nephew Adderton which I beg leave now to do: but waited until I had returned Sir Joseph Pennington's visit at Muncaster. Sir Joseph publically declares this it is his fixed determination to give his interest against sir J L at any future selection and dropped some hints in private that it would be agreeable to him to be nominated a candidate at the next election for the county and said he did not suppose that Mr Fletcher could ever expect that honor again on the whole I am pritty confident he is aiming to get a nomination in his favour...⁶²

A similar interweaving of parliamentary alliances with East Indies careers perhaps accounts for the stalling of Joseph Senhouse's East India career. Having been sponsored by Henry Fletcher into East Indiamen, Joseph returned to Cumberland in 1768. His father and himself were previously on the warmest terms with Fletcher. Joseph's father had previously invested in East Indiamen in partnership with Fletcher. As a director of the East India Company, it seems likely that Fletcher supported Joseph's subsequent promotion to second mate on an East Indiaman. It is no coincidence, then, that Fletcher's candidature in opposition to Lowther in the 1768 elections and Lowther's reactive recruitment of Joseph's father as a candidate to oppose Fletcher jeopardised Joseph's career prospects. Joseph Senhouse was forced to look away from the East India Company to the West Indies.⁶³

There were other instances of Lowther's political ambitions being thwarted by East Indies returners. For example, despite stacking the Carlisle city corporation,

⁶² Letter of Henry Curwen to the Duke of Portland, Workington 7 October 1770, NUM PwF 3.236.

⁶³ Hughes, *North Country Life Vol II*, pp. 108-109, 109n; S. D. Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 113.

Lowther lost control of Carlisle, first to John Christian Curwen⁶⁴ and then to Rowland Stephenson in 1786. The latter was a banker cousin and eventual recipient of the fortune of the Bengal governor, Edward Stephenson of Keswick. Stephenson was succeeded by another opponent to the Lowther interest, Wilson Braddyll, whose fortune also descended from the East Indies. In 1812, the prominent Bombay ship-owner, merchant and banker, Henry Fawcett of Scaleby Castle, nephew of Rowland Stephenson, was elected to Carlisle, again in opposition to the Lowther interests. Fawcett's East Indies operations were presented as benefiting Carlisle trade.⁶⁵ Notably, for the Madras-born great-grandchild of John Christian and Bridget Senhouse, James Law Lushington, East Indies connections gave him no such benefit. He won the 1827 election for Carlisle narrowly against Lonsdale's candidate but was derided as an 'Indian juggler'.⁶⁶

East Indies success and interests also allowed some to disentangle themselves from Lowther control. John Robinson's decision to take a treasury seat in the south, rather than stay under Lowther parliamentary patronage, was enabled by his importance to Lord North in managing the parliamentary relationship with the East India Company.⁶⁷ A very different, but equally telling, example was Alexander Nowell's snubbing of Lowther in the 1831 Westmorland election.

⁶⁴ Added Curwen, the maiden name of his mother to his birth surname of Christian when he became the Lord of the Manor of Workington that of the Curwen family.

⁶⁵ J. W. Anderson and R. G. Thorne, FAWCETT, Henry (1762-1816), of Scaleby Castle, nr. Carlisle, Cumb., in R. Thorne (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820* (1986). <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fawcett-henry-1762-1816>; A. Drummond. STEPHENSON, Rowland (?1728-1807), of Scaleby Castle, nr. Carlisle, Cumb., in L. Namier and J. Brooke (eds.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790* (1964) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/stephenson-rowland-1728-1807>.

⁶⁶ M. Escott, LUSHINGTON, James Law (1780-1859), of 14 Portman Square, Mdx., in D. R. Fisher (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832* (2009) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/lushington-james-1780-1859>.

⁶⁷ A. Connell, 'Appleby in Westminster: John Robinson, MP (1727-1802)', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, X (2010), pp. 217-236; A. Connell, 'John Robinson 1727-1802 – Clarification and Lines for Further Enquiry', *Transactions CWAAS*, Third Series, XI (2011), pp. 248-251.

The son of a Lancashire attorney, Alexander Nowell made a fortune through indigo growing, manufacture and distribution.⁶⁸ In 1808, he purchased Underley at Kirkby Lonsdale. Nowell was looking to cement and build on his hitherto London-based and cordial relationship with Lowther. It was a step towards standing for parliament with Lowther patronage. He actively supported Lowther's interests in Carlisle, Lancashire and Westmorland for almost two decades. But his support was unrewarded. He was overlooked as a candidate for Lowther in the 1827 Carlisle by-election. He was ignored again by Lowther for nomination in a Westmorland seat in 1831. It was then that Nowell used his East Indies wealth to transform his disappointment and anger into a direct political challenge. Despite his previously conservative stance, Nowell acquired support as a candidate for reform and won the Westmorland seat on an independent ticket.⁶⁹

Social Place

Nowell's pursuit of a parliamentary seat and his feelings of humiliation at Lowther's failure to support his candidacy were more about his social aspirations than any political agenda. The following discussion explores two dimensions of East Indies returners' pursuit of social place in Cumbria's provincial world. The first is house building and the associated expression of taste, and, the second is the way in which

⁶⁸ V. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834* (Reprint, Eastbourne, A Naval and Military Press, 1927), vol. 3; A. Nowell, Copy of the petition of Alexander Nowell, esq. to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated the 15th April 1811, with enclosures nos. 1. & 2., on the subject of advances by the Bengal Government to the indigo planters – together with copy of the reply of the Court of Directors to the said petition, dated the 14th June 1811, *Papers Relating to East India Affairs: Advances by the Bengal Government to Indigo Planters: Financial Letter From Bengal and One from the Court of Directors in Answer Thereto; Supplies Furnished from India to China; Merchandize and Bullion* (London, House of Commons, 10 July 1813), pp. 1-5.

⁶⁹ McQuiston, 'The Lonsdale Connection and its Defender', pp. 169, 177; M. Escott, NOWELL, Alexander (1761-1842), of Underley Park, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmld. and Wimpole Street, Mdx., in D. R. Fisher (ed.) *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820-1832* (2009) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/nowell-alexander-1761-1842>.

East Indies returners constructed their social position through benevolence and sociability.

Houses and taste

The acquisition of country estates, ‘country houses’ and, towards the latter years of the long eighteenth century, ‘houses in the country’, and the meaning of those acquisitions, have been central motifs in both the emulation debate and the historiography concerning consumption and social hierarchy in the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ The acquisition of country estates has also been tied to global imperialism.⁷¹ The acquisition of land by nabobs was a recurrent theme in popular and political discourse. Nabobs through their purchase of country estates were cited as agents of degeneration, undermining the moral framing of authority and, potentially, social and political authority as well.⁷²

Acquiring, building and renovating houses in town and on country estates characterised the activities of men returning from the East Indies to Cumbria right across the long eighteenth century. Activity substantially exceeded the comparatively low levels indicated by *The East India Company at Home* and Barczewski

⁷⁰ R. Wilson, and A. Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London, Hambledon, 2000), pp. 11-46; C. Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 4-20; N. Zahedieh, An Open Elite? Colonial Commerce, the Country House and the Case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall in M. Dresser and A. Hann, (eds.), *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon, English Heritage, 2013), pp. 69-77.

⁷¹ S. Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014); Dresser and Hann, (eds.), *Slavery and the British Country House; The East India Company at Home*, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/home/>.

⁷² P. Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London, Curzon Press, 1980), pp. 32, 33, 37, 43; M. Edwardes, *The Nabobs at Home* (London, Constable, 1991), pp. 43-43; T. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 165-170; J. Holzman, The nabobs in England, a study of the returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785 (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1926), pp. 70-87; P. Lawson and J. Phillips, ““Our Execrable Banditti”: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 1, 16, 3 (Autumn 1984), pp. 225-241.

respectively.⁷³ In 1732, Christopher Wilson purchased Bardsea Hall, having returned from an army career in India in 1726. Edward Stephenson built the Governor's House in Keswick. In 1763, Dodding Braddyll's son Thomas made improvements to Conishead.⁷⁴ John Orfeur Yates commissioned John Addison to build an impressive but uncomfortable house in 1767.⁷⁵ Thomas Pearson built a house in Burton in 1770 before he returned to and died at Calcutta.⁷⁶ Between 1789 and 1794, John Johnson, who left Whitehaven for Bengal in the 1750s, built the sumptuous Castlesteads near Carlisle.⁷⁷ John Sowerby, who established a successful career investing in East Indiamen,⁷⁸ purchased Dalston Hall for more than £15,000 in 1795. He sent his nephew as a cadet to Bengal in 1808.⁷⁹ The value of his entire estate was rumoured to be a million pounds.⁸⁰ Thomas Salkeld acquired Holme Hill and was probably responsible for its additions.⁸¹ Andrew Hudleston undertook the first significant renovations at Hutton John for a century when he added a wing in 1830.⁸²

The purchase, building and renovating of country houses and houses in the country was very much a Georgian affair, fuelled by increasing disposable incomes, land sales, resource exploitation, industrial activities, and global trade.⁸³ Wilson and

⁷³ Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, Appendices 2, 5 and 6; *The East India Company at Home*, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/home/>.

⁷⁴ S. E. Holmes, *The Paradise of Furness: The Story of Conishead Priory & Its People*, (Sedbergh, Handstand Press, 2012), pp. 26-28.

⁷⁵ H. Summerson, 'An Ancient Squires Family' *The History of the Aglionbys c. 1130-2002* (Carlisle, Bookcase, 2007), p. 124.

⁷⁶ 'Some Account of Major Thomas Pearson', *The European Magazine and London Review*, 45, 180 (1804), p. 243.

⁷⁷ M. Hyde and N. Pesvener, *Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness* (London, Yale University Press, 2010), p. 657.

⁷⁸ C. R. Hudleston, and R. Boumphrey, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry: With a Supplement to an Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* (Kendal, CWAAS, 1978).

⁷⁹ Jefferson, *History of Carlisle*, p. 394; G. A. Cooke, *Topography of Great Britain Being an Accurate and Comprehensive Topographical and Statistical Description of all the Counties in England, Scotland and Wales, with the Adjacent Islands: Illustrated with Maps of the Counties, Which Form a Complete British Atlas*, vol. 22 (London, Sherwood, Neeley and Jones, 1820), p. 87.

⁸⁰ 'Untitled', *Sussex Advertiser*, 30 June 1823.

⁸¹ Hyde and Pesvener, *Cumbria*, p. 326.

⁸² Hyde and Pesvener, *Cumbria*, p. 418.

⁸³ G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Routledge, 2007), pp. 101f.

Mackley estimate that the investment in building or remodelling English country houses between 1770 and 1800 was about one and half times the fixed capital investment in the cotton industry.⁸⁴ For Cumbrians, estates and houses were important expressions of social and economic success and reflected the reconstitution of local elites. Take for instance the Scaleby estate and, in particular, Scaleby Castle.

The Scaleby estate was racked by uncertainty over the seventeenth century. In an effort to repair family fortunes ravaged by Catholic and royalist loyalties, the Musgraves sold the estate to the Gilpins. Richard Gilpin inherited it in 1724. Already heavily indebted, Richard made the situation worse by using Scaleby Castle as security for a variety of undisclosed loans. In doing so, he implicated many of Cumberland's most prominent merchants and gentry, including the Hudlestons of Hutton John. The largest debt was to the nabob Edward Stephenson; a mortgage of £7,000 contracted sometime around 1741.⁸⁵ In the midst of claim, counter-claim, and threats of litigation, Scaleby Castle fell into disrepair. Stephenson eventually acquired it in the 1750s without encumbrance and Gilpin's trustees and other creditors were released from liabilities and reimbursed their lending.⁸⁶

For the Stephensons and associated families, accumulating ancient estates like Scaleby and investing in their modernisation, often in Gothic style, was not uncommon. Rowland Stephenson made 'a complete reparation' of Scaleby Castle before 1794. It was modernised again in 1838 by Henry Fawcett. Nearby Scaleby Hall was built in 1834 by Henry Farrer, an East Indiaman commander who married Fawcett's first cousin, returned from Bombay and took the 1,500-acre estate.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ R. Wilson and A. Mackley, 'How Much Did the English Country House Cost to Build, 1660-1880?' *Economic History Review*, New Series, 52, 3 (1999), pp. 463-464.

⁸⁵ J. F. Curwen, 'Scaleby Castle', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, XXVI (1926), pp. 404-405.

⁸⁶ Correspondence and lawsuit papers: Edward Stephenson, 1747-1757, CAS DHUD 8/21.

⁸⁷ Curwen, 'Scaleby Castle', p. 411.

Another middling Cumbrian with East Indies connections, Hugh Parkin, similarly relieved the chaotic Whelpdale family of Skirsgill in the 1770s. Part of the Westmerian urban elite whose father was a mayor of Appleby, Parkin's Company career was sponsored by his cousins John Robinson and John Wordsworth.⁸⁸ In 1795 Parkin rebuilt Skirsgill⁸⁹ and the estate became very desirable:

The Mansion House, is Stone Built, of Modern Structure, and in excellent Repair, and is well adapted for the residence of a Family of Distinction. The Ground Floor comprises a handsome Entrance Hall, Dining, Breakfast and Drawing Rooms, Library and Butler's Pantries, Kitchen and all convenient. Servants' Apartments. The First Floor, five excellent Bed Rooms, and Dressing Rooms and Water Closets etc; and the Upper Story [sic] Six airy and convenient bedrooms. The West wing of the Mansion contains an excellent Laundry and Wash House, Brew House, and spacious Servants' Apartments, detached from the rest of the Mansion. The Out-Houses are well arranged and at a convenient distance, and consist of excellent Stabling for Thirteen Horses, Three Loose Boxes and Coach House, Harness Rooms, Dog Kennels, Butching House, Barns, Byers and Other Farm Buildings.⁹⁰

Parkin and Skirsgill were included in Neale and Moule's second series of *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen* published in 1826.⁹¹ After Parkin's death, Skirsgill was purchased by Lancelot Dent, whose East Indies career centred on the opium trade. He too extended Skirsgill before commencing, with his brother, the building of Flass House at Maulds Meaburn in 1851. Flass was sumptuous in the extreme with an eleven metre galleried hall, a saloon eighteen metres long, and a heady mix of gilt, iron, and marble.⁹²

The acquisition of estates was for some East Indies returners a reparation of the failures of previous generations. For John Yates, Skirwith Abbey was a symbol of

⁸⁸ 'London, August 22', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 26 August 1793.

⁸⁹ Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria*, p. 575.

⁹⁰ 'Mansion House and Valuable Estates in Cumberland Westmorland', *Carlisle Journal*, 9 October 1841.

⁹¹ J. P. Neale, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen*, vol. 3 (Second Series, London, Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1826), pp. 24, 12.

⁹² Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria*, pp. 518, 574.

resurrected fortunes and reassertion of position within Cumbria's gentry.⁹³ John Taylor, the Company surgeon and one of five children orphaned and dispossessed by a hard drinking, indebted father, retrieved his father's estate at Landing, Finsthwaite, which had been sold to pay substantial debts.⁹⁴ John Bellasis' search from Bombay for an estate in Westmorland was prompted in part by reputational anxieties associated with his mother's admission to the free hospital for the poor in Appleby. Vexed, Bellasis had written to his brother at Long Marton in 1781:

I have thought of purchasing a small Estate, from 50 to 100 pounds a Year ... The produce of it, I mean in the first place to make my Mother independent for life ... I think it is a great shame for us all, that my Mother should remain at Appleby, indeed it is a shame that she ever went thither, situated as she is amongst her Sons & and Daughters. Her support could not have made much difference; I must confess I think the Earl of Thant's [sic] institution greatly abused ... in all probability [she is] the means of keeping out some one or other ... absolutely starving for want of common necessities ... I am persuaded it was her own choice, but she was certainly wrong, and it ought not to have been permitted, for no doubt the Neighbours cry out (privately) shame at it.⁹⁵

For others, landed estates were undoubtedly an assertion of a new social position. James Graham returned to Cumbria from Bengal and improved two Cumbrian estates. His father was an ambitious Carlisle surgeon.⁹⁶ Graham went to the East Indies in 1780 and on return purchased the Barrock estate. He built a house in 1791 described as a 'pleasant, modern-built house ... standing on the verge of a high bank, half surrounded by the river Peterill, and looking down a fertile vale inclosed with wooded eminences.'⁹⁷ After another period in India, where he operated as a money lender to Thomas Cust among others, Graham returned to Carlisle.

⁹³ Letter John Yates, Calcutta, to his sister Jane Yates, 1 February 1763, CAS DAY/6/4/3/aR.

⁹⁴ S. D. Smith, (ed.), *'An Exact and Industrious Tradesman': The Letter Book of Joseph Symson of Kendal 1711-1720* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. cxvii-cxviii.

⁹⁵ Letter from John Bellasis, Bombay to his brother Hugh at Long Marton, 16 May 1781, CAS WDX 1641/1/1 pp. 27a-27b.

⁹⁶ W. Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Carlisle: and its Vicinity* (Carlisle, F. Jollie, 1796), p. 96.

⁹⁷ F. Jollie, *Jollie's Cumberland Guide & Directory* (Carlisle, F. Jollie & Sons, 1811), p. 81.

Instrumental in the establishment of the Carlisle New Bank, by 1810 Graham had let Barrock Lodge. Through his wife he acquired the Rickerby estates previously owned by William Richardson, another London-based Cumbrian with East Indies interests.⁹⁸ Graham was credited with turning it into an elegant, stately mansion and improving ‘the appearance of the country, by adopting the best modes of modern agriculture.’⁹⁹

About the same time, Alexander Nowell bought Underley and commissioned the Websters to build an extravagant mansion costing £30,000.¹⁰⁰ The average cost of a new house on a large estate in excess of 10,000 acres was around £22,000.¹⁰¹ The Underley estate was less than 1,844 acres at its height.¹⁰² A new house on such an estate could be expected to cost less than a sixth of that reputed to have been spent by Nowell.¹⁰³ By contrast, Montagu Ainslie on his return from India built an enormous house (Plate 2.3) but one attempted in a vernacular style. It, along with his planting of extensive plantations, was a signal of Montagu’s desire to resume his place in Cumbria and take on the mantle of his parents in the local community.¹⁰⁴

Townhouses also attracted East Indies investment. Nowell built a townhouse at Kirkby Lonsdale. It was modest compared to the building John Robinson undertook many years before in Appleby. The White House at Appleby dominated the town with

⁹⁸ J. Godwin, ‘Rickerby: An Estate and its Owners—Part 1’, *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 92 (1992), pp. 236-240.

⁹⁹ Anon. *A Picture of Carlisle and Directory: Containing an Historical and Topographical Account of that City, its Public Buildings and Institutions; also a View of the Progress of Commerce and Manufactures; Arts, Literature &c., With a short description of the most remarkable seats and curiosities in the adjoining parts of Cumberland* (Carlisle, A. Henderson, 1810), pp. 83-84.

¹⁰⁰ J. Battle, (ed.) *Underley Hall Kirkby Lonsdale – Westmorland: A History of House and Occupants* (no publisher, 1969); Webster’s drawings CAS WDX 1514 See also CAS WDPP 8/1; A. Taylor, *The Websters of Kendal: A North-Western Architectural Dynasty*, CWAAS Record Series 17 (edited Janet Martin, Kendal, CWAAS, 2004), p. 115.

¹⁰¹ Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 294.

¹⁰² ‘Mr Alderman Thompson and the Executors of Alexander Nowell’, *Kendal Mercury*, 12 August 1843.

¹⁰³ Wilson, and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 294.

¹⁰⁴ A. Ainslie, *Ainslie: History of the Ainslies of Dolphinston, Jedburgh, Grizedale, Hall Garth & Their Descendants* (Unpublished Bradford Peverell Dorset, A. Ainslie, 2008), Part IVa, p. 11.

three unusually tall storeys and elaborate windows.¹⁰⁵ Appleby also saw the renovation of The Friary by Robinson's distant relative Robert Addison, a free merchant with substantial interests in Java. Addison also invested in a number of Cumbrian country estates including Littlebeck in Morland and Barwise Hall.¹⁰⁶ Kendal provided a town residence for John Taylor. It took twenty years for John Taylor to return with a fortune and strategic marriage to the sister of the nabob, Thomas Rumbold (1736-1791). In addition to re-purchasing his father's lost estates, in 1772 he purchased Abbot Hall for £4,500.¹⁰⁷

The East Indiaman commander John Wordsworth (1754-1819), an older cousin of William and John Wordsworth, resided in a semi-detached, ornately carved sandstone Penrith townhouse built in 1791.¹⁰⁸ In Carlisle, Sir Simon Heward purchased 73 Castle Street to house himself and his two mixed-race daughters. Nearby on Abbey Street was a 'commodious' mansion suited to a 'family of distinction' owned by Thomas Salkeld.¹⁰⁹ Richard Hodgson, who left for Bengal destined for the army about 1782, had taken Moorhouse Hall on the outskirts of Carlisle by 1809.¹¹⁰ Jonathan Fallowfield, the East India Company surgeon, also resided near Carlisle at Brisco Hill.

¹⁰⁵ Hyde and Pevsner, *Cumbria*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁶ W. Whellan, *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, Comprising their Ancient and Modern History, A General View of their Physical Character, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures. Agricultural Condition, Statistics, Etc.* (Pontefract, W. Whellan and Co, 1850). pp. 721, 802.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *'An Exact and Industrious Tradesman'*, pp. cxvii-cxviii.

¹⁰⁸ B. C. Lindley, and J. A. Heyworth, *Penrith Through Time* (Stroud, Amberley Publishing, 2013), pages unnumbered.

¹⁰⁹ 'Elegant Mansion' in Abbey Street, Carlisle, for Sale', *Carlisle Patriot*, 15 October 1825.

¹¹⁰ Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834*, vol. 2; 'Cumberland and Westmorland', *The Monthly Magazine: Or, British Register*, vol. 28 (1809), p. 536.

The acquisition of estates and the building of houses was not simply emulation of the styles of old gentry. Returners were avid participants in the picturesque, the Gothic, and the growing preoccupation with the suburban villa. George Knott's East Indies service almost undoubtedly prompted the building of houses such as Thurstonville at Lowick Green and, indirectly, his son's much admired villa at Water Head built on the Monk Coniston estate.¹¹¹

Ullswater was a particular magnet. John Bristow acquired Thomas Clarkson's house at Eusmere Hill.¹¹² Nearby James Salmond, descended from the Hasells of Dalemain and the Musgraves, built Waterfoot House in 1820 after twenty-three years in the Bengal army.¹¹³ Jonathan Fallowfield was established at Watermillock by 1834.¹¹⁴ General Benson returned from Bengal to Haseness at Buttermere.¹¹⁵ The attorney, John Edmunds, whose widow sent her third son Thomas to India as a cadet in 1827, established himself at The Gale, Ambleside.¹¹⁶ William White, the Bombay attorney, settled himself and his mistress as a neighbour of Robert Southey at Keswick.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ A. Menuge, 'Inhabited by Strangers' Tourism and the Lake District Villa, in J. K. Walton and J. Wood (eds.) *The Making of a Cultural Landscape: The English Lake District as Tourist Destination, 1750-2010* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2013). pp. 144-149.

¹¹² E. Baines, *A companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire: In a Descriptive Account of a Family Tour and Excursions on Horseback and on Foot: With a New, Copious, and Correct Itinerary* (London, Simpkins and Marshall, 1834), p. 201.

¹¹³ J. Otley, *A Concise Description of the English Lakes and Adjacent Mountains: With General Directions to Tourists; Notices of the Botany, Minerology, and Geology of the District; Observations on Meteorology; The Floating Island in Derwent Lake; And the Black-Lead Mine in Borrowdale* (5th Edition, Keswick, J. Otley, 1835), pp. 8f.

¹¹⁴ Baines, *A Companion to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire*, p. 343.

¹¹⁵ Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834*, vol. 1; Lorton & Derwent Fells Local History Society Archive Reference ldf/pr2/3 St. Bartholomew's Churchyard, Loweswater, Cumbria.

¹¹⁶ IOR L/MIL/9/166 ff.468-72.

¹¹⁷ Letter 2174. Robert Southey to Wade Browne, 5 November 1812, L. Pratt, T. Fulford, and I. Packer (eds.) *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey*, http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/Part_Four/HTML/letterEEd.26.1805.html#.

These ‘Lake Villas’ attracted considerable investment. Holly Hill, overlooking Windermere near the expanding village of Bowness, was built by Cumbria’s premier architectural and building company, the Websters of Kendal for George Hutchins Bellasis on his return from India. Holly Hill had six bedrooms, a dining and a drawing room, a breakfast room and study, two servants’ rooms, a water closet, cellars, various pantries and closets, a scullery and kitchen, a veranda, and both front and backstairs. ‘Holly Hill’ was not a modest house, but nor was it a country house. It commanded ‘beautiful views of Lake Windermere and its surrounding scenery. – The adjacent village of Bowness contains the Parish Church and two good inns. – Post, daily. – Market, twice a week. – Distance from Kendal, nine miles’ (Plate 5.6).¹¹⁸



Plate 5.6 View of Bowness and Windermere from Holly Hill c. Early 19th Century

Source: Eighteen Auctioneers, <http://www.the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/1818-auctioneers/catalogue-id-sr1810022/lot-77d983dd-e7d3-437e-b3e3-a43100602cd4>

¹¹⁸ ‘Delightful Residence Near the Lake, Windermere to be Sold by Private Treaty’, *Lancaster Gazette*, 4 May 1822.

Holly Hill and houses like it were not at the centre of large estates, but villas surrounded by a small but productive acreage. They were houses designed for the genteel rather than the gentry. Holly Hill was organised around access to village and town amenities rather than estate management. These 'Lake Villas' were similar to European 'Garden Houses' in India. Both were characterised by their scenic locations and well planted gardens. They were in themselves landscapes. Chattopadhyay notes that the 'Garden House' 'represented the whole landscape'¹¹⁹ while according to Menuge the 'Lake Villa' in Cumbria was 'central to a novel kind of landscape.'¹²⁰ Both the 'Garden House' in India and the 'Lake Villa' in Cumbria provided for commercial and professional families. They combined private comfort with proclamations of financial success and superior taste. George Bellasis' Holly Hill in Bowness had its counterpart in his father John's Randall Lodge in Bombay on the promontory to Malabar Point (Plate 5.7).

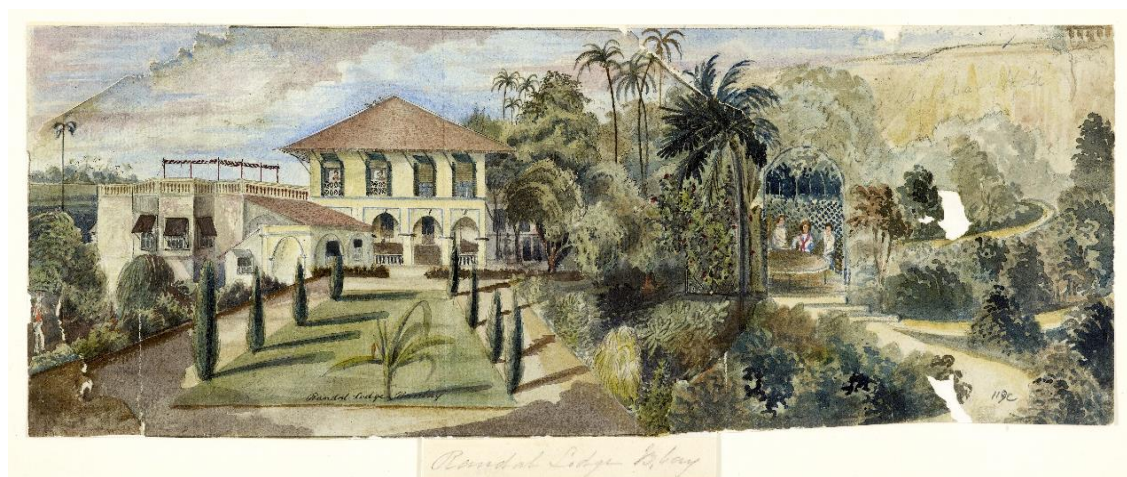


Plate 5.7 John Bellasis' House, Randall Lodge, Bombay by John Brownrigg Bellasis

Source: British Library Online Image Collection WD 1478 119c

¹¹⁹ S. Chattopadhyay, *The Other Face of Primitive Accumulation: The Garden House in British Colonial Bengal*, in P. Scriver and V. Prakash, (eds.), *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London, Routledge, 2007), p. 173.

¹²⁰ Menuge, 'Inhabited by Strangers': Tourism and the Lake District Villa, p. 144.

The similarities in material character and amenities of ‘Lake Villas’ and ‘Garden Houses’ were striking. The ‘Garden House’ desirably had ‘a well-planted garden ... laid out as it would have been for a farm.’¹²¹ The typical ‘Lake Villa’ had a kitchen garden, sometimes an orchard and:

a cow-house with a loft above for hay storage, sometimes combined with the stable and coach house required by every rural gentleman’s residence. Large villa estates might also include a gate lodge, summer house or ornamental building. Every lakeside villa had one or more boathouses.¹²²

John Teasdale’s inventory of goods associated with his ‘Garden House’ at Dinapore highlights the similarities. Apart from the grounds of his ‘Garden House’ providing for two elephants, Teasdale’s inventory echoed the array of chattels that would be familiar with a town or small estate of any Cumbrian gentleman: a buggy horse, three horses, two bullocks, almost a hundred sheep, two terriers and three setters.¹²³

Houses were part of a broader project of social positioning. They were not merely domestic environments, but a place in which refinement and superior aesthetic sensibility could be displayed. A fine balance was required here.¹²⁴ Nowell, for instance, was no better thought of because he stuffed Underley with paintings. His collection ranged across the Italian Renaissance through the French, Dutch and Flemish baroque to the prolific English painters of animals and romanticised country

¹²¹ Chattopadhyay, *The Other Face of Primitive Accumulation: The Garden House in British Colonial Bengal*, p. 174.

¹²² Menuge, ‘Inhabited by strangers’: *Tourism and the Lake District Villa*, pp. 143-144.

¹²³ IOR L/AG/34/27/19 f.115.

¹²⁴ The historiography of consumption has moved from simplistic views of conspicuous consumption and emulation being adopted by middling and lesser gentry to promote their social status and secure their position within local elites. Consumption was important to maintaining social position, but care was taken to ensure the line between success and excess was not crossed. See I. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 133-161; L. Bailey, ‘Consumption and Status: Shopping for Clothes in a Nineteenth-Century Bedfordshire Gentry Household Midland History Prize Essay 2010’, *Midland History*, 36, 1 (2011), pp. 89-114; A. Vickery, *Women and the World of Goods: A Lancashire Consumer and Her Possessions, 1751-1781*, in J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, Routledge, 1994); A. Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter: Women’s Lives in Georgian England* (London, Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 164, 181-182.

life, George Morland and George Stubbs. Works of Caravaggio, Tintoretto, van der Meer, and Reubens were in his collection.¹²⁵ It was a collection indicative of his wealth, but also a desire to be seen as a man of taste and refinement rather than a rough indigo grower. Libraries and books were also goods which conveyed refinement.¹²⁶

John Bellasis commissioned and managed, largely from Bombay, the publication of his father-in-law's history of Dorset. John Knott compiled an extensive library in Calcutta including over three hundred books embracing histories, including Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, numerous travel books including Sir John Chardin's,¹²⁷ Arabic and Persian language instruction, grammar, classical and contemporary poetry, Christian and Islamic texts and 'lives', philosophy, and books on sciences from astronomy to medicine to fossils.¹²⁸ Thomas Salkeld set up a library in his houses in Abbey Street, Carlisle.¹²⁹ After a decade in Bengal, Thomas Pearson returned to Westmorland in 1771 and built a 'spacious and ornamental' house in Burton incorporating an extensive library. When the library contents were sold in London seven years after Pearson's death, the sale took twenty-two days.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ 'Sale of a Genuine Collection of Pictures', *Kendal Mercury*, 9 July 1842.

¹²⁶ See J. Seed, Commerce and the Liberal Arts, in J. Wolff and J. Seed (eds.) *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 45-65 for a discussion of the consumption of fine art and books in provincial cities in the early to mid-nineteenth century. Both books and art were popular in the East Indies see N. Eaton, 'EXCESS IN THE CITY? The Consumption of Imported Prints in Colonial Calcutta, c.1780-c.1795', *Journal of Material Culture*, 8, 1 (2003), pp. 45-74.

¹²⁷ John Chardin was the father-in-law of Sir Christopher Musgrave of Eden Hall.

¹²⁸ IOR L/AG/34/27/1 f.19.

¹²⁹ 'Elegant Mansion' in Abbey Street, Carlisle, for Sale', *Carlisle Patriot*, 15 October 1825.

¹³⁰ 'Some Account of Major Thomas Pearson', *The European Magazine and London Review*, 45, 180 (1804), p. 243; H. B. Wheatley, *Prices of Books: An Inquiry into the Changes in the Price of Books Which Have Occurred in England at Different Periods* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 142.

Portraiture and patronage of the arts attracted East Indies returners to promote particular images of themselves. They commissioned portraiture from the popular artists of the time. The Westmerian, Sir Thomas Bowser (Plate 5.8) was painted in military dress uniform by Thomas Hickey, probably in Madras.¹³¹ Christopher Wilson's grandson commissioned family portraits from Joshua Reynolds.¹³² In addition to the children of Catherine Holme, Zoffany painted the ill-fated John Hasell of Dalemain.¹³³



Plate 5.8 Thomas Bowser by Thomas Hickey
Source: Nicholas Bagshawe Fine Art, London

Perhaps most expressive of Cumbria's East Indies encounter was Zoffany's painting of the banker and land owner, James Graham (Plate 5.9).¹³⁴ Graham's banking activities, his position as a landed gentleman, and the East Indies were all captured. Graham



Plate 5.9 James Graham of Barrock Lodge, Rickerby and Calcutta by Zoffany
Source: Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery,

¹³¹ <http://www.nicholasbagshawe.com/view-artwork.asp?id=186>.

¹³² Holmes, *The Paradise of Furness*, pp. 37-38.

¹³³ F. Wilkins, *Hasells of Dalemain: A Cumberland Family: 1736-1794* (Kidderminster, Wyre Forest Press, 2003), p. 51.

¹³⁴ Public Catalogue Foundation, *Oil Paintings in Public Ownership in Cumbria* (London, The Public Catalogue Foundation, 2013), p. 37.

sits rotund with satisfaction. In the foreground a hookah, along with an accounts book, speak to the origins of Graham's wealth. In his hand is the banker's accoutrement, a bill or indenture, which connects Graham to a country estate, ambiguous as to its location, in the background.

But it was Romney, who, by virtue of his own roots in Dalton-in-Furness, brought Cumbria and the East Indies together in portraiture. Romney's work was redolent with Cumbria and the East Indies. Henry Verelst, Clive's successor, commissioned a full-length portrait of his new wife,¹³⁵ probably on Thomas Pearson's advice. Pearson was Verelst's military secretary in Bengal. Verelst's private secretary was another Cumbrian, John Knott. Verelst had already been exposed to Romney's work. Rowland Stephenson, cousin of Governor Stephenson and brother-in-law of the Kendal-born Francis Drinkel who died in Calcutta, presented, in a rather extreme form of men's eighteenth century gifting behaviour, Romney's *Death of General Wolfe* to Verelst. It was hung in the Council Chamber at Calcutta.¹³⁶

Romney's East Indies connections were extensive. His brother James went to Bombay. A portrait of the Bishop of Carlisle was commissioned by the Bishop's son-in-law, the nabob, Sir Thomas Rumbold. Romney portrayed James Ainslie and his wife Margaret Farrer, the grandparents of Montagu Ainslie.¹³⁷ John Stables commissioned a portrait of himself (Plate 5.10) and his wife and children (Plate 5.11), having spent the 1760s in India and returning to serve as Company director until his death in 1795.

¹³⁵ Ann Wordsworth (1751-1835) the daughter of the Yorkshireman and East India Company director Josiah Wordsworth and distant kin of the Cumbrian Wordsworths. A. Kidson, *George Romney, 1734-1802* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 90-91.

¹³⁶ M. Finn, 'Men's things: Masculine possession in the consumer revolution', *Social History*, 25, 2 (2000), pp. 133-155; Kidson, *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 90-91; H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Romney: A Biographical and Critical Essay, with a Catalogue Raisonné of His Works*, vol. 1 (London, Thomas Agnew & Sons, 1904), p. 22.

¹³⁷ Ward and Roberts, *Romney: A Biographical and Critical Essay*, pp. 83-85.

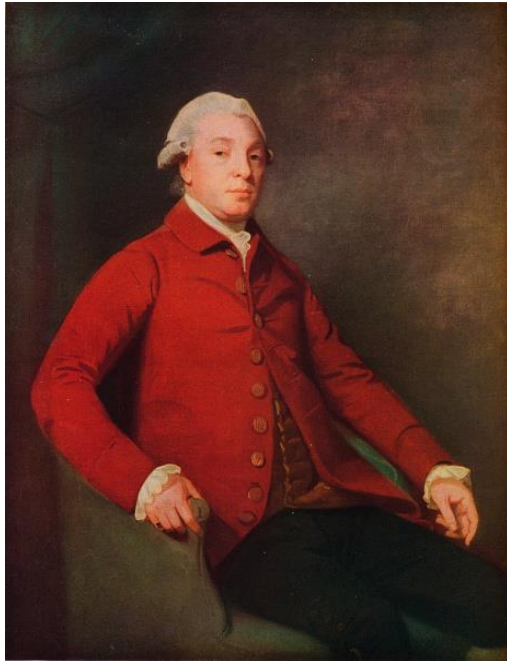


Plate 5.10 John Stables, Cumbrian Director of the East India Company by Romney

Source: Print Collector, Getty Images



Plate 5.11 Mrs Stables and Children, Mezzotint John Raphael Smith after Romney

Source: <http://www.danielesquaglia.it/stampe-antiche-1800/ritratto/smith-john-raphael/ritratto-madre-con-figlie>

Investment in portraits were only in part a desire to show off financial success. Portraits did more than that. Family portraits, such as those of the Sumner's children and Romney's portraits of Dorothy Stables and her children, 're-presented' returners from the East Indies. They were presented, not as corrupted nabobs, but as respectable progenitors of delightful, innocent and beloved children. They reflect emerging approaches to parenting and childhood.¹³⁸ Similarly, Romney's portrayal of Thomas Pearson (Plate 5.12) *An officer conversing with a Brahmin*, contradicts both the notion of Cumbria as a place of the wild and primitive and the popular discourse around nabobs.

That portrait, now in fragments, was exhibited in 1771. It, and the preparatory cartoons, contrasted with the public discourse portraying nabobs as extravagant,

¹³⁸ J. Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 71-92.

simultaneously abusive of and seduced by an exotic India.¹³⁹ Instead, Pearson is dressed modestly and engaged in intellectual discussion, albeit in a composition which seems to embed the superiority of Englishman over Indian. Rather than extravagant and venal, Pearson is presented as:

a gentleman of an elegant and cultivated mind, who wisely and praise-worthily applied the riches which he had acquired in India, to the advancement of science and the improvement of taste.¹⁴⁰

That pictorial message mirrors the view promoted by Cumbrian East Indies sojourners in their memorial inscriptions. That is, of men and women who strove for success but who were moderate in taste, polite, benevolent and sociable.

Benevolence and sociability

Over the last three decades, considerable attention has been given to patterns of consumption, their impacts and the motivations for consumption, over the long

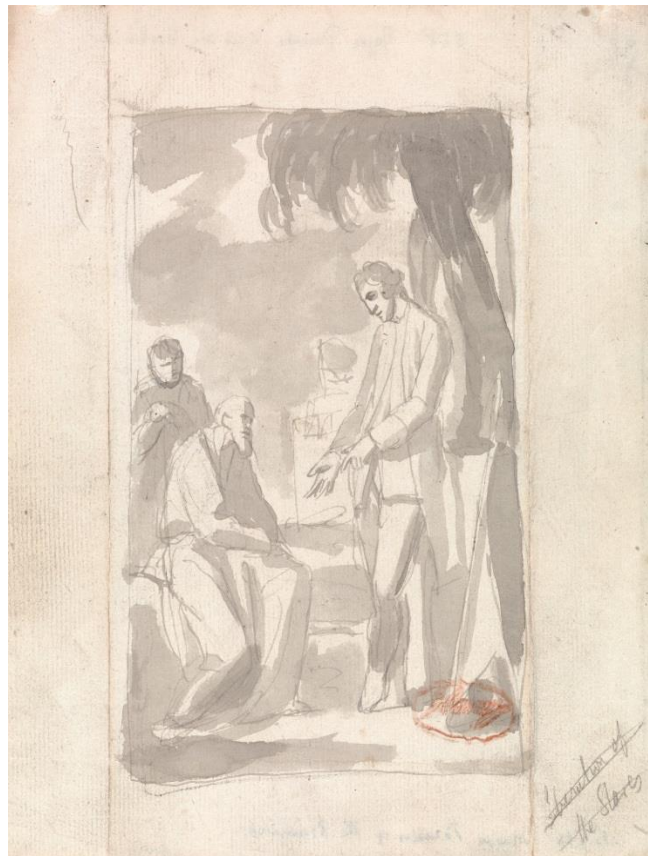


Plate 5.12 Major Pearson and the Brahmin, undated, wash and graphite by Romney.

Source: Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University

eighteenth century. There are still debates around concepts such as the consumer revolution, the extent to which consumption was driven by bodily desire enabled by

¹³⁹ Kidson, *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 87.

¹⁴⁰ J. Romney, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of George Romney Including Various Letters and Testimonies to his genius &c., Also, Some Particulars of the Life of Peter Romney, his Brother; A Young Artist of Great Genius and Promising Talents but of Short Life* (London, Baldwin and Cradock, 1830), p. 69.

rising standards of living, emulation or distinction. Notwithstanding those debates, three aspects of consumption are clear.

First, while there were regional differences in the levels and goods consumed, there was burgeoning consumption both by individuals and by households, much of which drove and reflected the expansion of the eighteenth century global world.¹⁴¹ Cumbria was implicated in those dynamics as the discussion around houses and the expression of taste indicates. Second, consumption drove local and national economic expansion.¹⁴² And, finally, that consumption was caught up in broader expressions of values and social position. The latter does not imply emulation of ‘higher’ ranks, but rather that consumption was used to project core aspects of one’s own rank.

A number of historians have demonstrated that middling families and lesser gentry families as elites in their provincial societies made careful decisions around appropriate levels of consumption and the range of goods that should be consumed. Consumption could be a pleasure but it was also a duty. Certainly, for Cumbrian East Indies sojourners, the consumption of houses and the way in which they were furnished was part of a broader strategy of social and economic leadership within their local communities. It involved an often tense integration of the elements central to being a ‘gentleman’ and to gentility: social distinction, benevolence, and sociability.¹⁴³

Alexander Nowell undoubtedly used Underley as an almost theatrical set to express a public persona. The public purpose of many of his activities was indicated

¹⁴¹ I. McCabe, *A History of Global Consumption: 1500 – 1800* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2015), pp. 2-11, 187-220.

¹⁴² M. Berg, Consumption in eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Britain, in R. Floud and P. Johnson, (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain Volume 1: Industrialisation, 1700-1860* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 357-387.

¹⁴³ H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 207f.; Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, pp. 192-222, 287f.

by the publicity associated with them. The press noted at Christmas in 1831, Nowell's local largesse:

From sixty to seventy poor families in Kirkby Lonsdale and the neighbourhood, have this Christmas been presented with beef in proportion to their families, and a peck of potatoes each by Mrs Nowell, of Underley. Mr Nowell's workmen have also been presented with a portion of beef and potatoes, and clothing. On Christmas day, from the same bountiful source, the inmates of the workforce ... were entertained with a dinner of roast beef, and a pint of ale each. From forty to fifty children breakfasted on Christmas day in the school room at Keastwick, established by Mrs Nowell, and had some necessary article of clothing given to them. Deeds like these speak for themselves, and require neither note nor comment.¹⁴⁴

The press also reported that local sportsmen were provided access to Underley's grounds for coursing competitions and Nowell donated a Silver Snuff Box as the winner's prize.¹⁴⁵ To celebrate Victoria's coronation, eight hundred of Kirkby Lonsdale's townspeople went in a procession to Underley. After songs and toasts, Alexander Nowell climbed into his carriage and led the townsfolk back to the Market Square to share a lunch of beef, 'plumb-pudding' and ale.¹⁴⁶ A year later, Oddfellows passed through Underley as part of a Whitsunday procession and toasted and cheered Nowell and his wife.¹⁴⁷

Montagu Ainslie also distributed meat to his estate workmen and the poor of Grizedale and Satterthwaite at Christmas and the New Year:

Montagu Ainslie, Esq., Ford Lodge, Grizedale has, during this week, distributed to his workmen and the poor families of Satterthwaite and Grizedale, ten fine fat sheep, which, we understand, was most thankfully received by the donees. Such acts of charity, at this inclement season of the year, deserve to be made public. We would say to others that have means 'Go and do likewise'.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ 'Christmas Cheer', *Westmorland Gazette*, 31 December 1831.

¹⁴⁵ 'Underley Coursing Meeting', *Westmorland Gazette*, 26 December 1835.

¹⁴⁶ 'Kirkby Lonsdale', *Westmorland Gazette*, 30 June 1838.

¹⁴⁷ 'Kirkby Lonsdale – Whit-Tuesday', *Kendal Mercury*, 25 May 1839.

¹⁴⁸ 'Seasonable Benevolence', *Westmorland Gazette*, 26 December 1846; 'Entertainment', *Westmorland Gazette*, 22 January 1842.

There were a host of other and similar examples in which the houses of East Indies returners provided the settings for these public expressions of benevolence. The mingling at those events was carefully staged to balance the fragile integration of social distinction, benevolence, and sociability. Achieving that balance was by no means straightforward. Some failed.

Nowell's extravagant building works appeared to have been in excess of what was required to express middling or even minor gentry success. His acquisitiveness embroiled him in litigation and criminal charges.¹⁴⁹ He adopted practices usually restricted to major gentry and aristocrats such as Lord Lonsdale or the Flemings of Rydal Hall. For instance, Nowell sent his servants out to challenge walkers in Underley's park. His inability to maintain social distance while sustaining sociability exposed him to ridicule. Gibson Maud reports with some glee:¹⁵⁰

A gentleman who ... during his stay in Kirkby Lonsdale, took a walk down to see Underley. He had not been long in the grounds before servant in livery stepped up to him, demanded his name, and informed him that no-one was allowed to walk in the grounds ... and that he was ordered to request him to leave. The gentleman gave his name as Sir ... when the servant informed his mistress or master, he was sent back to inform the gentleman that Mr. Nowell would be glad if he would step back, view the grounds etc., and take breakfast, but the gentleman was gone.

Benevolence could, of course, be pursued with or without a sociable disposition. There were a multitude of charities to which middling and gentry could subscribe or donate, with contributions published in local newspapers. As landowners and employers their benevolence was of interest. Hugh Parkin, for instance, was reported by the conservative *Westmorland Gazette* as a generous landlord for

¹⁴⁹ 'Criminal Information – The King against Alexander Nowell', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 July 1823.

¹⁵⁰ Battle, *Underley Hall*, p. 26.

allowing a tenant to break an unaffordable tenancy.¹⁵¹ Andrew Hudleston was reported in similar terms:

As a landlord, Mr Hudleston, was held in the highest estimation by his tenants; whatever was required to be done for the improvement of the property, he did it. In him the poor of the neighbourhood of Hutton John have lost their best friend. He would not allow any labourers to be idle; he found them work, and paid them for their labour, whether that labour was productive of any benefit to the estate or otherwise. In summer, if they could make more money elsewhere, they were at liberty to go; but in winter they were always sure of employment at Hutton John.¹⁵²

East Indies returners were prominent on lists of benefactors and subscribers to charitable ventures. For instance, the twelve appointees in 1821 to the committee of the Whitehaven Dispensary included a ship-owner with a fleet servicing the East Indies, a father with a son in the Company's service, a past East Indiaman mariner, and the brother-in-law of an East Indiaman commander.¹⁵³ Close connections with the East Indies could also be found among women members of the Whitehaven's Ladies Charity.¹⁵⁴ In 1848, Carlisle's House of Recovery attracted donations from a raft of families associated with India: Addison, Cust, Dobinson, Losh, Thurnam, Steel and Warwick.¹⁵⁵

Three of the six stewards of the Westmorland Society's fifty-second anniversary dinner in London had East Indies connections, including the creditor of the Nabob of Arcot, contractor and parliamentarian, Richard Atkinson.¹⁵⁶ In 1806, the stewards of the Cumberland Society were similarly infused with East Indies interests, with Henry Fletcher, John Dent, William Borradaile, and James Wilkinson.¹⁵⁷ The

¹⁵¹ 'Generous Action', *Westmorland Gazette*, 9 November 1822.

¹⁵² 'Death of Mr Hudleston of Hutton John', *Carlisle Journal*, 6 September 1861.

¹⁵³ 'Whitehaven Dispensary', *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, 4 June 1821.

¹⁵⁴ 'Ladies Charity', *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, 12 March 1805.

¹⁵⁵ 'House of Recovery', *Carlisle Patriot*, 9 December 1848.

¹⁵⁶ 'Westmorland Society', *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, 27 February 1798.

¹⁵⁷ 'Cumberland Society', *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, 15 April 1806.

stewards of the Westmorland Society in 1846 boasted a strong representation of East India returners (Table 5.2) and among the hundred and fifteen subscribers were nine Cumbrian returners from the East Indies.¹⁵⁸

The Cumberland and Westmorland societies combined pleasure with purpose, combining county patriotism, sociability and charitable works directed to the needs of Cumbrian children resident in London. But even pleasure alone expressed and reinforced social standing. East Indies sojourners ensured that they were seen in pursuit of fashionable but respectable watering holes. In 1817, for example, James Graham was reported as

Table 5.2: East Indies Returners and Connections among the Stewards of the Westmorland Society 1846

Stewards	Connection
George Musgrave	Kin
Edward Wilson	Brother, father-in-law in the Company
James Gandy	Nephews in the Company
Wm Fawcett	Kin
Thomas Dent	Returner
Wm Dent	Returner
Lancelot Dent	Returner
Major Thomas Wilkinson	Returner
Robert Burra	Not known
Wm Burra, Esq	Not known
Edward Condor	Not known
George Bowness Carr	Father in the Company
William Fawcett	Kin

having visited Allonby. He was not the only East Indies returner. There was too, Thomas Salkeld, who retired from the East India Company military in 1810, and a number of families (Fawcetts, Mounseys, and Dobinsons) with close East Indies connections.¹⁵⁹ Also at that ‘agreeable and fashionable water place’ for sea bathing, was a bevy of gentry and respectable middling families including the Hasells of Dalemain, Milbourns of Armathwaite Castle, and Speddings.¹⁶⁰ Being associated with the consumption of fashion and pleasure was not the only domain in which East Indies returners’ success was noted.

¹⁵⁸ ‘Westmorland Society’, *Kendal Mercury*, 16 May 1846.

¹⁵⁹ ‘Allonby, July 24’, *Carlisle Patriot*, 26 July 1817.

¹⁶⁰ See J. C. D. Spedding, *The Spedding Family with Short Accounts of a Few Other Families Allied by Marriage* (Dublin, Alex. Thom and Company, 1909).

The standing of East Indies returners, both as gentlemen and as men of applied learning, prompted their inclusion in advertising of a range of infrastructure schemes, especially canal and railway proposals. They were also incorporated into a host of advertisements for schools and schoolmasters. For instance, on Christmas Day 1819, the perpetual curate of Martindale invited parents to seek references from the East Indies returners Hugh Parkin and John de Whelpdale as to the quality of his teaching of ‘every branch of a Classical and Commercial Education.’¹⁶¹ The master of Barton school near Penrith, Henry Robinson, gave out a similar invitation three years later to those wishing their sons to be qualified for university, trade or professions.¹⁶² These advertisements were not simply a benefit to the advertiser, although that is how advertisements such as these have generally been interpreted.¹⁶³ This advertising practice also acted to reinforce the social status of men like Parkin.

The translation of East Indies success into local recognition and authority was expressed in leading innovation and economic improvement. East Indies wealth was probably implicated in the burgeoning tourism industry around Keswick. Edward Stephenson built the Royal Oak Hotel.¹⁶⁴ The Low Door Hotel and the development associated with it of nearby waterfalls were established as a tourist attraction by the banker Rowland Stephenson (1728-1807).¹⁶⁵ Rowland Stephenson and his son Edward were promoters of the Keswick regattas.¹⁶⁶ The Knott’s investments in, and eventual dominance of, charcoal iron smelting in the British Isles was through a

¹⁶¹ ‘Education’, *Carlisle Patriot*, 25 December 1819.

¹⁶² ‘Barton School’, *Westmorland Gazette*, 28 December 1822.

¹⁶³ J. Stobart, J., *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 181-2.

¹⁶⁴ J. J. Fisher Crosthwaite, ‘Some of the Old Families in the Parish of Crosthwaite’, *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Association Advancement of Literature and Science*, 10 (1884-85), p. 21.

¹⁶⁵ D. Denman, *Materialising Cultural Value in the English Lakes, 1735-1845: A Study of the Responses of New Landowners to Representations of Place and People* (PhD Dissertation, Lancaster University, 2011), p. 198f.

¹⁶⁶ A. Hankinson, *The Regatta Men* (Milnthorpe, Cicerone Press, 1988).

combination of strategic marriages and, almost certainly, an injection of capital acquired in the East Indies. East Indies sojourners invested in Cumbrian mining and industry. Shipbuilding attracted considerable capital and there were technical innovations. William Berry was already involved in manufacturing ivory combs in Kendal when he sent his son off to Madras in 1806, but he brought the first steam engine to Kendal in the early 1820s for the purpose of ivory cutting.¹⁶⁷ James Graham's second son was involved in technical innovation in agricultural machinery.¹⁶⁸ James Graham, Andrew Hudleston and Montagu Ainslie were involved in land improvement. Similarly, Hugh Parkin encouraged his sons to acquire and improve agricultural land.¹⁶⁹ The next generations of Parkins were avid and successful participants in Penrith Horticultural Society events.¹⁷⁰ Nowell made Underley the centre of a successful horse breeding venture, attracting not merely aristocratic expenditure but also a fashionable social set to Westmorland.¹⁷¹

East Indies wealth was used to provide credit. The nabob, Edward Stephenson of Keswick, for example, was one of two significant lenders in Cumberland over the middle years of the eighteenth century. Sir James Lowther of Whitehaven was the other.¹⁷² The Stephensons continued to act as creditors. Rowland Stephenson, Edward's cousin and a Lombard Street banker heavily involved in the East Indies,

¹⁶⁷ Nicholson, *The Annals of Kendal*, p. 247.

¹⁶⁸ Godwin, 'Rickerby: An Estate and its Owners', pp. 234, 240, 244.

¹⁶⁹ See for instance, William Hunter Parkin's success with sheep and cattle at shows. 'Penrith Agricultural Society', *Carlisle Journal*, 1 October 1836.

¹⁷⁰ 'Penrith Horticultural Society', *Kendal Mercury*, 3 September 1836.

¹⁷¹ Meline, Cans & Co., *The General Stud Book: Containing pedigrees Race Horses &c. &c. From the Earliest Accounts to the Year 1835 Inclusive in Four Volumes*, vol. iv (Brussels, Meline, Cans & Co., 1839), multiple entries of Nowell stallions and brood mares. See Pinfold, J., 'Horse Racing and the Upper Classes in the Nineteenth Century', *Sport in History*, 28, 3 (September 2008), pp. 414-430 for the developing elite associations with horse racing.

¹⁷² J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland 1660-1760* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge), pp. 206-208.

was providing credit to Sir Michael le Fleming in the mid-1780s.¹⁷³ James Graham established the Carlisle New Bank in 1804.

Conclusion

The Cumbrians who went to the East Indies were able to do so because they had some advantages. Kin, family and friends invested in sojourners' East Indies careers in the hope of future payoffs, not in India but in Cumbria. Returners sometimes realised their own and the ambitions of their families and friends, and others were disappointed. Some remitted wealth, others debt. For some the East Indies venture was full of life and success, for others it was death marked by the return of memorial keepsakes and trinkets and a death notice inserted in one of Cumbria's many newspapers. But in general those who returned home, returned with at least the ambition of an 'easy competence' fulfilled and in some cases much more. The evidence suggests that opportunities in the East Indies resulted in significant material returns among sojourners who survived to work their way through a reasonably long career cycle. East Indies sojourners were able to pursue those opportunities because they had advantageous access to both financial resources and social capital. The East Indies augmented and reinforced those advantages.

The East Indies infiltrated Cumbrian provincial life. The connections between East Indies sojourners and Cumbria were promoted and sustained through remittances, even where there was no bodily return, and through memorials and gravestones. For those monuments were directed not to the dead but to the living.¹⁷⁴ A substantial proportion of Cumbrians who returned to the British Isles, returned to Cumbria. Many

¹⁷³ Three bonds from Sir Michael le Fleming to Rowland Stephenson 1785/86, CAS WDRY 1/4/62.

¹⁷⁴ S. Tarlow, Wormie Clay and Blessed Sleep: Death and disgust in later historic Britain, in S. Tarlow and S. West (eds.) *The Familiar Past*, p. 189.

Cumbrian men who returned married Cumbrian women and some returned to wives living in Cumbria. These were both a manifestation of attachments and served to cement those attachments to Cumbria. Others brought non-Cumbrian wives back to Cumbria with them and in doing so invigorated and expanded Cumbrian connections with other provincial centres in the British Isles, as well as with London, the East India Company and with the emerging British state in India.

East Indies returners were simultaneously disruptive and settling. East Indies wealth inhibited the dominance the Lowthers sought in the political arena. East Indies wealth supported the reconstitution of social elites combining gentry, leading urban families, professionals and merchants through their purchase of estates and house building. When they returned, East Indies sojourners were part of the exercise of local authority. They injected life into the economy and civil society. They were anxious to express their success. They did it in ways they believed would present themselves, not as nabobs but, whether in town or country, as polite, sociable people of refinement, taste, and benevolence.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Potential New Views

At its simplest, this thesis reveals a neglected aspect of Cumbrian history. It started with a simple observation; that a succession of Cumbrian histories made sporadic references to the East Indies and, likewise, the historiography of the East Indies, British imperialism and the East India Company were redolent with references to men who had their origins in the Cumbrian counties. Together those raised the prospect of a significant but largely hidden encounter between Cumbrians and the East Indies over the long eighteenth century. If the traces of the past accessible to historians are ‘tiny flotsam’ of ‘the great, brown, slow-moving, strandless river of Everything,’¹ what this thesis has attempted to do is retrieve the flotsam floating past the historiographies of both Cumbria and the East Indies.

Retrieving and piecing together the flotsam of Cumbria’s encounter with the East Indies over the long eighteenth century provides a very different view of Cumbria, as well as the dynamics around Company rule in India and Britain’s pursuit of economic and political imperialism. To weigh up the implications of what has been demonstrated to be a substantial Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first simply reflects on the overall characteristics of the Cumbrian encounter. The second part assesses longstanding lines of argument around East Indies encounters. One of those lines of argument is specific to the Cumbrian

¹ C. Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University, 2002), p. 18.

encounter and is Hughes' suggestion that East Indies involvement was prompted by a retreat from political marginalisation.²

The other propositions are embedded in the historiographies of British India and empire. The first of those is that Company rule generated and then was propelled by dynastic families with a distinct Anglo-Indian identity and social milieu.³ That proposition is supported by arguments that Britain's imperial activities in the East Indies, and those who were engaged in them, were driven by the welded interests of London merchants and the imperatives of nation-building.⁴ The discussion in this part of the chapter ends by briefly addressing the proposition most effectively argued by the contributors to *At Home with the Empire*, that participation in empire became an integral part of everyday life and was largely unmediated by individual or collective reflexivity.⁵

The third part of this chapter considers the implications of the Cumbrian case and the lens of Cumbrian ventures in the East Indies for our understanding of, not only Cumbrian regional history, but also a broader range of problematics. It remarks on the areas which have been hinted at but left largely unexplored in this thesis. It considers directions for research into provincial life and the importance of giving closer attention to multi-layered networks articulated around local and global places, kinship, friendship and business.

² E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century Vol II Cumberland & Westmorland 1700-1830* (London, Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 105.

³ S. Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), pp. 33-56.

⁴ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (3rd Revised Edition, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 79, 127-130; G. McGilvray, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Tauris Academic Studies, 2008).

⁵ C. Hall and S. Rose (eds.), *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Cumbria's Encounter with the East Indies

This thesis has brought out of the shadows over four hundred Cumbrian women and men directly involved in the East Indies and shown that many more were involved less directly. It has demonstrated that there was a substantial and persistent commitment to the East Indies evidenced by: the over-representation of Cumbrians as appointees and licensees to the East Indies compared to other counties; the mobilisation of Cumbrian networks and Cumbria's particular competitive advantages in education and Atlantic trading experience to promote their opportunities in the East India Company and the East Indies; Cumbrian sojourners' sustained attachments to Cumbria; and the way in which they were actively re-embraced by the provincial worlds of the Cumbrian counties if and when they returned.

The Cumbrian encounter was driven by hopes of success and shaped by fears of death, detachment and debt. The balancing of risk and reward preoccupied Cumbrian families as they prepared their sons, brothers, fathers, and, less frequently but no less importantly, sisters and daughters for an East Indies sojourn. And it was a sojourn. The purpose lay in Cumbria, not the East Indies. The purpose was a financial return, desirably with an augmented personal reputation that would reflect well on kin, family and friends. The twisted threads that wove their way through the cycle of preparation, passage and return were kin and friends embedded in place. Cumbrian attachment and identity sustained East Indies ventures and implicated Cumbrians, irrespective of whether they had personal or intimate connections. There were mutual expectations of reciprocity among fellow country/county men and women.

There is little doubt that a substantial proportion of returners had a profound impact on the Cumbrian counties. As investors in tourism, extractive industries, infrastructure development, and agricultural improvement, East Indies returners and East Indies money helped to shape the Cumbrian landscape. That landscape was formed too by East Indies-funded house building, renovation and restoration. East Indies returners, whether gentry or from middling ranks, took on the responsibilities of local authority. They became patrons and contributed to charities and participated in a raft of benevolent activities. In those roles they represented regulation, stability, and continuity. At the same time, East Indies wealth was an unpredictable, and sometimes disruptive, force in the politics of parliamentary representation.

The long eighteenth century saw a succession of East Indies returners who were regarded as both successful and powerful. They cemented themselves within provincial elites. For some, that positioning was an extension of the influential positions their families of origin already had. For others, East Indies success meant restoring and stabilising declining family fortunes. The liminal should not be forgotten, however. The mixed-race children found it difficult to find a place. Those problems were, as a previous chapter notes, evident in the trajectories of Thomas Cust's children and Richard Ecroyd. But there were others, such as the daughters of Sir Simon Heward, whose illegitimacy and race combined led to litigation late in the nineteenth century. While Ceta and Jessie were both dead at the time, that litigation exposed the fragility of their circumstances when they were alive, despite their father's wealth and careful provisions for them.⁶

⁶ 'The Queen's Proctor vs Fry', *Morning Post*, 16 May 1879; Untitled, *London Daily News*, 17 May 1879. Because much of their lives were lived outside, and the broader ramifications of their illegitimacy emerged outside the period of this thesis, the trajectories of Ceta and Jessie have not been explored here.

For some families there were substantial shifts in rank arising from East Indies wealth combined with a determination to be active in their native country. Nowhere was that more evident than in 1754 when William Beller released a set of engraving on to the London market. Beller's six engravings of Cumberland and Westmorland presented views destined to become lionised in the emergence of the Lake District as a unique landscape and tourist destination. Five of the prints were dedicated to aristocratic and leading gentry landowners: The Marquis of Rockingham, Charles Howard of Greystoke, Sir James Lowther, and Sir William Fleming of Rydal. The sixth of Beller's prints was dedicated to the Cumbrian returner from the East Indies: Edward Stephenson, a man born into a quite different order.⁷

The East Indies transmuted the Stephensons from merchants and minor yeoman landowners to a powerful extended kin network of Stephensons, Winders and Fawcetts. They had commercial and banking interests in London, Europe and India with extensive landholdings and commercial ventures in Cumbria. For more than a century, members of these families were influential social and economic actors, both within and outside of Cumbria as merchants and bankers. They married into gentry families including the Williams of Johnby Hall and the Stricklands of Sizergh.⁸ That the East Indies became synonymous with wealth and influence in Cumbria is evidenced by the rather curious case of William Richardson.⁹

⁷ C. Powell and S. Hebron, *Savage Grandeur and Noblest Thoughts: Discovering the Lake District 1750-1820* (Grasmere, The Wordsworth Trust, 2010), pp.39-42.

⁸ The marriage failed and its descendants became caught up in the collapse of the Stephenson's bank, Remington, Stephenson & Co. in 1828 through embezzlement and theft by Rowland Stephenson (1782-1856). This bank was connected to a number of established agency and merchant houses in India. See P. Bungay, *The Dapper Little Banker: The Life of Rowland Stephenson* (Kindle edition, Lancaster, Scotforth Books, 2011) Chapter 2.

⁹ J. Godwin, 'Rickerby: An Estate and its Owners—Part 1', *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 92 (1992), p. 233.

William Richardson spent most of his merchant career in London, having been sent there by his father, a yeoman farmer of Rickerby. By the late 1760s, however, he was accumulating land around Rickerby and, at a cost of £200, purchased the Lordship of the Manor of Rickerby. Over the next two decades he spent over £5,000 of land acquisitions around Rickerby and Bleatarn¹⁰ and Bleatarn locals applied the appellation of nabob to him.¹¹ There is no clear evidence of William Richardson's direct involvement in the East Indies. He does not appear to have sojourned there. It was his nephew,¹² not he, who was sent out to India.

Explaining Cumbria's Encounter with the East Indies

The following discussion addresses four propositions that have threaded their way through Cumbrian and East Indies historiography over a number of years. Those are the arguments: that Cumbrians retreated to the East Indies; that Company appointments were primarily through a closed set of dynastic, Anglo-Indian identified families; that East Indies encounters were driven out of the welded interests of London merchants and governmental desire to stabilise the Union and protect itself from European threats; and, that participation in empire became a taken-for-granted, integral part of everyday life materially and ideologically.

Retreat

Despite occasional and fragmented references to East Indies careers, Cumbrian historiography has been largely silent on Cumbrian ventures to the East Indies and the implications of Company careers among Cumbrians. It was Edward Hughes in his history of north country life that concluded, almost in an aside, that it was Jacobite

¹⁰ Godwin, 'Rickerby: An Estate and its Owners', pp. 229, 233.

¹¹ F. Haverfield, 'Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee', *Transactions CWAAS*, Old Series, XIV (1897), p. 193.

¹² IOR J/1/9 f.226.

and Non-Jurors who went into Company service.¹³ Essentially Hughes asserts that the East Indies Company was a retreat for those relegated and detached from Cumbria by political events. This thesis finds no evidence, direct or indirect, that would lead to that conclusion. Indeed, Hughes appears to be mistaken in fact as well as interpretation.

Hughes cites the passionate Jacobite Henry ‘Gallop’ Curwen (d.1725) of Workington in relation to the East India Company, but it was his kin, Patricius Curwen of Sella Park who died on an East Indiaman in 1702. ‘Gallop’ Curwen himself died in Cumbria and his time exiled overseas was almost certainly in Europe.¹⁴ Similarly, while the Catholic Musgraves were connected to East Indies, the Stricklands were not. The Musgraves’ involvement in the East India Company was very longstanding. There seems little evidence that their limited involvement in the East Indies during the eighteenth century was determined by their Jacobite sympathies. Similarly, while James Grahme of Levens liquidated James II’s East India Company stock after the latter’s exile in France, there is no evidence of a close East India Company connection.¹⁵ James Radcliffe lost both his life and his Derwentwater lands, and James Layburne lost his estates because of Jacobite loyalties. Neither of those families were obvious in the East Indies encounter subsequent to the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.

The idea that political and economic marginalisation associated with political and religious loyalties drove Cumbrian men to the East Indies fits with both the portrayal of a Cumbria with little hope and a gentry under stress. However, this thesis

¹³ Hughes, *North Country Life*, p. 105.

¹⁴ W. Jackson, ‘The Curwens of Workington Hall and Kindred Families’, *Transactions CWAAS*, Old Series, V (1888), p. 213.

¹⁵ J. V. Beckett, ‘The Finances of a Former Jacobite: James Grahme of Levens Hall’, *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, LXXXV (1985), pp. 135, 139.

shows that while individuals who needed assistance might be directed towards an East Indies career, they had an array of kin and friends behind them drawn from pre-existing and interlocking Cumbrian networks of gentry and middling kin, friends and business interests. That so many Cumbrian families invested their financial and human capital into East Indies ventures is evidence both of how important the East Indies was to Cumbrians and the importance of Cumbrians to the East India Company.

It is undoubtedly the case that some Cumbrians were sent to the East Indies because they irritated their family, kin and circle of friends at home. But even under those conditions, the pursuit of East Indies ventures and sojourns were not necessarily measures of retreat, failure, defeat or marginalisation by middling or gentry families. Mobilising the financial, human and social capital, and patronage necessary to East India Company appointments depended on being integrated into influential Cumbrian kin and business networks. In short, those who sojourned in the East Indies were a minority of middling and gentry Cumbrians, but they were not on the periphery of the Cumbrian provincial world.

The East Indies was an integral part of Cumbria's social, political and economic life. Indeed, the anxiety around the possible detachment of sojourners from Cumbria was indicative of the central place the East Indies had in diversifying income and wealth generating opportunities for Cumbrian families. Fears of death, financial loss and of the potential seduction of sons, brothers, nephews and cousins by the luxury of the East were persistent themes in the correspondence of Cumbrians involved in the East Indies. Those fears prompted a range of mitigative strategies. Letters of introduction, the provision of hospitality by Cumbrians in the way-station of London and in the East Indies, the provision of credit and financial support among Cumbrians, and the avid, gossipy correspondence which remains in the archives are

all evidence of energetic attempts to simultaneously promote the opportunities of sojourners while sustaining ties to Cumbria.

Those efforts were not always effective. There were Cumbrian sojourners who became detached from Cumbria. Some simply died, although the disjuncture created by death alone should not be overstated. Even in death many remitted legacies back to Cumbria and their connections to Cumbria are carved in memorials in India, Cumbria and elsewhere in the British Isles. The connections to Cumbria of some sojourners, attracted by a lifestyle of opulence and, perhaps, independence offered by the East Indies, were clearly tenuous. Thomas Cust, Montagu Ainslie and John Bellasis were all examples. Despite claims to the contrary and despite sending his mixed-race children back to his mother and brother, there is little evidence that Thomas Cust ever had serious intentions of returning to Cumbria.

Similarly, Montagu Ainslie never showed a strong predilection for return. Nevertheless, when he did, his subsequent life in Cumbria was long and marked by his integration into and prominence in provincial life. He, like other East Indies returners, became implicated in the public life of the Cumbrian counties. Those prominent in philanthropic causes, the expansion of Cumbria's road and rail, clubs and societies had been involved in the East Indies.

John Bellasis presents a variation to Ainslie's trajectory of eventual, if reluctant, return and Thomas Cust's neglect of his obligations in Cumbria. Bellasis repeatedly promised to return permanently but died in Bombay forty-five years after leaving Cumbria. He was arguably a man as much concerned with recognition as he was with wealth. Bombay offered both. But unlike, Thomas Cust, Bellasis saw himself as a man with deep roots in Cumbria: he remitted monies to Cumbria; promoted marital alliances with Westmorland's urban elite; and, perhaps, most

importantly he vociferously pursued the recognition of his family, usually referred to as Bellas, as an ancient Cumbrian family of Bellasis. He succeeded in getting the College of Arms to recognise his claims to arms in 1792. Unlike Thomas Cust, there is no evidence that John Bellasis was sucking resources out of his Cumbrian kin. He expressed disappointment when opportunities to retain family land or acquire small estates were missed, and he was vitally concerned with his and his family's reputation in Cumbria. In 1802, he requested that he be memorialised in his natal parish church.

Even those who yearned for Cumbria such as Andrew Hudleston delayed their return and John Brownrigg Bellasis admitted to what he saw as an inexplicable desire to stay in India:

It is very odd, I have a secret aversion to going home [from India] which I cannot account for.¹⁶

Overall, it must be concluded that East Indies ventures were not typically 'care-for-nobody' gambles undertaken by the desperate and marginal.

Ventures in the East Indies were measured and collective ventures. It was expected that everyone would work to minimise risks and optimise the chances of success. They required energy and a zealous commitment both in Cumbria and the East Indies. Cumbrian sojourners expressed a pronounced awareness of their provincial origins. For them balancing risk and reward in the East Indies meant actively sustaining Cumbrian connections. Cumbrians in the East Indies were desperate not to be forgotten at home. Cumbrian sojourners exchanged information about, provided hospitality to, supported, and occasionally, remonstrated with, fellow Cumbrians in the East Indies, even where the acquaintance was limited.

¹⁶ John Brownrigg Bellasis' letterbook and diary, 1825, IOR Mss Eur Photo Eur 035, p. 134.

Dynastic families

Chapter 2 set out a number of points around the thesis of dynastic families, all of which suggest that Cumbria's high rates of engagement in the East Indies were unlikely to be driven by a dynastic dynamic. That is not to suggest that none of the Cumbrian families were involved in a dynastic strategy. It is clear that a number were. However, three important findings suggest that dynastic dynamics were on the margins of the Cumbrian encounter. Firstly, most of the kinship links between families involved in the East Indies were formed in Cumbria rather than the East Indies. Second, Cumbrian sojourners promoted their connections with their native counties. Third, if dynastic dynamics were the primary driver of the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies, spatial pattern of natal origins would be less dispersed, concentrated both in the East Indies itself or in a small number of Cumbrian localities.

With regard to the latter, it is notable that the Dent and Wilkinson families, who intermarried and ensured their East Indies businesses were operated by a very closely knit kin group, retained a very strong Westmorland identity and presence. Rather than an Anglo-Indian dynasty, they are better seen as a Cumbrian entrepreneurial family operating in the East Indies. Entrepreneurial families operating in India included the Scottish Johnstone family and the midlands Shaw family. Both those families have attracted attention recently as the subjects of micro-histories.¹⁷ Both are characterised by a deep identification with home and their familial connections, rather than an adoption of an Anglo-Indian persona. The Cumbrian embeddedness of the Dents and Wilkinsons East Indies ventures is indicated by their similarity to Cumbrian ventures elsewhere. The Dents and Wilkinsons undertook

¹⁷ See respectively E. Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012) and A. Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families: Business, Marriage and Life in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London, Pickering & Chatto, 2012).

business management and familial practices reminiscent of the networks set up among Quakers pursuing business in North America during the eighteenth century.¹⁸

Primacy of London

The argument that London merchants were at the centre of the East India Company and the shape of emerging economic and political imperialism in the East Indies has already been subject to considerable criticism. Those have been set out in Chapter 1 and will not be rehearsed here. The major points in relation to Cumbria are these. Cumbrians did have influence in the Company. The Company directorate had a persistent Cumbrian presence throughout the long eighteenth century and Cumbrians were key participants in the establishment of factories and the presidencies early in the long eighteenth century. There were, too, Cumbrian parliamentarians influential in East Indies affairs who staunchly maintained their Cumbrian identity; the most important being John Robinson, Richard Atkinson and Henry Fletcher. That many resided in London should not take attention away from the way they used their influence to promote the interests of Cumbrian kin and friends.

This dissertation contributes to the accumulating historiography suggesting an intricate interface between the provincial world and the East India Company, and the East Indies. That interface was played out in Cumbrian politics as well as in social and economic life. The Cumbrian case suggests, that while London was the setting for critical moments in the passage to the East Indies, it was not the dynamo of the Cumbrian encounter. Certainly, it was in London that individuals aspiring to cadetships and appointments as writers appeared for interview at the East India Company. Many Cumbrian sojourners left for the East Indies from London docks. Yet

¹⁸ A. J. L. Winchester, 'Ministers, Merchants and Migrants: Cumberland Friends and North America in the Eighteenth Century', *Quaker History*, 80, 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 85-99.

even at those moments, Cumbrians destined for the East Indies were embraced by Cumbrians. Marshall has shown that Cumbrian county societies were longstanding and active means by which London-based provincials maintained their identities and connections at home.¹⁹ Their agency on the part of Cumbrian families sending their children to India was another mechanism for expressing and sustaining those provincial attachments.

It could be argued that some Cumbrians in London were as much sojourners in a ‘foreign’ world as Cumbrians in the East Indies. London for many Cumbrians was merely a pathway to financial success and many returned to Cumbria. Examples among Cumbrians based in London but also with East Indies links include the Stephensons, the Winders, the Fawcetts, the Custs, the Dents, the Borradailes and Routledges. For many Cumbrians, London was a way-station between the provincial world and the East Indies, rather than at the centre of the East Indies encounter. In short, the Cumbrian case suggests that there were provincial drivers of imperialism in the provincial aspirations of the middling and gentry families. It reinforces the historiographical move away from treating London as the all-determining metropole, whether in the domestic, provincial world or the global world.²⁰

¹⁹ J. D. Marshall, ‘Cumberland and Westmorland Societies in London, 1734-1914’, *Transactions CWAAS*, New Series, 84 (1984), pp. 239-254.

²⁰ See in particular H. V. Bowen, ‘James H. Thomas, “The East India Company and the Provinces in the Eighteenth Century, vol. II: Captains, Agents, and Servants: A Gallery of East India Company Portraits”’, *Economic History Review*, 61, 4 (2008), p. 1005; K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715-1785* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998); K. Wilson, (ed.) *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, Modernity, 1660-1840* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004); J. H. Thomas, *The East India Company and the Provinces in the Eighteenth Century: Volume 1 Portsmouth and the East India Company 1700-1815* (Lewiston, Edwin Mellen Press, 1999); J. H. Thomas, *East India Company Agency Work in the British Isles, 1700-1800* in H. V. Bowen, M. Lincoln, and N. Rigby, (eds.), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 33-48.

Nationhood and empire

There seems little evidence that Cumbrians in their engagements with the East Indies were driven, any more than the provincial world in general, by national sentiments around imperial expansion. While the government might, as McGilvary suggests, have seen East Indies patronage as a convenient way to sustain the Union,²¹ there is no substantial evidence of either that desire, or a nationalistic, British sensibility or identity, in the correspondence between East Indies-involved Cumbrians. It is not that they were disinterested in the security of the British Isles, it is simply that those anxieties were not linked to the East Indies or the notion of a Britannia. Indeed, compared to exhortations to provide hospitality, or assurances that hospitality had been provided, to Cumbrians arriving in the East Indies, references to geopolitics were few. There is no doubt that Cumbrians took opportunities presented by the East India Company's territorial acquisitions and its subsequent demand for manpower after the Battle of Plassey. But there is little indication that Cumbrians, either in Cumbria or sojourning in the East Indies, were primarily, or consciously, driven by a sense of national service.

Again it was not because any notion of service was absent from Cumbrians' correspondence with each other. Rather, service was positioned differently. In their negotiations around emoluments and conditions around resignation and return, some Cumbrians referred to loyal service, but that was typically in relation to the Company rather than the nation. Notably the exception was in Douglas' appeal for national support to deal with debts he claims arose from serving national interests at the beginning of the Opium Wars. Generally, expressions of service tended to be couched in terms of responsibilities to Cumbrian friends, kin, family and business partners.

²¹ McGilvary, *East India Patronage and the British State*, pp. 17-20, 203-208.

East Indies ventures were part of, rather than a disjuncture with or national overlay on, Cumbrian life.

Those who went to the East Indies, as well as their family, kin and friends, intended that there would be a return. Involvement in the East Indies and the sojourns of a substantial number of Cumbrians in the East Indies were not seen as constituting a decisive break from the provincial life. The point of the passage to India was success in Cumbria. There is little evidence in their letters that these Cumbrian middling and gentry families subordinated the risks of death, loss and disaster to some emerging imperial or national impulse.

Does that mean that Cumbrians did not recognise that they were becoming involved in an accelerating exercise of national power? The retrospective view shows us that the opportunities opening up to Cumbrians in the East Indies during the long eighteenth century were supported by, and implicated in, the development of a military fiscal state.²² The accelerating expansion of British interests in the East and the formation of the second empire during the eighteenth century were undoubtedly fuelled by the threats presented by European powers and anxieties to cement the Union. But taking the opportunities in the East Indies generated by those dynamics does not mean that Cumbrians themselves were primarily driven by national or imperial imperatives. The motivations of Cumbrians were more prosaic, less exalted and rarely tinged by expressions of imperial zeal.

This is not to suggest that Cumbrians engaged in commercial imperialism or imperial territorial rule unconsciously. Many Cumbrians were involved in formal

²² For a discussion of the East India Company as a military-fiscal state see T. Roy, 'Rethinking the Origins of British India: State Formation and Military-Fiscal Undertakings in an Eighteenth Century World Region', *London School of Economics Working Papers*, No. 142/10 (2010), pp. 3, 8-11.

positions of power in the East India Company and the apparatus by which the East India Company imposed rule: the army, the civilian administration and the judiciary in the East Indies. That involvement may have since become obscured, but at the time the activities of Cumbrian sojourners in the East Indies were part of the everyday life of middling and gentry families in Cumbria. This was not a case of Seeley's, or later, Porter's, notion of the acquisition of empire as a sort of 'boys-own' accidental accumulation of territory. Nor does the evidence suggest that Cumbrians in the long eighteenth century became implicated in empire 'at home' primarily as a 'taken-for-granted', mundane or unquestioned part of, as Hall and Rose characterise empire, a 'familiar and pragmatic' world.²³ On the contrary, Cumbrian ventures in the East Indies were conscious affairs, the tensions and ambivalences around which were resolved by recourse to a variety of explicitly articulated logics and considerations around the balancing of risk and reward.

For Cumbrians those logics resided primarily in their provincial world. East Indies ventures were part of a battery of adaptive strategies which included Atlantic and Mediterranean trade as well as London-based commercial activities. Those adaptive strategies emerged out of the Cumbrian gentry and middling families search for ways to break through the constraints imposed by Cumbria's biophysical limitations and the persistence of customary tenure. They reflected longstanding practices of forming intense marital and business networks between, as well as within, Cumbria's middling and gentry ranks and Cumbria's human capital advantages.

²³ B. Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: What the British Really Thought About Empire* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 321f; J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London, MacMillan, 1914), p. 10; Hall and Rose (eds.), *At Home with Empire*, p. 22.

A Different Lens with New Views

Cumbria's encounter with the East Indies provides a new lens on both Cumbria's regional history and on a set of intersecting historiographies in which the eighteenth century has been pivotal in debates around change and continuity. In addition to Cumbria's regional history, those historiographies range across the mobilities and interactions of middling ranks and gentry respectively, provincial life, and the evolving relations between the British Isles and the East Indies. Identifying and foregrounding the characteristics and dynamics around the close to four hundred and fifty enumerated Cumbrian women and men involved in the East Indies, has illuminated various aspects of each of those historiographies.

In the context of regional history, seeing Cumbria through the lens of its encounter with the East Indies generates a very different understanding of the legacy of the long eighteenth century. It contributes to and amplifies the emerging re-visioning of Cumbria, which is leaving behind a preoccupation with Cumbria's transition from a feudal to an industrial society. That new historiography of Cumbrian development gives attention to a wider range of concerns including eighteenth-century trade, both domestic and global, innovation, education, vernacular building, the implications of customary tenure on the landscape and land distribution, the growth of tourism and resort towns. This dissertation adds to that paradigmatic and empirical diversification. Cumbria seen through the lens of its middling and gentry encounters with the East Indies shows a Cumbria marked by diversity and entrepreneurial drive.

Far from stultified, Cumbria was characterised by new industrial technologies and extractive industries, as well as by innovative approaches to trade. It was typified by new ways of using human capital and the development of early indicators of a

nascent service sector. The comparatively high literacy evident in eighteenth-century Cumbria manifested itself in a surplus of individuals in the occupations associated with a growing service sector. Indeed, this thesis suggests a Cumbria that should be seen as, not so much on the margins of the British Isles, but as a connective edge between the British Isles and its variegated global expansion.

There is no doubt of the importance of Cumbria's particular characteristics, the relative absence of aristocratic families, a gentry pressured by constraints on their returns from land, a tradition of town corporations with middling elites, significant merchant interests in overseas trade, and, despite gradual decline, the persistence of yeoman farmers. However, the very constraints often cited as the inhibitors of Cumbria's economic development arguably promoted business partnerships between middling and gentry families. The earlier 'shelling out' of some gentry families and the expansion of Cumbria's urban fabric during the eighteenth century provided emerging middling families with opportunities to formulate themselves into provincial elites in tandem with remaining gentry families. East Indies wealth provided a mechanism for those mobilities and reconstitutions.

Cumbria's tendency for middling and gentry families to be interlocked through kinship, their mutual attachments to place, and a willingness to partner each other to diversify their economic opportunities facilitated the East Indies encounter and built on experiences in Mediterranean, North American, Atlantic and Baltic trade. From the early years of the eighteenth century, Cumbrian middling and gentry families were sojourners within and outside the British Isles. They operated within a sojourning community in London, in Europe, in North America, and then in the East Indies. Familiarity with sojourning as a pathway to success and early entry in the East

India Company was the combination that drove the Cumbrian counties' comparatively high rates of Company appointment and licensing.

East Indies ventures were supported by the melding of middling and gentry interests. This raises one of the key issues in eighteenth and nineteenth social and economic change and stability. That is, the permeability between gentry and middling ranks and the extent to which they sought to maintain distinction or pursued emulation as a ladder up the social hierarchy. The Cumbria network of kin nodes involved in the East Indies showed two seemingly contradictory tendencies. First, a tendency towards rank endogamy and, second, some significant clusters which drew together merchants and gentry. What is perhaps more important in the context of the debate around social mobility, rank permeability, distinction and emulation, was the way in which middling and gentry families were engaging in similar activities including consumption.

Even if the multiplicity of business and marital connections between Cumbrian middling and gentry families is set aside, the experience of operating in similar economic environments and conditions could be expected to generate at least some overlap in values and forms of consumption. In general, those similarities should be treated as convergence. With some rather socially unsuccessful exceptions, such as Alexander Nowell, they were not emulative. At the same time, nor were they strictly forms of distinction, although Mrs Pattinson's joy at compliments from the Fawcetts show that distinction was an important part of social interaction.²⁴ Those practices and values were not used to divide, but to allow the functional engagement of people from different ranks within the social hierarchy, although with similar

²⁴ Letter Mary Pattinson, Kirklington, to Thomas Pattinson, Bombay, 31 August 1810, CAS DX 249/14iR.

material means and interests who were operating in shared domains—the provincial town, the county, the rural parish or the subscribed world of sojourners in the East Indies.

That interpretation is consistent with French's analysis of middle rank consumption and Vickery's claim that a higher degree of sociability, even intimacy, was evident in provincial contexts. It was an intimacy of shared experience which she and others have suggested marked the relations between lesser gentry and leading middling families.²⁵ This is not a view that suggests distinction was irrelevant. Rather that ideas and practices around refinement, taste, and the exercise of politeness were acted on within a structured arena where respectable and respected members of separate ranks could operate together. It was a lubricant in a provincial world marked by social differentiation, but also enforced intimacy and where success was tied to the success of others.

Those conditions pertained in provincial Cumbria, but they were also evident in the East Indies. They underpinned, for instance, John Bellasis' willingness and ability to place a young Thomas Cooper into the business of a fellow Cumbrian in Bombay.²⁶ In the notoriously precedent-bound world of the Company in its Indian settlements,²⁷ Bellasis was promoting the success of someone whose rank was significantly below his own in Bombay. The explanation for that largesse lies in Bellasis' and Cooper's Cumbrian connection.

²⁵ H. R. French, *The Middle Sort of People in Provincial England, 1600-1750* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 144-145, 150-151, 174-175, 265; A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London, Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 1-30.

²⁶ Letter John Bellasis, Bombay, to his brother Hugh Bellasis, Long Marton, 21 December 1788, CAS WDX 1641/1/1/29a.

²⁷ P. Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London, Curzon Press, 1980), pp. 57-65.

As Halliday points out, there is no average or representative county or counties.²⁸ Nevertheless, Cumbria does appear to present a case that suggests provincial imperatives could directly drive and shape global and imperial encounters. Within the realm of provincial life and its interface with empire, the differential rates of appointment and licensing to the East Indies evident in Figure 2.2 offers a framing for comparative studies at the provincial scale. Those rates signal some intriguing questions around the variability of county engagement. Proximity to London, the putative centre of imperial impulse, is clearly not the only, or even most important, factor. Not all the counties with apparently higher than national rates of county appointment and licences by the East India Company were coastal counties. Does that variability reflect differences in the human capital? Does it reflect differences in the way in which local gentry and middling families interact? How do those rates relate to the rates and nature of industrialisation and urban transitions?

Those questions all refocus attention on counties rather than national or British dynamics. In that regard, this thesis suggests, as Berry and Gregory do, that a revival of the historiographical mining of county and regional experience and identity evident four to five decades ago might be enriching.²⁹ In that context, this thesis has simultaneously filled a gap in Cumbrian historiography while opening up some tantalising prospects for future research. For those concerned with Cumbria's regional development, there are some immediately obvious and potentially fruitful strands that could be explored through the extensive and often rich in detail traces of Cumbrians' East Indies encounters.

²⁸ S. Halliday, 'Social mobility, demographic change and the landed elite of County Durham, 1610–1819: an open or shut case?' *Northern History*, 30 (1994), pp. 49–63.

²⁹ H. Berry and J. Gregory (eds.) *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660–1830* (Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), pp. 1–4.

The first is a close tracking of the flow of East Indies wealth into Cumbrian business enterprises, both in the industrial and service sectors. This would contribute to the re-visioning of Cumbria's economic change and expansion during the eighteenth century and the legacy for Cumbria's subsequent regional development. Another is comparing the drivers, dynamics and expressions of Cumbria's global engagement in the western hemisphere compared to that of the eastern hemisphere.

The existing historiography of Cumbrian involvement in the West Indies and the North American colonies suggests some commonalities as well as some contrasts between the western and eastern hemispheres. The importance of family and friends in establishing trade and influence appears to be similar in both hemispheres, although the use of religious affiliated networks seems less apparent in the East than the West. Colonial activities in both hemispheres were characterised by a tendency to establish family members within colonial settlements to operate family business interests. At the same time, in comparison to the western hemisphere in which monopoly companies did not survive, the operation of the East India Company, both as commercial enterprise and as a territorial and administrative 'state', almost undoubtedly modified the expression of Cumbrian ambitions and operations in the East.

The impression from exploring the East Indies encounter and the current Cumbrian historiography around the Atlantic trade and North American ventures suggests that those encounters often engaged a similar network of families. There are, too, fragments that suggest that the Baltic trade through into Russia may have been part of the global reach of Cumbrian merchants. These, and the extent to which different circuits and the capital that flowed around them, were attached to or became disengaged from the Cumbrian provincial world would contribute to the

historiographical agenda articulated by Bowen and others of exploring the ‘transoceanic imperial presence’, the dynamics of global movement, and the development of a global world.³⁰

There are also many dimensions that have been only alluded to within the limits of this dissertation. For instance, attention has been drawn to the differing dynamics and experiences of Cumbrian women in their encounter with the East Indies, both as sojourners and as agents in Cumbria supporting sojourners in the East Indies. Those matters have been touched on but lightly, in part because tracing and categorising women implicated in Cumbrian encounters is complex empirically and conceptually. Indicative of the differences of the dynamics for women and men is the relatively small numbers of women who met the criteria for enumeration. Only twenty-three women have been enumerated compared to four hundred and twenty-one men. This should not be interpreted as meaning that Cumbrian women were outside the Cumbrian encounter with the East Indies. They were critical actors. But their association with East Indies ventures lay less in the sojourn, although that became more frequent towards the end of the long eighteenth century, and more through providing a social as well as a personal anchor in the British Isles.

Women’s experiences raise issues around the interface between place and proximity, marriage and kinship, as well as the challenge of capturing the nature of influence when women’s voices are frequently absent from the record. In the Cumbrian case, many women, like the gentry Isabella Hudleston and Kitty Senhouse and the middling Dorothy Knott, Susannah Knott and Elizabeth Cust, invested in East Indies ventures by funding, promoting the interests of and mobilising resources for

³⁰ H. V. Bowen, E. Mancke, and J. G. Reid, Introduction, in H. V. Bowen, E. Mancke, and J. G. Reid, (eds.), *Britain’s Oceanic Empire: Atlantic and India Ocean Worlds, c. 1550-1850* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 1-11.

men sent to the East Indies. These were the women who supported nephews, sons, grandsons and great nephews. For them the importance of return lay in their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers coming home. In addition to these women, a variety of other patterns of return can be discerned. There were Cumbrian women implicated in the East Indies by marriage to a sojourner actively involved in global travel but who themselves remained in the British Isles. Ann Gale, Elizabeth Hicks and Dorothy Knott were examples. Other Cumbrian women married Cumbrians when they returned from the East Indies, such as Margaret Braddyll, Elizabeth Lowry and Mary Aglionby.

Early in the eighteenth century, there were Cumbrian women, like Sarah Dodding, the wife of John Braddyll, who travelled to the East Indies with, or to meet their husbands or fathers.³¹ There were daughters born in India to Cumbrian fathers who remained in the East Indies until their adulthood or returned to the East Indies after schooling in England. Susan Cust, the mixed race daughter of Thomas Cust was an example. Some women made multiple journeys back and forth between the East Indies and Cumbria. Some ended their lives at sea, others died in India. Some of the women involved with Cumbrian men who returned to Cumbria were not born, but died there. Maria Hardwick and Dorothy Rumbold are examples. Finally, of course, there were women connected to Cumbrian men who probably had no direct contact with Cumbria at all. The non-European women in the East Indies almost certainly fall into that category, but so too does the wife of Thomas Pearson, Sara Irwin, who was born and died in Calcutta. If tracing the trajectories of men present a challenge, evidence of women's trajectories is even more fragmentary. Despite their diversity,

³¹ 1725-26 List of Free Merchants, Seafaring Men etc Constant and not Constant at Bombay and Factories Subordinate, IOR O/5/31 pt. 1.

what is clear is that women bore many of the costs of East Indies ventures and had an interest in the payoffs of imperial ventures.

Tracing Cumbria's mixed race children is even more challenging than tracing women. Yet their experiences offer opportunities to explore the Cumbrian experience and broader dynamics around the interface between race, class and sex in domestic and imperial contexts. How mixed race children were detached from their mothers, how their existence was embraced or resisted by their Cumbrian relatives, how they were treated under law, what the implications for them were when the protections, if any, of their fathers, relatives and friends had fallen away, are all significant questions. Those dynamics read to the emerging concern with the 'edges' of familial institutions: legitimacy and illegitimacy, the construction of the orphan as a social category, and relations between siblings as important nodes of continuity and change in the late eighteenth century and into nineteenth century Britain.³²

There is another facet of provinciality of the East Indies encounter that has not been explored in this thesis but is worth noting. That is, the persistent but rarely commented upon portrayal of the Company's European settlements in India being 'provincial'. Indeed, one of the great criticisms of expatriate life in the East Indies, even in the great cities of the East India Company, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, was its inexorable provinciality. This has often been interpreted as indicating that the sojourning communities were unsophisticated, out of step and out of touch with the

³² L. Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011); M. Finn, M. Lobban, and J. Bourne Taylor, (eds.), *Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Nineteenth Century Law, Literature and History* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); M. Finn, *The Barlow Bastards: Romance Comes Home from the Empire*, in Finn, Lobban, and Bourne Taylor, (eds.), *Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Nineteenth Century Law, Literature and History*, pp. 23-47; J. Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012); C. L. Nixon, *The Orphan in Eighteenth Century Law and Literature: Estate, Blood and Body* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011).

fashionable London metropole and a rather boring, closed society.³³ But perhaps claims of provinciality should be taken more literally. As Mansfield shows, the structures of governance established by the East India Company closely resembled the structures established by charter among the provincial towns of England. Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, seen simultaneously by those in London as exotic and emulative of London itself, were managed in ways that would have been very familiar to the residents of eighteenth-century provincial towns.

The East India Company held to itself, like town guilds, the power to determine who might or might not operate commercially. The Company imposed conditions of trade on its own servants and on European residents in general. The mechanisms of governance favoured the elite in India just as they did in provincial towns in England. Just as powerful aristocratic figures frequently sought to dominate mayors, aldermen and council business, so too did the councils of the Company's presidencies influence appointments of mayors and aldermen in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay.³⁴

As there was in English provincial towns, the population sojourning in the East Indies as well as the Company were persistently short of 'ready money' in the East Indies. Members of their small elites bickered and jealously protected their social status precedence. Just like eighteenth-century provincial towns, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay were marked by local elites indulging in the consumption and display of consumer goods.³⁵ Like provincial life in the British Isles, including in Cumberland,

³³ D. Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 148f.

³⁴ T. A. Mansfield, *Calcutta, from fort to city: A study of a colonial settlement, 1690-1750* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Leicester, 2012), pp. 105-111.

³⁵ P. J. Marshall, 'The White Town of Calcutta under the Rule of the East India Company', *Modern Asian Studies*, 34, 2 (May, 2000), pp. 307-331; P. J. Marshall, 'The Whites of British India, 1780-1830: A Failed Colonial Society?' *The International History Review*, 12, 1 (February 1990), pp. 26-44; N.

Westmorland and Furness, social life in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay was organised around visiting, assembly rooms, newspapers, theatres and convivial societies, and consumption. But perhaps most importantly, many sojourners, as this thesis shows, were themselves provincials.

The Cumbrian experience in the East Indies reinforces, too, the importance of family and kinship to understanding economic and business behaviours. This thesis is consistent with a range of research, perhaps most explicitly rendered in Popp's micro-history of John and Elizabeth Shaw, showing that imperatives embedded in familial relations, emotional life and interests went beyond narrowly conceived economic factors and business logics in shaping the exercise of entrepreneurship and business practice.³⁶ Those histories and this thesis highlight one of the most productive and potentially illuminating seams of empirical material; that which lies in the intersect of the global and imperial with the familial and provincial.

The experiences highlighted in this dissertation reinforce Tadmor's and others' renditions of the protean nature and multi-layered, amorphously bounded and fluid concepts of household, family, kin and friends.³⁷ The flexibility of access to what Steedman describes as the 'flotsam' of the past³⁸ provided in the digital world allows us to explore those layers and the connections between individuals, families, place, nation and global interactions in ways that leverage and integrate the power of three

Eaton, 'EXCESS IN THE CITY? The Consumption of Imported Prints in Colonial Calcutta, c.1780–c.1795', *Journal of Material Culture*, 8, 1 (2003), pp. 45–74.

³⁶ Popp, *Entrepreneurial Families* and R. J. Morris, *Men, Women and Property in England, 1780-1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies Amongst the Leeds Middle Classes* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³⁷ N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001); See N. Tadmor, 'Early Modern English Kinship in the Long Run: Reflections on Continuity and Change', *Continuity and Change*, 25, 1 (2010), pp. 15-48 for an extended discussion of the historiographical debates.

³⁸ Steedman, *Dust*, p. 18.

methodological approaches: quantitative and structural analysis; thematic analysis around experience, sensibility and identity; and, biographical narratives that trace the contingent and complex trajectories of people's lives.

APPENDIX A
Enumerated Cumbrian Men

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Adderton	Henry	1772	Mariner then Army	Bombay	1750		Cumberland		Jeremiah Adderton	Helena Curwen	IOR L/MIL/9/255 f.16-19; NUM Pw F 49-51
Adderton	Jeremiah	1775	Army	Madras	1754	c.1794	Cumberland	India	Jeremiah Adderton	Helena Curwen	IOR L/MIL/9/255 f.4 f.6
Adderton	Richard	1778	Army	Madras	1756	c.1781	Cumberland	Abroad	Jeremiah Adderton	Helena Curwen	CAS DCU 3/7; Prerogative & Exchequer Courts of York Probate Index, 1688-1858 vol.125, f. Index reference 177707178505000 8
Addison	Edmund	1782	Army	Bengal	1750	1784	Cumberland	India	Richard Addison	Lucy Tattersall	Hodson, vol. 1. p.10
Addison	Eldred	1772	Writer	Calcutta	1753	1787	Cumberland	England	William Thomas Addison	Isabella Curwen	IOR J/1/8 f.410 and IOR E/4/621 p.470
Addison	Gulston	1694	Governor	Madras	1673	1709	Westmorland	India	Lancelot Addison	Jane Gulston	IOR N/2/1 f.7
Addison	Lancelot	1700s		Madras	c.1680	1710	Westmorland	India	Lancelot Addison	Jane Gulston	IOR N/2/1 f.9
Addison	Robert	1790s	Coffee grower	Java	1775	1862	Westmorland	Westmorland	Christopher Addison	Elizabeth	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; <i>Kendal Mercury</i> 12 April 1862
Addison	Robert	1800s	Coffee grower	Java	1790	1880	Westmorland	Westmorland	Robert Addison	Elizabeth Dent	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes;
Aglionby	John	1763	Mariner	East Indiaman	1748	1763	Cumberland	At sea	Henry Aglionby	Ann Musgrave	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Summerson, p.117
Aikenby	John	1795	Army		1777		Cumberland		John Aikenby		IOR L/MIL/9/107 f.427 f.545

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Ainslie	Montagu	1807	Writer	Bengal	1792	1884	Westmorland	Lancashire	Henry Ainslie	Agnes Ford	IOR J/1/22 f.176
Ainslie	William	1806	Writer	Did not go to India	1791	1810	Westmorland		Henry Ainslie	Agnes Ford	IOR J/1/21/part2
Airey	Henry Cookson	1828	Army	Bengal	1810	1866	Westmorland		Thomas Airey	Julia Atkinson	IOR L/MIL/9/171 ff.16-19
Allason	Charles	1798	Writer	Bengal	1779		Cumberland		Thomas Allason	Barbara	IOR J/1/17 f.217
Armstrong	John	1799	Army	Madras	1785		Cumberland		William Armstrong	Bridget	IOR L/MIL/9/110 f.178
Ashburner	James	1767	Factor	Bengal	1744	1774	Lancashire	India	William Ashburner	Dorothy Taylor	IOR J/3 f.284v (Father probably William not Thomas); 'The Ashburners...' <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 19 November 1870
Ashburner	John	1757	Writer	Bombay	1741	1772	Lancashire	East Indies	William Ashburner	Dorothy Taylor	IOR J/1/3 f.13 (Father probably William not Thomas); Government of Tamil Nadu, p.146
Ashburner	Luke	1803	Planter	Bombay	1772	1844	India	USA	William Bombay Ashburner	Mary Sparks	IOR L/AG/34/27/397 p. 4; 'The Ashburners...' <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 19 November 1870
Ashburner	William Bombay	1753	Factor	Poonah	1737	1793	Lancashire	India	William Ashburner	Dorothy Taylor	IOR N/3/3 f. 217; J/1/2 f.54; 'The Ashburners...' <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 19 November 1870; Boumphrey, 21Hudleston & Hu22ghes

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Ashburner	William	1794	Attorney then Planter	Bombay	1769	1798	India	India	William Bombay Ashburner	Mary Sparks	<i>Bombay Courier</i> 22 September 1798; 'The Ashburners...' <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 19 November 1870
Ashburner	William Page	1810s	Free Merchant	Bombay	1791	1862	India	England	William	Elizabeth Cotgrave	'The Ashburners...' <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 19 November 1870; PPR, <i>National Probate Calender</i> 1862
Atkinson	Edward	1783	Writer		1766		Westmorland				IOR J/1/11 f.96
Atkinson	Michael	1782	Writer	Bengal	1763	1821	Westmorland	England	George Atkinson	Bridget Maughan	IOR Z/E/4/2/A317
Atkinson	Richard	1803	Army	Bengal	1786	1830	Westmorland		Mathew Atkinson	Mary Gilbanks	IOR L/MIL/9/115 f.318
Atkinson	Richard	N/A	Contractor, agent, director	N/A	1738	1785	Westmorland	England	Matthew Atkinson	Margaret Sutton	Christie, <i>History of Parliament</i> ; Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes
Ballantine	Fretcheville Dykes	1799	Army	Bombay	1782	1849	Cumberland	England	Lawson Dykes Ballantine	Jane	IOR L/MIL/9/110 ff.76-78
Barnett	John	1804	Mariner	East Indiaman	1785	1814	Westmorland		William Barnett	Elizabeth	Farrington, p.46
Barnett	William	1799	Army		1783		Westmorland		Michael Barnett	Elizabeth	IOR L/MIL/9/110 f.201
Barwise	William	1760s	Army	Bengal		c.1765	Cumberland				CAS PROB/1765/A(3)
Bateman	Jonathan	1807	Army	Bengal	1790	1809	Cumberland	India	Willam Bateman	Ann Dawson	IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.104

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Beck	John		Army	Bombay		1829	Cumberland	India			CAS PROB/1829/AB(3) IOR L/AG/34/27/393 f.8
Bell	James Thomas	1829	Asst-Surgeon	East Indiaman	1804	1880	Cumberland	England	James Bell	Mary Robinson	IOR L/MIL/9/381 f.314
Bellasis	Daniel Hutchins	1801	Army	Bombay	1784	1836	Westmorland	England	John Bellasis	Ann Martha Hutchins	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis.
Bellasis	Edward	1800	Army	Bombay	1782	1843	Westmorland	England	John Bellasis	Ann Martha Hutchins	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis.
Bellasis	George Bridges	1804	Army	Bombay	1767	1825	Westmorland	India	George Bellas	Margaret Harvey	IOR L/MIL/9/141 f.416; M. Bellasis.
Bellasis	George Hutchins	1801	Army	Bombay	1778	1822	Westmorland	Westmorland	John Bellasis	Ann Martha Hutchins	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis
Bellasis	George Hutchins	1820s	Army	Bombay	1807	1862	Berkshire	Westmorland	George Hutchins Bellasis	Charlotte Maude Ward	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis.
Bellasis	John	1763	Army	Bombay	1743	1808	Westmorland	India	Joseph Bellas	Margeret Hill	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis.
Bellasis	John	1810	Army	Bombay	1792	1837		India	John Bellasis	Ann Martha Hutchins	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis.

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Bellasis	John Brownrigg	1821	Army	Bombay	1806	1890	Westmorland	England	George Hutchins Bellasis	Charlotte Maude Ward	IOR L/MIL/9/111 f.597; M. Bellasis
Bellasis	Joseph	1801	Writer	Bombay	1781	1816	Westmorland	India	John Bellasis	Ann Martha Hutchins	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; M. Bellasis.
Bellasis	Joseph Harvey	1785	Army	Bengal	1759	1799	Berkshire	India	George Bellas	Margaret Harvey	Hodson, vol. 1., p.126; M. Bellasis
Bellasis	William	1797	Mariner	East Indiaman		1798	Westmorland	India	Hugh Bellasis		CAS WDX 1641/1/1/p36; M. Bellasis
Benn	Henry Clavering	1815	Army	Madras	1797	1817	Cumberland	India	John Benn	Elizabeth Thornton	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Spedding, p.71; IOR L/AG/23/10/1-2
Benn	William		Army		1767	Aft. 1836	Cumberland	India	Anthony Benn	Margaret Spedding	IOR L/MIL/9/108 f.280; Spedding, p.71
Benn Walsh	John	1776	Writer	Bengal	1759	1825	Cumberland	England	William Benn	Mary Nicolson	IOR J/1/9 f.229; Murphy and Thorne, <i>History of Parliament Online</i>
Benson	Richard	1805	Army	Bengal	1785	1858	Cumberland	Cumberland	Thomas Benson		Hodson, vol. 1., p.131; CAS PROB/1858/WCO D1018
Benson	William	1821	Army	Bengal	1804	1848	Cumberland	India	Joseph Moffat		IOR L/MIL/9/141 f. 416
Berry	John Braithwaite	1806	Army	Madras	1788	1811	Westmorland	India	William Berry	Margaret	IOR L/MIL/9/116 f.431 and L/AG/23/10/1

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Best	John		Army	Madras	1765	1821	Cumberland	India			IOR N-2-7, p. 517; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 17 November 1821; <i>Asiatic Journal</i> , vol. 12 1821), p. 393.
Bird	Henry	1771	Writer	Bengal	1756	1771	Westmorland	India	Rev James Bird	Mary Dennison	Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Crosby Garrett
Bird	Luke	1800	Army	Bengal	1783	1802	Cumberland	India	Isaac Bird		IOR L/MIL/9/111 f.597
Birkett	Thomas	1808	Army	Bengal	1788	1836	Cumberland	India			<i>Carlisle Journal</i> , 18 March 1837
Blackett	Curtis	1758	Army								IOR L/MIL/9/85
Boak	William	1758	Maritime	East Indiaman	1740	1764	Cumberland		Thomas Boak		Hughes, pp.105-106; G. B. Routledge (ed.)
Borradaile	Alfred	1820s	Army	Madras	1804	1861		India	William Borradaile	Ann Delapierre	Borradaile, p. 30; IOR L/AG/23/10 f.1-2 and N/2/42 f.146
Borradaile	Harry	1819	Writer	Bombay	1800	1876		England	Henry Borradaile	Ann Fletcher	Borradaile, p. 31
Borradaile	Richardson	1780s	Maritime	East Indiaman	1795	1811	Cumberland	China	Richardson Borradaile	Elizabeth Cotton	Salmon, <i>History of Parliament</i> , Borradaile, p. 32
Borradaile	Richardson	N/A	East India shipowner, insurer, Director East India Dock Co	N/A	1762	1835	Cumberland	England	John Borradaile	Mary Richardson	Salmon, <i>History of Parliament</i> , Hudleston and Bumphrey; Borradaile, p. 29
Borradaile	Thomas	1808	Mariner	East Indiaman	1793	1822	London	At sea	William Borradaile	Ann Delapierre	Farrington, p. 83; Borradaile, p. 30

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Borradaile	William	N/A	East India shipowner	N/A	1750	1831	Cumberland		John Borradaile	Mary Richardson	Hudleston and Boumphrey; Borradaile, p. 28
Borradaile	John	1767	Mariner	East Indiaman	1754	1782	Cumberland	India	John Borradaile	Mary Richardson	Borradaile, p. 28; Probably Farrington, p.83
Borradaile	Joseph	1780s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1767	1783	Cumberland	India	John Borradaile	Mary Richardson	Borradaile, p. 28; Probably Farrington, p.83
Boustead	John	1810	Army	Ceylon	1784	1861	Cumberland	England	Thomas Boustead	Mary Pears	Hudleston & Boumphrey, p.33
Bowness	George	1784	Army	Madras	1762	1833	Westmorland	England			G. Atkinson, pp. 251-252
Bowser	Thomas	1771	Army	Madras	1749	1833	Westmorland	England	John Bowser	Margaret Hutton	G. Atkinson, pp. 229-252
Braddyll	Dodding	1728	Merchant		1689	1748	Lancashire	England	John Braddyll	Sarah Dodding	West and Close, pp. 269-272; IOR E/1/10 ff. 395-396v, E/1/13 ff. 109-110v, E/1/20 ff. 89-90v
Braddyll	John	1699	Mariner	East Indiaman	1657	1727	Lancashire	Lancashire	Thomas Braddyll	Jane Rishton	West and Close, pp. 269-272; Possibly Farrington, p.90
Braddyll	John	1720s	Merchant	Possibly Surat and Bombay	1695	1753	Lancashire	England	John Braddyll	Sarah Dodding	West and Close, pp. 269-272; IOR E/1/13 ff. 562-563v
Braddyll	Roger	1684	Factor or agent	Bengal and Madras		1723	Lancashire		Edward Braddyll	Mary Smith	West and Close, pp. 269-272; IOR E 1/11 ff. 423-424, E/1/14 ff. 142-143v, E/1/1 ff. 423-424v

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Braddyll	Thomas	1710s	Writer	Calcutta	1691	1747	Lancashire	England	John Braddyll	Sarah Dodding	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; IOR E/1/12 ff. 507-508v, E/1/13 ff. 109-110v
Briscoe	C or E	1780	Army	Bengal		Before 1802		India	Horton Brisco	Millicent Jane Banks	Hodson, vol. 4., p.597
Briscoe	Horton	1763	Army	Bengal	1741	1802	Cumberland	India	Rev John Briscoe	Catherine Hylton	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol. 1., p. 205
Briscoe	John	1778	Army	Bengal	1761	1779	Cumberland	India	Musgrave Brisco	Mary Dyne	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol. 1., p. 206
Briscoe	John	1768	Writer	Bengal	1739	1805	Cumberland		Rev John Briscoe	Catherine Hylton	IOR Mss Eur/G37/3/3 F.63
Briscoe	John Jessop	1780s	Army	Bengal	1765	1792	Bengal	India	Horton Brisco	Mary Howett	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol. 1., p. 206
Briscoe	William Musgrave	1764	Army	Bengal	1745	1765	Cumberland	India	Rev John Briscoe	Catherine Hylton	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol. 1., p. 206
Bristow	John Charles	1800s	Writer	Bengal	1784	1856	Westmorland	Westmorland	John Bristow	Emilia Wrang-ham	Boumphrey, Hudleston and Hughes; Bellasis <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Barton; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 27 September 1856
Brougham	Peter	1750s	Army		1733		Cumberland		Thomas Brougham		Burke, Landed Gentry, vol. 3. 1838, p.703

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Brougham	Thomas	1780	Army	Bengal	1762	1819	Cumberland	Scotland	Peter Brougham	Matilda Wybergh	Hodson, vol. 1., p .219 and vol. 4., p. 632
Brown	Abraham	1754	Writer		1735		Cumberland		William Brown	Mary	IOR J/1/2 f.233
Browne	William	1770s	Army	Bombay	1756	1805	Cumberland	Cumberland	Henry Browne		National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1436 Image 384 and 385; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 14 December 1805
Buchanan	G W		Army								CAS WDX 1641/1/1/37b and WDX 1641/1/1/27c
Burnyeat	Philip	1770s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1759	1796	Cumberland	At sea	Thomas Burnyeat	Mary	Farrington, p.117; National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1280
Calvert	Robert	1806	Army	Madras	1785	1824	Cumberland	India	Thomas Calvert	Jane Nixon	CAS DX 249/14r/R
Christian	Edward	1806	Haileybury	N/A	1758	1823	Cumberland	England	Charles Christian	Anne Dixon	Hofheimer, <i>OXDNB</i> ; McCartor, p. 156
Christian	Edward	1746	Army	Madras	1725	1758	Cumberland	England	John Christian	Bridget Senhouse	Hughes, p.101
Church	Charles	1816	Chaplain	Madras	1785	1822	Cumberland	At sea	Charles Church		Munden, pp. 53-54
Clerk	Frederick Joseph	1823	Army	Madras	1805	1873	Somerset	England	Thomas Clerk	Dorothy Taylor	<i>Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany</i> , vol. 7 (1832) p. 90; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film Number: 1526710 Item 14, p. 55

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Clerk	Henry	1819	Army	Bengal	1803	1838	Somerset	India	Thomas Clerk	Dorothy Taylor	IOR L/MIL/9/129; Hodson, vol. 1., p.351-352; Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes
Clerk	Robert	1816	Writer	Madras	1798	1873	Buckingham-shire	England	Thomas Clerk	Dorothy Taylor	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; IOR J/1/29f.153
Clerk	Thomas	1813	Writer	Bengal	1796	1820	Buckingham-shire	At sea	Thomas Clerk	Dorothy Taylor	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; IOR J/1/29 f.153; Danvers et al., p.347
Cobbe	William Lowther	1800s	Army	Madras	1783		Cumberland	India	Rev Charles Cobbe		IOR L/MIL/9/111 f.151; Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes
Cookson	Thomas	1773	Writer		1757	1775	Cumberland		John Cookson	Elizabeth Lutwidge	Hedley and Hudleston, Table 3
Cooper	James Lowther	1790s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1774	1796	Cumberland	At sea	Major Cooper		<i>Newcastle Courant</i> 15 April 1797
Cooper	Myles	1790s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1778	1802	Cumberland	India	Major Cooper		<i>Newcastle Courant</i> 13 August 1803
Cooper	Thomas	1788		Bombay			Cumberland				CAS WDX 1641/1/1/29a
Cragg	Thomas	1823	Army Surgeon	Madras	1800	1849	Westmorland	India	John Cragg		<i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 10 March 1849
Crosby	James Ainsley	1810s	Army	Bombay	1798	1831	Westmorland	India	Joseph Crosby	Ann	<i>The Asiatic Register</i> , vol. 7., 1832, p. 162

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Crosthwaite	Peter	1758	Mariner	Bombay	1735	1808	Westmorland	Cumberland	Robert Crosthwaite		J. Fisher Crosthwaite; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 18 June 1808
Crozier	Robert					1836	Cumberland	India			<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 6 May 1837
Cumming	John	1775	Mariner	East Indiaman	1759		Westmorland				Farrington, p. 192
Curwen	Patricius	1702	Mariner	East Indiaman	1688	1702	Cumberland	At sea	Darcy Curwen	Isabel Lawson	<i>Oxford Alumni</i>
Cust	Charles	1800s	Mariner then Army		c.1783		India		Thomas Cust	Noor Begum Bibby	Hudleston & Boumphrey; CAS DCARTC 11/32, 11/40 11/42-62
Cust	Richard	1800s	Army		1784	1830	India	Lancashire	Thomas Cust	Maria	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser</i> 7 August 1830; CAS DCARTC 11/32, 11/40 11/42-62
Cust	Thomas	1813	Army		1793		India	Australia	Thomas Cust	Baharrie Connum	Hudleston & Boumphrey; CAS DCARTC 11/32, 11/40 11/42-62; <i>New South Wales Convicts Indents 1788-1842</i> online database.
Cust	William	N/A	N/A		c.1788	1797	India	Cumberland	Thomas Cust	Baharrie Connum	Hudleston & Boumphrey; CAS DCARTC 11/32, 11/40 11/42-62

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Cust	Thomas	1765	Army		1752	1795	Cumberland	India	Thomas Cust	Elizabeth Cooke	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR L/AG/34/29/9 f.62, L/AG/34/27/19 f.57, L/AG/34/27/18 f.70; CAS DCARTC 11/32, 11/40 11/42-62
Dacre	Charles	1803	Army	Bengal	1786	1823	Cumberland	India	William Dacre	Elizabeth Wilkinson	Hodson, vol. 2., p. 1
Dacre	Joseph	1802	Writer	Madras	1785	1828	Cumberland	India	William Dacre	Elizabeth Wilkinson	IOR J/1/18 f.368; <i>Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany</i> vol. 26 (1828), p.226
Dalston	Fletcher	1783	Army	Bengal	1768	1834	Cumberland	France	George Dalston	Hannah	CAS DSHEFF 1/14/1; Hodson, vol. 2., p.4f and vol. 4., p.633; IOR/L/MIL/9/255/6 4v, 71v
Dalston	John		Marine	Madras	1724	about 1787	Westmorland	Ceylon	William Dalston	Bridget Fetherston-haugh	Hudleston, The Dalstons of Acorn Bank, p. 150.
de Vitre	James Denis	1808	Writer	Bombay	1782	1875	Cumberland	England	John Baptiste de Vitre	Bridget Fawcett	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR J/1/23 f.78; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 9 January 1875
de Vitre	Matthew Theodosius		Free merchant	Bombay	1794	1870	Cumberland	England	John Baptiste de Vitre	Bridget Fawcett	IOR/Z/E/4/40/V82
de Whelpdale	John		Army		1760	1844	Cumberland	Cumberland	John Richardson	Elizabeth Whelpdale	Hudleston & Boumphrey
Deane	Charles	1754	Mariner	East Indiaman	1732	1787	Westmorland	Westmorland	Joseph Deane		Hudleston & Boumphrey; Farrington, p.209

Surname	1st Names	Appoint- ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Dent	John	1810s	Writer	Madras	1795	1815	Westmorland		William Dent	Jane Wilkinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Law, <i>OXDNB</i>
Dent	Lancelot	1820s	Free merchant	Canton	1799	1853	Westmorland	Westmorland	William Dent	Jane Wilkinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Crosby Ravensworth; Law, <i>OXDNB</i>
Dent	Robert	1810s	Super- cargo	Bombay	1793	1835	Westmorland	England	William Dent	Jane Wilkinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Law, <i>OXDNB</i>
Dent	Robert	N/A	Shipowner and Banker	N/A	1731	1805	Westmorland	England	John Dent	Eleanor Teasdale	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 23 February 1805
Dent	Thomas	1810s	Merchant		1796	1872	Westmorland	England	William Dent	Jane Wilkinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Law, <i>OXDNB</i>
Dent	Wilkinson	1820s	Merchant		1800	1886	Westmorland	Westmorland	William Dent	Jane Wilkinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; <i>OXDNB</i>
Dent	William	1813	Writer		1798	1877	Westmorland	England	William Dent	Jane Wilkinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; IOR J/1/28 f.249; Law, <i>OXDNB</i>
Dent	William	1780s	Free merchant		1762	1801	Westmorland	Westmorland			Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Law, <i>OXDNB</i>

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Dent	William	N/A	Shipowner	N/A	1740	1823	Westmorland	England	John Dent	Eleanor Teasdale	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Crosby Ravensworth; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 18 January 1823
Denton	Charles	1820s	Army	Bombay	1802	1844	Cumberland	India	Isaac Denton		IOR L/MIL/9/142
Dixon	Henry	1824	army	Madras	1803	1825	Cumberland		Henry Dixon	Diana Whelpdale	IOR L/MIL/9/154 f.265v
Dixon	Joseph	1770	Writer		1745		Cumberland		Joseph Dixon		IOR J/1/8 f.210
Dobinson	Thomas		Mariner	Bombay		1802	Cumberland	India	William Dobinson	Julian Curwen	Low, p. 216; IOR L/AG/34/29/343
Dobinson	William	1783	Army	Bombay	1766	1789	Cumberland	India	William Dobinson	Julian Curwen	CAS DCU/1/99; IOR L/AG/34/29/341 f.7
Docker	Joseph	1829	Surgeon		1802	1884	London	Australia	Robert Docker	Eliza Perry	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Le Pichon, p. 64; Docker, F., <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>
Douglas	Joseph Abraham	1810s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1797	1866	Cumberland	Surrey	Joseph Douglas Douglas	Ann Leggat	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Newcastle Journal</i> 1 January 1867
Douglas	William Douglas	1770	Writer	Bengal	1749	1802	Cumberland		Archibald Douglas	Elizabeth Burchard	Hudleston & Boumphrey
Dowell	William	1780s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1774	1828	Cumberland	England			Hardy, Register of Ships, 1811.

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Drinkel	Francis	1765	Writer	Bengal	1741	1773	Westmorland	India	Francis Drinkel	Frances Wilson	IOR J/1/6 f.242
Ecroyd	Richard	1761	Surgeon	Bengal	1730	1765	Westmorland	India	John Ecroyd	Martha Smith	National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 921; CAS WDFA/2/1/37; IOR N/1/2 p.116
Ecroyd	Richard		Merchant. Possibly a planter.	Bengal	1766	1797	India	India	Richard Ecroyd	Maria Saunier	National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 921; CAS WDFA/2/1/37; IOR N/1/5 f.68
Edmunds	Thomas	1827	Army	Bombay	1809	1840	Lancashire	India	John Edmunds	Mary	IOR L/MIL/9/166 ff.468-72; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> , 13 November 1841
Ewart	David	1818	Army	Bengal	1803	1880	Cumberland	Scotland	John Ewart	Isabella Hodgson	Hodson, vol. 2., p.145
Ewart	William	1816	Army	Bengal	1800	1842		India	John Ewart	Isabella Hodgson	Hodson, vol. 2., p.147
Falcon	Michael	1790s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1784	1858	Cumberland	Cumberland	Michael Falcon	Ann Fawcett	Farrington, p. 259
Fallowfield	Jonathan	1800s	Surgeon	Bengal	1780	1860	Cumberland	Cumberland	John Fallowfield	Ann Dawson	Hudleston & Boumphrey; 'Home Deaths' <i>Allen's Indian Mail</i> , 18 February 1860
Fallowfield	Thomas	1780	Mariner	East Indiaman	1755	1796	Cumberland	India			IOR N/7/1 f.163; Farrington, p.260
Farish	James	1806	Writer	Bombay	1791	1873	Cambridge-shire	England	James Farrish	Dorothy Fawcett	IOR J/1/21/ff.260,262
Farrer	Henry	1810s		East Indiaman	1798	1853	Cumberland	Cumberland	Henry Farrer	Jane Bennell	Hudleston & Boumphrey; CAS DHUD 13/3/3R

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Farrer	Frederick	1768	Writer	Bengal					James Farrer	Mary Lyddal	IOR MSS EUR/G37/55/1 ff.88-89; IOR/J/1/7/155-59; IOR/Z/E/4/1/F17.
Farrer	Joseph Liddell	1768	Army		1749				James Farrer	Mary Lyddal	IOR/E/1/50 ff. 197-200v Letters 107-108
Farrer	Thomas	1760s				1777		India	James Farrer	Mary Lyddal	IOR N/1/2 p. 315
Farrer	Henry	1760s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1847	1800	Yorkshire	St Helena	James Farrer	Mary Lyddal	Farrington, p.261; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Fawcett	Edward Gordon	1823	Writer	Bombay	1807	1871	England	Cumberland	Henry Fawcett	Helen Hutchins Bellasis	IOR J/1/38
Fawcett	Henry	1782	Writer, merchant, acct-general	Bombay	1762	1816	Cumberland	England	James Fawcett	Agnes Stephenson	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Anderson and Thorne, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Fawcett	Henry	1822	Army	Bombay	1798	1845	India	Cumberland	Henry Fawcett	Helen Hutchins Bellasis	IOR N/3/3 f.347 and L/AG/34/29/350 f.15
Fawcett	James	1820s	Writer	Bombay	1800	1831	London	England	Henry Fawcett	Helen Hutchins Bellasis	IOR N/3/3 f.426; National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 1797 Image 57; IOR L/AG/34/29/347 f. 2
Fayrer	Robert	1816	Free mariner	India	1788	1869	Lancashire	France	Jospeh Fayrer	Bridget Dickinson	Smith, 2012.
Fell	James	1806	Army		1789	1809	Lancashire	At sea	William Fell	Martha Irton	IOR L/MIL/9/116 ff.166-67

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Fell	William	1820s	Army and Indian Navy	Bombay	1813	1856	Cumberland	Cumberland	William Fell	Mary Bowes	IOR L/MIL/c/688 f.110; National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 2235 Image 708, 1856
Fetherston-haugh	Charles	1823	Clerk and warehouse-man	N/A	1762	1839	Cumberland	Cumberland	Charles Smalwood	Joyce Fetherston haugh	Mathison and Mason, 1802, p. iv; Hudleston and Boumphrey
Fisher	Thomas	1765	Mariner	East Indies Marine	c. 1743	1820		Cumberland			<i>Carlisle Patriot</i> , 23 September 1820; Probably that listed in Farrington, p.271
Fleming	Michael	1815	Private Trader	Madras		1816	Cumberland	India	Roger Fleming	Marian Isabella Hicks	CAS DHUD 14/10R; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Fleming	Peter Joseph	1819	Army	Bengal	1802	1833	Westmorland	India	Rev John Fleming	Jane Taylor	Hodson, p. vol. 2., p. 197; CAS DHUD 14/2/7R; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> , 11 January 1834
Fletcher	Henry	1740s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1727	1807	Cumberland	England	John Fletcher	Isabella Senhouse	Farrington, p.273; Boumphrey & Hudleston, p.116, Brooke, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Fletcher	John	1740s				1748	Cumberland	India	John Fletcher	Isabella Senhouse	Betham, <i>Baronetage</i> vol., 4, 1804, pp. 101-107
Fletcher	Lowther	1740w	Mariner		1726	1756	Cumberland	At sea	John Fletcher	Isabella Senhouse	Betham, <i>Baronetage</i> vol., 4, 1804, pp. 101-107
French	Patrick Theodore	1821	Army	Bombay	1804	1890	Cumberland	England	Anthony French		IOR L/MIL/9/146 f.397

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Frith	Edward	1754	Army	Madras	1704	1769	Cumberland	England			IOR L/MIL/9/85
Gaitskell	James Gandy	1829	Army	Bengal	1813	1885	Surrey	England	Henry Gaitskell	Elizabeth Gandy	Hodson, vol. 2., p. 241
Gaitskell	John Frederick	1828	Army and Writer	Bengal	1811	1833	Surrey	India	Henry Gaitskell	Elizabeth Gandy	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR J/1/45/90-96; Hodson, vol. 2., p. 241
Gale	Curwen	1829	Army	Bengal	1800	1849	Surrey	India	John Gale	Eleanor Ethelstone	IOR L/MIL/9/139; Madell, http://gale-gaylefamily.com , chapter 3
Gale	Humphrey Senhouse	1808	Army	Madras	1793	1818	Cumberland	India	Gustavus Gale	Elizabeth Bas	IOR L/MIL/9/118/142-43; Mandell, http://gale-gaylefamily.com , chapter 3
Gale	John Littledale	1803	Army	Bengal	1783	1832	London	India	John Gale	Catherine Littledale	Hodson, vol. 2., p. 242; Mandell, http://gale-gaylefamily.com , chapter 3
Gale	Thomas	1770s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1753	1778	Cumberland	India	John Gale	Ann Hartley	IOR N/1/2 f.167v; Farrington, p. 292
Gale	William Senhouse	1817	Free mariner	Bengal	1796	1837	Cumberland	Cumberland	Gustavus Gale	Elizabeth Bas	IOR/Z/E/4/40/G19
Gawith	William	1760s	Army	Bengal	1744	1798	Lancashire	Lancashire			<i>The Monthly Magazine: Or, British Register</i> , vol 6, 1798 p.152
Gibson	Thomas	1820s	Army		1793	1843	Cumberland	India			<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 12 August 1843
Gilpin	Richard	1814	Surgeon	East Indiaman							CAS BDBROUGHTON 19/39/2

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Gilpin	Martin	1760s	Army	Bengal	1743	1824	Cumberland	Cumberland			<i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 18 December 1824; CAS BDL/P3/63
Goodenough	Robert Henry	1824	Army	Bombay	1805	1847	Oxfordshire	Cumberland			CAS PROB/1847/A(29); IOR L/MIL/9/157
Golding	John	1783	Mariner	East Indiaman	1763		Cumberland				Farrington, p. 315
Graham	John Brisco			Bengal	1766	after 1808	Cumberland		William Graham	Dorothy	CAS DX 249/14 f. 2iiR; Boumphrey & Hudleston, p. 339; IGI, C05598-1
Graham	George	1824	Martime Assist Surgeon	East Indiaman	1801	1838	Westmorland	Cumberland	William Graham	Frances Graham	Farrington, p.317; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Clifton
Graham	Charles Henry	1818	Army	Madras	1802	1824	Cumberland	India	James Graham	Harriet Simpson	IOR L/MIL/9/135; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 13 April 1825
Graham	Graham James	1820s	Army	Bombay	1805	1831	Westmorland	India	James Graham	Harriet Simpson	IOR L/AG/34/30/30; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 22 October 1831
Graham	James	1780	Writer	Bengal	1747	1820	Cumberland	Cumberland	William Graham	Sarah	Hudleston & Boumphrey
Graham	James Richard	1817	Army	Bengal	1800	1830	Westmorland	India	James Graham	Harriet Simpson	Memorial Inscription Carlisle Cathedral; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 20 November 1830
Graham	William	1808	Army	Madras	1790	1823	Westmorland	India	William Graham	Mary	IOR L/MIL/9/120 f.431; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> , 19 July 1823; IOR N/2/8 p.470

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Graves	Richard			Madras		c. 1780		India			CAS DCC 2/51
Haistwell	Edward	1700s	Shipowner	N/A	1658	1709	Westmorland	England	Thomas Haistwell		Price, <i>OXDNB</i>
Hall	Grayson	1802	Assistant Surgeon	Bengal	1780	1811	Cumberland	India	Joseph Hall	Jane	IOR L/MIL/9/410; L/AG/34/29/24 f.479 and L/AG/34/27/48 f.1797.
Hall	Henry	1790s	Writer	Madras	1769	1820	Cumberland	Cumberland	Joseph Hall	Anne Drury	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 18 November 1820
Hall	Humphrey Senhouse	1810s	Army	Madras	1787	1827	Cumberland	India	Matthew Hall	Jane Singleton	Hudleston & Boumphrey
Hall	William	1770s	Army	Bombay	1756	1791	Cumberland	India	Joseph Hall	Anne Drury	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR L/AG/34/29/342
Hamilton	Anthony	1778	Army	Bengal	1752	1830	Cumberland	Cumberland	Isaah Hamilton	Frances Langton	Hudleston & Boumphrey
Hammond	John	1815	Army Surgeon		1787	1822	Cumberland	St Helena	Alexander Johnston		<i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 8 June 1822
Hardisty	William		Army	Ceylon	1804	1846	Cumberland	India	Jonas Blakey Hardisty	Sarah Dover	<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 2 May 1846; Hardisty, www.hardistyfamiltytree.com
Harriman	Edward	1770s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1756	1828	Cumberland	England	Edward Harriman		Farrington, p. 352; <i>Bank of England Wills Extracts 1717-1845</i> ; <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> vol. 145 (1829) p. 379.
Harris	Michael Thomas	1799	Writer	Madras	1783	1824	Cumberland	India	George Harris	Ann Carteret Dixon	IOR J/1/17f.345 and L/AG/34/29/223

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Harrison	Henry	1790s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1769		Cumberland				Farrington, p.355
Harrison	Joseph	1820s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1811	1829	Cumberland	India	John Harrison	Betty	<i>Bengal Obituary</i> , 1851, p.190; IOR N/1/25 f.445
Harrison	Matthew	1810s	Merchant and agent	Bengal	1790	1827	Cumberland	India			LAS W/RW/C/R289A/2; IOR N/1/19 f.85
Harrison	Robert Orfeur	1799	Army	Bengal	1782	1804	Westmorland	India	Thomas Harrison	Mary	Hodson, vol. 2., p. 398; IOR L/AG/34/29/16
Hartley	John Charles	1828	Army	Bombay	1808	1863	Cumberland	England	Samuel Richard Hartley	Dorothy Fleming	IOR L/MIL/9/169 ff 134-37; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 20 June 1863
Hasell	John	1750s	Mariner	Bombay	1740	1781	Cumberland	India	Edward Hasell	Julia Musgrave	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Wilkins, p. 101; Farrington, p.360
Henderson	Robert	1770s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1756	1783	Cumberland		Thomas Henderson		CAS PROB/1783/A(10); <i>Familysearch</i> , IGI C05598-1
Heward	Simon	1796	Army	Madras	1768	1846	Cumberland	Cumberland	Robert Heward	Elizabeth Scaife	<i>Carlisle Journal</i> , 1 August 1846; <i>The Patrician</i> , vol. 1 (1846) p.89; IOR/Z/E/4/43/H18 2
Hewatson	John Wilson	1796	Army		1777		Cumberland		Joseph Hewatson	Margeret	IOR L/MIL/9/108 f.436
Hindson	John	1820s	Army	Bengal	1802	1826	Cumberland	India	John Hindson		<i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 23 December 1826
Hodgson	George	1780	Writer	Bengal	1751	1780	Cumberland	India	Richard Hodgson	Mary Clark	IOR L/AG/34/29/4

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Hodgson	James	1781	Army	Bengal	1764	1825	Cumberland	Cumberland	Richard Hodgson	Mary Clark	Hodson, vol. 2., p. 460; National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 1701 Image 237, 1825; IOR J/1/11
Hodgson	James Denis	1783	Writer	Bombay	1760	1804	Cumberland	India	Thomas Hodgson	Ann	IOR J/1/11 f.191 and L/AG/34/29/343
Hodgson	John	1808	Army Surgeon	Bengal	1786	1814	Cumberland	Java	John Hodgson	Esther Simpson	IOR L/MIL/9/361 f.75
Hodgson	Richard	1781	Army	Bengal	1760	1833	Cumberland	Cumberland	Thomas Hodgson		Hudleston & Boumphrey, p.155; Hodson, vol. 2., p. 461
Hodgson	Samuel Irton	1802	Army	Madras	1784	1836	Lancashire	Lancashire	Matthew Hodgson	Frances Irton	IOR L/MIL/9/112; <i>East India Register and Directory</i> 1819, pp. 206-207, S. Taylor, p. 107
Hodgson	William	1770s		Bengal	1745	1775	Cumberland	India	Richard Hodgson	Mary Clark	http://www.thepeera.ge.co./p16044.htm#i160434
Holme	John	1731	Merchant	Bengal	1702	1769	Cumberland	India	John Holme		Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR N/2/1 f.119
Holme	John	1759 and 1762	Writer	Bengal	1738	1779	Cumberland	India	John Holme	Catherine Brisco	IOR J/1/3 f.216 and J/1/4 f.44
Holmes	John		Army	Bombay					George Holmes	Sophia Hamilton	J. Burnes, <i>Notes on His Name and Family</i> , p. 38 n. 1
Holmes	George	1779	Army	Bombay	1764	1816	Cumberland	England			CAS DX 249/14mR; <i>Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany</i> , vol. 3 (1817) p. 93
Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources

Huddart	Johnson	1786	Mariner	East Indiaman	1770	1795	Cumberland	Italy	Joseph Huddart	Elizabeth Johnston	Farrington, p.397; Huddart, 1821, p. 27
Huddart	Joseph	1771	Mariner	East Indiaman	1741	1816	Cumberland	England	Huddart		Farrington, p. 397; Fisher, <i>OXDNB</i> ; Huddart, 1821
Huddart	William	1780s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1762	1787	Cumberland	China	Joseph Huddart	Elizabeth Johnston	Farrington, p. 397; Huddart, 1821, p. 22
Hudleston	William	1800s	Writer		1793	1855	Cumberland	England	John Hudleston	Honoriam Marshall	CAS DHUD 13/2/7R
Hudleston	Andrew Fleming	1812	Writer		1795	1861	Cumberland	England	Andrew Hudleston	Elizabeth Fleming	IOR J/1/27 f.97; Hudleston & Boupfhey; 'Death of Mr Hudleston, of Hutton John' <i>Kendal Mercury</i> 7 September 1861
Hudleston	John	1760s	Writer then director	Madras	1749	1835	Cumberland	Cumberland	William Hudleston	Mary Burland	IOR J/1/6 f.9; Hudleston & Boupfhey; Anderson and Thorne, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Hudleston	John	1800s	Writer	Madras	1789	1823	Buckinghamshire		John Hudleston	Honoriam Marshall	CAS DHUD 13/12/2r
Hudleston	Josiah Andrew	1818	Writer	Madras	1799	1865	Berkshire		John Hudleston	Honoriam Marshall	Danvers et al., p.485
Hudleston	Robert Burland	1819	Writer	China	1801	1877	Berkshire	England	John Hudleston	Honoriam Marshall	CAS DHUD 13/12/2r
Hudson	William			Bombay							CAS WDX 1641/1/1/27c
Hughes	George Cumberland	1807	Army	Madras	1807	1877	Cumberland	Westmorland	John Cumberland Hughes	Elizabeth Stanley	Hudleston & Boupfhey; IOR L/AG/23/10/1-2; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 9 January 1877
Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources

Hutton	George	1828	Army	Madras	1808	1837	Westmorland	India	William Hutton	Catherine Pedder	IOR Z/O/1/10 No. 6819; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 18 November 1837; L/MIL/9/167 ff.122-29
Ireland	Joseph		Army	Bombay	1743		Cumberland				IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.430
Irton	Samuel	1778	Army	Madras	1763	1813	Cumberland	Lancashire	Samuel Irton	Frances Tubman	National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1544 Image 492, 1813 ; <i>The Monthly Magazine; Or British Register</i> , vol. 35 (1813) p.368; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Irwin	John		Army			1824	Cumberland		Thomas Irwin		B. Burke, <i>Landed Gentry</i> , vol. 1., 1879, p. 856; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 15 December 1899
Jackson	Thomas	1810s	Army	Madras	1788	1822	Westmorland	India	Thomas Jackson	Hannah	Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Barton; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 16 March 1839
James	John Irving	1807	Army		1793	1826	Cumberland	East Indies	John James	Mary Bate	IOR L/MIL/9/85; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 2 June 1827
James	Peter	1822	Mariner	East Indiaman	1798	1829	Cumberland	Cumberland	John James	Mary Bate	Farrington, p.418; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 26 December 1829
Janson	John	1807	Army		1792	1819	Cumberland	Cumberland	John Janson	Mary	IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.221
Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources

Johnson	John	1750s	Writer	Bengal	1742	1800	Cumberland	Cumberland	William Johnson		Hudleston & Boumphrey; Memorial Carlisle Cathedral; National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 1345 Image 1
Johnson	John				1781		India		John Johnson	Native woman	National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1345 Image 1
Johnston	Joseph		Mariner	East Indiaman	1784	1826	Cumberland	India	Andrew Johnston		Carlisle Journal 24 March 1827
Johnston	Robert	1828	Army Veterinary Surgeon				Ireland	Cumberland	Alexander Johnston	Ann Hunter	National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1636 Image 140
Jones (Skelton)	Arnoldus Jones	1767	Army	Bengal	1751	1793		Cumberland	James Jones	Jemima Tullekens	Hodson, vol. 4., p. 105
Kendall	Harry	1778	Mariner	East Indiaman	1759		Lancashire				Farrington, p.439.
Kendall	William	1801	Army	Bombay	1785		Westmorland		Richard Kendall	Elizabeth	IOR L/MIL/9/111 f.193
Kennal	William	1805	Mariner	East Indiaman	1785		Lancashire				Farrington, p.439
Kinsey	Thomas	1799	Army	Madras	1783	1805	Westmorland		Charles Kinsey	Elizabeth Rudd	IOR L/MIL/9/108 f.479 and 2probably N/2/2 f.704
Knott	George	1762	Army	Bengal	1744	1783	Westmorland	Lancashire	Michael Knott	Susannah Fleming	IOR Mss Eur G37/41/1 f.3; National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1048 Image 189 (Michael Knott's Will).
Knott	John	1770s	Writer	Bengal		1779		India			IOR L/AG/34/27/1 f.36 and f.19

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Langhome	Joshua	1780s	Mariner	Easr Indiaman	1768	c.1798	Westmorland	At sea	William Langhome	Elizabeth	Farrington, p. 458; <i>The London Gazette</i> 1798, Issue 15002, p. 268
Laverock	John	1753	Army	Madras	1726	1780	Cumberland	Cumberland	John Laverock	Frances Eaglesfield	IOR L/MIL/9/85; CAS PROB/1780/A (10)
Law	Ewan	1763	Writer	Bengal	1747	1829	Cumberland	England	Edmund Law	Mary Christian	J/1/5 f.5; Thorne, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Law	Ewan		Writer	Bengal			India	India	Ewan Law	Henrietta Sarah Markham	IOR N/1/10 f.490 Entry 60.
Law	George Ewan	1812	Writer	Bengal	1796	1820	London	India	Ewan Law	Henrietta Sarah Markham	IOR J/1/27 f. 10; N/1/9 f. 261; N/1/11 f. 448; <i>Bengal Obituary</i> , 1851, p. 145
Law	Thomas	1773	Writer	Bengal	1756	1834	Cumberland	USA	Edmund Law	Mary Christian	Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 156/157 (1834) p.437
Leeson	William Frederick		Army	Bombay			Cumberland		Rpbert Leeson		<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 27 July 1844; IOR/L/MIL/12/71/40 1
Lightfoot	William	1788	Mariner	East Indiaman	1761	1800	Cumberland		George Lightfoot (Probably)		CAS PROB/1800/W191; Farrington, p. 474; Probably <i>Familysearch</i> , IGI C04308-1
Lonsdale	John	1764	Army	Bombay	1737	1802	Westmorland	Westmorland			IOR L/MIL/9/85
Lonsdale	Mark	1808	Army		1792	1823	Cumberland		John Lonsdale	Ann Bird	IOR L/MIL/9/120 f.399

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Losh	John Joseph	1824	Army	Madras	1806	1862	Northumberland	Cumberland	James Losh	Cecelia Baldwin	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR L/MIL/9/154 f. 61v and L/AG/23/10/1-2
Lowry	Richard	1828	Army	Bengal	1808	1842	Cumberland	East Indies	Richard Lowry	Jane Wilson	IOR L/MIL/9/171 ff.58-63; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 18 March 1843
Lowther	James	1802	Army then Writer	Madras then Bengal	1783	1815	London	India	James Lowther	Mary Codrington	IOR L/MIL/9/112 f.527 and J/1/19 f.414
Lowther	Robert	1808	Writer	Bengal	1790	1879	London	England	James Lowther	Mary Codrington	IOR J/1/23 f.105 and /N/1/10 f.71
Lowther	William	1803	Writer	Bengal	1782	1833	London	India	James Lowther	Mary Codrington	IOR J/1/19 f.34 and N/1/10 f.521
Lushington	James Law	1796	Army	Madras	c.1780	1859	Kent	England	James Stephen Lushington	Mary Christian	Escott, <i>History of Parliament</i> ; Hudleston and Boumphrey, p.30
Lutwidge	Skivington	1790s	Army	Madras	1779	1854	Lancashire	England	Henry Lutwidge	Jane Molyneax	Hudleston & Boumphrey; S. Jefferson, <i>Allerdale Ward</i> , p.207
Moorhouse	Jonathan	1799	Army	Madras	1782	1823	Westmorland	India	Jonathan Moorhouse	Barbara Stockdale	IOR L/MIL/9/110 f.332 and L/AG/34/29/922; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> ; Clifton; CAS PROB/1824/W237

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Morland	Brisco	1790s	Army	Bombay	1774	1804	Westmorland	At sea	Jacob Morland	Dorothy Brisco	National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1409 Image 458; Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; IOR N/1/5 f.399
Morland	Jacob	1790s	Army	Bombay	1770	1800	Westmorland	India	Jacob Morland	Dorothy Brisco	National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1340 Image 307
Mounsey	George Stephenson	1781	Cadet	Bengal	1757	1838	Cumberland	Cumberland	George Mounsey	Margaret Stephen-son	<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 19 May 1838; Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol. 3., p.348
Musgrave	Thomas	1787	Army	Bengal	1738	1812	Cumberland	England	Richard Musgrave	Ann Hylton	Massie, OXDNB
Myers	Thomas	1781	Army and writer	Bengal	1764	1835	Westmorland	England	Thomas Myers	Anne Words-worth	Hodson, vol. 3., p.366; Thorne, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Nicolson	Edward	1820s	Planter	Bengal	1808	1832	Cumberland	India			<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 26 January 1833; IOR N/1/43/265
Nicolson	Isaac	1807	Army	Madras	1787	Aft. 1827	Cumberland		William Nicolson		IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.110
Nicolson	John				1808	1826	Cumberland	At sea	William Nicolson		<i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 24 March 1827
Nowell	Alexander	1783	Army	Bengal	1761	1842	Lancashire	Westmorland	Ralph Nowell	Sarah Whitaker	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; Hodson, vol., 3. p.404; Escott, <i>History of Parliament</i>

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Olive	George	1820	Army	Bombay	1798	1826	Westmorland	Wales	John Olive	Sarah Hollin Grove	IOR L/MIL/9/140 f.207; National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Image 1717
Parkin	Hugh	1770s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1753	1838	Westmorland	Westmorland	James Parkin	Philis Robinson	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 5 May 1838
Parkins	Joseph Wilfred	1787	Merchant	Calcutta	1770	1840	Cumberland	USA	Christopher Parkins	Ann Barn-father	'Law Ex-Sheriff Parkins' <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 9 December 1843; H. Bleackley, pp. 182-223; <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , Obituary, vol 168 (1840) p. 549.
Pattenson	Charles	1826	Army	Bengal	1805	1868	India	India	Charles Pattenson	Eliza Harris	IOR J/1/17 f.215; Hodson, vol., 3. p.476
Pattenson	Charles	1798	Writer	Bengal	1776	1831	Cumberland	India	Thomas Pattenson	Barbara Grainger	IOR J/1/17 f.215
Pattenson	John Edward	1795	Writer	Bengal	1774	1817	Cumberland	india	Thomas Pattenson	Barbara Grainger	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 29 November 1817
Pattenson	Thomas	1770	Army	Bengal	1747	1811	Cumberland	Cumberland	Lancelot Pattenson	Margaret Orfeur	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol., 3. p.477
Pattenson	Thomas Francis	1827	Army	Bengal	1811	1842	Dorset	India	Charles Pattenson	Eliza Harris	Hodson, vol., 3. p.477
Pattinson	Thomas George	1806	Army	Bombay	1788	1818	Cumberland	India	Thomas Pattinson	Mary Story	CAS DX 249; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 13 June 1818

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Pearson	Edward	1801	Army	Bombay	1783	1833	Cumberland	India	John Pearson	Mary	IOR L/MIL/9/112 f.124; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 14 December 1833
Pearson	John	1799	Army		1781		Westmorland		Thomas Pearson	Nancy	IOR L/MIL/9/110 f.97
Pearson	Richard	1750	Mariner	East Indiaman	1731	1806	Westmorland	London	Richard Pearson	Hannah	Laughton, <i>OXDNB</i>
Pearson	Henry Shepherd		Civil	Bombay	1775	1840	Kent	France	Richard Pearson	Margaret Harrison	G. Atkinson, p. 269
Pearson	Richard Harrison	1780s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1765	1838	Westmorland	England	Richard Pearson	Margaret Harrison	Farrington, p.613;
Pearson	Thomas	1761	Army	Bengal	1740	1781	Westmorland	India	Henry Pearson	Mary	Hodson, vol. 3, p.492; Kidson, p.87; IOR L/AG/34/29/4
Peill	William	1795	Mariner then merchant	East Indiaman	1770	1825	Cumberland	India	Peter Piell	Elizabeth	National Archives, PCC, Prob 11 Piece 1703 Image 374; IOR L/AG/34/27/392 f. 17 and L/AG/34/27/392 f.8; Farrington, p.614.
Pennington	Edward	1772	Army	Bengal	1750	1804	Westmorland	Lancashire	Edward Pennington	Isabel	Hodson, vol. 3, p.499f; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 8 December 1804; National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1421 Image 26

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Pennington	Henry	1778	Army	Bengal	1761	1831	Westmorland	India	Edward Pennington	Ellinor Stephenson	Hodson, vol. 3, p.501; Not brother of Edward as speculated by Hodson; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Kendal
Pennington	James	1778	Army	Bengal	1760	1798	Westmorland	Java	Edward Pennington	Ellinor Stephenson	Hodson, vol. 3, p.501; Not brother of Edward as speculated by Hodson; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Kendal
Pennington	James Masterson		Army		1786	1862	Westmorland	England	James Pennington		'Death of Another Military Knight' <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 24 May 1862
Pennington	John		Army		1793	1833	Westmorland	India	James Pennington		Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : Kendal
Ponsonby	William Browne	c. 1828	Army	Bombay	1811	1855	Cumberland	France	John Ponsonby	Elizabeth Browne	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 3 July 1855; <i>East India Register & Army List</i> 1855
Pratt	John Backhouse	1803	Army	Bengal	1784	1837	Durham	England	John Pratt	Mary Backhouse	Boumphrey & Hudleston; Hodson, vol., 3. p. 566f; Bellasis, <i>Westmorland Church Notes</i> : St Kentigern's

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Preston	George	1806	Army	Bengal	1789	1822	Westmorland	India	William Stephenson Preston	Sarah Todd	IOR L/MIL/9/116 f.212 ; Hodson, vol., 3. p.568f
Preston	William	1806	Army		1787		Cumberland		John Stephenson Preston	Bella Garnett	IOR L/MIL/9/116 f.129 and L/AG/23/10/1-2
Richardson	John Lowry	1800s	Army		1789		Cumberland		William Richardson	Elizabeth Lowry	IOR L/MIL/9/120 f.16; CAS DHUD 10/2/2/1
Richardson	William	1776	Writer		1758	1840	Cumberland	Cumberland	John Richardson	Jane	IOR J/1/9 f.226; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 16 January 1841
Richardson	William		Tailor	East Indiaman		1753	Cumberland				National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 804 Image 182
Richardson	William		Army	Bengal		c.1812		India	William Richardson		CAS PROB/182/AB(23)
Rigg	Jonathan	1820s	Planter	Java	1809		Yorkshire		Hugh Rigg	Maria Addison	These two men are cousins and related to Hugh Rigg and the Riggs in Hudleston & Boumphrey. It is unclear which Jonathan Rigg is referred to in D. Campbell, p.650.
Rigg	Jonathan	1820s	Planter	Java	1810		Westmorland		Thomas Rigg	Anne Thwaites	
Ritson	John	1815	Army		1792	1826	Cumberland	East Indies	Thomas Ritson	Elizabeth Ismay	CAS DX 38/38; <i>Familysearch</i> , IGI P00486-1.
Ritson	Edward	1765	Writer		1747		Cumberland		Joseph Ritson	Mary Jefferson	IOR J/1/6 f.222; <i>Familysearch</i> , IGI C05600.
Robinson	Anthony	1780	Army	Bengal	1761		Westmorland		Daniel Robinson	Mary Hilton	Hodson, vol. 3., p.678
Robinson	Christopher	1776	Army	Bengal	1757	1809	Westmorland	Cumberland	Daniel Robinson	Mary Hilton	Hodson, vol. 3., p.679

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Robinson	John										CAS WDX 1641/1/1/29a
Robinson	John	N/A	Dep Sec Treasury	N/A	1727	1802	Westmorland	England	Charles Robinson	Hannah Deane	Boumphrey Hudleston & Hughes
Robson	Robert	1796	Mariner	East Indiaman	1768		Cumberland		John Robson	Jane Heward	Farrington, p.674; <i>Familysearch</i> , IGI, P00486-1
Romney	James	1770s	Army	Bombay	c.1749	1807	Lancashire	England	John Romney	Ann Wordsworth	Nechtman p.71; CAS YDLEW 10/49/78; Kidson, p.60; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 31 October 1807
Roper	William	1807	Army		1791		Lancashire		William Roper		IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.379
Routledge	John	1783	Writer	Bengal	1763	1811	Cumberland	Cumberland	Henry Routledge		IOR L/AG/34/29/23 f.401; Harrison, <i>The Routledges, Transactions CWAAS</i>
Routledge	John	1751	Surgeon	East Indiaman	1722	1798	Cumberland	England	John Routledge		Harrison, <i>The Routledges, Transactions CWAAS</i> ; Probably Farrington, p. 682
Routledge	John		Army			1805	Cumberland	East Indies	Andrew Routledge		<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 25 January 1806
Salkeld	Joseph Carleton	1825	Army	Bengal	1810	1886	Cumberland	England	Joseph Salkeld	Margaret Wiseman	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Hodson, vol., 4.p. 5f; <i>Morning Post</i> 15 April 1886

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Salkeld	Thomas	1780	Army	Bengal	1760	1820	Cumberland	Westmorland	Joseph Salkeld		Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 27 May 1820; Hodson, vol. 4., p.6
Salmond	Francis	1790s	Madras Marine	Madras	1770	1823	Cumberland	Westmorland	William Salmond	Jane Hasell	Boumphrey & Hudleston; Wilkins, p. 105
Salmond	Francis Charles	1826	Writer	Penang	1809	1827	Sumatra	East Indies	Francis Salmond	Anne Salmond	IOR N/1/19 f.445, N/7/1 f.219, N/8/1 f.352, J/1/41 f.180
Salmond	James Hanson	1782	Army	Bengal	1766	1837	Westmorland	England	William Salmond	Jane Hasell	Boumphrey & Hudleston; Wilkins, p. 105
Salmond	James William	1823	Writer	Penang	1807	1848	Sumatra	East Indies	James Hanson Salmond	Louisa Scott	IOR N/7/1 f.216, 217, J/1/38 f.291 and N/1/73
Sandys	Thomas	1800s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1792	1856	Lancashire	England	Myles Sandys	Elizabeth	IOR L/MAR/C/849 f.26; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 19 January 1856
Scott	William	1799	Army	Madras	1784		Westmorland				IOR L/MIL/9/110 f.224
Senhouse	Joseph	1759	Mariner	East Indiaman	1743	1829	Cumberland	Cumberland	Humphrey Senhouse	Mary Fleming	Farrington, p. 705; Hughes, p.105f
Senhouse	Joseph Ashley	1800s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1791	1867	Cumberland	England	Joseph Senhouse	Mary Ashley	Farrington, p.705; PPR, <i>National Probate Calender</i> , 1867
Seward	Richard	1806	Army	Madras	1786	1816	Westmorland	India	Abraham Seward	Mary	IOR L/MIL/9/116 f.407; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 4 January 1817
Sharpe	Anthony				1757		Cumberland				CAS DCU 3/7

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Sill	Henry	1828	Assistant Surgeon	Bengal	1806	1852	Westmorland	India	Henry Sill	Elizabeth Towers	IOR L/MIL/9/380 f.266, N/1/45 f.39 and L/AG/34/29/86 f.135; <i>Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce</i> , 1852
Simonds	William	1807	Army	Bengal	1786	1865	Cumberland	England	James Simonds	Belinda Robinson	IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.194; PPR, <i>National Probate Calendar</i> , 1865.
Skelton	Charles Cornwallis	1829	Army	Bengal	1778	1836	Cumberland	India	Daniel Jones Skelton	Mary Theed	IOR L/MIL/9/174; Hodson, vol. 4., p. 106
Skelton	Henry Jones	1799	Army		1769	1836	Cumberland	Cumberland	Arnoldus Jones (Skelton) MP	Elizabeth Hicks	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 3 September 1836
Slater	Thomas		Army			c1765	Cumberland				CAS PROB/1767/A(22)
Smith	John Stanley	1807	Army	Madras	1792	1811	Lancashire	India	John Smith	Mary Wordsworth	IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.212; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 18 April 1812
Smith	Richard Wordsworth	1810	Mariner	East Indiaman	1793	1832	Lancashire	Lancashire	John Smith	Mary Wordsworth	Farrington, p. 731; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 18 February 1832
Sowerby	John	N/A	East India ship insurer	N/A	1745	1823	Cumberland	England	William Sowerby		Hudleston & Boumphrey
Sowerby	John	1808	Army	Bengal	1791	1887	Cumberland		Wasdale Sowerby	Ann Scott	IOR L/MIL/9/120 f.34; Hodson, vol. 4., p.150
Sowerby	John	1810s	Army		1793	1839					<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 10 August 1839

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Spedding	William	1798	Writer	Bengal	1777	1806	Cumberland	England		Margaret Benn	IOR J/1/16 f.127; National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1496 Image 47
Stables	John	1759	Army	Madras	1740	1795	Westmorland	England	John Stables	Christabell a Bainbridge	IOR L/MIL/9/85; Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; Hodson, vol. 4., p. 161
Stalker	Foster	1818	Army	Bombay	1798	1857	Cumberland	Iran	Joshua Stalker	Esther Penrice	Hudleston & Boumphrey; 'The War with Persia' <i>Sussex Advertiser</i> 19 May 1857
Stalker	Thomas	1819	Army	Bombay	1800	1861	Cumberland	Cumberland	Joshua Stalker	Esther Penrice	Hudleston & Boumphrey; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 20 September 1861
Stamper	Henry	1795	Army	Bengal	1775	1805	Cumberland	India	Jacob Stamper	Isabella Lowes	IOR L/MIL/9/108 f.224; Hodson, vol. 4., p. 166
Stamper	William Benson				1784	1827	Cumberland	Cumberland	Jacob Stamper	Isabella Lowes	Lyon and Gough, Some Cumberland Churchyard Inscriptions Visits to Bolton Gate (All Saints), Summer 1983 (AG) & 6th June 1994 (JL)
Stamper	Richard	1804	Army	Bombay	1788	1825	Cumberland	India	Jacob Stamper	Isabella Lowes	IOR L/AG/34/29/345; CAS DBEN/BOX307-3-1
Stanley	Edward	1801	Chaplin	Did not proceed	1776		Cumberland	Cumberland	Edward Stanley	Julia Christian	<i>Cambridge University Alumni</i>
Stanley	Richard	1797	Army		1782		Cumberland		Edward Stanley	Julia Christian	IOR L/MIL/9/107 f.251

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Steel	Anthony	1800s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1796	1842	Cumberland	At sea	Joseph Steel	Dorothy Ponsonby	<i>Carlisle Journal</i> 18 March 1843
Steel	James	1806	Army	Bengal	1792	1859	Cumberland	England	Joseph Steel	Dorothy Ponsonby	IOR L/MIL/9/116 f.371; Hodson, vol. 4., p. 173
Stephenson	Edward	1708	Merchant	Bengal	1691	1768	Cumberland	Cumberland	Edward Stephenson	Rebecca Winder	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Fisher Crosthwaite, p. 20f; Watson, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Stephenson	Edward		Army	Bombay	1739	1784			Robert Stephenson	Elizabeth	IOR L/AG/34/29/186
Stephenson	John	1700s	Merchant	Bengal	1700	1771	Cumberland		Edward Stephenson	Rebecca Winder	Referred to National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 673 Image 403
Stephenson	John	1765	Director	N/A	1710	1794	Cumberland	England	Thomas Stephenson	Margaret	Drummond, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Strickland	Jarrad Edward	1801	Army	Bombay	1782	1844	Westmorland		Jarrad Strickland	Cecilia Townley	IOR L/MIL/9/111 ff.563-566
Stubbs	Richmond Robert	1807	Army Assistant Surgeon		1782	1804	Cumberland		Rev Robert Stubbs	Isabella Baynes	IOR L/MIL/9/360 f.140
Swinburne	R				1779	1862	Cumberland				<i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 3 May 1862
Taylor	John	1818	Army	Bengal	1802	1822	Lancashire	India	Henry Taylor	Charlotte Andrews	IOR J/1/8 f. 119; Hodson, vol., 4. p.238
Taylor	John	1740s	Surgeon	Bengal	1722	1784	Lancashire	Westmorland	Harry Taylor	Sarah Symson	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; Smith (ed.), p. cxvii-cxviii
Taylor	John	1770	Army		1754		Cumberland		William Taylor	Grace Fletcher	IOR J/1/8 f. 119-120

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Taylor	John Bladen	1778	Army	Madras	1764	1820	India	Westmorland	John Taylor	Dorothy Rumbold	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 12 August 1820; Anderson, <i>History of Parliament</i>
Taylor	Peter	1798	Army		1778	1827	Cumberland	Westmorland	Peter Taylor	Isabella Fleming	<i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 19 May 1827
Taylor	Robert	1816	Bengal		1800	1843	Lancashire	India	Henry Taylor	Charlotte Andrews	Hodson, vol., 4. p.241
Taylor	Thomas Rumbold	1790s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1776	1804	Westmorland	India	John Taylor	Dorothy Rumbold	Farrington, p.772; IOR N/2/2/598 and L/AG/34/29/205 f.41
Taylor	William	1814	Mariner	East Indiaman	1803		Lancashire		Henry Taylor	Charlotte Andrews	IOR L/MAR/C/849 ff 270-71
Taylor	Henry	1780s	Writer	Madras	1763	1806	Bengal		John Taylor	Dorothy Rumbold	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; IOR N/1/2/f.53;
Teasdale	John	1772	Army	Bengal		1796	Westmorland		Thomas Teasdale		Hodson, vol., 4. p.244; IOR L/AG/34/29/10/42
Thompson	John	1765	Mariner	East Indiaman		1784	Cumberland	India			Farrington, p. 779; IOR N/3/3/104
Thompson	Lancelot	1778	Army	Bengal	1760		Westmorland		John Thompson		Hodson, vol., 4. p.262; <i>Familysearch</i> , IGI C05531/1
Thompson	William		Mariner		1778	1834	Cumberland	India			IOR N/1/40 p.75; Holmes & Co., p. 107
Thurnam	William Graham	1807	Army	Bombay	1792	1823	Westmorland	India	Timothy Thurnam	Dorothy Graham	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR L/MIL/9/117 f.132

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Tiffin	John	1780s	Mariner		1760		Cumberland		Nathaniel Tiffin		Farrington, p.786
Tomkinson	Thomas	1811	Army Surgeon	Madras	1789		Cumberland		John Tomkinson	Elizabeth	IOR L/MIL/9/364 f.100-103
Troughton	Edward	N/A	Instrument maker	N/A	1753	1835	Cumberland	England	Francis Troughton	Mary Stable	McConnell, OXDNB
Troughton	John	N/A	Instrument maker	N/A	1739		Cumberland		Francis Troughton	Mary Stable	McConnell, OXDNB
Tullie	Isaac			Bengal		1775		India	Timothy Tullie	Eleanor How	IOR L/AG/34/29/1
Tullie	George		Merchant	Madras		1724	Cumberland		Timothy Tullie		Love, <i>Vestiges of Old Madras</i> vol., 2. pp. 216, 222 n1; Parker, p. 287; IOR N/2/1 f.64; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Tullie	Philip	1721	Mariner	East Indiaman				India	Timothy Tullie		Love, <i>Vestiges of Old Madras</i> vol., 2. p. 216; Parker, p. 287; IOR N/1/1 f.262; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Tullie	Timothy	1711	Mariner Free Merchant	Madras			Cumberland	England	Timothy Tullie		Love, <i>Vestiges of Old Madras</i> vol. 2. pp. 200, 216, 264 and vol. 3. p. 553; Parker, p. 287; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Tullie	Timothy	1749	Merchant	Madras	1732	1751	India	India	Timothy Tullie	Eleanor How	Parker, p. 288; IOR N/2/1 f.251 and N/2/1 f.127; Hudleston & Boumphrey
Udale	Charles	1824	Mariner		1804	1836	Cumberland	Lancashire	John Udale	Agnes	Farrington, p. 803; LAS W/RW/C/R299A/6 2

Surname	1st Names	Appoint- ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Varty	William	1802	Army	Madras	1784	1815	Lancashire	India	Joseph Varty		IOR L/MIL/9/112 f.153, L/AG/34/29/217 f.52 (administration 1817) and L/AG/34/27/267 f.133
Vaughan	Thomas		Army		1769		Westmorland				LAS ARR 11.
Wake	Charles Hamilton	1827	Army	Bengal	1808	1871	Cumberland	Cumberland	Baldwin Wake	Sarah Spedding	Hodson, vol., 4. p.365
Wake	Charles Spedding Arden	1828	Army	Madras	1808	1833	Cumberland	India	Charles Wake	Ann Spedding	IOR L/MIL/9/169 ff. 199-201 and L/AG/34/33/12 ff. 18a & 19a
Wane	Wilfred	1769	Army	Bengal	1741	1770	Cumberland	India	Joseph Wane	Mary Irton	Swift, p. 281; Hudleston, The Wane Family, pp.232-233; Hodson, vol. 4. p. 384
Ward	John	1763	Mariner	East Indiaman		1769		India			National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 1030 Image 367
Warwick	Francis	1819	Army	Bombay	1802	1857	Cumberland	India	Robert Bonner	Sarah Andersen	Hodson, vol., 4. p. 397
Watts	Henry	1820s	Army	Madras	1810	1838		India	John Nicolsen Watts	Ann Pitt Dodson	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR N/2/17 f.395 and L/AG/23/10 f.1-2; Burke, <i>Commoners of Great Britain</i> , vol. 3., pp. 393-397

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Watts	John James	N/A		N/A	1803	1883	India	England	John Nicolsen Watts	Ann Pitt Dodson	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR N/2/2 f.590; Burke, <i>Commoners of Great Britain</i> , vol. 3., pp. 393-397
Watts	John Nicholson	1796	Writer	Madras	1780	1815	Cumberland	India	Clement Watts	Mary Benn	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR J/1/17 f.10, N/2/2 f.392, N/2/23 f.355, L/AG/34/27/265 f.313; Burke, <i>Commoners of Great Britain</i> , vol. 3., pp. 393-397
Watts	Montagu	1821	Army	Madras	1808	1867	India	England	John Nicolson Watts	Ann Pitt Dodson	Hudleston & Boumphrey; IOR L/MIL/9/148/Part/3 and L/AG/23/20 f.1-2; Burke, <i>Commoners of Great Britain</i> , vol. 3., pp. 393-397
Watts	Thomas	1800s	Writer	Madras	1789	1811	Cumberland	India	Clement Watts	Mary Benn	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Burke, <i>Commoners of Great Britain</i> , vol. 3., pp. 393-397
White	Charles Herbert	1819	Army	Bengal	1801	1850	Devon	Westmorland	Charles White	Sophia James	Boumphrey, Hudleston & Hughes; Hodson, vol., 4. p.447; <i>Westmorland Gazette</i> 30 March 1850

Surname	1st Names	Appoint-ment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
White	Francis Howard	1820s	Writer	Bengal	1809	1830	Westmorland	India	Charles White	Sophia James	IOR N/1/28 f.367; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film Number 97341-2:2LGG1KC
White	William	1783	Attorney	Bombay	1753	1811	Cumberland	Cumberland	Isaiah White	Ann Key	Hudleston & Boumphrey;
Wilkinson	James	1820s	Army	Bombay	1801	1838	Westmorland	Westmorland	James Wilkinson	Nanny Eggleston	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes
Wilkinson	Joseph	1827	Army	Madras	1803	1854	Lancashire	Lancashire	William Wilkinson	Elinor	IOR L/MIL/9/379 f.242
Wilkinson	Lancelot	1821	Writer	Bombay	1805	1841	Westmorland	Westmorland	James Wilkinson	Nanny Eggleston	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; IOR J/1/36 f.273
Wilkinson	Peter	1797	Army		1778		Cumberland		John Wilkinson	Mary	IOR L/MIL/9/107 f.296
Wilkinson	Robert	1824	Free Merchant	Bombay	1807	1887	Westmorland	England	James Wilkinson	Nanny Eggleston	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Probably IOR Z/O/1/9 No. 4575
Wilkinson	Thomas	1810	Army	Bengal	1795	1867	Westmorland	England	James Wilkinson	Nanny Eggleston	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; Hodson, vol. 4., p.472
Wilkinson	Thomas	1770s	Writer	Bombay	1759	1840	Westmorland	England	Lancelot Wilkinson	Mary Dent	Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes
Wilkinson	William	1812	Writer	Bengal	1797	1859	Westmorland	England	James Wilkinson	Nanny Eggleston	IOR J/1/27 f.127; Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes
Wilson	Christopher	1726	Army		1689	1773	Lancashire	Lancashire			IOR L/AG/1/1/16 f.115
Wilson	Richard	1733	Contractor	N/A	1702	1766	Westmorland	England	Richard Wilson	Hester	P. Bailey

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Wilson	Thomas		Ship's Carpenter	East Indiaman	1782	1817	Cumberland	India			<i>Carisle Patriot</i> , 18 April 1818
Wilson	William	1829	Writer	Madras	1810	1880	Westmorland	Westmorland	Christopher Wilson	Catherine	IOR J/1/29 f.233; <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , vol. 174 (1821) p. 428; Boumphrey, Hudleston, Hughes; PPR, <i>National Probate Calendar</i> 1880
Wilson	William	N/A	Contractor	N/A	1765	1832	London	England	Richard Wilson	Martha Barwell	P. Bailey
Wilson	William	N/A	Contractor	N/A	1732	1808	London	England	William Wilson	Mary Munn	P. Bailey
Winder	Jonathan	1699	Merchant		1669	1718	Cumberland	England	John Winder	Mary	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Winder
Winder	Jonathan	1700s	Merchant			1735	Cumberland		Samuel Winder	Elizabeth Beak	Hudleston & Boumphrey; Winder; National Archives <i>PCC</i> PROB 11 Piece 673 Image 403
Winter	Thomas Washington	1757	Writer		1740		Westmorland		Thomas Winter	Mary Washington	IOR J/1/3 f.103
Wordsworth	Flavell	1777	Writer	Madras	1760	1783	Yorkshire	India	Richard Wordsworth	Elizabeth Favell	IOR J/1/9/ f.224-25 and N/1/2 f.473
Wordsworth	James	1770s	Writer	Bengal	1757	1840	Yorkshire	England	Richard Wordsworth	Elizabeth Favell	Mathison and Mason, 1802, p. iii; East India Company, <i>Home Accounts</i> , 1841, p. 9
Wordsworth	John	1780s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1772	1805	Cumberland	At sea	John Wordsworth	Ann Cookson	Thomas, vol 2., Chapter 2

Surname	1st Names	Appointment	Position	Place of Service	Birth Bapt	Death Burial	Birth Bapt Place	Death Burial Place	Father	Mother	Selected Sources
Wordsworth	John	1770s	Mariner	East Indiaman	1754	1819	Cumberland	Cumberland	Richard Wordsworth	Elizabeth Favell	Thomas, vol 2., Chapter 2; CAS DHUD 14/2/7V; <i>Carlisle Patriot</i> 25 September 1819
Wordsworth	Joseph	1798	Mariner	East Indiaman	1782	1847	Cumberland	Cumberland	Richard Wordsworth	Mary Scott	Thomas, vol 2., Chapter 2
Yates	John Orfeur	1759	Merchant	Bombay	1744	1818	Cumberland	Cumberland	Rev Francis Yates	Anne Orfeur	CAS D AY 6/4/3 1762-1785; Summerson, p.123ff; National Archives, PCC, Prob 11 Piece 1612 Image 417
Zouch	Charles Samuel	1820	Army	Madras	1803	1823	Cumberland	India	Richard Zouch	Charlotte	IOR L/MIL/9/141 f.443

APPENDIX B

Enumerated Cumbrian Women

Name	Parents	Birth or Bapt. Place & Year	Death Place & Year	Married	Spouse	Status of Spouse	Selected Sources
Elizabeth Ashburner	William Ashburner and Dorothy Taylor	1763 Dalton in Furness	1791 Bombay	1779 Bombay	William Page	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1471899; IOR N/3/3 p.197; and N/3/3 f.363
Charlotte Bellasis (Bellas)	Rev. George Bellas and Margaret Harvey	1761 Berkshire	1784 Bombay	1784 Bombay	Daniel Beat Christie	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	M. Bellasis, p. 286; IOR N/3/3 f.369 and N/3/3 p.110.
Helen Hutchins Bellasis	John Bellasis and Ann Martha Hutchins	1777 Bombay	1840 London	1794 Bombay	Henry Fawcett	Enumerated	IOR N-3-3 f.299 and N/3/3 f.389.
				1819 London	Barrington Tristram	Not Cumbrian	England Marriages 1538-1973 Transcriptions; Ancestry.com. <i>England, Deaths and Burials, 1813-1980</i> [database on-line]
Elizabeth Brisco	Horton Brisco and Milicent Jane Banks	1778 Calcutta	1831 Leicester	1796 Calcutta	George Arbuthnot	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	IOR N/1/4 p.191 and p.199; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1656181.
Maria Brisco	Horton Brisco and Milicent Jane Banks	1776 Calcutta	1796 Calcutta	N/A	Unmarried	N/A	Arbuthnot, p.179 n; IOR N/1/4 p. 202; Holmes & Co., <i>The Bengal Obituary</i> , p. 82.
Susan Cust	Thomas Cust and Maria	1781 Barrackpore	1797 At Sea	N/A	Unmarried	N/A	See Chapter 2
Elizabeth Warden Dent	John Dent and Emily Jane Ricketts	1818 Madras	1840 China	1838 London	Robert Wilkinson	Enumerated	London Metropolitan Archives, Saint Pancras Parish Church, Register of marriages, including index, P90/PAN1, Item 072; IOR N/2/7 f.48; <i>UK and Ireland, Find A Grave Index</i>

Name	Parents	Birth or Bapt. Place & Year	Death Place & Year	Married	Spouse	Status of Spouse	Selected Sources
Sarah Dodding	Miles Dodding and Margaret Kirby	1665 Ulverston	1744 Ulverston	1683 Ulverston	John Braddyll	Enumerated	Howard, <i>Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica</i> , vol. 1., p. 311; IOR O/5/31 pt 1; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1471900
Maria Dundas	George Dundas	1785 Papcastle	1842 London	1809 Bombay	Peter Graham	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	McVicker, pp. 52-53; IOR N/3/4 f.377.
Mary Douglas	William Douglas and Jane Bell	1794 Calcutta	1884 Newton Abbott	1821 London	Edward Stanley	Ponsonby Hall	IOR N/1/4 f.165; PPR, <i>National Probate Calendar</i> 1884; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 413266.
Elizabeth Jane Fawcett	James Fawcett and Agnes Stephenson	1776 Scaleby	1826 At sea	1799 Scaleby	Thomas T Thomason	HEIC – Not Cumbrian	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1472305; Munden, p. 76.
Elizabeth M Fawcett	Rowland Fawcett and Frances Mercy Farish	1776 Scaleby	1825 Poona	1817 Bombay	James Farish	Enumerated	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1472305 IT 26; IOR N/3/5 f.61 and N/3/7 p.222.
Frances Fawcett	Rowland Fawcett and Frances Mercy Farish	1801 Scaleby	1886 Carlisle	1822 Scaleby	Henry Farrer	Enumerated	<i>Bombay Times</i> 24 July 1856; PPR, <i>National Probate Calendar</i> 1886; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1472305 IT 26-30;
Frances Ann Fell	William Atkis Fell and Frances Harrison	1811 Ulverston	1854 London	1828 Calcutta	Arthur Pittar	Free merchant – Not Cumbrian	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 0847589, 0874272; IOR N/1/21 f.171; Ancestry.com <i>England, Deaths and Burials, 1813-1980</i> [database on-line] DL/T/041/022; IOR Z/0/1/10 No. 6848.
Mary Fell	William Atkis Fell and Frances Harrison	1808 Ulverston	Before 1844		James Johnston	Enumerated	IOR Z/0/1/10 No. 6848.

Name	Parents	Birth or Bapt. Place & Year	Death Place & Year	Married	Spouse	Status of Spouse	Selected Sources
Margaret Sarah Gale-Braddyll	Wilson Gale-Braddyll and Jane Gale	1780 Conishead	1807 Conishead		Gordon Elliot Forbes	Free merchant – Not Cumbrian	IOR N/1/7 p. 350
Catherine Holme	John Holme and Catherine Brisco	1736 Carlisle	1771 Surrey	Abt 1858 possibly Calcutta	William B. Sumner	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	See Chapter 2
Charlotte Lutwidge	Henry Lutwidge and Jane Molyneaux	1770 Lancashire	Possibly 1791	1789 Moresby	William Benn	Enumerated	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 1514652 and 90648; Spedding, p. 70.
Catherine Paxton	Paxton of Whitehaven	1796 Whitehaven	1856 Whitehaven	1815 Whitehaven	Charles Church	Enumerated	Munden, pp. 52-53; <i>Lancaster Gazette</i> 4 November 1815; <i>Carlisle Journal</i> 5 December 1856.
Dorothy Taylor	John Taylor and Dorothy Rumbold	1774 Kendal	1847 Somerset	Probably about 1793/4 Madras	Jeremiah Adderton	Enumerated	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL FILM 973139 item 2 p 80; IOR L/AG/34/29/197 f.237.
				1796 Surrey	Thomas Clerk	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	<i>Familysearch</i> FHL Film 994419; National Archives, PCC PROB 11 Piece 2059
Helen Cramer Watts	John Nicholson Watts and Ann Pitt Dodson	1805 Tanjore	1831 Ootacamund	1827 Trichinopoly	Henry Dickinson	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	IOR N/2/2 f.684; <i>Familysearch</i> , FHL Film 521838; IOR N/2/23 f.278.
Mary-Anne Watts	John Nicholson Watts and Ann Pitt Dodson	Born 1811. Bapt. Carlisle 1815	1830 Mangalore		Henry Briggs	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	<i>Familysearch</i> , FHL 521839; IOR N/2/11 f. 751-752
Ellen Wilkinson	James Wilkinson and Nanny Eggleston	1813 Flass	1879 London	1829 Masulipatam	James Noble	HEIC - Not Cumbrian	<i>Oriental Journal</i> , 1830, p.36; PPR, <i>National Probate Calendar</i> 1879.

APPENDIX C

East Indies Women, Associated Cumbrian Men and Their Children

East Indies Women	Sojourner	The Children			
Jewee Bhoo ¹	Charles Denton	<i>Charles Denton</i>	<i>Mary Denton</i>		
Saheb Bibee ²	Eldred Addison	<i>John Addison</i>			
Chindanah ³	Humphrey Senhouse Gale				
Unnamed	James Pennington ⁴	<i>James Masterson Pennington</i>	<i>Rowland Pennington</i>	<i>John Pennington</i>	<i>Thomas Pennington</i>
Mary Smith ⁵	John Charles Bristow	<i>May Charlotte Bristow</i>	<i>Emelia Sophia Bristow</i>	<i>John Purling Bristow</i>	
Meda ⁶	John Hodgson	<i>William Hodgson</i>			
Unnamed	John Johnson ⁷	<i>John Johnson</i>			
Unnamed	John Knott ⁸	<i>John Knott</i>	<i>Thomas Robert Knott</i>		
Bet ⁹	John Teasdale	<i>Nancy Teasdale</i>			
Chebow ¹⁰	John Ashburner				
Fattemah ¹¹	Jonathan Moorhouse				
Manoo	Richard Ecroyd	<i>Unnamed</i>			
Maria Saunier	Richard Ecroyd ¹²	<i>Richard Ecroyd</i>			
Unnamed	Simon Heward	<i>Ceta Ellen Jane Heward</i>	<i>Jessie Maria Heward</i>		
Begum Bibby Noor	Thomas Cust	<i>Charles Cust</i>	<i>William Cust</i>	<i>Elizabeth Cust</i>	<i>Charlotte Cust</i>
Connum Baharrie	Thomas Cust	<i>Thomas Cust</i>			
Maria	Thomas Cust	<i>Susan Cust</i>	<i>Richard Cust</i>		
Unnamed	Thomas Cust	<i>Jane Cust</i>			
Unnamed	Thomas Cust ¹³	<i>William Cust</i>			
Goolab Bibby	Thomas Dobinson ¹⁴	<i>Julia Dobinson</i>	<i>Thomas Dobinson</i>		
Jane Anmah	Thomas Jackson ¹⁵	<i>Eliza Jackson</i>			

¹ IOR L/AG/34/29/349 f.184

² National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1158.

³ IOR L/AG/34/29/219 f.1.

⁴ IOR L/AG/34/29/11 f.40.

⁵ *Church of England Parish Registers, 1538-1812*: London - Saint Marylebone, Day book of baptisms, Feb 1811-Mar 1812. P89/MRY1/013. Accessed <http://home.ancestry.co.uk>.

⁶ IOR L/AG/34/29/29 f.301.

⁷ National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 1345.

⁸ IOR N/1/2 f.115; IOR N/1/2 f.183.

⁹ IOR L/AG/34/29/10 f.175.

¹⁰ National Archives, PCC, PROB 11 Piece 979.

¹¹ IOR L/AG/4/27/256 f.24 and IOR L/AG/34/29-222 f.55.

¹² See Chapter 2.

¹³ See Chapter 2.

¹⁴ IOR L/AG/34/19/343 f.9.

¹⁵ IOR L/AG/34/29/222 f.44.

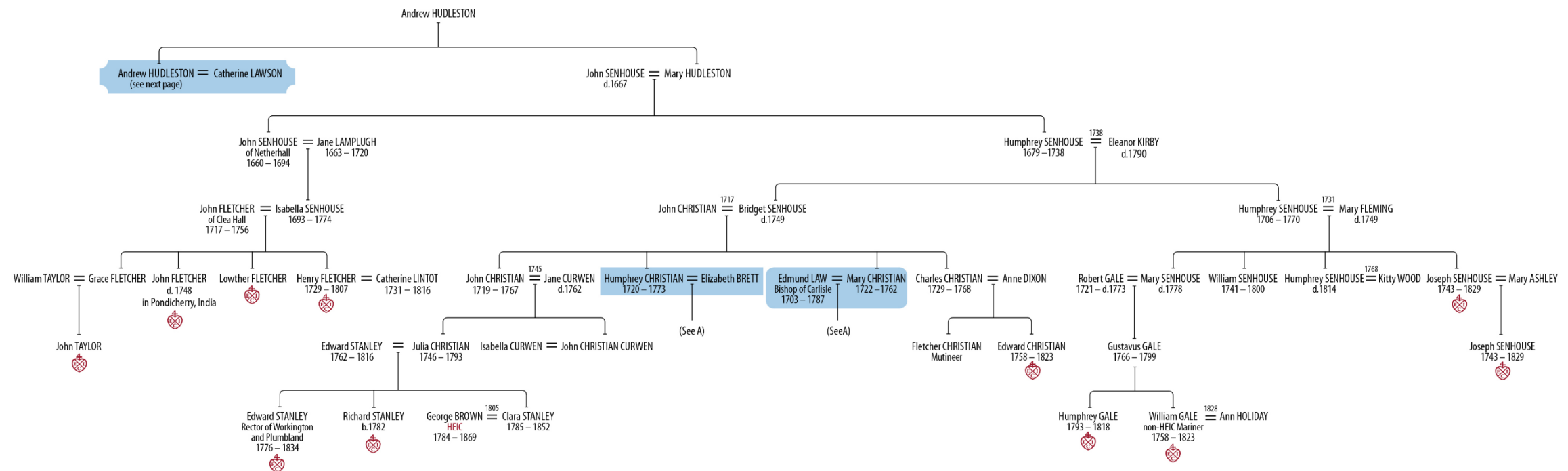
East Indies Women	Sojourner	The Children			
Unnamed	Thomas Law ¹⁶	<i>John Law</i>	<i>Edmund Law</i>	<i>George Law</i>	<i>Thomas Law</i>
Unnamed	Thomas Myers ¹⁷	<i>Unnamed</i>	<i>Possibly Francisca</i>		
Possibly Parsee woman ¹⁸	William 'Bombay' Ashburner	<i>Kavasji Mankeji Ashburner</i>			

¹⁶ IOR N/1/4 f.52; *New Monthly Magazine*, vol. 42 (1834), pp. 258-259; G. A. Townsend, 'Thomas Law, Washington's First Rich Man', *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 14 (1901), pp. 222-245.

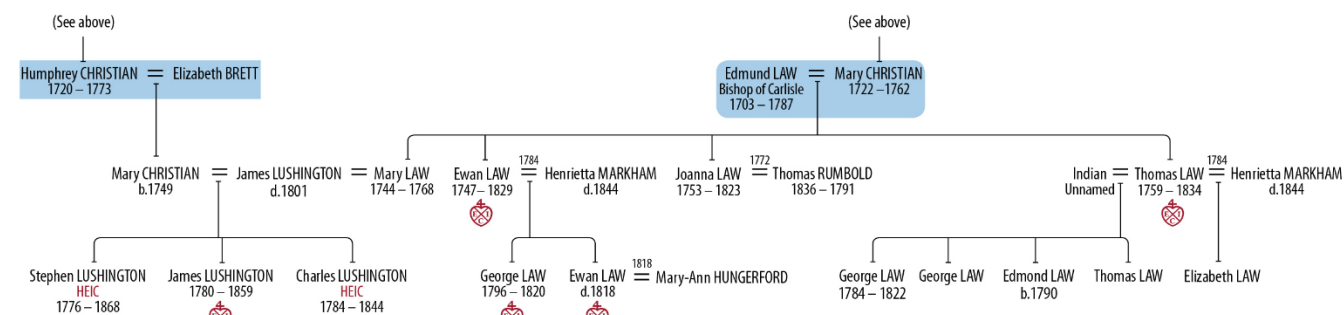
¹⁷ E. de Selincourt, (ed.), *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years, 1787 - 1805* (2nd Edition revised by C. Shaver, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 147n. This child may be the natural daughter of a Thomas Myers registered as baptised in Madras in 1795, IOR N/2/2 f. 267. The timing is consistent with Dorothy Wordsworth's 1795 correspondence where she writes of expecting the natural child of 'Tom Myers' to be sent from India into her care. The child is described as three to four years of age. It was not unusual for mixed race children to be christened prior to travel to England or on arrival.

¹⁸ Tracing the prevalence and prominence of Ashburner as a family name in the Bombay Parsee community has been an inconclusive task for genealogists. There is speculation that William 'Bombay' Ashburner had a child by a Parsee woman (see <http://www.geni.com/people/Luke-Ashburner/6000000014733316665>) but no direct evidence. There is no mention of a mixed race son in William 'Bombay' Ashburner's Will. There is, however, evidence of a close business relationship between his son Luke Ashburner and Kavasji Mankeji Ashburner set out in Anon. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Tha'na: places of interest*, vol. 14 (Bombay, Government Central Press, 1882), p. 44.

Appendix D: Hudleston, Kin Connections and the East Indies



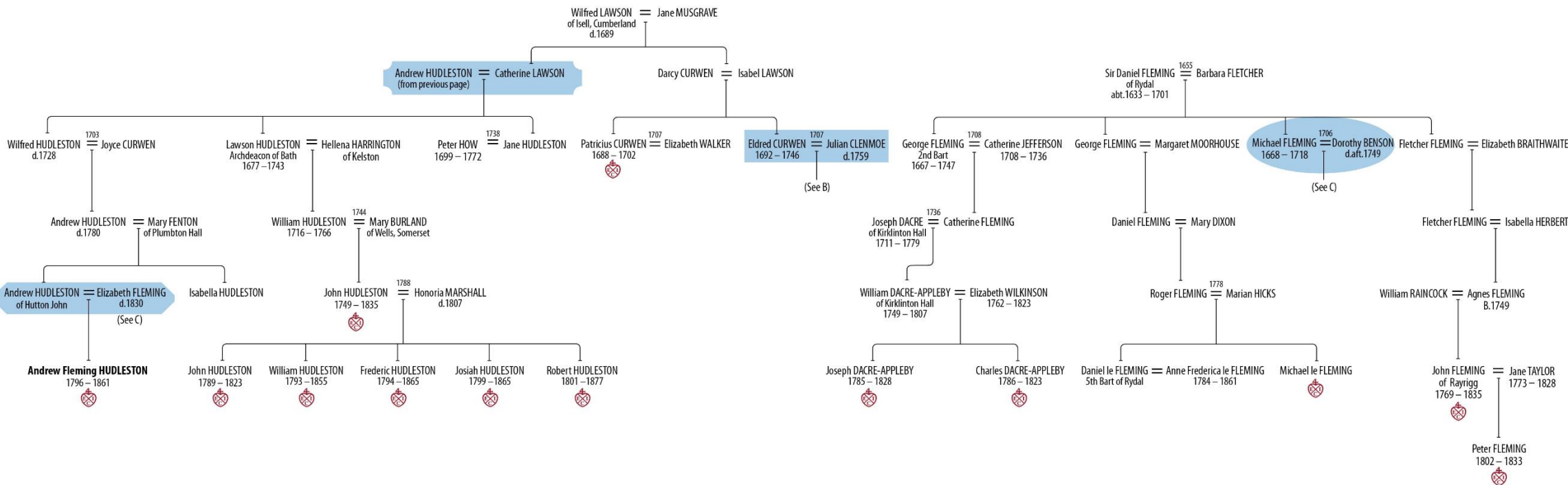
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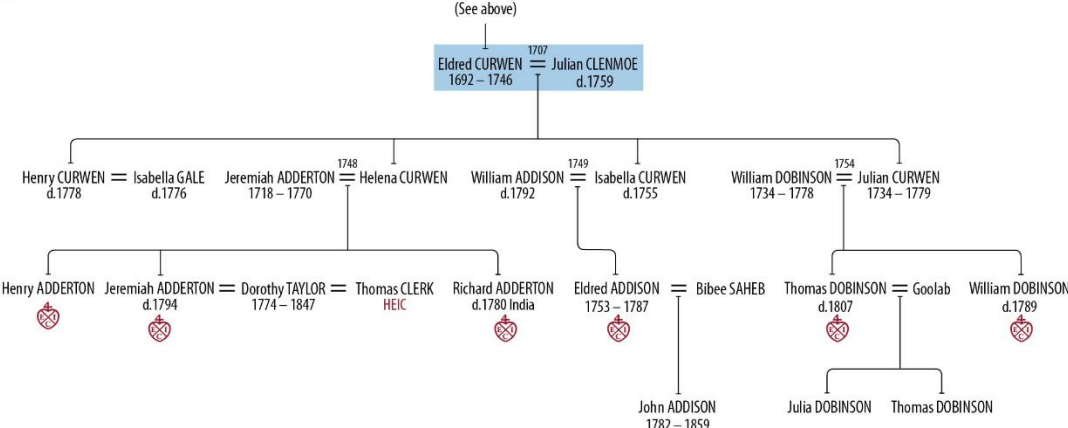
 Enumerated Cumbrian Non-enumerated East India Company appointee or licensee

* Only key individuals are included

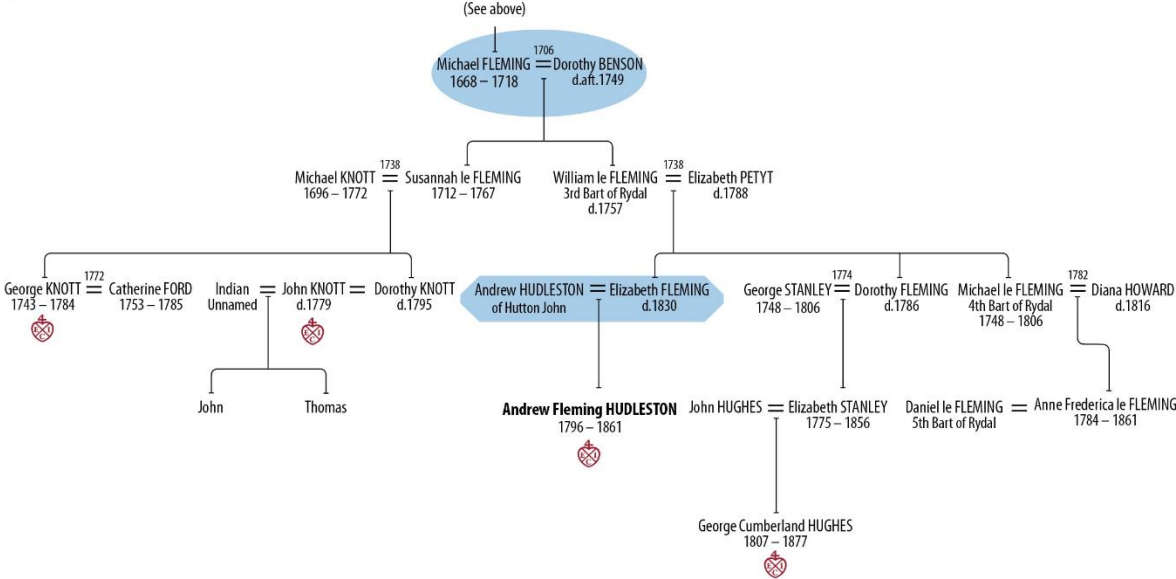
Appendix D: Hudleston, Kin Connections and the East Indies *continued*



B



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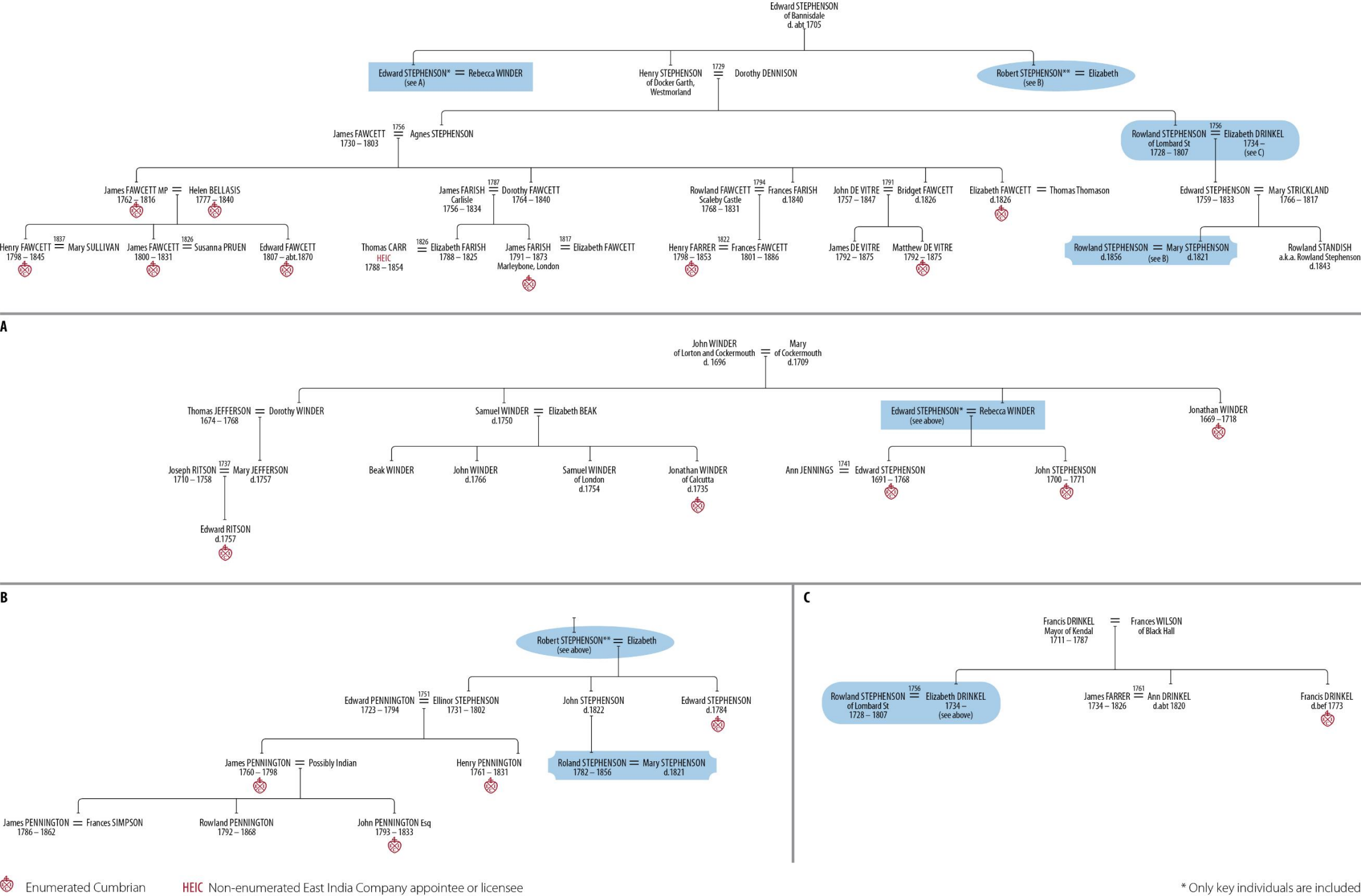


Enumerated Cumbrian

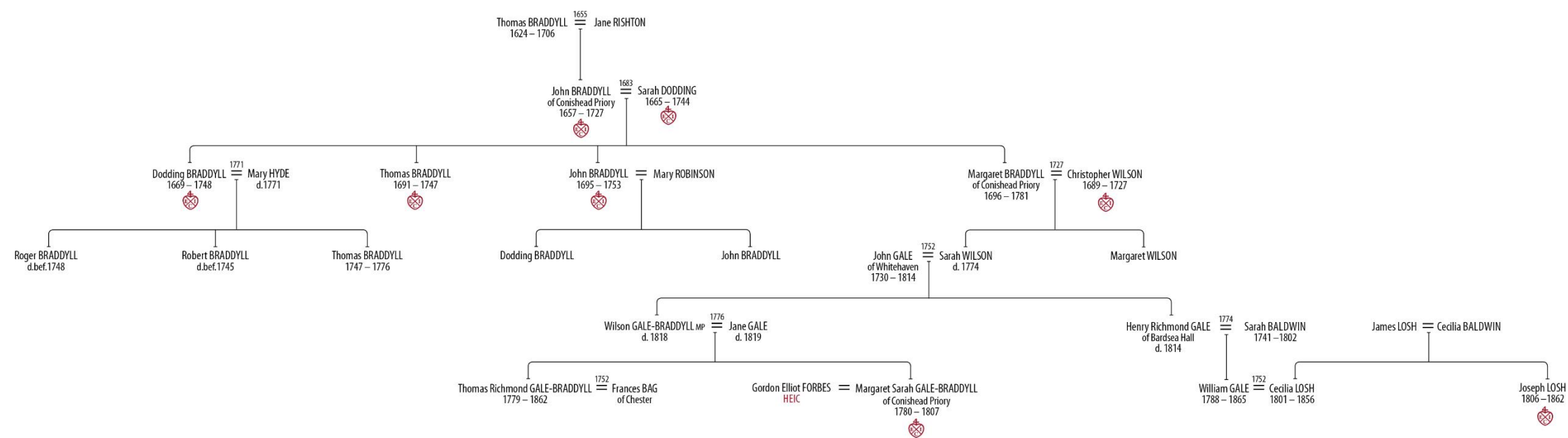
HEIC Non-enumerated East India Company appointee or licensee

* Only key individuals are included

Appendix E: East Indies connections of the Winders, Stephensons and Fawcetts*



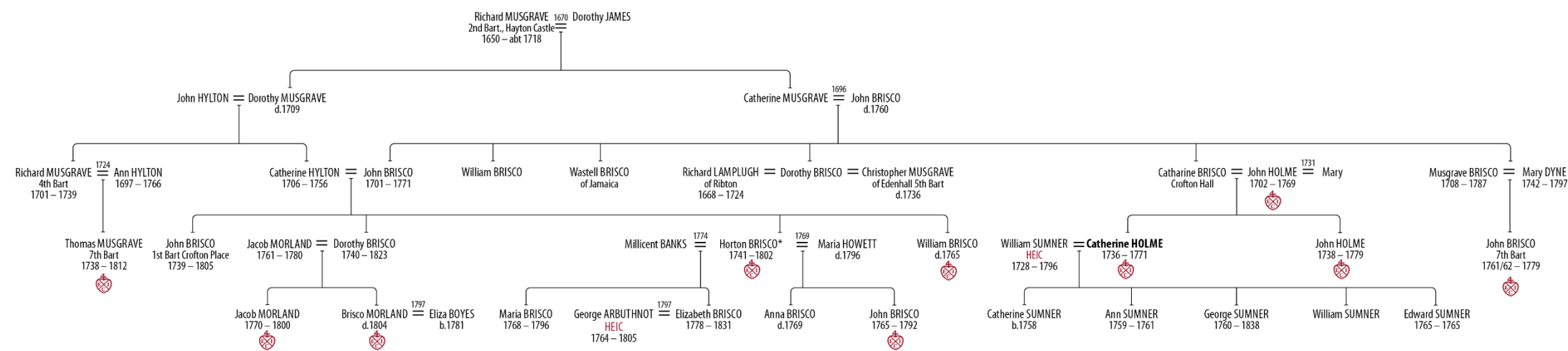
Appendix F: East Indies connections of the Braddylls, Wilsons and Gales*



 Enumerated Cumbrian  Non-enumerated East India Company appointee or licensee

* Only key individuals are included

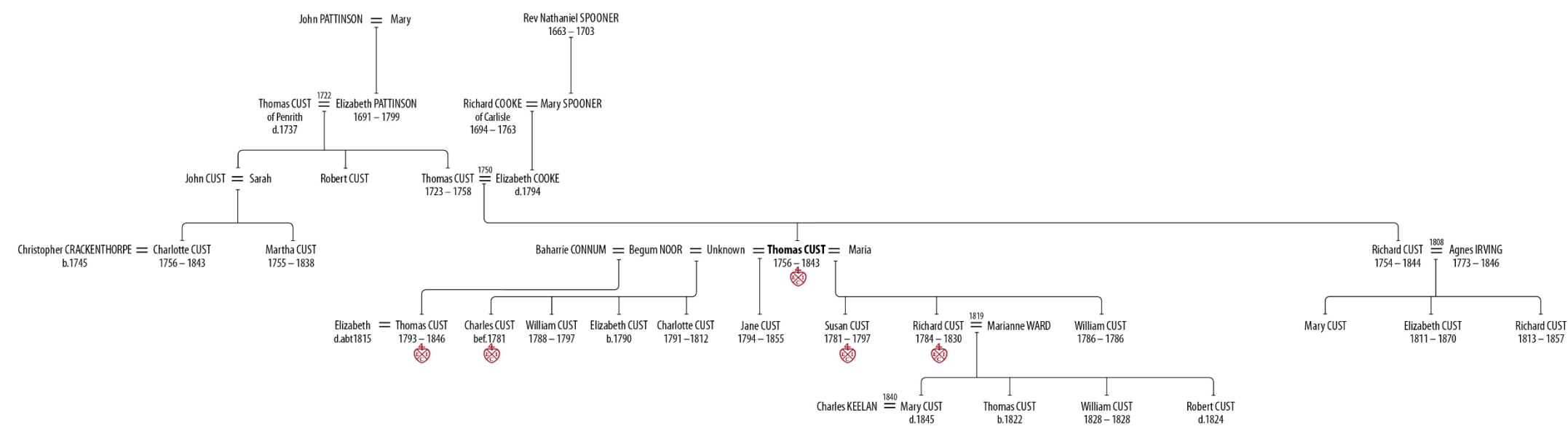
Appendix G: Kin connections of Catherine Holme*




Enumerated Cumbrian Non-enumerated East India Company appointee or licensee

* Only key individuals are included

Appendix H: Kin Connections of Thomas Cust*



 Enumerated Cumbrian  Non-enumerated East India Company appointee or licensee

* Only key individuals are included

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DBEN Benson Solicitors of Cockermouth.

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