

Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

East India patronage and the political management of Scotland 1720-1774

Thesis

How to cite:

McGilvary, George Kirk (1990). East India patronage and the political management of Scotland 1720-1774. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1989 The Author

Version: Version of Record

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's [data policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

oro.open.ac.uk

DX90049
UNRESTRICTED

GEORGE KIRK MCGILVARY
M.A.; M.Litt.

EAST INDIA PATRONAGE AND THE
POLITICAL MANAGEMENT OF
SCOTLAND 1720-1774

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
HISTORY

1989

Author's number: M7020085
Date of submission: 16 May 1989
Date of award: 11 April 1990

HIGHER DEGREES OFFICE
LIBRARY AUTHORISATION FORM

STUDENT: GEORGE KIRK MCGILVARY SERIAL NO: M 7020085

DEGREE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

TITLE OF THESIS: EAST INDIA PATRONAGE AND THE POLITICAL
MANAGEMENT OF SCOTLAND 1720 - 1774.

I confirm that I am willing that my thesis be made available to readers
and maybe photocopied, subject to the discretion of the Librarian.

SIGNED:

G. K. McGilvary

DATE:

9 April 1989

ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to examine and explain the use of India patronage in the government of Scotland from 1720 to 1774. The 1707 Act of Union created a complex and uncertain Scottish political world. Widespread resentment at the 1707 'betrayal' was kept simmering by pro-Jacobite sentiments and frustrations due to economic stagnation. To the Whig ministries in London the 1715 rebellion on top of all the other danger signals was alarming. The turmoil in Scotland seemed to threaten the stability and security of the fragile British state. Walpole believed the danger sufficient to warrant the strongest political management system possible there, using all the patronage that could be brought to bear. Through John Drummond, a Scottish East India Company Director, he was able to procure patronage from the Company and its Shipping interest. In Scotland these India posts were devoted to obtaining electoral support for Walpole's Argathelian backers. John Drummond and Lord Milton, as agents of the Duke of Argyll and his brother Islay, were instrumental in this.

Walpole's successors at Westminster and the Argathelians in Scotland conspired to further the use of available India patronage. The flood of India favours continued until 1765 and beyond, pausing only with the implementation in 1774 of North's Regulating Act.

The thesis breaks new ground in showing the existence and importance of this India patronage so early in the eighteenth century. Also, by examining the role of the Scots engrossed in the

East India Company and its politics in the 1760s and early 1770s
their importance as a group is uncovered. They were caught up in
the struggle for power and for control of patronage within the
Company, as well as that between Parliament and the Company for
control of Indian territorial acquisitions.

CONTENTS

SECTION A.

- Ch.1. Introduction p.11
- Ch.2. Résumé of India Patronage and Political Management, 1720-1774. p.24
- Ch.3. The East India Company, Structure, Patronage and Eighteenth Century Background. p.40

SECTION B.

- Ch.4. John Drummond of Quarrel and the Inauguration of a Formal System using East India Company Patronage, 1720-1742. p.55
- Ch.5. John Drummond, India Patronage and Government Connection, 1720-1742. p.82
- Ch.6. John Drummond's India Patronage Network and Political Management, 1720-1742. p.119

SECTION C.

- Ch.7. Governmental Background in England and Scotland and the Patronage Management of Lord Milton and John Mackenzie of Delvine, 1742-1761. p.150
- Ch.8. The Company, the Government, and patronage developments 1742-1761. p.1^o4

SECTION D.

- Ch.9. East India Company Politics, the Bute Ministry and Patronage, 1761-1765. p.217
- Ch.10. Ministries, Shipping and Company Patronage - to 1774. p.237
- Ch.11. The East India Company Contested Elections, 1761-1774, and Their Effect on Scottish Shares of Company Patronage. p.266
- Ch.12. Conclusion. p.286

SECTION E.

Patronage Profiles, 1720-1774. p.292

APPENDICES.

1. Drummond's Contacts. p.378
2. Political Strength of Drummond's Friends. p.389
3. Inter-Connections among Drummond's Friends. p.402
4. Drummond's Parliamentary Friends. p.405
5. Jacobites. p.407
6. Recruitment of Scots into the
East India Company Army. p.411
7. Campbells and the East India Company Army. p.416
8. East India Company Scots Military Officers. p.419
9. The 89th Foot to India. p.423
10. Scots Company Civil Servants. p.426
11. Scots Seafarers. p.431
12. Scots Doctors/Surgeons. p.434
13. Scots Freemerchants. p.435
14. Miscellaneous Scots in India. p.436
15. East India Company Directors Patronising
Scots. p.437
16. Scots Proprietors. p.439

CHARTS 1 to 6. pp.442-447

BIBLIOGRAPHY. p.448

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to my supervisors, Dr. Angus Calder, Staff Tutor in the Arts Faculty of the Open University, Edinburgh and John C. P. Riddy of Stirling University, for their patience and guidance. My thanks are also due to the following for their assistance and encouragement:- Dr. James Parker of the History Manuscripts Commission, Dr. Ian Donnachie of the Open University, Edinburgh, Mr. Brad Garness, Massachussetts, U.S.A. and Mrs. E. Campbell of Pitreavie, Fife.

I am grateful to the Duke of Argyll and the Marquess of Bute for permission to consult papers in their possession. I wish to thank Mr. Martin De Bertodano for permission to use papers relating to L. Sullivan and also Mr. Jack Hotson for original East India Company and Shipping manuscripts in his possession. I am also obliged to the staff of the following libraries and record offices:- The British Library, London; Bury St. Edmunds and West Suffolk Record Office; Edinburgh Public Library, George IV Bridge; Edinburgh University Library; Exeter Records Office; The History Manuscripts Commission; The India Office Library, London; The Mitchell Library, Glasgow; The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; The Public Record Office, London; The Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh; Sheffield City Library; Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow.

Finally, I must pay a particular tribute to my wife, Margaret, also my children, Lynn and Kenneth, and my parents and friends who deserve all the praise I can give them for their steadfast support. To Cathy and Bill O'Brien, who set and typed the thesis and

appendices, my hearty thanks. All errors occurring in this thesis are entirely my own.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

- Allan D.C.C. Allan, The Contest for the Secretaryship 1769-70, (Studies in the Society's Archives XXXVI-XXXVIX) in Journal of the Royal Society of Arts (for August-December 1964), vols. 112-113.
- Anderson W. Anderson, The Scottish Nation : Biographical History of the People of Scotland. 3 vols. (Edinburgh 1861).
- Berg & Bo J. Berg & Bo. Lagercrantz, Scots in Sweden (Stockholm 1962).
- Bodl. Manuscripts kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- Bolitho & Peel H. Bolitho & D. Peel, The Drummonds of Charing Cross. (London 1963).
- B.L. Add. MSS. British Library Additional Manuscripts.
- B.L.G. Sir B. Burke, Landed Gentry. (1939).
- Bryant G. J. Bryant, Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. LXIV, 1, no.177, April 1985, pp.22-41.
- Bute MSS. Bute Papers, Mountstuart, Rothesay,
- Calder A. Calder, Revolutionary Empire, The Rise of the English-Speaking Empires from the Fifteenth Century to the 1780s. (London 1981).
- Chatham MSS. Chatham manuscripts kept at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.
- Colebrooke Sir George Colebrooke, 'Retrospection' or Reminiscences Addressed to my son Henry Colebrooke, Esquire, 2 vols. (London 1898).
- Cotton J. J. Cotton, Lists of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras, 2 vols. Madras, 1945/6.
- Datta K. K. Datta, Fort William - India House Correspondence, vol.1 (1748-1756), Delhi, 1958.

De Bertodano	Papers belonging to Mr Martin De Bertodano (copies held by G K. McGilvary).
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>(The) Dictionary of National Biography</u> (London 1885-1901). 26 vols. with supplements.
E.P.L.	Edinburgh Public Libraries.
E.U.L.	Edinburgh University Library.
<u>Ferguson</u>	<u>W. Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present</u> (Edinburgh 1968).
<u>Furber (1)</u>	<u>H. Furber, Bombay Presidency in the Mid-</u> <u>Eighteenth Century.</u> London, 1965.
<u>Furber (2)</u>	H. Furber, Documents - The East India Directors in 1784, <u>Journal of Modern</u> <u>History</u> , vol.5, 1933.
<u>G.E.C.</u>	<u>G.E.C. Complete Baronetage</u> , vol. 5 (1707-1800). (Exeter 1906).
<u>G.M.</u>	Gentleman's Magazine.
<u>Gibb</u>	A. D. Gibb, <u>Scottish Emoire.</u> (London 1937).
<u>Gleig (1)</u>	G. R. Gleig, <u>The Life of Robert Lord Clive,</u> (London 1848).
<u>Gleig (2)</u>	G. R. Gleig, <u>Memoirs of the Life of the</u> <u>Rt. Hon. Warren Hastings</u> , 3 vols. (London 1841).
<u>Gurney</u>	J. D. Gurney, <u>The Debts of the Nawab of Arcot</u> <u>1763-1776.</u> (Oxford University D.Phil. 1968).

- Hansard T. C. Hansard, W. Cobbett(Eds.), The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the year 1803.
- Hatton (1) R. M. Hatton, John Drummond of Quarrel, in Scottish Historical Review, vol.38 (Oct. 1959), no. 126, pp.89-102.
- Hatton (2) R. M. Hatton, John Drummond in the War of the Spanish Succession: A Merchant turned Diplomatic Agent, in Studies in Diplomatic History, edited by R. M. Hatton and M. S. Anderson, (London 1970), pp.69-95.
- Hickey (Ed.) A. Spencer, Memoirs of William Hickey 3 vols. (London 1913).
- H.M.S.C. Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Holwell John Zachary Holwell, Important Facts Regarding the East India Company's Affairs in Bengal, London, 1764.
- I.O.L. India Office Library, London.
- I.O.R. Records of the East India Company kept at the India Office Library.
- Joslin D. M. Joslin, London Private Bankers: 1720-1785, in Essays in Economic History, vol. 2, (London 1966), edited by E.M. Carus-Wilson. (Also in Economic History Review, 2nd Series, vol. 7 (1954-55), pp.167-186.)
- Lenman B. Lenman, Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation, Scotland, 1740-1832. (London 1951).
- Love, Vestiges H. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800. 4 vols. (London 1913).
- Maclean J.N.M. Maclean, Reward is Secondary: The Life of a Political Adventurer and an Inquiry into the Mystery of "Julius". (London 1953).

McGilvary G. K. McGilvary, The Early Life and Career of Laurence Sullivan, 1713-1765. (Edinburgh University M.Litt. thesis, 1978).

Marshall P. J. Marshall, East India Fortunes - The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century. (Oxford 1976).

Mitchison R. Mitchison, A History of Scotland. (London 1970).

Murdoch A. Murdoch, The People Above. (Edinburgh 1980).

Namier & Brooke Sir Lewis Namier & John Brooke, The History of Parliament. 1754-1790. 3 vols. (London 1964).

N.L.S. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

N.L.W. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

n.d. Not dated.

n.p. No pagination.

N.R.A.(S). National Register of Archives (Scotland).

Omond (Ed.) G. W. Omond, The Arniston Memoirs: Three Centuries of a Scottish House, 1751-1838. (Edinburgh 1887).

P.A. Public Advertiser.

Parker J. G. Parker, The Directors of the East India Company 1754- 1790.(Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis,1977).

- Parkinson C.Northcote Parkinson, Trade in The Eastern Seas, 1793 - 1813. (Cambridge 1937).
- Parry J.H.Parry, Trade and Dominion, The European Overseas Empires in The Eighteenth Century. (London 1971).
- Phillipson N. T. Phillipson, Lawyers, Landowners and the Civil Leadership of Post-Union Scotland, in The Juridical Review, 1976), part 2, pp.97-120.
- Pottle F. A. Pottle, Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763. (London 1951).
- P.R.O. Public Record Office, London.
- Realey C. B. Realey, The Early Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-1727. (Philadelphia 1931).
- Records of Clan Campbell Major Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, Records of Clan Campbell in the Military Service of the Honourable East India Company, 1600-1858. (London 1925).
- Riddy J.C.P. Riddy, 'Shaking the Pagoda Tree'. How the Scots came to Amazing Riches - The Union, John Company and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. (Unpublished article).
- Sedgwick R. Sedgwick, The House of Commons 1715-1754. 2 vols. (London 1970).
- Shaw J. S. Shaw, The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764: Power, Nobles, Lawyers, Edinburgh Agents and English Influences. (Edinburgh 1933).
- Shearer T. Shearer, Crisis and Change in the Development of the East India Company's Affairs, 1760-1773. (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1976).
- S.H.R. Scottish Historical Review.
- Simpson J. M. Simpson, Who Steered the Gravy Train, in Scotland in the Age of Improvement, Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century, edited by N. J. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, pp.46-66. (Edinburgh 1970).
- S.R.O. Scottish Record Office, Register House, Edinburgh.

- Sunter R. M. Sunter, Stirlingshire Politics 1707-1832. (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1976).
- Sutherland (1) L. S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics. (Oxford 1962).
- Sutherland (2) L. S. Sutherland, A London Merchant 1695-1774. (Oxford 1933).
- Sutherland (3) L. S. Sutherland, The East India Company and the Peace of Paris in English Historical Review, vol.62, 1947.
- Timperley (Ed.) Loretta R. Timperley, A Directory of Landownership in Scotland, c.1770. (Edinburgh 1976).
- Wentworth-Woodhouse Wentworth-Woodhouse Manuscripts. Correspondence of the Second Marquess of Rockingham and correspondence of Edmund Burke deposited by the Trustees of the Wentworth-Woodhouse Estates in the Sheffield Public Library.
- Williams B. Williams, Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 2 vols. London 1913.
- Youngson A. J. Youngson, After the Forty-Five. (Edinburgh 1973).

SECTION A

CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to analyse and explain the use of India patronage in the government of Scotland within the period 1720 to 1774. The stimulation for such a study developed from a paper delivered by John C. P. Riddy, part of which sought to maintain that in order to survive, the 1707 Union of Scotland and England had to be worked at by Westminster politicians. One method they used of ensuring that the Union would survive, he argued, was to absorb the Scots into the English world via the East India Company by sharing out its patronage and the jobs and riches this might lead to. "The presence of the Scot in India (was) the sign manifest of the Union in Action...". India patronage helped make the Union "a working partnership," and dampened Jacobitism. His starting point for this was Walpole's choice of John Drummond of Quarrel, a Scotsman in the East India Company's Court of Directors.¹

Subsequent research has indicated that from around the mid-1720s the Scots did indeed proceed to gain a remarkably large proportion of the unique patronage that the English East India Company had to offer. By 1750 this influx of Scots into the Company and its shipping had become noticeable, when, it has been calculated, 3 out of every 8 Writers for Bengal were Scots.² And by 1773 this development had reached such a scale that even a Scottish Company employee, Thomas Graham, complained to his brother John, "Scots grow

1. See Riddy, pp.1-2, et passim.

2. See Marshall, pp.12-13.

so numerous that I am afraid that I shall not be able to enumerate them with that exactness I have hitherto done."¹ These were men of "formidable intelligence and accomplishments...highly educated and commercially enterprising."² They obtained posts as writers, sailors and ensigns in the service of the Company.³

Government's systematic development of India patronage for political use in Scotland came into being through John Drummond of Quarrel and Walpole. From the 1740s to the 1760s it was expanded further by Lord Milton and Islay, and latterly by Milton and Bute. Drummond, Milton and John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) were powerful managers of India patronage furthering the successful political management of Scotland to the satisfaction of the Argathelians and their London counterparts. From the early 1720s, and in Mackenzie's case, from 1740, they operated on their own behalf, on that of the political machine they were part of in Scotland, and on behalf of Westminster. Using their positions and diverse connections they acted as intermediaries and clearing agents for Scots who wanted to go to India. In return for electoral support their recommendations led to posts in the Company, or in its shipping, for Scottish aspirants.⁴

On the surface such use of India patronage fizzled out with the fall of Bute in 1763 and the death of Milton in 1765. In the face

1. Quoted in Marshall, pp.12-13.

2. Marshall, pp.12-13. It was considered acceptable for respectable Scots families to send their sons to India even quite early in the century. The English equivalent saw it as a respectable thing to do only later - after 1760.

3. See also Gibb, p.182.

4. See also pp.55 - 216 below; and Charts 1 to 6.

of party warfare in India House and a determined effort by Government in the 1760s to grasp control of the Company's territories and of its patronage, the system geared specifically to Scottish interests lost momentum. This ministerial attack, culminating in the Regulating Act of 1773 and Pitt's India Act of 1784 was not launched in order to further the policy then in operation, that is of using India patronage to influence voting at Scottish elections. It was motivated by the new territorial dimensions of the East India Company after the Battle of Plassey, the conquest of Bengal and the potential riches now on offer. Nevertheless, the India patronage system in favour of Scots and to the benefit of the political management of Scotland was always kept going into the 1770s because of the strength of the Scottish involvement in Company politics in the 1760s, and because of a well-grooved road from Scotland to the Indies via Westminster, India House and political influence.¹

This Scottish feasting at the table of India patronage, dating from the 1720s, cannot be explained in terms of wealth. At that time it was not possible for Scots to begin to compete with their English counterparts in the purchase of India stock. The country was very poor and had been impoverished further by the failure of the Darien scheme in 1700, which lost £150,000 and strained an already creaking Scottish economy. Things reached rock-bottom in 1704, and encumbered estates and mortgages were common.² Nor were the high expectations of the Scottish lairds and merchants that they would experience a financial bonanza following the 1707 Union realized.

1. See pp.217 - 285 below.

2. Mitchison, pp.301-2.

The general misery was made worse by the costs to the country of the 1715 Jacobite uprising. Consequently, it is no surprise that Scottish owners of India stock were few and far between and that in the early 1720s their presence in Leadenhall Street was negligible.¹ Some other motive, therefore, had to be at work to explain the Scottish presence in such numbers. It was to be found in the state of the Union in the 1720s and in the actions taken by Prime Minister Sir Robert Walpole in order to resolve the disquiet and even threat that he felt stemmed from Scotland.

It is probable that Walpole felt vulnerable politically in that the 16 elected Scottish peers and 43 Members of Parliament, backed by the 2700 odd Scottish superiorities were not firmly under his control in 1722. Even in a general way it was clear to him that patronage would have to be used liberally, if it could be found. His uneasiness with regard to Scotland was almost certainly heightened with the 1715 Rebellion; and the failure of the South Sea Company in 1722 sent tremors of shock in all directions. Walpole realized that this financial collapse suggested ministerial incompetence and Whitehall weakness. It was a bad example and he believed that political turmoil could follow, particularly in Scotland where the pressures stimulating unrest were clear enough.² There was the perennial problem of the penniless younger sons of the Scottish gentry. Faced with an impoverished and static economy they hoped to

1. See Appendix 16, and I.O.R. L/AG/14/5/3 - 4, (1718-28).

2. Scots would lose a lot. See S.R.O. GD 2/412, Articles of Agreement concerning the shares in £1000 South Sea stock, held by Sir William Johnstone of Westerraw, The Marquess of Annandale and Sir George Warrender of Lochend. (30 May 1720). See J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole. The Making of a Statesman, pp.295-339, passim.

make their fortunes, or re-establish those of their families elsewhere. In the face of apathy and popular hostility among the Scottish people to the Union, the search for stability had to be speeded up. The 1715 uprising had shaken any complacency out of those at Westminster and added to the currency of belief there that a careful watch had to be kept on the Scots. The impracticability of a military garrison and the abhorrence of London Government that this would stimulate in Scotland, decided Walpole upon a policy of appeasement of Scots wishes, to be promoted by a vigorous heaping of favours on their heads.

Walpole had to secure the threat from the north, and to do so a programme of strict political management of Scotland had to be introduced together with this patronage. It was to be done through John, 2nd Duke of Argyll and his brother Archibald (Islay), who in 1743 became 3rd Duke. In 1725 Walpole dismissed Roxburgh and with him the office of Secretary of State for Scotland. The Argathelians were installed as managers of Scottish affairs. It was a system which lasted until 1765 when the political picture changed with the death of Lord Milton(q.v.). During these years the whole political management of Scotland and all available patronage for Scotland was placed in the hands of the Argyll group, although theoretically still under the control of the Premier.¹

The Duke of Argyll and Islay felt it imperative that they live in London; political and personal inclinations dictated this. But to

1. After 1765 it was not so clear. See R.H.Scott. The Politics and Administration of Scotland, 1725-1748, Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis (1982) pp.1-11, et passim; B. Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746, p.200, et passim. See also p.109.

do their business in Scotland they required a sort of Grand Vizier in charge of affairs there. It was a position admirably filled by Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton. He was able to tap the barrel of patronage on behalf of his political masters, including India patronage. Milton fully employed the power and influence of his office, that of the Duke of Argyll and Islay, as well as Westminster's, to these ends. His own ties with the East India Company through business and family connections became numerous.¹ Most important of all he linked the system of patronage involving India favours, which had been built-up by his friend John Drummond of Quarrel in the 1720s and 1730s, to the needs of the 1740s and onwards.² And despite English hostility due to the '45 he managed to retain the political management system that had been used extensively for Scotland from 1725, in the face of those in Westminster who favoured the military approach.

The search for possible avenues of help had led Walpole to the East India Company and its patronage. He had been helped, fortunately, by the happy position that John Drummond of Quarrel was one of the leading Directors. Patronage from the East India Company and its shipping interest could be added to the rather limited number of posts already on offer to would-be supplicants in Scotland. Most

1. See Ch. 7 below for his dealings with leading Scottish Company figures like John Boyd, John Drummond of Quarrel, Sir James Cockburn, Sir Laurence Dundas, Sir Hew Dalrymple, George Dempster, the Johnstones, Andrew Stuart, Sir Gilbert Elliot and others.

2. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect. 1/488-495, ff.1 & 8, dated 4 Feb. 1735 and 16 Nov. 1734, both from John Drummond of Quarrel to his brother William Drummond. He stated that he worked from the King through Walpole, through Islay, through Lord Milton. See also GD 110/947/6, Sir Hew Dalrymple to an unknown correspondent, 4 Aug. 1760, commenting on Milton's extensive powers of patronage. See Chart 2.

other sinecures and posts which had a stipend attached and were generally given in return for political support, came from the Treasury. It provided, for example, posts in the Customs, like a Collector of Salt Revenues job at Prestonpans. The gift of legal and ecclesiastical appointments were also in the possession of the ministry in London, to be distributed in Scotland as the political manager there saw fit.¹

John Drummond was well-versed already in state-craft, in English and continental banking and commerce, especially Dutch and French, and was a firm supporter of the Hanoverians and of Sir Robert Walpole. Drummond's usefulness was more profound because he was a Scotsman whose brothers, cousins and nephews lived in Scotland and were particularly active politically there. As lairds they exerted local influence and had an 'interest'. Drummond was familiar with the wishes of the aristocracy and gentry in Scotland; he was loyal to the King and to Walpole; he was knowledgeable about the affairs of Court life and Westminster. With the India patronage he could command and would lay at Walpole's feet he was ideal.² What is more, the Duke of Argyll, Islay, their supporters and fellow Whigs were all known to Drummond and his friends.

What then fanned into life the organised use of India patronage were the immediate opportunities for themselves seen by Walpole, John Drummond and the Argathelians. Walpole saw his own continuance in power assured through the added political support these favours would

1. See below pp.73-79,148-9,157;and Sunter, Murdoch and Shaw, passim.

2. For a brief sketch of his early career, but very carefully researched, see Hatton(1).passim. See also Chart 1.

buy him in Westminster. He would have a quiescent Scotland, the political stability that would come from a Scotland properly managed at elections, and the taming of local tumults that had been gathering momentum in the early years of the 1720s. The Argyll leaders saw their own electoral control of Scotland and their power in Westminster furthered by acting as agents for the proper dissemination of this patronage. They realised how much India patronage added to the other favours they could control. Drummond would have position at Court, would be near to Walpole, and have opportunities for wealth and power, while his own family and friends would be served.

It became clear to those politically knowledgeable among the Scottish gentry that an application for India patronage would have more chance of success if it progressed via a leading member of the governing body in Scotland, such as Argyll's man Lord Milton, and thence to John Drummond, or to his family or friends.. From 1725 to 1742 the system worked through Drummond. He was the man in London with the skills and initial contacts at Court, in the Company, and in commerce that guaranteed the successful harnessing of India patronage. On his death Milton, in particular, together with subsidiary political managers, like John Mackenzie of Delvine, took the burden and operated the system from Scotland. For an application to succeed, however, personal ties were not enough. Total electoral support and loyalty to the Argathelians in Scotland and to the Whig Government in London were essential.

The roles of Drummond, Milton and Mackenzie of Delvine were subtle ones. As patronage managers they found a remarkable number

of India posts for young Scots. These openings were seen as useful and singular. They also held the promise, albeit notorious to some, of a Nabob's riches. But they could not be likened to the rich pickings that came from the Hanoverian Court. What was lacking in quality, however, was more than matched by the numbers of such posts that were available, and the political support they vouchsafed. Whig control was established upon a platform of harmonising all interests and of keeping these under ministerial authority. Walpole, Drummond and their friends knew that if Scotland was secure politically, their power was safe in the rest of the land. This is why Scots were given inordinate access to the patronage stemming from an English monopoly, which resulted in a startling number of Scots appearing in India from 1725 onwards.

There were always Scots, however, who appeared in India as adventurers. They showed great resilience and many emerged successfully with fortune and health intact. More often than not they gained enough leverage to get other Scottish friends out beside them. Among others they include Alexander Dow who was not only to become a Lt. Colonel but wrote histories and tragedies based on India. Dow had been "bred at the school of Dunbar and had run away from his apprenticeship in Eyemouth and found his way to the East Indies."¹ He had a turn for languages and used this skill to gain promotion.² Alexander McGregor was another example of Scottish adventurism. He was a sailor on the Vansittart in 1770. He was

1. Gibb. p.186. Two tragedies were performed at Drury Lane;
A.M. Mackenzie Scottish Pageant, p.373.

2. D.N.B. Vol. 15, pp.383-4.

the youngest son of Donald MacGregor the boatman in Inverness.¹ William Falconer was also to achieve fame, as a seaman poet.² General Andrew Anderson, who rose from the dire poverty of a croft near Elgin, went in 1762 as a servant to a Scottish soldier. He seized the opportunity of entering the Company's army and gained both rank and great wealth.³ John MacDonald also went out as a servant in 1769 and due to the good education common in Scotland then he was able to leave an excellent record of his life and travels.⁴

Other Scots appeared in India in considerable numbers, as servants of rival East India Companies, mainly before the outbreak of the Seven Years War in 1756. Early in the 1700s many seamen found their way to the East as a consequence of the failure of the Darien Scheme, which frustrated Scottish traders and entrepreneurs. The rival Companies also gave succour to those who had found no patronage route available to them in Scotland. They absorbed many Jacobites from the '15 and the '45 who saw no future in a Great Britain controlled by the Hanoverians. Service in the trading Companies of France and Holland would have been little different from taking up arms in the service of a particular country as a mercenary. Many joined the Swedish Company; and the French and Imperial Ostend Companies were full of Scottish Jacobites.⁵ For example, John

1. S.R.O. GD 2/39. Alex. Clark, London, to Donald MacGregor, 9 Dec. 1771. Clark was returning the effects of the dead A. MacGregor.

2. He wrote the "Shipwreck". He was killed in 1773 by the Aurora mutineers. (See Maclean, pp. 239 and 362).

3. I am obliged to Mrs. E. Campbell, Pitreavie, Fife, for this information concerning Gen. Anderson.

4. Sir E.D. Ross and E. Power John MacDonald's Travels, p. 34 et passim.

5. Berg & Bo. pp. 58-60; Marshall, p. 225; and Shearer, p. 36, footnote 4. But note below Jacobites who entered the H.E.I.Co.

Drummond (otherwise MacGregor) and his brother Donald, noted followers of the Young Pretender, served in the French Garrison at Pondicherry in the 1750s.¹ George Carnegie, a cadet of the Southesk family joined "other Scots Jacobites from the North East (in 1746) who were keenly interested in the Swedish East India Company whose first Chairman was Colin Campbell of Edinburgh... All the ex-Jacobites at home and in Europe were held together by a close freemasonry."² Others joined the Danish Company and the Imperial Company of Trieste. Some appear in the records merely as "Captains and seafaring men not in the (English East India) Company," such as Andrew Douglas and Thomas Shaw who were in Madras in 1736.³

Permanent residence was usually allowed in the English Company's settlements upon desertion from a rival Company. There these adventurers operated as seafarers, traders and free-merchants in the country-trade which flourished along the coasts of India,

-
1. N.L.S. MSS.3187, ff.160. Gregor Drummond to John Drummond, 9 Aug.1753; ff.216 and 218, John Drummond to the 'Laird of MacGregor', 14 Feb. 1755 and 10 Mar. 1755 respectively.
 2. A.A. Cormack 'The Carnegie Family in Gothenburg', pp.15-16. He returned in 1766 to Angus with a fortune. Probably related to Mr. Carnegie, Governor of Bencoolen in 1727 and created by John Drummond of Quarrel. See N.L.S. MSS. 16536, ff.43 & 45. John Drummond to Milton on 17 Jun. and 11 Jul. 1727 respectively.
 3. Records of Fort St. George, Madras, Diary and Consultation Book for 1736. See also G. Donaldson The Scots Overseas, pp.202-3.

Persia and east into the Javanese archipelago. Following the outbreak of war in 1756 others arrived as members of the royal forces, such as the 89th Regiment, raised from the clans.¹ But whereas the crew of EastIndiamen had to return to London, if they did not succumb to the dreadful voyage, to naval action and piracy, or the unhealthy climate, members of the regular army were given the opportunity of joining the East India Company's forces. Many, officers and men, took advantage of this in the hope of advancing their fortunes; more so when the prospects at home were grim. Col. William Baillie of Dunain, Invernesshire, for example, although he continually expressed his desire to "return to the banks of the Ness", also hoped never to have to trouble his father for money. He remained in India when the 89th regiment returned in 1763.²

1. Raised with the Duchess of Gordon's money; commanded by her husband, Col. Morris; officered by men like Maj. Alex. Duff, the Young Duke of Gordon, Capt. Morrison and Capt. William McGillivray. (S.R.O. GD 128/1/1/1, 'Return of Men - Prizemoney for Pondicherry'. 1778). See Appendix.9.

2. S.R.O. GD 128/1/1/22,24. W. Baillie to his father on 18 Oct. 1760 and 6 Feb. 1761; GD 128/4/3/4, Item 3, Capt. Robert Munro to Alex. Baillie of Dunain, 19 Dec. 1767.

Apart from random adventurers, such as those mentioned, the only way out to India was through interest and recommendation and via the Directorate of the East India Company. The Company had a monopoly over trade and shipping to India and the far east, and the Directors controlled the patronage. Merit meant little, family, wealth and property and with it electoral influence almost everything. Laurence Sullivan, while Deputy Chairman of the Company and writing to Warren Hastings in 1773, when Hastings was Governor-General, illustrates this perfectly, "Many are the recommendations I am obliged to trouble you with. India voters expect it of me or they are affronted. Therefore, these must be understood to extend to common civilities only, by no means to burden you. And when I wish to solicit particular favours such will always be mentioned in my private letters."¹ The Scot who wanted to go to India found this same iron-clad rule governing transactions no matter what generation or era he belonged to.

1. B.L. Add. MSS. 29194, f.89, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 27 Mar. 1773.

CHAPTER 2.

RÉSUMÉ OF INDIA PATRONAGE AND POLITICAL MANAGEMENT 1720-1774

For the purpose of this study India patronage used in pursuit of the political management of Scotland splits readily into three major periods: 1720-1742; 1742-1765; 1765-1774. The year 1742 marks the death of John Drummond of Quarrel, 1765 that of Lord Milton, and 1774 the virtual demise of independent patronage activity, as far as the bulk of the East India Company's Directors were concerned, because of the implementation of North's Regulating Act of 1773. During these years the systematic use of patronage from the East India Company and its shipping interest was developed by ministerial agents. These 54 years are then examined within each of the smaller spans of time that the inordinate amount of patronage lavished upon Scotland then, as compared to earlier years, might be portrayed. The spread of India patronage was not something which was discussed publicly and most men, including the bulk of the recipients, would have no clear picture of the extent to which such patronage was put to use and to what effect. But India patronage became an integral part of the web of ministerial interest, and by 1774 thousands of Scots had been affected by it, either by despatch to India or by the impact wrought at home because of the India connection and the patronage system behind it.

As well as being a Director in the 1720s and 1730s John Drummond had multifarious connections with all aspects of the Company. He was a familiar figure, from the wharves, warehouses and auction rooms bordering the City of London, to the shipping yards of Deptford. He was popular with his fellow Directors and with the

body of the Proprietors, and, as will be seen below, a considerable figure in the eyes of Walpole and the Argathelians. With his business and political background he was perfectly suited and placed to encourage an embryo system aimed at securing for Government a share of the India patronage which they in turn used to the advantage of the Scots.¹

After his death in 1742 the governing establishment in England and Scotland continued to develop this systematised and very important range of East India patronage. India posts continued to be found in return for electoral support and loyalty. In many ways these positions were also a sop to a frustrated and restless Scottish gentry, middle class merchants, lawyers and other professionals. Wealthy Nabobs, it was believed, made affable subjects, engendered national stability, and in doing so, made government from Westminster an easier business.²

As in earlier years, therefore, the political management of Scotland was eased along via this patronage, as was the maintenance of majorities at Westminster and the proper administration of affairs in Scotland. This usually satisfied the Whig elite north and south of the border. However, it was sometimes difficult to reconcile Westminster views of Scottish affairs with those held in Scotland. These divisions were sometimes deepened by the rivalries and power

1. See Hatton(1) & (2), passim and Chs. 4-6 below.
2. See Riddy, pp.4-5, and R. M. Sunter, Patronage and Politics 1707-1832. pp.3-18 passim.

struggles which developed among those involved in the running of Scottish business; and especially when Scottish views, such as those held by Islay, clashed with the English ones of someone like the Duke of Newcastle and control of patronage became a major issue.

The regular but unobtrusive use of India patronage continued but as the years progressed after 1742, the form of the London ministries and the situations faced by them determined that there would be a change in how the India patronage system worked. The Jacobite uprising in 1745 caused a new wariness among English Members of Parliament; and they slowly became aware of major social, economic and intellectual changes afoot in Scotland which added to the London unease. Elsewhere, Britain was increasingly involved in wars with her European neighbours and in a struggle for mastery in the Americas and in the Indies. Unstable ministries led to the onset of political contests in Parliament, while controversy and a power struggle erupted at the India House. Yet the solidarity of the Union had to be maintained despite the gathering storms. In fact political stability was crucial at this time of global change and of expansion by the British state. All methods of political management had to be updated, and this included India patronage.

Following Drummond's death in 1742, therefore, the system of operating India patronage was in some respects different. Although the basic pattern remained and the same London and Company contacts had to be retained, the social and political milieu now demanded that a network operate from Scotland with placement determined by agents working from there. John Drummond had dispensed his favours from London, with the approval of Argyll and the blessing of Walpole.

Those not known to him or his family had been indicated by Argyll and Islay, and by their man of business, Lord Milton. In this manner loyal Whigs and favourites of the Argathelian leaders were served and control maintained. After 1742 all India patronage that was in the Government's hands to give was dispensed in Scotland through Islay and Lord Milton.

Apart from Islay and others at Court, Milton relied upon the support of establishment figures like Sir Gilbert Elliot, James Stuart Mackenzie, brother of the Earl of Bute, and William Mure of Caldwell. And although he had to deal with strong independent forces in Scotland, he was helped by the clamp-down following the '45. He was helped too by the prizes on offer in India following the battle of Plassey in 1757, by the clamour of Scots striving to get their sons out to India to share in the riches, not to mention the attempts made by those servants already there to help their friends and relations to get out. There were repercussions in the Company too, as returned servants entered Company politics in force from 1756, determined to get control of the Direction.¹ Regiments of Scots were gathered and despatched to India to secure Company possessions against Indians and rival Companies alike.²

It was a rare kind of man who could deal with political pressures, who knew the Scottish gentry and merchant classes intimately and who could skilfully and sympathetically re-integrate

-
1. See McGilvary, pp.54-62 for details of this struggle.
 2. See Omond, p.161; and Appendices 6,7,8,9.

ex-Jacobites into political and economic life. The skills of Milton and John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) as political agents and lawyers for an immense cross-section of Scottish society, and their numerous connections in the wider world set them apart from others and made them eminently suitable as dispensers of India patronage on behalf of Government in these years. Both Milton and Mackenzie were interested in and had sympathy for the insolvency of many Scots families of quality. They were both members of the Argathelian party and rallied to each other in pursuit of such interests. Milton, who had held the utmost confidence in John Drummond of Quarrel, and had the same high regard for Mackenzie of Delvine, was the bridge by which all the patronage connections of earlier years were passed on. Through him the needs of Government and of individual Scots in their pursuit of India posts, continued to be realized.¹

Lord Milton was to remain the constant figure bridging the period from the demise of Drummond of Quarrel, in the early 1740s, to the 1760s. All patronage placed at the disposal of the Argathelian interest passed through his hands. It was an enormous task, too much for one man. He had to have help in dealing with supplications from every quarter and with the political subtleties and complexities associated with the various types of Crown patronage before he began

1. N.L.S. MS.5073, f.110, John Drummond to Charles Erskine, Solicitor-General, 14 Jan. 1728; MS.1167, ff.65-71, et passim, Mackenzie's business transactions with Drummond's bank in London; N.L.S. MS.1337, f.11, Alex. Mackenzie of Coull to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 11 Aug. 1759. "...the leading Triumvirate of this country...while in friendship with you...". He referred to the Argathelian interest; N.L.S. MS.16536, ff. 43 & 45, John Drummond of Quarrel to Lord Milton on 17 Jun. 1727 and 11 Jul. 1727.

to think of India patronage. His help came from fellow members of the legal profession, invariably from families of equal rank to his own, such as Duncan Forbes of Culloden and John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) who was to prove invaluable.

It is not strange that the spoils system in Scotland, which included India patronage, should be operated by leading members of the legal profession. Men, such as Lord Milton, had careers which revolved around and depended upon political factors. The Scottish legal establishment was very involved with patronage matters, including India favours, during these years. In Scotland the dispensation of these posts was in the hands of great personalities like Lord Milton and Forbes of Culloden, mentioned above, as well as those of lawyers such as John Mackenzie of Delvine and John Davidson of Stewartfield (q.v.). Their relations and friends benefitted from this patronage, including fellow lawyers.¹ Legal practitioners controlled general electoral activity, and in turn, were regulated by their superiors in Edinburgh. And at elections all was chaos without the presence of a legal mind to help the sheriff and sheriff-clerk. Very often landowners receiving India patronage were guided in their actions at these elections by the very same lawyer, who was also acting as Milton's agent.

But other factors helped the legal profession to its pinnacle of power in Scotland in these years. By 1742 the cream of the Scottish nobility and some principal representatives of the gentry had deserted their country for English soil. Their migration,

1. See for instance, John Burnett in 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

however, did not spell out an end to an interest in Scottish affairs or to involvement in them. In most cases Scotland continued to produce the revenue for their adventures; and even as absentee landlords they maintained their hold over their estates and tenants.¹

What this meant, however, was that the public offices and duties that they might have held were open to others who were in a position to grasp them. It is enough to say that the prestige and rank involved infused enough public spiritedness into those who presented themselves for this purpose. Invariably such people were members of the legal profession. In their professional capacity they were well aware of developments and were often involved as agents for those same members of the nobility and gentry who had removed themselves. Leading Scottish statesmen in London used lawyers like Lord Milton and Duncan Forbes of Culloden as their agents.

Members of the profession were generally from landed wealth themselves, usually younger sons, and their political scruples as well as their social mores were finely in tune with those of Scotland's ruling elite.² They operated the legal code in response to their own or their masters' interests. By and large, they controlled most of the State apparatus dealing with every day affairs. Thus "An influential class of professional lawyers...acquired a direct and highly profitable stake in the Union

1. Shaw, pp.1-15.

2. Only slowly as the century progressed did a challenge come from lawyers who stemmed from the merchant classes in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and the commercially expanding west of Scotland.

with England", and the leading role that they were subsequently to play in Scottish politics made them "an effective lubricant of articulation between the two countries in the post 1707 period." In fact the independence of Scottish law gave many Scots opportunities to surpass their English neighbours in the accumulation of wealth.¹

Moreover, the political involvement of the legal profession had no check upon it because Islay did not create an exclusionist political faction in Scotland and a marriage of legal talent to patronage and wealth prevailed.² Scotland's legal system, therefore, and those who practiced within it, by and large filled the vacuum left by the Scottish aristocracy. The Court of Session was a sort of Parliament substitute. It and the Faculty of Advocates donned a commensurate social status. The Faculty's small membership, just over 200, dominated by Scottish upper class members, provided leadership.

With this dominance by the legal establishment came stability. The professional, business and political elites, who also embraced literati of some eminence, could look to a legal establishment providing direction, on the one hand, and could rest upon a landowning class on the other, whose traditions and timelessness gave an aura of security. Edinburgh remained important. Despite the removal of many of its natural leaders and mainly because it was the centre of the Scottish legal world, it 'continued to be the resort of a highly aristocratic society around

1. Calder, p.535; and D. Daiches, Scotland and the Union, pp.177-8.
2. See Simpson, p.60.

whom much of the political and cultural life of the country revolved'.¹

The legal profession facilitated the designs of its political superiors, and could channel patronage in the right direction. Under Milton's watchful eye, on the spot in Scotland, Islay's views and those of his fellow Whigs forming the ministries in England, whether they be Pelham, Newcastle, Bute or Grenville were pursued. The use of India patronage was almost totally for political ends, but economic objectives, as far as they aided the political ones, were encouraged. The Union and thus internal security of the state and loyalty to the Hanoverians remained paramount aims. But Scotland's acceptance of her client state position was rewarded by the encouragement of the capitalist civil structure emerging there whose principal actors, from landed and commercial wealth, would identify with the aims of their masters in Westminster in return for satisfying personal interest. Such interest could be summarised as the opportunity to gain money, as through the India connection, to consolidate local influence and importance, and to be part of the governing force in Britain.

By 1740 Scottish penetration of the East India Company's executive branches, like the Court of Directors, the committees of Shipping and Finance, and also the shareholders General Courts was apparent. This made the task of each Government easier as it pursued its policy of helping Scots to positions. Fortunately the

1. Phillipson, p.99 et passim.; and Lenman, p.19.

channels by which India patronage was directed to Scottish political affairs were so secure by this date that they were impervious to the upheavals and uncertainty at Westminster which followed Pelham's death.

In Scotland posts gained using India patronage were welcome. They complemented the rewards that could be expected from some of the Crown and legal ones and were tempting to the sons of the landowning gentry, burgesses, and the professional classes. The fortunes that could be hoped for through trade in the Indies promised to secure the economic independence they craved for their families; and in many cases formed the capital that was injected as new ideas and the desire to implement them stirred economic life in Britain.

John Drummond's own comments emphasized the importance of these posts when Lord Townshend, he said, "made no scruple to let his son go to China... and had not the first nobility their younger sons at sea and glad to get them abroad any voyage and in any season."¹

At Westminster and in Leadenhall, systems for funnelling patronage to the right quarters were well established by mid-century. Indeed government, in its widest sense, operating through the availability and use of favours, fitted in any India patronage from those Directors and shippers who proved amenable. Scots Directors and Proprietors were useful, but all officials and shareholders, irrespective of ethnic origins, whose links with the Administration was assured, were cultivated. Their favours were used to send young

1. S.R.O. GD150/3474/11. J. Drummond to Lord Aberdour, 21 Sep. 1731

Scots to India. The steady flow of 1722 to 1742 swelled after the '45 and increased even further during the war-torn years of 1756 to 1763 and beyond. The disproportionate number of Scots still despatched East was sure evidence of the continuing function of the government's patronage machine.

Self interest guaranteed that the India patronage system would continue beyond 1742. Fulfilment of political objectives, support for the Argathelians in Scotland and the Whigs in London and richer veins of patronage through the East India Company as the events of the 1750s and 1760s unfolded kept politicians and landowners quite happy. The availability and usefulness of India patronage fitted beautifully into the scheme of things. Rather than drying up, therefore, the young spring of India patronage of the 1720 to 1740 period became the full stream of the 1740s and beyond.

By 1760 the Scottish landed gentry and better-off burgesses were more eager for India positions for their sons and the demand for India patronage became insatiable, heightened by the Seven Years War and the whispers of fortunes to be made in the East. But also fuelling the demand was the massive public energy that manifested itself in Scotland in the 1760s and placed pressure on Scotland's political leaders. There was a decisive shift in public attitudes at all levels. The gentry desired equality with, though not independence from, their Southern brethren. The discrimination Scots had suffered following the '45 many placed firmly in the past, although not forgotten, fuelled as it was by the persistent anti-Scots bias of a formidable body of Englishmen. Scottish soldiers now fought on three continents for the Hanoverians, and the Scottish

landed classes and growing middle class left no stone unturned in their efforts to accumulate capital. The East Indies could provide just such wealth as was well testified by Nabobs like the Stirlings of Keir (q.v.) and Haldanes of Gleneagles (q.v.) who were improving the family estates, and those who were buying new ones, like John Johnstone of Alva (q.v.). Such enriched families became quite commonplace.¹ The patronage of the 1720s and 1730s now bore fruit and long-term remittances from India were having some impact on Scotland by the early 1760s. Projects were commenced requiring large capital investment, for instance the building of the Forth-Clyde canal, which had investment from North and South of the border and which used a great deal of money remitted from India.² Edinburgh New Town was begun, the River Clyde deepened to handle more tobacco from the Americas; the Linen Bank and the Royal Bank of Scotland were instituted.³

It was a period of rapid economic growth and capital from India played some part in this. To estate management and canals can be added the fisheries and harbour improvements in the outer Hebrides stimulated by Captain Alexander Macleod (q.v.) and those of a similar

1. A syndicate called the York Buildings Company, consisting of London businessmen, bought forfeited estates in Scotland.

See D. Murray, The York Buildings Company, A Chapter in Scottish History, passim. See also Timperley, passim; and Lenman, p.53.

2. A.L. Foley, P. Hayton, P.J. Maddock, The Forth-Clyde Canal From Its Inception to Its Completion 1762-1794, Edinburgh University, Undergraduate Thesis, 1971, p.50. The list of subscribers of capital included many well-known Company names such as Luke Scrafton, John Purling, Robert Haldane, Col. Hector Munro. See also Lenman, p.52.

3. See Lenman, pp.42-55, passim.

nature in the Scottish North-East created by George Dempster (q.v.).¹ Claude and Boyd Alexander (q.v.) began their Cotton Mill at Catrine in Ayrshire, using the India wealth they remitted home.² Other fortunes brought home via bills on the English East India Company or through diamonds carried by ships Captains, were banked at Drummond's or Coutts' banks in London and thence came to Scotland, where the money helped found the new developments of every type that began to appear.³ There was a spin-off to other parts of the Scottish economic fabric from these injections of capital. The legal profession in particular benefited, as the papers, not to mention the estate, of John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) testify.⁴

It is accepted that in the 1760s and 1770s economic development took place in Scotland which had taken two centuries of change in England.⁵ It can be reasonably suggested that wealth brought back from India played a not insignificant part in this phenomenon. What is of significance is that a *raison d'etre* still existed for Government to deliberately place India patronage in Scots hands. It made sense to encourage such involvement, with a Scot, the Earl of Bute, as Prime Minister in 1761; after more than 30 years of such patronage (encouraged initially through fears for the

1. See also Youngson, pp.99,101-111,122.

2. See 'Patronage Profiles'.

3. See Ch.7, pp.172-181, John Mackenzie of Delvine and Sir John Cumming.

4. Ibid.

5. See Mitchison, p.344, Lenman, pp.42-55; Murdoch, pp.220,257-8; Youngson, passim.; T.M. Devine, The Union of 1707 and Scottish Development, in Scottish Economic and Social History, vol.5, 1985, pp.23-40.

Union); and with Scots holding important positions in the Company, as well as in the financial affairs of the nation.

Another change was that English fear of Jacobitism and Scottish national feelings that earlier fuelled apprehension had faded by the 1760s. By this date too the political management of Scotland by the Argathelians had been in operation for several decades; and when Westminster Governments looked North they felt secure, so complete was Islay's control of political life in Scotland in county and burgh. In Scotland they saw a web-like pattern of control, based on patronage, which had been established in the 1720s and 1730s by a tight-knit coterie of men occupying positions of great influence; in particular Walpole, John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, his brother Islay, and their henchmen, John Drummond and Lord Milton. This had been continued by their successors in office who constantly worked at extending patronage and political control.

It was in the South, in the heart of Government in London that the real changes and upheaval came. From 1761 the train of short-lived ministries became entangled in the contested elections for the East India Company Court of Directors when wracked themselves by constitutional problems and struggles to retain imperial acquisitions all over the globe. The Company's contested elections from 1761 led to direct Government interference in its affairs; and in 1766 envy of the Company's new-found wealth and territories led to a Parliamentary Inquiry which had as its goal Government control of the Company. It was only just defeated. The years 1765-1766 also saw the end (through Milton's death) of unchallenged control of India patronage by the Argathelians and of its use by them for the

political management of Scotland. Until 1774 any Company civil, military and shipping posts that ministers would have for distribution in Scotland were to be determined by the outcome of the annual election of the Court of Directors. Whichever faction triumphed at the election would be in control of India patronage. The successful Directors in turn served those who had backed them in the election. Scots were in the forefront of such support with funds for these political contests pouring in from Scotland, India and the London business community. Scottish interests continued to be served.

In this post-1765 period Scottish political management was helped in other ways. The Sullivan, Clive and ministerial factions incorporated Scottish support, and although at odds with each other within the Company, many from these parties placed India patronage in the hands of Whig Lairds in Scotland who had been the backbone of the Argathelian support.

The quickened interest in the Company in the 1760s also brought out adventurers of every description, speculators in the market, and freebooters in the Presidencies. There was a clamour to get to India, and while the contested elections lasted, while the Directors still had real powers, and the Company had its Charter and its independence from Government, then these hectic efforts to get posts persisted, and the Scottish patronage machine continued to be serviced.

The breakthrough giving ministerial control within the Company came with the Regulating Act of 1773, and in a few more years Henry Dundas was able to do almost as he wished, despite the theoretical

claim that patronage still lay with the Directors. With North's Act the virtual certainty of future Parliamentary monopoly of Company patronage was clearly seen. Up to Pitt's India Act of 1784, however, individual Directors were still able to resist Government pressure that was exerted through ministerially controlled Directors, and could find Company posts for friends. Those with shipping connections were certainly still in a strong position to provide seafaring posts.

However, 1774 really marks the end of the first phase of systematised use of East India patronage. From 1778 it was brought directly under Governmental control and was to be used, skilfully, by Henry Dundas in the 1780s. But Dundas had some fifty years of management of that patronage by his predecessors to look back upon. In addition, he had the first-hand experience and know-how of his father-in-law, Captain David Rannie (q.v.) to guide him. He was also one of a family which had never been more than one step removed from the centre of power in Scotland during these years. He had friends in the figures of Islay and Lord Milton and others of the Argathelian interest with whom his family were in accord. Perhaps of most consequence to him was the masterful examples of his predecessors in the field of patronage and political management, John Drummond of Quarrel, Lord Milton and John Mackenzie of Delvine.¹

1. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section, pp.318-320.

CHAPTER 3.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, STRUCTURE, PATRONAGE AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND.

The East India Company was one of the great monopolist companies. In the eighteenth century it was a vast, complex organisation based in Leadenhall Street in London, but with tentacles which spread around the globe. It was of considerable significance in almost every field of commercial activity and this is reflected in the correspondence, public and private, of those involved in its business. It was associated in the mind with danger and hardship. It suggested the exhilaration of sea travel, the threat of pirates, and a sense of adventure, mystery and the unknown. Letters home spoke of the journeys, the feelings of excitement and enthusiasm. But the same correspondence reflected the early struggles of yet another development, that of Capitalism. The East India Company had its feet firmly planted in the burgeoning London financial market, and had intricate relationships with the major banking, insurance and commercial interests of the City and with the London shipping world. The Company was important to the fabric of life in Britain then. Apart from commerce, it occupied a central position within the awakening London money market and shared the privileged position, along with the Bank of England, of providing security for the continuance of the National Debt. Insurance, money-lending and under-writing of all varieties blossomed at this time with the same merchants, bankers, goldsmiths and other businessmen sitting as Directors of various companies, including the East India Company. Situated in the heart of the City of London and adjacent to the

docks, the Company had as its objectives the furtherance of successful trade and the profits which would accumulate from such trade. Each subscriber, male or female, who owned £500 of stock could vote or take part in discussions as might arise at general meetings, or, as the Charter called them, General Courts of Proprietors. These courts were held quarterly; and it was the General Court, voting by ballot, which chose the Company's Directors. The Court of Directors, on the other hand, consisted of 24 Directors elected by the Proprietors out of their own body. The right to be a Director lay only with those shareholders who owned at least £2000 of stock. Tenure of office did not go further than 12 months. The Directors were elected in April every year, consequently the February and March period was always one of bustle and activity as parties and interests jockeyed for support. Thirteen Directors formed a quorum and when assembled became a Court. The Court of Directors adjusted the annual dividend rate and enacted laws and regulations. It met at least once a week as a body, but most business was done in a system of committees.

There was no bar upon who could become Proprietors, Scots, Irish, Dutch, Huguenots, Jews and, unusual then, women could be shareholders if they had the necessary wealth and will. On occasion the Court of Proprietors could overturn a decision of the Court of Directors. Special General Courts could be called and an airing of views, amid general pandemonium could, and did, take place. The Company was an institution where influence could be readily purchased. Apart from posts in its service it also offered the facilities for realizing in Britain the wealth gained in India. This was achieved through a well-developed remittance system.

The relationship of the Government with the East India Company, therefore, was both intimate and complex. As one of the great financial institutions it acted, together with the Bank of England, and, until 1722, with the South Sea Company, in giving support to ministries.¹ Its well-being was vital to the national economy. The Company depended upon the renewal of its Charter by Administration, and in turn paid the public purse for the grant of its monopoly. As each renewal date approached it became a controversial centre-piece and was caught up in national politics. Under Walpole and later Pelham, Government ministers and Company Directors shared an identity of interest and had good relations which were maintained until the early 1760s. There was liaison upon Treasury loans and over maintenance of the Company's independence, which came under increasing attack as the century wore on. Of most importance to this study, ministers upon close terms with leading Directors were admitted to shares in the Company's patronage.²

The Government and Company had a good understanding and found each other useful. For instance, the Company also gave leverage to successive ministries in the inner politics of the City of London. Walpole was always attentive to the Company and its powerful lobby in Parliament, for the reasons mentioned already, and also for the purposes of Scottish political management using India patronage,

1. Realey, p.17. The East India Company ingrafted £9 million South Sea Stock in December 1720, as part of Walpole's scheme (really Jacombe's) to surmount the South Sea Company's crisis. Drummond's East India Company allies almost certainly gained credit with Walpole for this.

2. See Parker, pp.424-5, 438. See also Chart 5.

examined here.¹ It was a very important cog in his political system which continued after his exit in 1742 and the death of his successor Henry Pelham in 1754. Dame Lucy Sutherland has described the Company as being wedded to Government as "part of the ministerialist monied interest...which clashed with an anti-ministerialist popular interest."² Dr Sutherland also saw Walpole as having a "corrupt influence" over the Company's Directors in order to achieve three aims: to help satisfy the interests of the knot of important Whig families and their hangers-on that he (and his successors) depended on; to form part of a co-ordinated use of public and private patronage to achieve directly or indirectly the requisite parliamentary majorities; and to give strong financial support.³ Dr Sutherland touched upon that area which Drummond so well illustrates and which is under examination here when she remarked that the Parliamentary alliance with the Company widened the scope of ministerial patronage, "the Directors had in their bestowal several governments of much greater value than any in his majesty's gift...public men were already aware of the openings that existed for the relatives of some of their lesser supporters, and ministers were already exploiting their connections with the Company to this end."⁴

Naturally India patronage was used first to place friends and family in a good way; but the nature of the link between a ministry and the Company dictated that posts were made available to members of the Government; and where kinship entered into this the stronger the

-
1. See also Calder, pp.442, 693.
 2. Sutherland(1), p.23. See also pp.18-23.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.

likelihood of its happening. The close ministry-company relationship that existed also dictated that the granting of such favours was done with alacrity and grace if the ministers demonstrated publicly their regard for the Chairmen or the leading Director.¹ East India patronage was also given in return for political favours; and to particular M.Ps for their support when East India Company business came before Parliament.

Apart from the political considerations looked at here, East India patronage was available to those involved in close business transactions with individual Directors and to the friends of particular Directors who were partners in their business ventures like banking, insurance and money-lending in the City. Alliances in Company politics naturally led to openings being made available to friends of one side or another in the disputes, or in return for political favours, for stock-jobbing, and for promoting the careers of friends already abroad.²

"When the number of vacancies became known each year, the total was divided into 30 shares (before 1774) of which the Chair and Deputy Chair had 2 shares, the ordinary Director one share each."³ The figure arrived at varied annually. It took into consideration all those in the Presidencies who had died in the previous year, the political situation in the settlements and the level of trade. There was tremendous competition for available places at all

1. See Sunter, p.518.

2. See also Sutherland(1), p.36; and Shearer, pp.189-198.

3. Sunter, p.515. For example, if the vacancies numbered 60, this total was divided by 30 (shares), giving 2 vacancies to each Director to distribute, 8 to the 'Chairs.' and 4 vacancies to be haggled over. See also Ch.3, p.47 for patronage power of the Chairs.

times. Success depended upon powerful contacts, and many a Scottish gentleman considered going out as a servant or common soldier in the hope that disease might cause vacancies and he would be appointed locally and have this confirmed by the Direction afterwards.¹

The most important benefits to the Company Director from the patronage he could offer came in tangible form, mainly pecuniary, but also in the power and prestige he gained. In the eyes of many people he was an important man, held in high regard because of the influence he was thought to hold. The patronage he could confer and the needs of supplicants vested him with an authority immediately recognised. Political loyalties, nevertheless, made Company Directors susceptible to the changing politics of Westminster, especially if they were also Members of Parliament. ²

The infra-structure of East India patronage and how it functioned is reasonably clear, despite the numerous permutations, connections and fluctuating relationships which were possible among groups and individuals. It was upon these complex inter-connections and ever-changing patronage interests that everything was based.³ Applicants could end up in one of only three categories of occupation: Company servant; crew of an East Indiaman; or Free Merchant at a settlement in one or other of the Presidencies. To a seasoned veteran of the East India Company, like David Rannie (q.v.), there was little doubt that a position in the Company proper, in its

1. Sunter, pp.517, 539.

2. See Sedgwick, vol.1, passim.; and Namier & Brooke, vol.1, passim.

3. Fully discussed in the Chapters that follow. See Charts 1,2,4 & 5.

Civil or Military branches, was much superior to any other. Such an appointment was made at India House and had security. Once abroad, perquisites and trading advantages were available. With the favour of the Governor, or perhaps some Council members, a Company servant could quickly establish a fortune.¹

Becoming a Company servant, if he had the contacts, was the most simple and direct way by which an individual could get to India.² Occasionally, enough influence could be brought to bear to have someone carried to India on board a Company ship to set up as a Free Merchant there, but this was rare.³ The other important way to get to India was through the offices of the East India Company shipping interest. Shipping was organised in such a way that it existed separately from the Company but was linked with its executive body, with the main committees and with many of the Proprietors, so that a two-way influence prevailed. Places would be found on board ship for those individuals with strong connections among ship owners and Captains.⁴

For those Directors and Proprietors who had strong ties with the shippers, posts were nearly always made available; and the

1. N.L.S. Delvine Papers, MS. 1423, ff.164-5, D. Rannie to the Rev. Webster, 16 Aug. 1760. Rannie was father-in-law to H. Dundas. See pp.318-320 below.

2. See for example, James Beck, in 'Patronage Profiles'; and S.R.O. GD 240/30/Bundle 6, Nos. 1-6. James Beck to Jamina Bruce, n.d. but c.1782.

3. E.g. Kenneth MacKenzie (q.v.), nephew of John Mackenzie of Delvine; and David Scott (q.v.) - both in Bengal in the 1760s. See below for a full treatment.

4. See Sutherland(1), pp.36-39. See for example, Robert Simson, in 'Patronage Profiles'; and S.R.O. GD 156/Box 49/1/58. R. Simson to Charles Elphinstone, Madras, 12 Jul. 1766; and GD 156/Box 49/1/74. R. Simson to Lady Clemintina Elphinstone, Fort St. George, 26 Jun. 1769.

patronage of one of the shipping interest's powerful ships husbands, such as Captain Charles Foulis (q.v.), was particularly sought after.¹ There was a close identity of interests between many Directors and the shippers, especially with several ex-Captains serving in the Direction, and almost certainly in the Committee of Shipping.²

In all cases, in order to become a covenanted servant permission had to be received from the Court of Directors. To succeed, a petition required a promise, solicited beforehand, from one of the Directors, and preferably from one of the important ones, such as the Chairman or his Deputy. The 'Chairs' were held in the highest esteem. They could dominate the Company by determining the content and timing of business brought before the Court of Directors, and through control of the most important committees, such as those of Treasury and Shipping.³ Through time the relationship that developed between the Company's executive and the shipping interest was quite intricate.⁴

With some little refinements and variations it was compulsory for all who would go to India that they gain a recommendation in the

1. See Ch.10, pp.255-257; and Parker, p.111 et passim. I am obliged to Dr. James G. Parker for supplementary information on Capt. Charles Foulis; see also B.L. Add. MSS. 29133, f.563, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 23 May 1773.

2. Sunter, p.521; and S.R.O. GD 156/Box 49/1/66. Thomas Steven to Lady Clemintina Elphinstone, Surat, 13 Dec. 1767; and GD 156/Box 49/1/61, Thomas Irwin to William Elphinstone, 7 Sep. 1766.

3. See Shearer, p.208; and Sutherland(1), pp.33-6.

4. For example Captain George Cumming of the Shipping interest and a Director at various times from 1764 to 1787 was proposed for the Supervisors Commission of 1772 by his friends in the Direction, Sir George Colebrooke and Laurence Sullivan. See Shearer, p.73; and B.L. Add. MSS. 29133, f.533, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773.

manner outlined above. This might entail the interest of a friend or, even better, friends who were Proprietors of the Company and active shareholders, attending the General Courts and keeping themselves involved in the annual April election of the Court of Directors. An application passed by way of a Proprietor to his friends in the Direction might have some measure of success.¹ Sometimes one Proprietor would ask a favour of another who was on a much better footing with the leading Director, or shipper, who had patronage posts to dispose of.²

For someone with no direct contact with the Company or shipping interest the best recourse was through a friend who had contacts with the patronage managers in Scotland, or in the Government at Westminster. The higher the political office held, Prime Minister if possible, then the greater certainty that his weight would tell.³ In many ways the systematised use of East India patronage became unavoidable with the promise of continued electoral support and Parliamentary backing which was given in return.

The Scot who could call upon a leading member of the Commons or

1. See for example Basil Cochrane in 'Patronage Profiles'; and Cotton, p.186.

2. For example, Andrew Stuart (q.v.) gained help for his brother Col. James Stuart (q.v.) from George Dempster (q.v.); and Sir Hew Dalrymple used Alderman Baker and Mr. Chancerie to help his brother William Stair Dalrymple. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section; Namier & Brooke, vol. 3, pp.495-7; and S.R.O. GD 110/1021/1-10, W. Stair Dalrymple to Sir Hew Dalrymple, London 25 Aug. 1752.

3. Such as the Earl of Bute who had an excellent understanding with the Company's powerful leader, Laurence Sullivan. See below for full examination. In return Bute backed Sullivan with money for the splitting of stock as qualification for votes for the April 1763 election, through the Paymaster-General's office - held by Lord Holland. See Charts 1,2,4 and 5.

House of Lords, had very strong leverage indeed.¹ Failing a powerful ally in Government it was still possible to achieve success by enlisting the support of one or more pro-ministry M.P.s, who, sure of the applicant's allegiance to king, constitution and governing establishment, would use City and Company connections on his behalf.²

It was also possible for aspiring Company servants and others anxious to get to India to use members of the Parliamentary Opposition. Help from this quarter was limited because the interests of Government and Company nearly always coincided. This meant that Parliamentary Opposition was generally linked to those groups and individuals in Company politics opposed to the ruling figures in the Direction. Only during the contested elections of the 1760s was there more scope for the opposition groups in both Westminster and Leadenhall politics, because of rapid change of ministries in the former and change of control in the Company during these troubled years. Connections were kept, because although a Proprietor might be out of the Direction one year, and thus bereft of patronage to give, he might form one of the Direction the next April - and dispense patronage to those friends who stayed with him through

1. Like Alex. Elliot (q.v.), who could call upon his father Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto (q.v.). See 'Patronage Profiles' Section; N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11018, f.78, Shelburne to Sir Gilbert Elliot, 10 Sep. 1767. Alex. Elliot's father was also a Proprietor. (See N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11027, n.p. bonds dated 31 Jul. 1769 from Sir Gilbert Elliot received by James and Thomas Coutts, bankers.)

2. Such as Sir Hew Dalrymple, who sought patronage for his son, his brothers James and Robert, and others. Apart from India positions these included naval commissions, gunners and boatswain posts, customs, treasury and excise jobs, like that of Surveyor of Salt at Prestonpans. See S.R.O. GD 110/1007, James Dalrymple to Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bombay, 6 Nov. 1748; GD 110/1303, ff.1-3, George Grenville to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 13 Jun. 1746.

adversity.¹

Occasionally recourse was made to an independent Member of Parliament, or one who at some stage might not be following a party line but had healthy India connections. He could go straight to a Director, perhaps an influential Proprietor, or even an important shipper.² Sometimes a circuitous route through the City was used to obtain this India patronage. An intermediary was called in who was perhaps a Bank of England official, a City merchant, or a Director of one of the other monopolied companies on friendly terms with his equivalent in the East India Company.³

Events in India affecting the Company, its recruitment and therefore the patronage system itself became very complex. The perilous nature of the Mughal empire by the mid-eighteenth century and the steady growth of the English East India Company - especially after the successful outcome of its struggles with competing companies like the Portuguese, Dutch and eventually the French - set the scene for the arrival of Britons in unprecedented numbers. It drew the Scots to India particularly after the success of the Company's forces against the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey in 1757, and

1. See Sir Laurence Dundas Ch.10, pp.239-242; Murdoch, p.267; Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, pp.357-361. See also Charts 5 and 6.

2. For example, George Dempster's relationship with Gov. George Johnstone and Andrew Moffat. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section. In 1761 Dempster was favoured by Bute, who arranged for him to have Perth Burghs. But Dempster would not follow him and by 1764 was considered a Rockingham supporter by many. See Murdoch, p.207; and Williams, vol. 1, p.169.

3. Again George Dempster provides illustration. For his multitude of friends, such as David Hume, Johnson, Blackstone, Goldsmith, Reynolds and others, see Williams, vol. 1, p.169; and (Ed.) James Fergusson, Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson, 1756-1811, pp.56-79, passim. See also 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

the final overwhelming success in the same area and in Madras against the French during the Seven Years War. Pursuit of the war from 1756 led to the change in role of the East India Company from just one of many trading powers to virtual ruler of India by force of arms; and a change of its position from a trading power to an expansionist territorial body. The period 1740-1774, in the economic and political history of the East India Company, encompasses the closing stages of its history as a purely trading organisation and the development, especially in the years from 1756 to 1773, of an empire. From 1774 until 1784 it shared this power with successive governments - but under increasing parliamentary pressure. Finally, as already indicated, from 1784 real power passed to a Board of Control dominated by the Government of William Pitt the Younger and lorded over by the powerful figure of Henry Dundas.

The spectacular events in India were paralleled by similar tumults in Leadenhall Street, where bitter contested elections erupted. The confusion from these events and the general anarchy in the Company's settlements had a bearing on the patronage system. Clive had gone home in 1760, not empty handed. He was to return in 1765 when he tried to suppress the very thing that he had really promoted - the speedy accumulation of unprecedented and dazzling wealth. Bengal in the interval, and long after he had returned to England in 1767, was a scene of amazing corruption where fortunes of enormous dimensions were gained. These arose from internal trade (legal and illegal), present taking, contracts, money-lending and from plain confiscation. Bribery, intimidation, unfair use of the Company's dastuck (right to trade) were all common; and the presence

of the Company's overwhelming superiority in arms was readily brought to bear to gain profits. Everyone was involved, Company servants in all of its branches, private traders, Europeans of all description, not least among them the Scots.

In 1763 the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Kassim had rebelled against this state of affairs, partly through disgust and partly because he wanted to share in the ill-gotten gains. The poor ryots (farmers) bore the brunt of this despoliation. The relative ease with which the Company overthrew the Nawab - although not without bloodshed - further consolidated the power of the Company, not only in their own eyes but in that of the indigenous peoples.

Clive's return to London in 1760 was marked by his involvement in Company politics, using the fame and prestige gained from his exploits in India, and his fabulous fortune. By 1761 he was trying to oust the chairman, Laurence Sullivan, the 'Uncrowned king of Leadenhall', from control of the Company. In the bitter contests and virtual 'civil war' in the Company between Sullivan and Clive, and their followers, a situation which was to last until Clive's suicide in 1774, dominance swung from one to the other. Company elections every April were the scenes of battle between the two forces. £500 worth of stock purchased the right to vote; and by 'splitting' stock into these £500 units both sides created fictitious votes with which to build up their support at elections. Government and Opposition were brought into the contests along with a whole gamut of interests, such as the shipping interest, speculators, groups like the Scots in the Company, or returned bodies of 'Indians' who supported either Sullivan or Clive. The contests were exciting, passionate and

filled the newspapers. By 1765 Clive had won the first 'war', after having lost the opening battle in 1763 and drawn the second one in 1764. But there were to be many more wars; and even after Clive's death Sullivan was to fear the wrath of his friends.¹

These two figures, Clive and Sullivan, dominate the affairs of the Company in the 1760s;² but in subsequent years Warren Hastings and his work in India was to outshine them both. They all had to compete with the quickened interest, growing interference and eventual control of Parliament, via interested Governments, conflicting Opposition and individuals like the Earl of Sandwich. Hastings was Sullivan's protégé and by 1772 he had placed him in Bengal as Governor. In 1773 he was made Governor-General of India through the Regulating Act of Lord North; but the same act also circumscribed his power and was a major step on the road to Parliamentary control of the administration and government of India.

The Regulating Act gave power to a special Board involving four others who, acting with Hastings, formed the executive branch, Hastings having a casting vote. Three of these, Philip Francis, General Clavering and General Monson, basing their strategy half upon instructions from the North Government to foil Hastings where possible and force his resignation, partly because of their personal dislike and resentment of his aura of power and authority, did their best to make his life impossible. They failed, Hastings

1. Sullivan came back to power in 1769 and the feud was resumed. In 1773 he was responsible for Clive being brought before the bar of the House of Commons to answer charges of corruption brought against him.

2. See McGilvary, Chs. 5-7, passim.

eventually outliving or outmanoeuvring them - with the tremendous help of the party in Leadenhall led by Laurence Sullivan who fought the hostility of the North Administration and its puppets among the Directors, and thus prevented his recall.

But although this success prevented the take-over of the Company for another decade the writing was on the wall. 1774, when the ministry effectually gained a firm enough grasp which could not be shaken, marks a watershed in many ways.¹ Ministerial control was what counted from then on, for positions as covenanted servants, for the direction the Company would develop at home and abroad - and it meant the end of the free-for-all which had been going on virtually since 1757.

1. They had failed in a similar attempt in 1766/67.

SECTION B

CHAPTER 4.

JOHN DRUMMOND OF QUARREL AND THE INAUGURATION OF A FORMAL SYSTEM
USING EAST INDIA COMPANY PATRONAGE. 1720-1742.

An established, recognised system by which India patronage could be tapped by ministries for Scottish purposes developed in the 1720s and 1730s. It was based upon usefulness to Government and upon the particular circumstances surrounding the relationship between Scotland and England following the political union in 1707. A set of conditions came into being advantageous to all parties involved. Government found East India patronage to be readily available through close ties with leading Company Directors. Most of all, however, the ministry in London and its representatives in Scotland were faced, after 1707, with the need to administer and politically manage that country more successfully. A resurgence of Scottish patriotism which gave encouragement to ambitious Jacobitism occurred in the 1707 to 1722 period. Added to existing post-Union governmental difficulties felt in London as well as in Scotland this first of all forced Walpole to do something positive about the situation, especially in Scotland, because of the danger offered to the longevity of the new British state. In this he was helped by the services of John Drummond whose activities speeded up the development in Scotland of the ministry's political control at local level. This in turn went some way to defusing the potential trouble in Scotland in the mid-1720s and provided a major means of ensuring future stability.

It was soon realized by Walpole, by the Argyll faction in

Scotland and by Drummond that India patronage could be put to great use thereafter in the expansion and consolidation of governmental power midst the new circumstances now prevailing in Britain. As far as Walpole was concerned if votes among the electoral superiorities in Scotland could be doubly assured by adding India patronage on a significant scale to all the other posts he made available through Crown and legal patronage then a very valuable addition would have been made to his power base. India patronage applied liberally among those with influence over Scottish votes meant greater security in a most unreliable part of the kingdom.

The attractions were similar for the Argathelian group in Scotland. Control over India patronage meant greater power in Scotland, more influence at Westminster and "unparalleled opportunities for electoral manipulation".¹ It also promised inroads into the wealth associated with England, her colonies and trading posts. As part of the ruling class the Duke of Argyll and his brother Lord Islay were involved not only in Scottish affairs but with those of Britain as a whole and India patronage would help expand the retinue of clients and others dependent upon Argathelian support and ease political management. As Dickson indicates, "the power of a political manager like Argyll hinged on his ability to insinuate his interest into a strategic position so that he could 'hurt' a ministry."²

It is clear from the actions of John Drummond of Quarrel in the

1. (Ed.) J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, p.67; also Calder, p.436.

2. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.104 and pp.105,107, also J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, The King's Minister, pp.104-5.

1720 and 1730 decades, traced below, that he realised he was being presented with an opportunity to play an important political role. He grasped the chance to figure as large as he possibly could within the Scottish political management structure, working with Walpole at Westminster and with the Argathelian interests in Scotland. He operated among the Scottish superiorities using his friends, relations and contacts in the North to telling effect, developing his talent for distributing India patronage in return for political support. He brought a highly valued added dimension to the patronage used by government. The effect of this activity was evident in Parliament, where Drummond's efforts helped Walpole to secure support among the sixteen peers and forty five Members forming the total Scottish representation. Drummond's own prestige and standing naturally rose accordingly.

The following pages trace the origins and growth of this system which centred on Drummond and his friends, and this is placed within the political development and background of events in Westminster, Scotland and the East India Company from the turn of the century. Analysis of Drummond's close relationship with Walpole, with members of his government and with the Argathelians follows a synopsis of his earlier career which highlights points of importance and portrays individuals central to the unfolding of later events. Drummond's strength in the East India Company is portrayed, how he became a member of the Direction and how he and his friends there managed and controlled the all important East India patronage that was required to operate the system in Scotland. This involved a network of friends at home and abroad who are also indicated. Most weight, of

course, has been given to showing how Drummond was able to develop his political patronage network in Scotland, of whom it consisted, how it worked and the extent of its success.

This India patronage which John Drummond was able to bring to bear was so good at securing votes in Scotland that its future was assured. His success helps to explain the use of the system thereafter. After his death all that was needed was the certainty of India patronage still being available, because its usefulness to government and to Scottish suitor alike was proven.

The chapters that follow show the development of the system and how it was maintained. Initially, however, the circumstances which allowed Drummond to make a contribution to governmental patronage and to the political management of Scotland were largely determined by political factors centring in London. These and Scotland's economic and political circumstances in the opening years of the eighteenth century created the background and provided the terms of reference in which Drummond operated. They are examined to show how India patronage could be so useful.

Politics in Britain in the period in which John Drummond of Quarrel was operating, 1707-1742, were fraught with changes and shifts in perspective, and this complexity and the warring factions generated, helped make up Walpole's mind and led to his determined use of John Drummond of Quarrel and East India patronage.

Politically it has not been an easy period to define and Whig versus Tory interpretations of the politics of the period have given way to Court versus Country ones, that is, that if there were any issues under the first two Georges then they divided Court from

Country not Whig from Tory. This view of Westminster politics which involved John Drummond is probably accurate. The two parties under Queen Anne gave way to a three party situation, involving Court Whigs, Tories and dissident Whigs. The Tories and dissident (or Country) Whigs would not join together, although the 1725 to 1735 decade saw the emergence of a broadly based anti-ministerial coalition, the "Patriot" party. They opposed the Whig ministry, the Court and the Courtiers. The "broad-bottomed" Whig ministry of 1714 reflected these divisions.¹

However, political stability, both ideological and functional, accompanied new ideas of community of interest, mutual concern and respect developing among the upper and growing middle classes in these early decades of the century, and helped change the political outlook. Foreign and colonial trade were expanding, and there were more options for the lesser gentry. Many from major families entered into apprenticeships - even in merchant concerns like the East India Company, and into medicine, as well as the more usual law, church, army and navy. The professions were expanded, helped by government sinecures and patronage and the increase of available posts in the Exchequer, Treasury, Customs and Excise, Post Office and Revenue offices. This Whig stability was helped also in that the ruling classes closed ranks rather than allow the lower orders any opportunity or powers while Whiggism denied both monarchical authority and the voice of the people. In the 1720 to 1745 period the Commons began to reflect Court rather than Country feelings

1. (Ed.) J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, pp.56-76 et passim.

This was the result of patronage, the Septennial bill, the squeezing out of Tories in the boroughs and the ongoing effect of stable institutions and feelings of security. The Court versus Country division became the dominant one in political action and debate. This was clear soon after 1714 and no later than 1725. It remained so until 1760, except for the 1745-51 period of Whig-Tory split created by the Jacobite rebellion and in Whig eyes the Tory association with it.¹

A real political innovation, however, was Walpole's build-up of the Court party using the influence of the Crown; and, as will be shown below, the patronage of the East India Company was used to this end by strengthening the Scottish dimension of the Court party. This build-up began for Walpole in the early 1720s.² His role during the collapse of the South Sea Company in September 1720, then Stanhope's death in 1721 and Sunderland's in 1722, followed by Carteret's disgrace in 1724 left him in control. He and Newcastle were Secretaries for the North and South from 1724 to 1725, but thereafter his 'nominal' cabinet short-circuited the larger body, leaving power even more surely in his hands. Newcastle controlled Crown patronage on their joint behalf. With regard to Scotland Walpole was to become dependent upon the Argathelian Whigs ensuring stability there; and on maintaining the solidarity of the politically powerful Scots with the incumbent government at Westminster. These objectives John Drummond was to help achieve.

1. (Ed.) J Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, pp. 1-29, 63-75 et passim.

2. Ibid. p.55 and J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, The King's Minister, p.110. "Great fields of patronage had been securely dovetailed into his system."

Many reasons can be forwarded for such expansion of the Court party's powers and for Walpole's manoeuvres, such as his lust for power and his efforts to evade the animosity that dogged him, personified by Bolingbroke's remorseless hatred. In fact the dislike he aroused played a large part in the formation of the 'Patriot' opposition. Walpole then had even greater need for reliable allies. His continued success against these enemies was founded upon the patronage he controlled and the wide-based nature of his support. Yet at the heart of his operations those who really mattered were few. He had no more than three or four close associates and this clique depended upon their ability (principally Walpole's) to get the King to accept their advice. Walpole's power in Parliament depended upon the monarch, and his power in Court upon his standing in Parliament. He had to keep on his side a majority of the territorial magnates, whose wealth at this time dominated political life. This meant loyalty from most of the four hundred or so great families in England; most of the 800-1000 distinctly wealthy gentry; a majority of the 3-4,000 families who were middling landowners and the same for the 15,000 or so petty landowners.

In Scotland the rivalry of the Whig groups, the Squadrone and the Argathelians, echoed the state of national politics. But in addition the shifts in power in Scotland, until 1725, reflected the English wish not to leave Scottish patronage undisturbed in Scottish hands for too long; and also followed the changes in the power structure within the English part of the ministry. Not since 1707 had Scotland ever settled down; rebellion, riots and plots

threatening the Westminster government, continually stemmed from there.¹ The machinations at Court of John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, one of the most powerful men in Scotland and with whom Drummond was to become intricately bound, did not help the cause of political stability.

Walpole had distrusted Argyll from 1710 when he had been one of the Shrewsbury-Somerset group. This faction was then "strongly disliked by the Junto Whigs for their desertion and for the support they had given to Oxford."² And Argyll's friendship with the Tories had continued to 1717. In the 1717 to 1719 period he had also been on intimate terms with the Prince of Wales, and the hatred between the King and his son meant that the Prince was a rallying point for opponents of the King's ministers. Argyll, therefore, was a formidable political force whose parliamentary influence could be used against the ministry, as well as the use he could make of having the trust of the future monarch. His conversion to the Whigs in 1719 was both a relief, therefore, and later a blessing through the strength he brought to Administration. In April 1721 his brother Lord Islay was brought in to the government as Keeper of the Scottish Privy Seal and three months later Argyll became Master of the Household. From 1719 to 1722 their changes of fortune, especially at Court, reflected the pushing of the English Whig groups as they strove to improve their own respective positions, using their Scots friends where and if necessary. But it is probable that from these experiences Walpole determined that in the future his own political

1. See J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, The King's Minister, pp.104-5.

2. Ibid. pp.196.

destiny would benefit from strong alliance with the Argathelians. Argyll would have shared with Walpole the thought that solidarity with him (built upon their mutual fear of a Jacobite restoration) was the best approach.¹

With the fall of Roxburgh and the Squadrone in 1725 and with them the office of Secretary of State, there ended the practice of granting patronage favours impartially to men of supposed political goodwill. Argyll then gave unstintingly to his Whig friends and to those associated with his "exclusivist group in politics, bound to him by ties of family and clientage."² Prior to 1725 many Scots gained additions to their incomes from Secret Service funds to make them vote the right way. These included, for example, Charles, 1st Earl of Hopetoun and the Earls of Leven, Orkney, Loudon and Marchmont³. This expenditure by government was meant to be in exchange for dependability, loyalty, and keeping Scotland quiet. In many ways it was the cementing agent that preceded the use of East India patronage to maintain support among the Scottish landowners; and East India patronage certainly eased the strain on the Government's purse. The Secret Service fund continued to be used, but after 1725 (when it was used very liberally - along with East India patronage - to secure Walpole's allies in Scotland) the amount disbursed fell.⁴

1. Simpson, pp.52-3

2. Ibid. p.51. Tweeddale was Sec.of State from 1742-6. See p.150.

3. J.H.Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, The King's Minister, pp.104-6. Also the Hon. Mr Ross, Robert Sinclair; John Scott; John Hay and John Kerr, all members of influential families.

4. Ibid. p.105. £103,350 in 1725, compared to £77,450 in 1724 and £42,024 in 1726.

The year 1725 seems to mark a new departure. Walpole aimed to make everyone subordinate to himself. He broke all previous arrangements and exalted Argyll at the expense of Roxburgh (who was friendly with his rivals Carteret and Cadogan). He took the whole management of Scots affairs into his own hands - to be operated in Scotland through the Duke of Argyll and his brother Lord Islay. On the accession of George 11 in 1727 he took them both into the ministry. Walpole was at his strongest in 1725, but he still needed the Argathelians to administer Scotland and to lend him support in the House of Commons.¹ Through Argyll Walpole could count on the backing of two thirds of the Scottish M.Ps.²

Until 1733 Walpole's policy "to let all the Scots act as individuals and consequently depend on those in power here in London" - namely himself and Newcastle - seemed to work well.³ Apart from political support, Walpole regarded Argyll's function as an advisory one. In Scotland he was to keep the peace. For the most part this was indeed the case. Islay and Duncan Forbes of Culloden created and controlled the powerful county sheriffs. Their influence lay in the legal authority invested in them and in their electoral management, where every favour, including India patronage, was used to dampen agitation.

Walpole helped the growth of the Argyll party. He placed its supporters in charge of affairs in the North of Scotland; men like

1. Simpson, p.53; J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, The King's Minister, p.106; Ferguson, pp.141-3

2. P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, p.273; See also Appendix 4. Argyll's interest in both Houses almost matched Walpole's own.

3. Ibid. p.285. See Ferguson, p.143; Simpson, p.54; and Calder, p.535.

The Earl of Morton, Hugh Rose of Kilravoch, Lord Lovat and Alexander Brodie. The risk he took was that there would be no political counter-weight in Scotland to the Argathelians such as had been provided by the Squadrone. By 1733 the Argathelians were indispensable to Walpole and to the operation of the Government's administrative system.¹

Opposition to him was inflamed, however, during the excise crisis of 1733 and this was reflected in the 1734 election.² Walpole had quarrelled with Argyll over the Excise Bill,³ and there was the distinct possibility of his losing all ministerial control in the election of representative peers in Scotland due to take place. Yet Walpole needed the support of the Scottish peers to be sure of a majority against the Opposition. Fortunately, Islay's firm support and Argyll's abstention were negotiated; and in the 1734 election the Patriots were defeated and all the Scottish peers and nearly all the 45 M.P.'s returned were Argyll supporters. Islay's activity had made Walpole victorious. His continued support vouchsafed nine further years of security at Westminster for the Prime Minister.⁴

The cost to Walpole was that in Scotland Islay's independent position was enhanced. Then in 1737, apparently to humble Scotland in the wake of the Porteous riots of that year, Walpole

1. P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, p.170, 286-287; See below for details of East India patronage in this situation; see also Simpson, p.55. The only opposition came from Marchmont, Montrose, Stair and other members of the Squadrone, Patriot and Country parties. See also Ferguson, p.143.

2. Ibid. p.288.

3. Mitchison, pp.325-7.

4. J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, The King's Minister, pp.276,278.280.309,323. Note the effect of East India patronage here. See also Appendix 2.

"precipitated a long-threatened quarrel" between himself and Argyll.¹ In doing so he weakened government support in Scotland. Islay stood by him, although like his brother and Duncan Forbes of Culloden, he was opposed to Walpole's actions. The result was that an even greater swing towards the Argathelians took place in Scotland.² The Duke of Argyll's opposition to Walpole continued, while the Prime Minister shifted over to the Squadrone. By 1741 he had identified fully with them, and this move alone reduced his well-wishers among the Scottish Members of Parliament at the election of that year to 19. Walpole's support was evaporating, and with a House of Commons hostile to him, and with no working majority, he resigned in January 1742.³

From 1725 onwards Argyll and Islay had managed Scotland for Walpole and "worried over minute matters of patronage and managed elections by skilful horsetrading" never excluding anyone of use if they could be convinced that their future lay with the Argathelian Whigs. They managed to keep Scotland quiet, remained loyal to some degree to Westminster and yet built up a position of independence. Islay was left completely in charge of Scottish matters when Walpole resigned in 1742 and when his brother the Duke of Argyll died in October 1743.⁴ But whereas Walpole experienced some troubles in England in retaining majorities, a task left in the main to

1. Ferguson, p.145.

2. See G. Donaldson, The Shaping of a Nation, p.178; P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, p.288; and Ferguson, p.145.

3. P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, p.288; and Ferguson, p.145.

4. P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, p.106; Calder, p.535; and Simpson, pp.55-6.

Newcastle, Scotland was "the dreamland of eighteenth century political management."¹ This has been readily explained. "From 1689," according to Dickson, "a mercantile bourgeoisie, part agrarian, part commercial captured power in church and state",² and by the early eighteenth century this class was embarked upon determined collective action to safeguard its dominant position and interests in Scottish society through economic and political channels. This, it has been maintained, further explains the attitude of this class to the 1707 Union; that it "voluntarily renounced state independence in order to survive as a bourgeoisie". The landowning elements went along with this because of the pecuniary advantages gained from court and government patronage from London and the economic interests and other connections this gave them. It meant, therefore, that from 1707 to the 1770s the Scottish bourgeoisie assumed a "dependent or client status."³ There seems little need to qualify such an analysis.

Acceptance of this role by the Scottish ruling classes led to a steady accumulation of capital throughout the eighteenth century. The machinery for this to happen was the extension of money payments from London banks, and from abroad that gave rise to regional specializations in, for instance, the cattle trade and weaving industry. This wealth creation was backed by the formation of Scottish banks, like the British Linen Bank (with the active cooperation of the Duke of Argyll and his henchman Lord Milton, of

1. Calder, p.682.

2. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.81.

3. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, pp.81-91, passim; and (Ed.)

J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, p.65

the Duke of Queensberry and others), and of other banks like the Ayr Bank. However, it all stemmed from and was dominated by English based capital; and there is little doubt that it was because the Scots economy complemented rather than competed with the English one after the Union that its trade and commerce eventually prospered, especially in overseas trade, such as that in tobacco.¹

In the period in question, 1720 to 1742, the Scottish aristocracy and landowners who were to benefit from this accumulation of capital held a position of power and influence "unprecedented in Britain." The laws of perpetual entail in Scotland from 1684 helped preserve the power and prestige of the peerage with its large estates; and landowners in every shire were used to gather the revenue tax on land; first imposed in 1667. "Alongside that they carried responsibility for local government in the countryside, parallel to the entrenched burgh hierarchies in the towns." In addition, there were few small freeholders, and tenants generally had little security of tenure. It meant that legal power could be exerted on top of economic intimidation to bring about consolidated holdings, almost at will; and no Act of Parliament was needed.²

Envy by Scots lairds of wealthier English landowners probably turned their minds to improvements and to using English models. In

1. (Ed.) J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, pp.96-101. Other examples include: fishing, enclosures, mining (coal, limestone, lead, building stone, iron ore, silver, gold). Economic measures were used to stem Scottish separatism after 1707. For example, by 1727 the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and manufactures had been set up. (Mitchison, pp.326-7). See also F. Brady, So Fast to Ruin, The Personal Element in the Collapse of Douglas, Heron & Co., passim.

2. (Ed.) J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, pp.82-3, 95-96.

doing so they helped to make Scotland prosperous.¹ What made their acceptance of client or dependent status tolerable after the Union, if not positively acceptable, was possibly "the way in which the indigenous ruling class was involved in the exercise of political power, not only in Scotland itself but in Britain as a whole and later the Empire overseas."² And through giving a minority of influential Scotsmen a personal stake in the permanence of the Union, Scottish assimilation to the eighteenth century structure of English politics was given a boost.³

But the 1707 Union caused intense dissatisfaction in Scotland at the loss of political identity. It was a feeling which seemed to last to the 1750s among most classes to be replaced by what might be described as a grudging acceptance only at a later date. And there were solid grounds for Scottish disquiet. Centralized control in London of the government of Scotland was effected very quickly. For example, all office holders, including Justices of the Peace, were appointed after 1707 by royal warrant through the Lord Chancellor; and London also influenced and controlled membership of judicial and administrative commissions, again principally through the Lord Chancellor. The British Privy Council might have contained five Scots peers, but like the Scots Privy Council, until its demise in 1708, it was always filled with peers favourable to the supremacy of Westminster. What is more, new Treasury and Exchequer commissions

1. (Ed.) J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy, p.95. As heritors they controlled poor relief, parish education and church patronage, regulated wage rates, acted as J.Ps and sat in judgement of their tenants in the barony courts. (Ibid. pp.95-6).

2. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.102.

3. Ibid., pp.103-107.

and the new Excise and Customs establishments effectively purveyed London controlled patronage as well as providing an efficient basis for administration and for revenue collection.¹

Scottish representation at Westminster reflected this shift of power to the south. The 33 counties of Scotland were monopolized by some 2,662 freeholders in the 1707 to 1742 period; and they returned 30 M.Ps. The situation was really even worse than it appeared since it has been reckoned that only about 46 men in Scotland were consulted when these M.P.s were being chosen. Town councils, whose total voting power was 1,303, appointed delegates who elected the 15 Members returned for the 66 burghs. In turn most of these were bribed "by the promise of custom for their trade and desirable posts for their sons."²

What had happened was that the Act of Union, which gave Scotland 45 seats in the House of Commons and 16 elected Lords in the Upper chamber, had also loosened the legal controls over elections easing the creation of "faggot votes". A system of politics based on interest sprang up in Scotland. Helped by the collapse of party a virtual spoils system emerged, a constitutional means by which the Crown's influence in Parliament could be strengthened through distribution of patronage to the Scots

1. See E. Carmichael, Jacobitism in the Scottish Commission of the Peace, 1707-1760, in S.H.R., vol. LVIII, no. 165, (Apr. 1979), pp.58-69; and (Ed.) T.Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.105.

2. See also Sedgwick, vol.1, pp.381-404, passim. In 1750 there were less than 4,000 voters. Six of the smallest Scottish counties had 3 M.Ps, 1 M.P. caring for 2 counties. There were 66 burghs, split into 15 groups. Edinburgh had 1 M.P., the other 14 groups with 1 M.P. per group. The M.P. for a group of burghs was chosen by 4 or 5 delegates who themselves were appointed by town councils. (See G. Donaldson, The Shaping of a Nation, p.114).

landowners. And of course those in the Scottish countryside enjoying such favours accepted also the views of the Court and of Walpole. By this means Scots patronage in general was brought under Treasury supervision, and posts were handed to men the Government felt could be trusted. Baron John Scrope (who had advised Oxford and was to outlast Walpole) played an important part in these developments. From 1714 he was very powerful in Scottish affairs. He was friendly with the Argyll group and acted in its interest. He was particularly friendly with Lord Islay and Duncan Forbes of Culloden. From 1724 to 1752 as Secretary of the Treasury he brought great ability to the office. He was also well known to John Drummond of Quarrel, who, when he passed his considered opinion that Scrope retained his post for so long because he was so indispensable and too useful to discard, might just as well have been describing his own usefulness and suggesting his own history of collaboration with Scrope and Walpole.¹

As already mentioned, the political management of Scotland depended upon Governmental distribution of patronage among the Scottish voters. The right to vote in the counties was held by freeholders of land from the crown valued at forty shillings of "auld extent" (or £400 Scots valuation). In the Royal burghs it was vested in the town councils, self-elected since the fifteenth century.² It was the extent to which these voters could be influenced which decided things in Scotland; "and no political

1. Ferguson, pp.134-7; P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, pp.273-286, 293-294; G. Menary, The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, pp.57-77, passim.
2. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.102

interest could maintain itself for any length of time without patronage and the bulk of this patronage was in the gift of the crown."¹ However, some patronage (such as that operated by John Drummond) was always in private hands. To control the big counties though crown patronage was needed, and it was dispensed in accordance with the policy of the political manager of the day.²

Walpole delegated authority in Scottish political matters to a Scottish manager who, while sometimes working independently, usually carried out orders from the ministry. The factors which determined such a man's course of action were his own personality and his relationship with Westminster politicians. Before 1707 Godolphin had demonstrated that it had to be made perfectly obvious in Scotland which party had royal favour in order to achieve good political management there. This was done through the appointment of the Secretary of State, then by whomsoever had custody of the Signet.³ But in 1708 the Scottish Privy Council was ended and power devolved upon the Squadrone.⁴ The Privy Council's disappearance had created

1. Sunter, p.513

2. See Sunter, pp.522,524,528.

3. Simpson, p.50. P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, pp.101,290; see also P.W.J. Riley, The Union of England and Scotland, pp.313-4 et. passim; and P.W.J. Riley, King William and the Scottish Politicians, pp.1-10.

4. See C. Jones, Godolphin, The Whig Junto and the Scots : A New Lords Division List for 1709, in S.H.R. No.58(1979), pp.158-174. Until 1725 the Squadrone included the following: Aberdeen, Rothes, Montrose, Tweeddale, Roxburgh, Eglintoun, Dalhousie, Glencairn, Forfar, Stair, Orkney, Buchan, Crawford, Hamilton, Selkirk, Ruglen, Haldane of Gleneagles, Sir John Erskine of Alva, and Sir Robert Sinclair, among others. (See P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, pp.106,108,269,273,274). See also Shaw, pp.48-52. Drummond appears to act as a bridge for people like Tweeddale, Rothes, Hopetoun, Findlater to cross over to the Argathelian side, or to be at least independent.

an administrative vacuum and spoiled control over Scots patronage in the long run through the uncertainty introduced. From 1710 to 1713 Oxford had kept administrative control in Scotland through John Scrope; and in 1713 he had revived the Scots Secretary post through John Erskine, Earl of Mar. Erskine was to disgrace himself in London eyes by leading the '15 rebellion; but in reality he was a mere nominee. He did not have the great magnate status of the Dukes of Argyll who increasingly governed Scotland.¹

The line of "substantial managers" really commenced in 1725 when Walpole handed the "Viceroyalty" of Scotland to the Duke of Argyll and his brother Lord Islay.² For large periods Argyll and particularly Islay had extensive control over Scots political patronage - to the extent that there existed a distinctively Scottish system which made much use of East India patronage. And yet it would be wrong to say that Walpole gave the Argathelians a free hand. Until 1733 his grip on Islay remained firm. Those in power in London did not want an overmighty Scottish manager who might work too much for his own and for Scottish interests and give these a higher valuation than theirs. This was the kind of danger facing Walpole in the 1730s when he threw all the patronage at his disposal behind Argyll's efforts to ensure the support of all 16 Lords chosen as representative peers. Divided Scottish representation among the Lords leading to weak Scottish influence in the Court was of little

1. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.105; and Simpson, pp.50-51.

2. Simpson, p.48. Walpole got a "minority policy" through the House using Scots M.Ps. (J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, the King's Minister, p.244. "For eleven years Walpole by these means achieved his aim of bringing Scotland into a position of quiet subordination.").

use to him. But the opposite, as in this instance, meant dependency on a strong Scottish manager.¹

The Duke of Argyll and his brother Islay, even before Walpole's fall in 1742, left things in Scotland to their very able 'sous-ministre' Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, who became the real patronage manager there. Islay was often involved in the minutiae of patronage but Milton became increasingly powerful as political manager and "... was sedulously courted by the ambitious."² The mechanics of his system were simple. In return for posts, such as in customs and excise, and, as is traced below, in the East India Company, success at elections was ensured. This success was achieved through the influence Milton and his associates could bring to bear on the superiorities and in the creation of fictitious votes, which also operated through the power of the hereditary sheriffs and stewards at election time. For example, in 1741 Lord Lovat "set his lawyers about creating the necessary superiorities for distribution among the Frasers."³ At these elections factions could make up a voters roll or registry containing fictitious votes and twist it for their benefit - as long as they had the support of the hereditary sheriffs in charge of the election. Milton, of course, was charged with the task of controlling these hereditary sheriffs and others with such political influence and used all the forces he could muster (including India patronage) for this purpose.

-
1. P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727, p.272; and Simpson, pp.49-50.
 2. See Simpson, pp.66-7.
 3. Sedgwick, vol.1, p.381, et passim. See also Appendices 1 & 2.

In the counties the superiority (land held of the king) was sometimes separated from the land which brought it and this title was often sold for cash.¹ The growth of great estates, moreover, meant voting power rested in the hands of fewer people, mainly landowners who took advantage of this political influence or "interest" they commanded. Through land purchase they bought these superiorities and bestowed them upon friends or dependants, as in Lord Lovat's case. The "purchaser, creditor or holder of a wadset (mortgage) acquired the superiority with the land"; and an heiress transmitted it to her husband - she had no vote.² A subinfeudation of superiorities developed, and in this way control of the burghs also fell to landed patrons who "split" freeholds to create votes and introduced non-resident dependents. This was accompanied with threats, intimidation and removal of place and pension from those who pondered an independent line.³

The political reality in Scotland, until the mid-century, was that of a finite number of election-conscious country gentlemen (many of whom are mentioned in the pages that follow) who controlled the votes held by their relations or intimate friends, being brought into the Argathelian net by political managers like Milton. Such people were referred to as having a "natural interest". But the practice grew of granting life-rent superiorities, that is of "making votes", and in this way new interests sprang up consisting of these

1. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.103. "...it was not the possession of land as such which carried the franchise but the fact that land was held from the King - the so-called "superiority".

2. J. Fergusson 'Making Interest' in Scottish County Elections, S.H.R. XXVI (1947), pp.119-133.

3. (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, p.103.

"nominal", "fictitious" or "faggot" votes (the terms were interchangeable). They were held by so-called "parchment barons", generally men of business.¹

These life-rents had been made possible through the theoretical re-grant of the land by the crown in units which were large enough to confer a superiority, that is, a "fictitious" vote. The votes, of course, were for the advantage of the big landowners. A landowner with great influence, therefore, was someone who could harness all or part of the following:- his "natural" interest and also his "nominal" one (that is "fictitious" votes); voting obligations from his web of relationships, personal friendships, personal obligations, family ties and traditional adherence to him (be that of one family to another, or from the cadet to the head of the great house or clan); and also support gained by bribery or inducement. Small government appointments and East India posts (as is shown below) were secured in return; and the voters were well aware of the bargaining power they commanded. A powerful local landowner, therefore, exercised an inordinate amount of persuasion over the votes of others: and was "sedulously courted" by Milton, and an able lieutenant like John Drummond of Quarrel when India favours were to be used.²

However, in the period up to 1754, the influential landowner, in very many instances a Scottish peer with vast estates, like Argyll

1. J. Fergusson 'Making Interest' in Scottish County Elections, S.H.R. XXVI (1947), pp.121-122.

2. Ibid, pp.119-133.

and Queensberry, depended more on "natural" votes, using legal means and assiduous canvassing in the "mustering of.... dormant votes" as against the use of "nominal" ones.¹ The holder of the superiority usually used his vote for a candidate as directed, and in return for patronage.

In most cases the chief interest in a county was held by the hereditary sheriff or steward, such as the Campbells of Cawdor in Nairnshire and the Earl of Morton in Orkney and Shetland.² Whereas in England the sheriff was only a minor official, in Scotland he was the "key to the Scottish county administration."³ In 1700, 21 of the 33 sheriffdoms in Scotland were held by hereditary right; and since the sheriffs were judicial and administrative representatives of government in the counties (together with Justices of the Peace, the Commissioners of Supply and Lieutenants) they were important. Sheriffs also had appointed deputies, men with legal training. They had real power, usually operating the legal and administrative machinery of the sheriff's office in the name of their masters, using the influence of heritable jurisdiction enjoyed by the great landowners.⁴

Government in London, therefore, was concerned that these influential men should be supporters. In most cases the office of hereditary sheriff was also held by the most powerful landowner in

1. J. Fergusson 'Making Interest' in Scottish County Elections, S.H.R. XXVI (1947), pp.121, 125-6, 131; and (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism, pp.103, 105.

2. Sedgwick, vol. 1, p.390 *et passim*. See also Appendix 2.

3. A. E. Wietstone, Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, pp.IX-X.

4. Ibid, pp.4-5,33. Most ended in 1747.

the county, for example: the Campbells, Dukes of Argyll, in Argyllshire, Ayrshire, and Dunbartonshire; the Earls of Cromarty in Cromartysire; the Dukes of Queensberry in Dumfriesshire; and the Earls of Moray in Elginshire. These peers were immensely powerful political figures and had to be dealt with delicately. Others, like the Abercrombies, Duffs and Ogilvies of Banffshire, Sinclairs of Ulbster in Caithness, Dalrymples in Clackmananshire, the Hopes of Kinrosshire and the Douglasses of Roxburghshire were prominent families who, like many others the length and breadth of Scotland, held the balance in political life there. Government had to win and keep them.¹

In each of the 15 groups of burghs returning a Member (Edinburgh had its own) political realities were complicated. There were more voters in the combined burghs than in the counties, though the burgh councils voted normally en bloc. Each burgh within a group was more often than not under the influence of one powerful family. For example, in Linlithgow burghs, with 94 voters, the Earls of Hyndford controlled Lanark, the Earls of March, Peebles, John Murray the hereditary sheriff of Selkirkshire held Selkirk, and the Dukes of Hamilton Linlithgow. The Duke of Argyll and Lord Islay had overwhelming support in at least three burghs (Ayr, Edinburgh and Glasgow) and dominated others, almost without competition, through the strength of the ministerialist-Whig support in them. Aberdeen was held for them through John Maule; Dumfries through the Dukes of Queensberry, Douglasses and the Marquess of Annandale. Elgin was

1. Sedgwick, vol. 1, pp.381-393.

held through the Earls of Findlater;Haddington through the Dalrymples of Hailes;Inverness through the Forbes of Culloden and Seaforth Mackenzies;Tain through the Sinclairs of Ulbster,Earls of Morton,Munros of Foulis,Earls of Cromarty and Earls of Sutherland;and Wigton through the Earls of Galloway and Earls of Stair.¹

Other burghs were completely venal and open to the best offer, such as Perth and Stirling burghs. In Perth, which was won for government consistently, the Earl of Rothes, with his seat at Cupar, had the nearest to an "interest". Stirling was the same, safe for government through the ample distribution of government patronage, using Islay's relatives and dependents, the Erskines (James and Thomas), Peter Halkett and Henry Cunningham.² The Scottish political manager had to attempt to balance the claims of local factions at elections. His decisions were normally dictated by the ministry's need for influence or how far pro-Government interests had to be buttressed in a locality. His tools for this purpose were scanty. But in Milton's case he did have control of the Signet. As Keeper of the Signet Milton could choose sheriff-deputes and sheriff-clerks, all of them lawyers like himself, whose roles were crucial during the preparations for elections. With the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 Milton and his successors were given even more powers regarding the appointment of these officials. The sheriff-depute was a most important figure in each county, both in a

1. Sedgwick, vol.1, pp.395-404. Most of these were Drummond's friends. See Appendices 1 and 2.

2. Sedgwick, vol.1, pp.402-3; See also W. Ferguson, Dingwall Burgh Politics and the Parliamentary Franchise in the Eighteenth Century, in S.H.R.vol.33. No.126 (Oct,1959),p.89. Rothes was Drummond's friend.

judicial and administrative sense. His duties included that of returning officer for parliamentary elections. The other power at the manager's disposal was his control over the distribution of patronage.

Maintaining a political interest in burghs and counties was a permanent and taxing activity requiring good management, great dexterity and skill and a constant stream of patronage. A blend of social awareness and subtlety was required, nowhere more so than in the counties. The county freeholders were less in the pockets of political managers than those manipulators would have liked. These gentlemen could be bought, but their social position made it imperative that they appeared to be independent. A patronage appointment came in the guise of an act of friendship., and it was the relationship that really mattered. Acts of seemingly disinterested friendship and social contact, which created a feeling of obligation, led to a powerful county interest. No suggestion of a dutiful support in return for past favours was hinted at during elections, just a re-affirmation and continuation of a friendship.

In the burghs it was different, "a well-publicised appointment could provide the necessary evidence to members of council that one of the potential members of parliament had the ear of government." And to place friends in office and remove enemies from the same was regarded by councillors as proof of capability for membership of the Commons. Treating during an election was essential for success; "bribery and corruption was a way of life" in the Scottish burghs. The element of uncertainty there made cultivation of an interest both expensive and wearing. But elections were won by the politicians who

could manage difficult voters in the burghs and counties. Without patronage, however, public interest withered in time. These favours were "the cement of politics, creating and maintaining political influence."¹

The administration and management of Scotland meant securing the Government's position amid the political realities described above, that existed in the Scottish counties and burghs. A clear chain of command had to be created by which the wishes of the central authority at Westminster would be carried out in the small towns and shires of Scotland; and 'loyal' Scots would be returned to Westminster. Since they did not master all patronage, managers like Islay and Milton could not have absolute command; but on the other hand, for most freeholders independence was impossible and a politician's hand was needed at some point. Drummond and his India patronage, as is shown below, were central to these developments, but it required Walpole's own personal form of political engineering to bring the Scot John Drummond into the centre of the political arena.

1. See Sunter, pp.2-3, 183-223, passim; Murdoch, pp.22-23, 35; Shaw, passim; also M. S. Bricke, The Pelhams V Argyll 1747-8, in S.H.R., vol.61, pp.157-165. See also Charts 1,2,4 and 5.

CHAPTER 5.

JOHN DRUMMOND, INDIA PATRONAGE AND GOVERNMENT CONNECTION, 1720-1742

It probably crossed Drummond's mind when he entered the East India Direction in 1722 that he would be able to serve his family with opportunities to enhance their wealth through positions in the Company. And, this is exactly what he did. But it did not take long to dawn on him just how useful the control of India patronage could be for himself and for the Whig government which from 1722 and the South Sea Bubble crash was dominated by Walpole.

As is verified by the evidence in his correspondence he deliberately began to foster his extensive Scottish political connections by using the India patronage at his disposal.¹ His family in Perthshire were particularly useful, his brothers William (of Grange), James, the eldest (of Blair-Drummond) and his sister Mary, who had married James Haliburton of Pitcur. He set about purchasing an estate at Quarrel, embarked upon the enormous amount of work required to establish himself, particularly at local level among the superiorities; and he involved himself in elections for the same purpose.²

Drummond's friendship and the giving of India patronage in return for votes was for the greater ends of stability, the Union, support of the Argathelians and of Walpole and his Whig Government. On a less grand note, self-preservation and aggrandisement among those

1. See John Drummond's Correspondence, Ch. 6 below, and Appendices 1 and 2.

2. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/(C), f.128, William Drummond to John Drummond, 14 Dec. 1723. Quarrel estate would cost £7,700 (Scots); and also GD 24/Sect.1/482-484, passim. mainly letters from John Drummond to William Drummond in the 1720s and 1730s regarding local business and elections.

involved in the transfer of votes and favours can never be ignored. His political friends included great pro-union magnates like the Duke of Argyll and the Marquis of Tweeddale both of whom had wide experience among the superiorities. Likewise the Earls of Morton, Leven, Hyndford, Kinnoul; Lords Elphinstone and Torphichen; and Viscount Dupplin.¹ Most of these well-known figures and their titled successors were to make great use of Drummond's favours in the years up to 1742. Likewise with Barons, such as Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and James Haliburton; and burgesses, such as Sir Peter Halkett, John Clerk of Penicuik and Sir Hew Dalrymple. These men epitomised political weight and power among the superiorities.

The Stewart connection in his own family's past also seemed to mean little to Drummond. He appeared oblivious to Jacobite tendencies in those he became involved with politically. He viewed Jacobites mainly in the light of political usefulness. If he could depend upon their political support then so much the better. Of those who had voted against the Union some, like Annandale, Atholl, Errol and the Earl Marischal now combined with him and received in return patronage favours.²

Drummond's groundwork service to Government from around 1725 resulted in his election as M.P. for Perth Burghs in 1727. It was done with the help of Lord Milton, agent in Scotland for his friend from earlier years, the Duke of Argyll; and, as Milton's letters

1. See Appendices 1 and 2.

2. This is borne out by those Jacobites he served. See below, and also Appendix 5 on Jacobites.

show, this had Walpole's whole-hearted approval.¹ Drummond's steady service to influential Scottish families and to his kinsmen, in sending their sons abroad using India patronage, had already begun. But from 1725 he was to grant patronage favours in proportion to political support and usefulness.² Drummond's interest and active involvement in Scotland from around 1725 also contrasts strongly with his almost total disregard of it before, and marks the incorporation of India patronage into the Governmental patronage system for the political management of Scotland. The active electioneering that Government agents (such as Drummond) were now involved in was in itself indicative of what was afoot.

As already stated, the directed use of patronage available through the East India Company and its shipping interest to the ends of Scottish political management began shortly after John Drummond became a Director of the Company in April 1722.³ But the answer to how this rather unobtrusive man came to provide such a remarkable service is to be found partly in his early years of public service. By the time he became a Director Drummond was very widely experienced in public affairs and the skills and talents he had developed made him superbly tailored to fit the tasks he would undertake as an intermediary in the political patronage system that was to operate.

1. N.L.S. 16536,f.43, John Drummond to Milton, 17 June 1727;f.45, John Drummond to Milton, 11 July 1727,f.47, John Drummond to Milton, 15 July 1727. See also H.N.S.C. Portland MSS, IV, p.597, V,p.287, for D. of Argyll early connection; also A. Murdoch, The People Above, p.8.

2. He also placed people in the Africa Company's service in 1722, being a Director of it. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/(C),f.59, Annandale to John Drummond, 24 Jan. 1722. Also Ibid., f.72, Lady Ramsden of Byram to John Drummond, 25 Jan. 1724. He got her son James to Bombay that year.

3. See Hatton(1),n.pfor date of entry to Direction. See also Chart 1.

He was born in 1675, the second eldest of the five surviving sons and one daughter of George Drummond, fifth Laird of Blair Drummond, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Ramsay of Bamffe, Perth. His immediate ancestors, through the Earls of Perth, had very strong connections with the House of Stewart.¹ Drummond had been despatched to Amsterdam in 1693 to begin a mercantile career. His situation was similar to that of many Scots before him. After his apprenticeship with a Mr. Spilman he set up in partnership with another merchant Jan van der Heiden. He was able to put a great deal more money into the firm after his marriage to Agatha Van der Brent, sister of the Elector of Brandenburg's agent in Amsterdam. The business prospered until 1712 when a series of miscalculations and Drummond's diplomatic activities caused him to neglect the business, resulting in its crash that year.²

Parallel to his career as a businessman in these years Drummond was also acting out a more important role. From 1702 to 1713 he was unofficial agent for Robert Harley (Earl of Oxford), Chancellor of the Exchequer and Henry St. John (Bolingbroke), Secretary of State for the North. He was useful to them in that he sent news and advice of diplomatic and financial activities on the Continent during

1. See S.R.O. GD 24/1/3. John Drummond's Will. The bulk of the biographical material on Drummond's family that follows has been culled from Prof. R. M. Hatton's work on Drummond of Quarrel (Reference Hatton (1) and (2)). These are particularly full on his Jacobite family connections and suggest a "passive sympathy with the dynasty in exile". The other material comes mainly from R. Sedgwick The House of Commons 1715-54 (2 vols.), reference Sedgwick, which is also reliant on Hatton's work, as well as the S.R.O. Morton and Abercairney Papers.

2. See Hatton (1), n.p. and Hatton (2), pp.73-86,96 for unravelling of the very great detail involved.

the war and was involved in direct and secret negotiations on their behalf. He established strong contacts with governments on both sides of the Channel in this period; and has been adjudged to have played a vital role in rallying political and financial support behind the new English ministry in 1710, on both sides of the Channel. Drummond had first met Oxford, who was to become his chief patron in these early years, during a brief stay in London in 1704. The introduction to the then Secretary of State (1704 to 1708) was made by Dr William Stratford of Christ Church, Oxford, formerly Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons when Oxford held that office. Oxford was building up a network of correspondents and from the Continent Drummond sent him details of European war-time financial transactions. He transmitted letters from agents in Europe to Whitehall, wrote news letters and reports. In exchange he got a government contract for selling Cornish tin. It lasted until 1707 and was worth £1,000 per year. He was drawn into banking concerns and involved in financing some of Harley's secret agents on the Continent.

It was Drummond's 'Dutchness' which in 1710 recommended him to Harley and St. John. Along with this was his willingness to give financial support to the new ministry. The Dutch also thought he was one of them through naturalization. From 1711 to 1712 he was the go-between for the Dutch Grand Pensionary Heinsius and Oxford regarding the peace terms and Dutch participation in the negotiations at the end of the war. Oxford and Bolingbroke wanted the real negotiations kept to themselves, and unknown to Drummond they used him as a decoy for the Dutch. Drummond expected pecuniary gain in

exchange and the post of Deputy Paymaster-General in 1712. For this he had the backing of James Brydges (q.v.) (later Earl of Chandos), and of Bolingbroke. That year he was struck down by his bankruptcy. This downfall, and the end of his secret diplomacy for Oxford virtually closed this stage in his career.¹

He needed a new start and looked to his friends in England for that purpose, intending to move from Holland to London. Oxford denied him the Deputy Paymaster post and despite repeated requests for help made to him by Drummond, by William Stratford and others, little happened.² From 1713 Drummond was in England and his friends rallied round. For example, the Albemarles offered him a commission in a regiment; his Dutch friends proffered help, as did Sir Matthew Decker (q.v.) and Stratford. He was pitied not blamed for his crash; but English traders and financiers in the Low Countries whipped up rumours that he was a Jacobite in order to ruin his reputation there. Despite the compromising position of his benefactor Bolingbroke, these claims were groundless, and the rumours were motivated by commercial rivalry. But they caused Drummond great bitterness, primarily because the post-1715 period was one of such political uncertainty.³ The 1707 Union had occurred against a background of war in Europe. It was followed by the split in the Tory leadership in 1713 which preceded the death of Queen Anne. The rapid ascendancy of the Hanoverians and the Whigs in 1714 followed by

1. See H.M.S.C. Portland, V, p.287, John Drummond to Earl of Oxford, 8 May 1713, et passim, and H.M.S.C. Charles-Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray, pp.83-147.

2. See H.M.S.C. Portland, VII, p.186, Dr. W. Stratford to Edward, Lord Harley, 5 June 1714.

3. See below pp.94-95 for Stratford and Decker. Also Hatton(2), p.89.

the 1715 rebellion led to loss of direction in many quarters and to further political complexity. Some families were not quite sure which course of action would serve their best interests. But Hanoverian Whig ministers were ready to welcome back, as far as was possible, those 'erring' members of the aristocracy whose influence would possibly hurt if kept in exile or if forced to suffer too much; and who might even help keep the Jacobite cause alive. Drummond's relatives, the Earls of Perth, out in the '15, were in just such a category, as were the Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Bathurst, John Ogilvy (Lord Airlie) and many others. And such political complexities cast a shadow over many Scots at first. Charles Erskine, for example, later to be Solicitor-General, was cousin to the Earl of Mar, the Jacobite leader.¹ Drummond's bitterness is doubly understandable since his diplomatic work in Holland during the war of the Spanish Succession had shown his loyalty to Parliament, to its supremacy and to British constitutionalism.²

Help for Drummond finally arrived through Bolingbroke, who, as Secretary of State gave him a commission in 1713 to participate in the Utrecht negotiations on trade, to be followed, Drummond hoped, with the Consul's position at Ostend and the Residency at Brussels. He promoted the pro-British position at these meetings very successfully, but his hope of advancement was still uncertain and made more precarious when Oxford and Bolingbroke fell out. He was much closer to Oxford who now began to pay more attention to him because of his own rivalry with Bolingbroke and because the occasion

1. See C B Realey, The Early Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-1727, pp.150-1; and Sedgwick, vol.1, p.420.

2. Hatton(1), n.p.; and Hatton(2) passim.

to use Drummond's skills once more had arisen. On his return to London, Oxford had him presented to the Queen in April 1714; and he was also treated well by Oxford's relations—his son Edward, Lord Harley, and his cousin Thomas Harley. With Oxford's fall from the Treasury, Drummond was in a quandary. He tried to keep in touch with both Oxford and Bolingbroke, the new head of the ministry, and used Decker towards these ends. Efforts to land a post through Bolingbroke finished with the death of Queen Anne, the total discredit of her ministers and the accession of George I and the Whigs.¹

These events seemed to dash Drummond's hopes with those of his patrons Oxford and Bolingbroke. But the ability of his friend James Brydges to cross over to the new Court helped him.² Brydges had influential friends around the new king and used his own intimacy with the monarch, dating back to their days of friendship in Hanover. He played on their former closeness, made it clear that he did not seek a political position for himself and in the following years used his great wealth discreetly to the royal advantage. In 1718 he was created Duke of Chandos.³ He helped Drummond enormously as did Argyll who had had the full backing of Drummond's family and relations in voting for the Union in 1707.⁴ Friends in the business and banking world were many too, and the importance of the City to the Whigs could only help him. Decker and Stratford rallied round and eased his entry to London business and political life from 1714.

1. Hatton(2), pp.90-94. Informal contacts were established in 1713 between Oxford and Heinsius. Drummond achieved this with the help of Sir Matthew Decker.

2. For Brydges see pp.92-93 below.

3. Hatton(1), n.p.

4. For John, 2nd Duke of Argyll see pp.93, 96-99 below.

He was helped in this by the close friendship he continued with the largely non-political Edward Lord Harley, son of the Earl of Oxford.¹

Drummond's finances also took a decided turn for the better from 1714. Returns from his Dutch commercial concerns, his activities as a commission agent and the help of Chandos, Stratford and Decker put him on his feet. Such was his change in circumstances he was able in 1716 to pay off the debt he owed the East India Company (£3,413 - 7 - 5) from whom he received in return a gold cup inscribed 'Reward for Honesty'. In 1717 he deposited £1,635 in Andrew Drummond's bank at Charing Cross. By 1720 he was again in business, trading in wines, diamonds and redwood and fully involved in the business life of the City of London.²

By 1720 John and Andrew Drummond had become Proprietors of India stock; and most important of all, in April 1722, John was elected a Director of the East India Company.³ The ease of his entry to the Direction was due to the power already held there by his friends of earlier years. Sir Matthew Decker was already a leading Director, and he and the Duke of Chandos had been Proprietors since 1711. The strength of this group soon prevailed in the General Court and in the Direction.⁴ Drummond was to be a Director until 1733 when his own failing health and the death of his

1. See H.M.S.C. Portland, VII, pp.186-283; and Hatton(1),n.p.

2. Hatton(1),n.p.

3. Ibid.; and also I.O.R., L/AG/14/5/3, Stock Holders (1718-23), pp.2,187. John Drummond held £2,500 stock in 1722; Andrew Drummond £500; Decker £53,750.

4. See C.C. Prinsep 'Record of Services of the Hon. East India Company's Civil Servants, 1741-1858', passim: Hatton(1),n.p.: and S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/487-487A, ff.1-86, Duke of Chandos to John Drummond, from 1717 to 1728. These letters show clearly the close liaison they had in the Company and other business. See pp.92-93,95.

wife made him stand down, albeit reluctantly. He remained a Proprietor, however, and through his friends retained his powers of patronage. In those eleven years in particular, 1722 to 1733, he was part of a group which very nearly controlled the direction of the Company's affairs and helped itself to the largest share of the available patronage. It consisted of Drummond, Chandos, Decker and the ex-Governor of Madras, Edward Harrison. They were very close. Decker had been a Director since 1714, and when he stepped down in 1732 he had been Chairman four times between 1725 and 1732, Deputy Chair twice, in 1720 and 1729. Harrison was Chairman in 1729 and Deputy Chair twice, in 1728 and 1731. Together with the support of fellow Directors like Monson, Henry Lyell and Josias Wordsworth, they were formidable.¹

This entry to the Direction and all that it meant was to be the foundation for the patronage system whose importance to national and Scottish politics is under examination. But Drummond also continued to serve as a negotiator during those years. From 1731 until 1740, when failing health and the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession stopped him, he continued to act as the Government's

1. C.C. Prinsep 'Record of Services of the Hon. East India Company's Civil Servants, 1741-1858', passim: Hatton(1), n.p.: and S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/487-487A, ff.1-86, Duke of Chandos to John Drummond, from 1717 to 1728. See also S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.1, Dr Colt to John Drummond, Ft. William, Bengal, 7 Dec. 1723, portraying his expectancy of help for a nephew through Drummond and Harrison working together; also Ibid., f.5, Christopher and Benjamin Lethieullier, Gerard Conyen, Richard Du Cane, Barrington Eaton, Thos. Frederick - all owners of the East Indiaman Lethieullier - to John Drummond - dated 15 July 1725, inviting him to take up the ship for the Company's service; and Ibid., f.70, Gov. Cowan to John Drummond, Bombay 18 Aug. 1733, referring to Drummond, Harrison and Decker as a close group and allies.

Commissioner at Antwerp during the Congress called there to discuss the general grievances of the Emperor Charles VI and his Southern Netherlands subjects. Drummond's long experience of the Low Countries made him an obvious choice for nomination. Delays and postponements had meant the Congress did not convene until 1737, and he spent the years to 1740 in the Netherlands as negotiations were drawn out interminably. After the outbreak of the war in 1740 he left the Congress and gave up his Commission. He died two years later, on 20 December 1742.¹

From the important diplomatic work he had commenced in his early career and continued throughout his life, Drummond gained skills, contacts and experience useful for his relationship with ministers and others operating patronage machinery. His activities as an intelligence agent had made him well aware of how things worked in Westminster's corridors of power. As a financier who combined merchant-banking knowledge with market speculation activities he had a sound understanding of London and Continental money markets. Also, several men, already indicated, were very important to his first career and opened the doors to his later one: James Brydges, Duke of Chandos; Dr William Stratford; Sir Matthew Decker; and the Duke of Argyll were the most important of these.

Drummond's friendship with James Brydges had begun in 1705 when Brydges visited the Netherlands, ostensibly on a casual visit. But he was then Paymaster-General and his concerns lay with the payment of Marlborough's troops and associated business. Drummond was

1. S.R.O. GD 150/3485/1,49,52-57. See also Hatton(1),n.p.

secretly working for Oxford at that time and their common ministerial and financial interests involved them in conversations. Their friendship, however, was genuine and Brydges used his post not only to lay the foundations of his own great fortune but to help Drummond whenever it was in his power to do so. Brydges promised Drummond late in 1705 "some employment in the privilege of remitting money to the forces", a promise he kept. And through him Drummond grew closer to "the seamy side of Marlborough's wars."¹ Drummond would give Brydges advance notice of events, especially of how peace negotiations were going and he would then buy and sell stocks profitably. Brydges felt that his secret was safe with Drummond and both accumulated money.²

It seems very likely that it was also in the years 1706 to 1709 that Drummond came into contact with the young Duke of Argyll serving under Marlborough in the Continental wars. The nature of Drummond's employment on behalf of Oxford, his closeness to Brydges, the Paymaster-General, and his claim of kinship to Argyll would certainly point in that direction.³ Writing to Oxford in 1710 Drummond intimated that Argyll had offered him his interest "some time since in his part of the country and I could not accept it."⁴ He was to have further connections with Argyll in the years 1715 to 1720 through their involvement in the South Sea Company, and with John Law, the financier, and his Mississippi schemes.⁵

1. See Hatton(1), pp.76-78

2. Hatton(2), pp.79,85.

3. Hatton(1), n.p.; J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, pp.273-4.

4. H.M.S.C. Portland IV, p.596, dated 19 Sep. 1710.

5. See below pp.97-99.

But the two men who joined Chandos in forming Drummond's closest circle were Dr William Stratford and Sir Mathew Decker. The first was the son of Dr Nicholas Stratford, Warden of Manchester College, then Bishop of Chester. He was also the godson of Thomas Harley, Minister to the Court of Hanover. Stratford played an important role. He served as a common friend to the Harleys, Drummond and Decker and to many of their friends at Court, like Kinnoul, Dupplin and Errol; and in the City, Hoare, Watkins and Hill. He sustained them as a group and they in turn gave Drummond a firm base for his future activities in Court and City.¹

He was more than just kind to Drummond. After the Scot's bankruptcy in 1712 (while Decker acted as his banker and settled the creditors),² Stratford recommended him anew to Robert Harley for some office. He referred to Drummond's qualities of integrity, and faithfulness and to his capacity. Nor did Drummond let Stratford down in this respect. He served Harley well, but, as Stratford complained, "with little in return to relieve his condition."³ He was also involved with Drummond's family and there was a certain amount of intimacy. He corresponded regularly with him and his wife when in Holland, cared for his family from Perthshire on their visits south, and his wife Agatha when Drummond was away on business; and he was ceaseless in his urging of the Harleys to do something about

1. H.M.S.C. Portland, VII, Introduction, pp.9-10, 15, 22, 96, 250, 280, 363, 403-4, 436, 445. See also Hatton(2), p.86. A Francis Stratford was in business and his crash in 1712 affected Drummond who had loaned him £7,000. This man and Dr William Stratford were not brothers but a kinship is certainly hinted at by this loan. See J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, p.283.

2. H.M.S.C. Portland IV, pp.96,100; and Hatton(2), 88.

3. H.M.S.C. Portland VII, p.161.

Drummond's poor circumstances in the years 1712 to 1717.¹

Sir Matthew Decker's importance to Drummond's career can hardly be overestimated. He was born a Dutchman but became a naturalised British subject. As a banker he was considered "one of the six richest in the City of London."² He was also a Director of the South Sea Company from July 1711 to August 1712, the London Correspondent for Dutch banks, especially Pels of Amsterdam, and a Proprietor of the East India Company from 1711. In 1716 he was made a Baronet and he was an M.P. from 1719 to 1722. Prior to 1710 he corresponded with Drummond while he was in Holland. It was a friendship which was encouraged by their shared Dutch experience and Decker's own banking involvement, both in London and Amsterdam. Theirs was a lifetime association.³

Drummond's combination of diplomatic, banking and business activities also meant that he developed solid associations with leading figures in the world of business and was on familiar terms with leading bankers. For example, in Holland he was a friend of the Pels firm (who had Decker as their agent), and in London with Sir Theodore Janssen, Sir John Lambert, Richard Hoare, Edward Gibbon and others.⁴ In 1717 he also opened an account at the bank of his own young relation, Andrew Drummond. He did a great deal in promoting

1. H.M.S.C. Portland VII, pp. 9-10,22,75,186,280,361,363.

2. H.M.S.C. Portland VII, p.280, dated 20 Oct. 1720.

3. See J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, p.277; H.M.S.C. Portland VII, pp.19-22. Drummond arranged the marriage of Sir Matthew Decker to Henry Watkins' sister. (See Hatton(2),p.82). Decker was M.P. for Bishops Castle 1719-22. He gained his seat through Chandos. (Sedgwick, vol.1,p.608). For Drummond (See Sedgwick Vol.I, pp.402-3).

4. See Hatton(2), p.80; and J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, pp.277-280.

this enterprise and introduced new clients, in particular the Duke of Chandos. Andrew Drummond was to acknowledge this debt to John; and they discovered they were to be of much use to each other in the next two decades.¹ John Drummond also continued his links with the Marlboroughs and the Albemarles.²

But from 1713 to 1720 Drummond also got embroiled with John Law, the Scottish adventurer, monetary theorist and banker.³ In 1694, following his father's death Law went to London. He killed a man (Wilson) in a duel and fled to the Continent. In Amsterdam he studied banking and finance and probably met John Drummond there. In 1705 he made a brief reappearance in Scotland, but was still an outlaw in England despite repeated efforts to get back.⁴ One of these efforts involved John Drummond. He got Drummond to entreat with Harley (in 1713) that he should be pardoned for the duel. Drummond failed in this, despite his excellent argument that such a fine mind should not be lost to the British Government, and at any cost should be kept from the French or Dutch. Drummond had certainly been impressed by him, but by this same letter to Oxford it was clear that they were not intimates. Yet Drummond knew Law well enough to be able to depict the latter's close relationship with the Duke of Argyll and Lord Islay, and to know that Law had money in

-
1. See Bolitho & Peel, pp.34-5. John Drummond also introduced Queensberry and other Scots landed gentry to Andrew's bank.
 2. See Hatton(2), pp.70,81; and H.M.S.C. Portland VII, passim.
 3. See H. Montgomery Hyde, John Law, pp.7-13, et passim.
 4. Ibid.; also J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, p.80. He also tried getting in through friendship with the British Embassy in Paris; and in particular through friendship with the Scots there: John Dalrymple, Earl of Stair; David Crawford; and James Gardiner.

England "in Lord Islay's name or under his direction."¹

Drummond's connection with John Law became stronger from 1715 to 1720. He offered Law advice on how to get back into England; then friendship with him from 1718 when Law was at the height of his fame in France with the Banque Générale (later Banque Royale) and the Compagnie d'Occident.² It has also been suggested that John Drummond's "casual acquaintance" with John Law "contributed to his own rehabilitation;"³ that is, his re-entry and acceptance into English public life following the disastrous events of 1714. Certainly from February 1715 to February 1718 Argyll was a Director of the South Sea Company (together with many of John Drummond's friends), while Drummond, during these same years was acting for Oxford and the South Sea Company at The Hague. There is evidence to suggest that Drummond, Argyll and Law all had money in the South Sea Company at the same time, with Law's money invested under Argyll's name.⁴

Further indication of the strength of this three way partnership is suggested by the deep involvement of Drummond and Argyll with Law's schemes in France from 1717 onwards. Argyll was seen at Law's side in Paris and from 1718 Drummond was there too with £40,000 of Chandos' money to invest as well as his own. Paris was in the grip of massive speculation as funds poured in unchecked, and Argyll, Chandos and Drummond were affected by the crash which came in

-
1. H.M.S.C. Portland V, pp.285-7, John Drummond to the Earl of Oxford, 8 May 1713.
 2. See H. Montgomery Hyde, John Law, passim.
 3. Hatton (1), n.p.
 4. John Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, pp.55,61,273-4,277-280,284.

1720; although Drummond emerged relatively unscathed compared to Chandos.¹

It would be plausible to suggest that Drummond and Law got to know one another through their mutual acquaintance the Duke of Argyll, and that this took place sometime during the years 1700 to 1709 when they were all in the Low Countries. They shared an "interest in the financial problems of the great powers",² and obviously in lining their own pockets. This friendship with Argyll was to be important later. Drummond's understanding of colonial trade and the operation of monopolies had also been extended through his ventures; and it probably occurred to him that his future lay in the direction of the East India Company in England; even more likely considering his friendship with Sir Matthew Decker. By 1722, soon after the demise of the Compagnie d'Occident, he was a Director of the Company.

In view of John Drummond's complex diplomatic and financial activities on behalf of the Government prior to 1722, it is also difficult to resist the notion that he was deeply involved with the events and circumstances surrounding the South Sea bubble and its crash in that year. Evidence is flimsy, circumstantial and coincidental, but it is worth mentioning because of the links it suggests did exist between Walpole, Argyll and Drummond prior to the formation of the idea of using India patronage for political management purposes in Scotland. Drummond, Chandos, Argyll and John

1. Hatton(1),n.p.; J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble, pp.273-4, et passim; and H.M.S.C. Portland VII, pp.275,283.

2. Hatton(1),n.p.

Law all had funds in the South Sea bubble and had also been involved in the French bourse. But they did not seem to suffer in the crash. This would suggest a link with Walpole and Jacombe whose views were vindicated when the bubble burst. The group were well-versed in London and Continental money matters and involved with leading figures from these business communities, like the Pels and Hopes in Europe and the various London banks. It is probable they saw the crash coming. Drummond quickly slipped into directorships of the East India company and the Royal Africa company in 1722 and Walpole came to power. They all survived and were grateful to one another.¹

It probably felt natural to Drummond, therefore, to coordinate his connections with Walpole, his Court, Parliamentary and business links, his Company strength and his grassroots in Scotland in pursuit of Government's political interests in Scotland. He subordinated most other objectives quite deliberately in this latter part of his life to the political one of helping to create in Scotland an atmosphere suitable for its management by Walpole's government. His Company strength lay at the heart of all he did and enabled him to spin his web of inter-locking interests.

Walpole had assumed office well-acquainted with the major figures of the London business world; and he had been in politics long enough to have some familiarity with Drummond's work in the period 1704 to 1722. Also, the special relationship the Government had with the East India Company meant that familiarity with its leading Directors was assured; and that would certainly include

1. See also J. H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole. The Making of a Statesman, pp.245-377, passim

Drummond's friends Decker and Harrison who controlled the Company at this time.¹

It was an easy thing, therefore, for Walpole and Drummond to come together, they shared mutual ground and each could gain from the other. For Drummond a seat in Parliament and involvement at the heart of public affairs was important. As in his earlier relationships with Oxford and Bolingbroke he would be continuing in the corridors of real power at Westminster. For Walpole, as already shown, support among Scottish peers and M.Ps was essential and in the Scottish countryside it was doubly so. The 1722 election had gone according to plan. All sixteen Scottish peers and an overwhelming number of the forty five M.Ps were well-disposed to the ministry. Walpole aimed at repeating this kind of favourable return. The Jacobites were offering no real trouble in Scotland, they had virtually disappeared at the elections, and many, like Bathurst, Kinnoul and Ogilvy were deserting the Old Pretender. In 1722 Sunderland died, removing Walpole's biggest immediate rival, and he was able to concentrate on his Scottish problem.²

His policy at first was to keep two parties in Scotland to balance the one with the other. But before 1725, for the first time, ministry began to throw all its support behind the Argyll group. This was mainly because Walpole wanted to bind Argyll to him while he worked at loosening Rox'burgh's grip with the king. It is probable that the 1725 Shawfield riots startled Walpole more than anything else. The realization that just below the surface Scotland bristled

1. See above pp.90-91.

2. Sedgwick, vol.1,p.116,143,151; and Renlev, pp.65-67.

with discontent must have come as a surprise to him and to others at Westminster. It seemed to galvanise him into action. He had to stifle these disturbances in the north as speedily as he could. To do so he apparently decided that he must use every scrap of leverage to put things on a firmer footing in Scotland; and he would certainly have known of Drummond's position in the East India Company and his standing in Scotland.

Walpole was made aware that more than resentment of the Malt tax was involved in these riots. Nationalistic feelings and resentment at what appeared a sell-out in 1707 were simmering throughout Scotland and not just in Glasgow and Edinburgh. By and large, London did not appear to appreciate what was going on; but this general complacency was not shared by Walpole who now counted upon the Argathelians and upon massive patronage to win the day.¹

The riots were also just the opportunity that Walpole wanted, and a genuine one, for getting rid of his enemy Roxburgh. Power was at once taken from the Squadrone and given to the Duke of Argyll and his brother Lord Islay. Argyll was also made Master General of Ordnance and Robert Dundas (an enemy of the Argyll party) was replaced as Lord Advocate by Duncan Forbes.² In removing Roxburgh, with the King's consent, a main obstacle to Walpole's control was gone. Argyll, Lord Islay and Duncan Forbes, with their henchmen,

1. H.M.S.C. Portland VII, p.400, 14 Jul. 1725. For example, Dr Stratford in Oxford was able to refer in amazed tones to "the Covenanters in Glasgow being riled." He did note that the northern English papers had a more violent picture to present of events in Scotland than had the London ones.

2. See Realey, pp.65-66,140-1; and Mitchison, p.326. "The London government aware of how little stood between riot and rebellion in the eighteenth century woke up to Scottish problems."

Milton and John Scrope, were thus mobilised to "bring in the Scottish tumults" and nullify Scotland as a "potential centre of trouble....if not kept under proper control."¹ That control was going to be kept by the lavish dispensation of patronage, from any source; and the India patronage John Drummond commanded and was able to distribute meaningfully was important. Walpole's intention in this respect runs through his message to Townshend in September 1725, "Scotland and Ireland are quiet, if we take care to keep them so."² This he intended to do through Argyll and allies (like John Drummond as it proved) who would "keep the Scottish peers and representatives lined up in the ministerial support."³ It was successful enough to make the Jacobite, George Lockhart write in 1727 that the King of England had fixed himself in power "by procuring a parliament to be elected that consisted of as well-disciplined members as those of his powerful army."⁴

John Drummond's correspondence indicates how important he was in creating and maintaining this docile Scottish representation at Westminster as well as a politically stable and quiet Scotland. It is exemplified very well in a letter from Drummond to Lord Aberdour in which he warns that Aberdour and Sir Peter Halkett must not go against Walpole's desires. "...by order Sir R.W. is resolved that none of his friends shall countenance any candidates whatsoever for Fife other than Sir John Anstruther ...if any private grudge or suspicion that Sir John is not acceptable in Fife exists, I can only

-
1. Realey, pp.65-6,142.
 2. Ibid. p.142.
 3. Ibid. p.144
 4. Ibid.

answer that he is acceptable here, and at this time that ought to satisfy every one who desires peace and quiet among the King's friends, and those who at this time will raise new candidates for Fife cannot be esteemed to be acting in concert with Sir R.W. or have any regard to the methods which he has laid down for the ease and quiet of his friends in Scotland and to those whom he has entrusted the management of affairs there."¹

The correspondence reveals the great range, variety and numbers of his contacts; and it shows his own use of the East India patronage he could command and his links with London Administration and Scottish political agents alike, in the years 1725 to 1742. The Abercairney and Morton manuscripts in particular make clear the liaison, even alliance, with Walpole; the connection with the Argyll family; with Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (Lord Milton); with other friends in the Court, in the Government and in Parliament. His ties with the business world, added to those of his younger years, were truly extensive; and especially in the East India Company, among Directors, Proprietors, the shipping interest and servants abroad. These communications revealed in the pages that follow lay bare the nature of the connection between Drummond, the government interests that he served and the families and individuals that he helped. The correspondence uncovers the sinews and operation of the patronage system wielded by John Drummond on behalf of Government among the influential Scottish peers and lairds.²

The violent events of 1725, related above, would have

1. S.R.O. GD 150/3474/26, J. Drummond to Aberdour, 3 Nov. 1733.
2. See also Sutherland(1), pp.21-3; Parker, p.424; Apx.1-4 & Chart 1.

encouraged dialogue between Walpole and Drummond and there is evidence in a letter from Viscount Dupplin to Drummond in 1727 that these ties were indeed well established.¹ The connection was rigorously maintained throughout the years to come. In his letters to Lord Aberdour from 1730-1737, Drummond as often as not "went that day to Sir Robert Walpole", attending diligently to his requests.² In 1732 the Earl of Morton, one of Drummond's closest friends, who exerted enormous political influence locally, while boasting of his own influence with Walpole, made it apparent that Drummond was more important. And both Walpole and Morton used Drummond as a middle-man, channelling their letters through him. Much of this three-way friendship reflected their political partizanship. Morton and Drummond liked each other and their common aims with regard to the better political management of Scotland was served by close unity. They were working against the 'Patriot' opposition beating at the door, especially in 1732. Consequently, patronage dispensed at local level and concern with local issues had a bearing on national politics.³

From 1733 to 1736 the direct Walpole-Drummond connection remained very strong. Governor Pitt of Madras described the relationship almost perfectly when in 1733, in a letter to John Drummond he referred to Walpole's abilities, his hopes that Drummond

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/E, f.65, Ld. Dupplin to J. Drummond, 26 Dec. 1727.

2. S.R.O. GD 150/3474/1-60. Letters from John Drummond to Lord Aberdour, 1730-1737; esp. No.8, dated 22 Aug.1731; No.10, dated 9 Sep.1732.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/496-503A, f.5, E. of Morton to J. Drummond, 20 Jul.1732; See also Simson, p.55.

would remain in the Direction and his own career hopes - all in the one breath.¹ Like others inside the Company, home and abroad, he understood the power that lay concealed behind this delicate partnership. Nor did Drummond make any secret of his friendship with Walpole. He stated it to his family and acknowledged that it was to Chandos that he owed his confidential position with the Prime Minister. He had helped him get close to Walpole and kept him there, supported him in Parliament, and found him favour with the King.² This is corroborated by Chandos' own letters to Drummond, such as those urging him to apply to Walpole for "some mark of respect" for all the aid Drummond had given him; and by references to the combined Drummond-Chandos strength in the Company's Courts, which was so important.³

In October 1734 Drummond wrote to his brother James, "Sir Robert Walpole told me that he had prevailed with Lord Islay to keep Sir David Nairn's place for me".⁴ He referred to the office of Secretary to the Order of the Thistle, vacant with Nairne's death in 1734. But that it was to come through Islay was not at all strange, considering the relationship that had been built up between Drummond and the ducal family by this date; and the fact that both the London and Scottish ends of governmental management of Scotland

1. Drummond was largely responsible for Gov. Pitt's rapid Company promotion. (See below). See also S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.65, Gov. Pitt to J Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.19, J. Drummond to James Drummond, 3 Jan. 1736.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/487-487A, f.121, D. of Chandos to J. Drummond, 18 Mar. 1733; and f.127, 5 Jul. 1733.

4. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, ff.76-8, J. Drummond to James Drummond, 5 Oct. 1734.

were involved. Drummond's early connection had been mainly with the Duke of Argyll rather than his brother Islay.¹ This early friendship, the small world of Scottish politics, the closeness of both to Walpole, and the need of East India patronage for the better political management of Scotland, would have ensured that a contact continued after 1725. In 1732 another John Drummond, of Megginch, a Member of Parliament and deeply involved in Scottish politics with Drummond, suggested just such a friendly state of affairs between Drummond and Argyll; and he indicated Drummond's deep involvement in Scottish politics alongside the Duke and Islay.²

The following year, 1733, there was no doubt at all of the deep attachment and understanding between Islay and John Drummond. And it is significant that this fusion of interests coincided with Islay's virtual take-over of the political management of Scotland from his brother, and the wresting from Walpole of a great deal of independence in the control of Scottish affairs.³

As early as September 1732 Drummond is quite clear about this. He informed Lord Morton's son, Aberdour, "I cannot find Sir R. much inclined to enter into the detail of our Scots elections, leaving them very much to Lord Ilay." In a follow-up to this letter he emphasised this point again, urging Aberdour to "use more time with Lord Ilay" and stating that "Sir R. Walpole...will not dispose of a Scots tide waiter's place without having first Lord Ilays recommendation or approbation." He continued "while Lord Ilay is

1. See pp.93, 96-99 above.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/E, f.100, J. Drummond of Megginch to John Drummond of Quarrel, 30 Oct. 1732.

3. See Simpson, pp.54-6; and Mitchison, pp.326-7.

with you, your Lordship and my brother (William Drummond of Grange) must solicit him for anything and everything...you will find Lord Islay as ready to oblige my friends as he possibly can be."¹

Lord Aberdour served as go-between for this closer relationship; and in one of his letters to Drummond he indicated some of the reasons (on both sides) for such a firm and confidential friendship. He referred to the fact that they had mutual friends and identical political interests, and that Drummond would continue to secure his burgh constituency for the Argathelian interest and support it to the hilt in Parliament. What was made most clear was that Islay looked for patronage help among the voters in the shires and in the burghs through John Drummond.² In 1735 Drummond underlined just how deeply he had committed the patronage he controlled to the Argathelian interest in Scottish politics when he made it clear that he worked only through Islay. This applied even to kinsmen and he advised his brother James that their cousin Laurence Drummond must gain the recommendation of both Islay and Lord Milton, his man of business in Scotland, before anything could happen.³

Drummond followed up his friendship with Walpole, Argyll and Islay, by offering the same to Lord Milton. In a series of candid letters to Milton in June and July 1727, Drummond suggested a sort

-
1. S.R.O. GD 150/3474/24, J. Drummond to Aberdour, 27 Sep. 1733.
 2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.29, Lord Aberdour to J. Drummond, Edinburgh, 19 Jul. 1733.
 3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.73, J. Drummond to James Drummond, 7 Jan. 1735.

of friendship pact. He promised his support and that of his family in Scottish affairs, particularly at elections. He, his brother William and brother-in-law James Haliburton of Pitcur would support the Argathelian political management network in Scotland and would work through Milton and Baron Scrope. He promised to use Milton's channels, despite, as he put it, being on excellent personal terms with Argyll and Lord Islay. Besides this, he would rally his contacts in Scotland and in England, many of whom he described as "friends of the first rank about his majesty".¹ Such overtures would have sounded sweet to Milton and his political masters. These promises of support were the grassroots of political strength.

Drummond promised that any Scots supporter of the Campbells in Scottish local politics would be looked after by him, especially in the provision of East India posts. Nor would this only apply at election time when those with influence would be working hard among the superiorities. He would use his power inside the company and among his shipping friends all year round for their benefit. And he backed up this promise immediately by making special mention of Milton's particular friend Governor Macrae in Madras, for whom he would do "every service in his power" and would "serve his family" faithfully. In return he asked for Milton's friendship, his "favour and assistance" and his help in securing Perth burghs. This was

1. N.L.S.MSS. 16536, f.43, J. Drummond to Milton, 17 June 1727; f.45, J. Drummond to Milton, 11 Jul. 1727; f.47, J. Drummond to Milton, 15 Jul. 1727. See also Riddy, pp.4-5,3. See Chart 1.

granted willingly. He became an M.P. on 9 September 1727.¹

Drummond also skilfully manipulated his friends and dependants into line, his friend, James Haliburton of Pitcur, "must submit to what Lord Milton determined"; and he wished Aberdour was "better friends with Lord Milton for he is better heard than all of us together." And when Milton and Aberdour became friends in 1734, at his instigation, Drummond enthused "it would make things easier in Scotland and in London for us all."²

John Drummond and Milton kept very close contact with each other and conducted a fruitful correspondence. The main topics were Parliamentary elections and in particular Drummond's control of Perth burghs; patronage, both India Company and other favours; commerce, and in particular how Scotland could be made to benefit. The sinews of the management system are also made clear from these letters. Drummond also brought together interested parties, like Lord Morton, George Dempster Senior and Milton. He was industrious in the Commons on behalf of Walpole and the Argathelians, while his friendships with the Duke of Argyll, Islay, Scrope, Duncan Forbes and Milton can be seen developing.

Drummond referred to his desire for a seat in the Commons as "the first mark which I desire of my country's regard for me." He did not, he stressed, wish the seat for personal gain but in order to

1. N.L.S.MSS. 16536, f.43, J. Drummond to Milton, 17 June 1727; f.45, J. Drummond to Milton, 11 Jul. 1727; f.47, J. Drummond to Milton, 15 Jul. 1727. See also S.R.O. GD150/3474/17,21,23,24. Letters from John Drummond to Lord Aberdour 1730-1737. See also S.R.O. GD 150/3477/6, GD 150/3484/1-21, and GD 150/3478/2 on Drummond's political life in Scotland and Westminster.

2. S.R.O. GD150/3474/17,37,38,40,dated 22 Aug. 1732, 2 Nov. 1734, 4 Nov. 1734, 19 Nov. 1734.

"serve his country." His industry in Parliament and the many testimonials from others indicate the truth of this.¹ He was skilful at capturing the most important election officials in the counties and burghs. "The Provost of each town was the man to secure," he related to Milton in July 1727. In other letters he urged Milton to give preferential treatment to friends of his. For instance, he suggested that Sir Alex. Wedderburn's son should be made sheriff-clerk of Haddingtonshire; that Mr. Emmerly should be made Town clerk of Coupar; George Millar, the Town clerk of Perth should be made Registrar of Sasines for Perthshire; and he bemoaned the loss of Provost Melville at Coupar, through his own stupidity.²

As a merchant Drummond could speak with some confidence on most commercial matters. He remarked to Milton upon the poor sale in London of black cattle and linen goods throughout the 1720s and 1730s, and he made strenuous efforts on behalf of Scotland's linen and cloth trade. He also tried to satisfy Milton's request for a contract to supply Saltoun House barley to East Indianmen. But even with the help of Sir John Eyles, his great friend in the shipping interest, he could not bring this about.³

1. N.L.S. MSS. 16535, f.131, Drummond to Milton, Nov. 1727; MSS. 16536, ff.43-52, Drummond to Milton on 17 Jun. 1727, 11 Jul. 1727, 15 Jul. 1727; MSS. 16553, f.37, Drummond to Milton, 15 Mar. 1733; MSS. 16556, f.114, Drummond to Milton, 13 May 1734.

2. N.L.S. MSS. 16536, f.47, Drummond to Milton, 15 Jul. 1727; MSS. 16543, ff.19,21, Drummond to Milton, 10 Jan. 1730 and 21 May 1730; MSS. 16556, f.116, 12 Nov. 1734; MSS. 16565, f.245, Drummond to Milton, 16 Nov. 1734.

3. N.L.S. MSS. 16536, f.50, Drummond to Milton, 7 Nov. 1727; MSS. 16538, f.172, Drummond to Milton, 2 Jan. 1728; MSS. 16549, ff.142,145, Drummond to Milton, Jan. 1732, 29 Jan. 1732; MSS. 16553, f.35, Drummond to Milton, 27 Feb. 1733.

The patronage and political management system was underpinned by Drummond's constancy and availability. He never failed to say that he was "very desirous" of helping Milton who was urged to ask for any information or service he wanted. He "awaited Milton's commands" at all times. Deference, courtesy and willingness to help were Drummond's hall-marks. By 1736 he could inform Milton that in an audience with Walpole he had assured the Minister of Milton's good health and that Scotland was quiet and to his satisfaction. The same month he dined with the Duke of Argyll and assured him of the same.¹

The manner in which Drummond's India patronage was harnessed to government's political wishes regarding Scotland worked satisfactorily, with Drummond enjoying a large degree of autonomy in his dealings with Milton. However, following Islay's takeover of the machinery of Scottish political management in 1733, the situation changed slightly, and although great intimacy remained, a note of formality also entered the relationship. For example, on 14 November 1734 Drummond indicated to his brother William that he was obliged to Lord Milton on all occasions; then just two days later he added, "Lord Milton is the one to consult on these matters (patronage) because the King puts all these things in Lord Islay's hands." In other words, a well ordered system of patronage from Islay, through Milton and Drummond was in existence.²

In August 1735 Drummond was exultant, "Lord Milton is

1. N.L.S. MSS. 16538, ff. 17,24, Drummond to Milton, 21 Jan. 1728, 23 Apr. 1728; MSS. 16556, f. 115, Drummond to Milton, 4 Oct. 1734; MSS. 16565, f.245, Drummond to Milton, 16 Nov. 1736.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.8, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 14 Nov. 1734; f.12, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 16 Nov. 1734.

Justice-Clerk for life....I am glad of it...he has been always my friend."¹ His exuberance reflected that he was now firmly entrenched and perfectly happy within a system which he helped to operate in pursuit of goals which he shared with Milton, the rest of the Argathelians and Walpole. He noted with relish the anguish of the 'Patriot Lords' when the King snubbed the Duke of Hamilton and hung on to every word of the Earl of Hopetoun; and he was happy at the defeat of political enemies in the Lords and the Commons. In fact a delicate change in relationships took place by 1734.

Drummond moved slightly away from Walpole and now served Islay just as much as he did the first minister. But it was a move dictated more by the change in association of his mentors than personal design. His loyalty and political backing for Walpole never wavered, but the patronage at his disposal was increasingly made available first and foremost to Islay and Milton for the administration of Scottish business, which increasingly was in their control.

By 1728 Drummond had become an important member of the Court circle. His early career and especially that with Argyll and Chandos helped. Walpole had him presented to George II in 1728 and to Queen Caroline in 1733.² He was close to Townshend, Marlborough and Lord Bathurst, and particularly to Thomas Hay, Viscount Dupplin. The latter held Walpole's confidence and served the Prime Minister faithfully.

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.71, J. Drummond to James Drummond, 15 Aug. 1735; and f.495, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 4 Feb. 1735.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.65, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733; GD 24/Sect.1/487-487A, f.127, Chandos to J. Drummond, 5 Jul. 1733, et passim.; GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.19, J. Drummond to James Drummond, 3 Jan. 1736.

He was an important and influential member of the political management structure in London which dealt with Scottish business. He worked with Walpole, John Scrope, Argyll and Islay, informally offering advice and information. Later he was to help Walpole's successor Henry Pelham, in the management of parliamentary elections.¹

As part of the Argathelian party, with governmental and parliamentary connections and with such a great deal of patronage to dispense Drummond was important to the Scottish aristocracy and landed gentry, to the bourgeoisie domiciled in Scotland, and to those in London or leading a peripatetic life between the two.² In Parliament, Drummond was an active figure; and in 1734 was described as being fully engaged in "Scottish, Colonial and trade matters."³ He remained firmly in the circle which clung to Walpole at Westminster, a group which included among its leading Scots members Argyll, Islay, Scrope, Morton, Dupplin, and Charles Erskine. Chandos, as in everything else, helped him find his way in

1. See S.R.O. Abercairney MSS. *passim*; e.g. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.154, Ld. Bathurst to J. Drummond, 1 Dec. 1729; GD 24/Sect.1/464/E, f.65, Ld. Dupplin to J. Drummond, 26 Dec. 1731; also N.L.S. MSS.5073, ff.110,158, J. Drummond to Ld. Erskine on 14 Nov. 1728 and 5 Jun. 1730; and Sedgwick, vol.2, pp.113-9.

2. Ibid. e.g. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.151, Moray of Abercairney to J. Drummond, 27 Jun. 1729; GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.29, Ld. Aberdour to J. Drummond, 19 Jul. 1733; GD 24/Sect.1/496-503A, f.5, E. of Morton to J. Drummond, 20 Jul. 1732; See also N.L.S.MSS.5073, f.110, J. Drummond to Charles Erskine, 14 Nov. 1728. See Appendix I. Also GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.116, Sir Thos. Hope to J. Drummond, 1 Jun. 1728; also N.L.S.MSS.5073, f.158, J. Drummond to C. Erskine, 5 Jun. 1730. Most are mentioned below. See Appendix 2.

3. See S.R.O. Abercairney MSS. *passim*; e.g. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.495, J. Drummond to William Drummond, 4 Feb. 1735; also N.L.S. MSS.5073, ff.110,158, J. Drummond to C. Erskine on 14 Nov. 1728 and 5 Jun. 1730. See Sedgwick, Vol.1, pp.622-4, and Hatton(1), n.p.

Parliament.¹

The business acquaintances John Drummond built up from 1722 to 1742 were numerous and important for the operation of the patronage system because of the wider cross-connections they provided him with. He used these contacts carefully, and always on a quid pro quo basis. Such was the case with his relation Andrew Drummond. Wealthy Scots, such as Queensberry were persuaded by John Drummond to place their money beside his own in Andrew Drummond's bank. And from this John Drummond derived in return political gains, such as came from Queensberry's friendship, and young Andrew Drummond's gratitude and help.² He worked in similar fashion with Coutts the bankers in London, who were Scottish; and he was involved with another Scot, Hugh Campbell, in remitting diamonds from India.³ He was friendly

1. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.19, J. Drummond to James Drummond, 31 Jan. 1736; N.L.S. MSS.5073, ff.110, J. Drummond to Chas. Erskine, 14 Nov. 1728; f.158, J. Drummond to Chas. Erskine, 5 Jun. 1730; S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-484, f.75, J. Drummond to William Drummond, 27 Apr. 1731 et passim.; GD 24/Sect.1/496-503A, ff.11, E. of Morton to J. Drummond, 20 Jul. 1732. See also Appendix 4.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/4641/C, f.110, J. Glen to J. Drummond, Jan. 1728; GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.160, Ld. Queensberry to J. Drummond, 5 Jul. 1730. For Andrew Drummond see Bolitho & Peel, pp. 23-4, 34-7, and also S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.33, A Wedderburn to J. Drummond, 16 Aug. 1731.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.8, "Account of sale of Bulses of Diamonds..." dated 8 Jul. 1726. For Coutts, see GD 24/Sect.1/482-484, passim, J. Drummond's letters to William Drummond in the 1720s and 1730s.

with the Dutch envoy, Mr Hope, from 1728 onwards, a rather important connection for Scots in the East India Company in the future, through the amount of stock held by this Dutch banking family with Scottish antecedents.¹ His directorships of the Royal Africa Company in 1722 and the Royal Exchange Assurance Company in 1726 helped to consolidate his already considerable stature in the City and open out other avenues.²

At India House his influence remained strong from 1722 onwards, even after he had left the Direction in 1733. This is illustrated by Chandos' reference in April of that year to them both still "winning in the Direction."³ As Proprietors they were interested in dividends, but even more so in patronage. Besides Decker and Harrison, Drummond was particularly close to John Monson, Sir Gilbert Stewart and to Governor Macrae when he returned from Madras. He kept on close terms too with the Chairs, and indeed, invariably these

1. N.L.S. MSS. 5073, f.110, J. Drummond to Chas. Erskine, 14 Nov. 1728. See also below Ch.11, p.278, and 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

2. See Hatton (1), n.p.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/487-487A, f.121, Chandos to J. Drummond, 18 Mar. 1733.

most important positions were filled by his close friends such as Decker and Harrison.¹

In the important shipping interest Drummond's network of connection was equally impressive. His allies among the leading ships husbands, charter-parties and Commanders were formidable figures. They included the influential John Durand, Benjamin and Christopher Lethieullier, Gerard Conyen, Richard du Cane, Barrington Eaton, Thomas Frederick and Captain John Shepherd.²

Drummond also enjoyed particularly good relationships with leading servants abroad. The help and care he poured out upon so many servants in the settlements ensured this. Such was his power at India House, in league with his friends, that he appeared able to grant important positions to whomsoever he saw fit. The Governorship of Madras reflected this. Governors Harrison, Macrae, Pitt, Horne and Cowan all owed their command there to him and his friends in the Direction. Other leading members of the Presidential councils, such as Dr Colt and Robert Douglas were beneficiaries too from his bounty. They in turn provided openings for others who were

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.155, J. Monson to J. Drummond, 12 Nov. 1729; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.1, Dr Colt to J. Drummond, 7 Dec. 1723; and Ibid. f.70, Gov. Cowan to J. Drummond, 18 Aug. 1733. From 1725 to 1733 the Chairman and Deputy Chairman positions were held by five men: Sir Matthew Decker, Henry Lyell, John Gould, Edward Harrison, Josiah Wordsworth. See C.C. Princep, Record of Services of the Hon. East India Company's Civil Servants, passim.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.5, Ships Owners Benj. & Chris. Lethieullier and others to J. Drummond, 15 July. 1725.

dependent upon Drummond's generosity and took his protégés under their wing when they arrived.¹ Drummond took good care too of individuals who were special to powerful political friends at home. For example, Milton lavished his favours on Macrae through the Drummond-Chandos channel.² Governor George Morton Pitt, the particular friend of the large India Proprietor Sir Gilbert Stewart - whose help would always be needed at Leadenhall - was able to feel the warmth from his friend, again operating through Drummond and Chandos.³

To take stock, by the mid-1720s John Drummond can be pictured in charge of a highly sophisticated patronage system which fitted into the Government's overall framework for the political management of Scotland, and which stretched physically from Scotland to the East Indies and to London. It involved powerful controlling figures inside India House, shipping interests, City banking and merchant circles, and a large body of personal friends at Court and at

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.1, Dr Colt to J. Drummond, 7 Dec. 1723; f.18, Gov. George Morton Pitt to J. Drummond, Sep.1727; f.51, Gov. John Horne to J. Drummond, 14 Mar.1732; f.70, Gov. Cowan to J. Drummond, 18 Aug.1733; and GD 24/Sect.1/464/C,f.222, Lord Torphichen to J. Drummond, 28 Aug. 1733.

2. N.L.S. MSS. 16536, f.45, J. Drummond to Ld. Milton, 11 Jul. 1727.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/487-487A, f.115, Chandos to J. Drummond, 25 Nov. 1732; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.18, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, Sep. 1727; Ibid. f.36, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, Dec.1732. Both Mr Lyel and Sir Gilbert Stewart were his patrons, both Proprietors; Ibid.f.75, Henry Crawford to J. Drummond, 31 Jan. 1733.

Westminster. Initial dispensation of India posts to relatives and close friends in Scotland had been expanded and was firmly linked to the Administration's wishes with regard to Scotland and to Parliamentary majorities in London. The ministry's hopes were to be realised partly through the liberal spread of positions in India among families, such as those traced below, who carried sufficient influence in the Scottish regions to sway the voters towards Government and to maintain their loyalty.

CHAPTER 6.

John Drummond's India Patronage Network and Political Management 1720-1742.

The families helped by John Drummond were quite remarkable in terms of numbers and their position in Scottish life. Those served reveal political cross-connections with one another which were of importance for the binding support and other forms of help that could be expected from them by government. A pattern of inter-relationships is revealed which bring together in collaboration powerful families scattered the length and breadth of Scotland. Such families dealt with the everyday matters of political life of significance as they saw it. They were just as firmly linked to their equals in England through family and friendship and to their fellow Scots in London who were gathering there in numbers in the years following transfer of power in 1707. Connected to those who governed in Scotland, present in Parliament and at the tables of those who ruled from London, gathered in the committee rooms of all the big companies and involved in insurance underwriting, banking and commerce, Scottish tentacles reached everywhere.¹

This is the picture that unfolds from John Drummond's correspondence and with it comes the suggestion, difficult to resist, that the operation of the East India patronage system occupied an important, though largely concealed, position in maintaining this fusion of the ruling propertied and business classes in the two nations. A real threat from what was happening in Scotland was felt by the politically aware English governing classes and stability was

1. See Appendices 1 to 4; 'Patronage Profiles' Section; & Chart 1.

required to safeguard their own position. This inspired collaboration within Walpole's inner cabal regarding the policy of firm Scottish stewardship. On the other hand, little separated the banking, commercial and professional classes north and south of the border and the social mores of the English aristocracy and landed classes were shared, if not aped, by the Scots equivalent. East India patronage and the Drummond route of tapping that patronage were welcome, and freely developed. The individuals who emerge here having benefited from Drummond's inspired patronage, bear witness to this analysis.

By clever use of his favours Drummond achieved an interweave of political interests which absorbed and satisfied the wishes of his political masters, his desirous friends and wavering government supporters. Each individual came to an arrangement with him which depended upon the twin objectives of continued friendship and political support. An excellent example occurred in September 1734. Alex Binney, the son of the Provost of Forfar, was in London and had applied to Drummond for a post. Drummond told Lord Aberdour "I propose to make him a hostage". He meant that in return for help for his son, the Provost would use his interest in Forfar on Drummond's behalf.¹

John Drummond carefully served the interests of his own kinsmen and, where the opportunity presented itself, did what he could for those who had supported the Jacobite cause in 1715 and now showed a change of inclination. Drummond's Jacobite ancestry, his

1. See S.R.O. GD 150/3474/24, J. Drummond to Lord Aberdour, 27 Sept. 1733.

sympathetic understanding of the predicament of the Stewart followers and his grasp of the need to bring them back within the orbit of Scottish life, for Unionist ends as well as for mending the Scottish social fabric, made him pursue a policy which would allow government to permit this on the one hand and make the Jacobites appreciative on the other. Besides, Jacobite leaders commanded influence among many voters.¹ It was because of these views that George Threipland, son of one of his own Jacobite relations, Sir David Threipland, was sent out by Drummond in 1724 as a ships surgeon and put under the protection of Governors Macrae and Pitt, Dr Colt and John Graham. He was to die in Madras in 1731.² In 1724 Drummond was asked by James Ogilvie (Lord Airlie) to get him a pardon; in April 1731 he also struggled to obtain pardons for the Jacobites Sir James Stewart, William Stewart, Mr Murray and Sir David Threipland and in 1728 pleaded with Lord Chesterfield for "mercy for Mr Carnegie."³ He met with only a limited degree of success in this endeavour, as is clear from a letter to his brother in February 1735 in which he informed him that no Jacobites were to be admitted to posts, on instructions from above.⁴ Fear among the government's agents and

1. See Riddy, p.5, and Appendix 5 on Jacobites.

2. His sisters were Christina and Elizabeth. The latter married Henry Smith of Cammo. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.3, Geo. Threipland to J. Drummond, 2 Dec. 1724; f.9, M. Hairstones to J. Drummond, 2 Jan. 1727; f.15, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, Jul. 1728; f.31, John Graham to J. Drummond, 15 Aug. 1731; f.35, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 10 Jan. 1732. For Macrae, Pitt and Graham see below.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-484, f.75, J. Drummond to William Drummond, 27 Apr. 1731. Sir James Stewart's influence was very strong still in Lanarkshire and Morayshire where he was a landowner; Timperley, passim. See also H.M.S.C. Charles Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray MSS, pp.153-154.

4. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.495, J. Drummond to William Drummond, 4 Feb. 1735.

supporters was still strong; and despite the wish to bring those sympathetic to the '15 back within the fold and to use their political influence, distrust prevented them from being given patronage and posts via the system proper. That John Drummond could by-pass the system is indicated by his patronage of George Threipland. And in the years before the '45 much distrust of Jacobites had faded, allowing the patronage system to be operated as fully as possible for ex-Jacobites (under the skilful and sympathetic guidance of Lord Milton).¹

The content of Drummond's correspondence in the 1720s and 1730s overwhelmingly indicates that he was part of a Scottish political network consisting of government supporters with here and there an independent personality. Most of his business with these people concerned local politics and the patronage he could make available to them. But this spilled over into other affairs, cementing the ties. Their involvement on the Argathelian side in elections, such as those of 1727 and 1734 make this point.

At all times Drummond had the support of a select group of particular friends in Scotland, personal friends of himself and his family. They included Lord Morton, Lord and Lady Aberdour, Lord Abercairney, the Earl of Hopetoun and his wife, Lady Anne Ogilvie, Sir Peter Halkett and James Haliburton of Pitcur. In a letter from George Douglas to his brother Lord Morton, dated London 15 July 1729, he itemised the political support they both would give John Drummond. Douglas also urged Morton to recommend Drummond to Provost Glenbervie

1. See Appendix 5 on Jacobites.

of St. Andrews, whose influence was essential to gain Perth burghs. He added it was but "the price of gratitude to the memory of the worthy old Blair (John Drummond's father) and an act of favour to this honest gentleman, who takes great pleasure in serving every man of his country when it falls in his province, and has helped many of them to business." The help given by Aberdour and Haliburton at the St. Andrews election of 1732, ably helped by Lords Douglas, Duncade and Rothes, was again typical of this back-up.¹ They were all reliant upon one another for support and for pursuing the government line in Scotland.

To these can be added close acquaintances who formed a veritable list of who was who in Scotland at that time; Lords Leven, Grange and Kinnoul; Sir James Kinloch and Thomas Hope of Hope Park (whose family Drummond helped enormously and who vehemently promised in return his political support); Alexander Hay, Messrs. Hamilton and Gordon; Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick (who in 1733 wanted Drummond to join him in the furtherance of an educational scheme for the poor); John Drummond of Megginch, who guaranteed his help to Drummond in the 1732 election against Sir John Bruce; the Stirlings of Keir - Drummond's neighbours at Quarrel, who as well as getting many of the family to India through Drummond, also asked his help in

1. S.R.O. GD 150/3470/9, Geo. Douglas to Ld. Morton, 15/7/1729, also S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-484, ff.1-74, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, *passim*. - on local politics and elections, 1727-1736; GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, f.29, Ld. Aberdour to J. Drummond, Edinburgh, 19 Jul. 1733. This involvement was deliberate, patronage in return for influence.

getting to know the Earl of Morton and other Lords of the realm.¹ In 1734 Drummond was instrumental in getting two sons of Sir James Kinloch "into the India Service", at their father's request. They were William and John Kinloch, and had been sent out as writers. In return Sir James Kinloch pledged his support for Drummond during the approaching election: "I hope you don't doubt my doing all for you in my power, tho' I dare not make you the compliment that this entirely in return for the personal favours I've received from you, since I must own that anyone who regards the interest of the country must prefer you."² For political purposes he had friends all over Scotland, such as John Burn and Eden Burnett of Aberdeen (whose brother he placed in the Corn business in London) and Lords Abercromby and Cathcart whose friends were found places in America and the West Indies in the 1730s. In the meantime he had also made another influential and powerful contact in Lord Elphinstone, through the amicable arrangement they came to over the purchase of the Quarrel estate.³

Sometimes Drummond was able to get government patronage, as opposed to India patronage for his friends. He would "work through

1. S.R.O. Abercainey MSS passim; e.g. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.177, Stirling of Keir to J. Drummond, 4 Mar. 1732; f.196, Sir Thomas Hope to J. Drummond, 4 Sept. 1732; f.225, Sir James Kinloch to J. Drummond, Dundee, 8 Sep. 1733.
2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, ff.185-7, Sir Jas. Kinloch to J. Drummond of Quarrel, 5 May 1734.
3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.50, J. Burn to J. Drummond, 25 Sep. 1721; f.183, Eden Burnett to J. Drummond, 24 Jul. 1732; S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, ff.71-84, passim. David Moncrieffe to Spanish Town, Jamaica, James Wedderburn to Charlestown, and D. Gordon to Philadelphia; S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, ff.66-8, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, Jan.1724; and f.128, W. Drummond to J. Drummond, 14 Dec. 1728.

Islay and after Walpole's recommendation to oblige with a post."¹ And his generosity with all forms of patronage he could muster for the benefit of his fellow Scots is well attested to by his correspondents. He was described as "unweary, stable and well-doing" for his "country, countrymen and friends", by Thomas Hope of Hope Park;² "serviceable to your countrymen", by Stirling of Keir;³ "the father of all our young countrymen", again by Thomas Hope of Hope Park;⁴ and "disinterested in his service to Scots", as far as John Cleland was concerned, and for whom Drummond had performed "numberless obligations".⁵ In return for all this Drummond was promised support at the elections from Thomas Hope of Hope Park for "all the services done by John Drummond for his sons";⁶ from Lord and Lady Hyndford; from William Moncrieff; and from John Drummond of Megginch.⁷ In fact Drummond was kept so busy that he complained in 1734 "my own provosts of my own towns are unprovided and dunning me daily".⁸

1. N.L.S. MS.16536,f.43, John Drummond to Milton, 17 Jun.1727; and S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495,f.495, John Drummond to William Drummond, 4 Feb. 1735. See also GD 150/3474/54, John Drummond to Lord Aberdour, 30 Oct. 1736.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C.f.116, Thos. Hope of Hope Park to John Drummond, 1 Jun. 1728.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.177, Stirling of Keir to John Drummond, 6 Feb. 1731.

4. Ibid. f.196, Thos. Hope of Hope Park to John Drummond, 4 Sep. 1732.

5. Ibid. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.43, John Cleland to John Drummond, 23 Jan. 1732.

6. Ibid. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.196, Thos. Hope of Hope Park to John Drummond, 4 Sep. 1732.

7. Ibid. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.23, Lady Hyndford to John Drummond, 28 Nov. 1733; Ibid. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.163, W. Moncrieff to John Drummond, 6 Feb. 1731; Ibid. GD 24/Sect.1/464/E, f.100, John Drummond of Megginch to John Drummond of Quarrel, 30 Oct. 1732.

8. Ibid. GD 24/Sect.1/488-495, ff.76-78, John Drummond to James Drummond, 5 Oct. 1734.

The full picture of the numbers involved who gained posts in India or on board Indiamen through John Drummond's good offices and whose families in turn performed useful political service can be read from the Appendices. And they also make clear that he was close to the hereditary sheriffs and other influential men with "natural" or "nominal" interest among the superiorities as described already. Both in county and burgh his correspondents, whose families and dependents were helped with India posts, were the most influential figures and were government supporters to a man.¹ Drummond had direct contact with at least 123 hereditary sheriffs(and others among the leading families who had a chief interest) in 28 out of the 48 counties and burghs in Scotland during the years 1720 to 1742.² Thirty two positive identifications of politically powerful men who were also Drummond's friends and fellow collaborators can be made in 22 of the 33 counties. They and their families were deep in electoral activity on behalf of the government Whigs through Drummond and the Argathelian group, and were in receipt of India patronage in return for their support and reliability. The same extraordinary picture emerges with the burghs. In 14 out of the 15 groups of burghs 19 positive identifications can be made connecting people John Drummond helped with the most important burgh-mongers in Scotland. Five other individuals are almost certainly in the same category through their relationship with very pro-government families.³

1. See Appendices 1 & 2. See also 'Patronage Profiles'.

2. Ibid.

3. This does not include the Argathelian controlled counties of Argyllshire, Ayrshire, Buteshire, Dunbartonshire. (See Sedgwick, vol.1, pp.381-404; Appendices 1 & 2, and 'Patronage Profiles'.).

He also maintained a presence in those counties and burghs where he was weakest. For example in Sutherland he had James Sinclair; Stirlingshire the Haldanes; Selkirkshire the Pringles; and Roxburghshire the Scotts. In Aberdeen he had the Arbuthnot family; in Haddington, Lord Milton; Perth, Lord Rothes; Stirling, the Erskines, Halkett and Haldanes.¹ These men were the leading landowners and wielded overwhelming electoral power in their localities. Many others, almost certainly useful for the purpose of political management appear in his correspondence and can be regarded in such a light. The Kinloch family and Lord Aberdour, Lord Morton's son, are just such instances.²

Such statistics demonstrate the extent of Drummond's contribution to political management in the early part of the century. The use of his India patronage helped create a finer mesh for fishing Scottish political waters, and ensured rich pickings with no landowning or electoral force left undetected or unsolicited. This can be made clearer by separating the more important of the peers and gentry involved into three groups, analysis of which illuminates the effectiveness of the system in operation and its wide-spread application.

First there were those Scots, who were usually resident in London, close to Walpole and part of the governmental circle, but with extensive influence in Scotland. They have been mentioned

1. See Sedgwick, vol.1, pp.381-404; Appendices 1 & 2, and 'Patronage Profiles'.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.225, Sir James Kinloch to John Drummond, 8 Sep. 1733. He joined with Aberdour and Drummond's other friends in casting votes in the elections as Drummond desired.

before, the Argyll-Islay group, Duncan Forbes, John Scrope, Viscount Dupplin, Sir Gilbert Stewart and Charles Erskine. The second group involves the peers, among whom an order of electoral importance emerges reflecting their respective weight among the superiorities all over Scotland, and paralleled by the volume of India patronage showered upon them by Drummond. Thus the earl of Hopetoun is in the first rank, as are Morton and Aberdour, closely followed by Rothes, Hyndford and Elphinstone. The last group comprises men with unusual weight in counties and burghs who received help from Drummond. It includes the names of Atholl, Annandale, Fortrose, Queensberry, Moray of Abercairney, Findlater, Cathcart, the Earl Marischal, Eroll, Abercromby, Seaforth, Leven and Kinnoul.

The third group is drawn from the most important members of the Scottish landed gentry, the lairds whose influence among the voters can be well instanced and whose relationship with Drummond was strong. This selection too has its more important members, such as the Murros of Foulis, Sinclairs, Haldanes, Hopes of Hope Park and Rankeillor, the Haliburtons and Halkett of Pitcur. Others included John Drummond's own family, the Drummonds of Perthshire and the Ramsays of Bamffe, Mackenzie of Delvine, Scotts and Douglasses of Gala, Stirlings of Keir, Oliphants of Gask, Dalrymple of North Berwick, Carnegies of Forfarshire, and Clerk of Penicuik. When orchestrated for elections and in support of governmental measures across the breadth of Scotland, these people formed the core of support for the Argathelians and Walpole's Whig ministry that proved

to be unbeatable.¹

Of course Drummond's help getting Scotsmen to India had been given at first to people who were family, friends of the family, who followed the family path in politics and much else and honoured the same patrons. This was particularly so in the 1720 to 1725 period, before his patronage was so closely linked with government's wishes. His relations and their close acquaintances throughout Scotland were first to receive India patronage; but even then this was closely interwoven with political loyalty. Many of those he favoured were friends of his father, George Drummond, and help went to their sons and connections. In like manner friends and relations of his surviving brothers, William and James were served.² The Drummonds held several estates in Perthshire and their own 'natural' interest was significant.³ His Haliburton nephews, James, John and niece Jean, born to his sister Mary who had married James Haliburton of Pitcur benefited early.⁴ They and their friends, together with Drummond's cousin Alexander Wedderburn received great help from him; not just in getting them to India but in pursuit of their fortunes once there.⁵ People favoured by his kinsmen, George Drummond, Provost of Edinburgh,⁶ and Andrew Drummond, the London banker, were attended to as well. He also sent over to Fort St. George, his

1. Appendices 1 & 2.

2. Hatton(1), n.p. His brothers David and George were dead.

3. See Timperley, passim.

4. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, ff.80, James Haliburton to J. Drummond, 28 Oct. 1725.

5. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.9, M. Hairstanes to J. Drummond, 2 Jan. 1727; f.84, James Haliburton to J. Drummond, 5 Feb. 1738; and Abercairney MSS. passim. See pp. 131-132 below for A. Wedderburn.

6. See T. C. Smout, Provost Drummond, passim.

cousin George Ramsay. He was the incompetent son of Sir Gilbert and Elizabeth Ramsay of Bamffe, related to him through his mother. Before he died in 1726 this Ramsay remitted money home to Scotland through John Drummond.¹ Friends of his nephew George Drummond (his brother James' son) were helped too. His other niece, Agatha (named by his brother James in honour of John Drummond's wife Agatha van der Brent) married James, Lord Aberdour, son of the Earl of Morton, Drummond's staunch friend and political ally, and a leading figure in the Argathelian group.²

The relationship with the Haliburtons of the Pitcur estate was particularly close and especially that with his nephew John Haliburton. In 1735 this able young man who became an accomplished linguist, was quickly made a Factor. The promise of amassing wealth that this meant gave satisfaction not only to his father and brother but also to the Earl of Morton their close friend. From 1736 to 1741 John Haliburton was Resident at Madapallam. At Fort St. George he had the friendship, through his uncle John Drummond, of Governor Benyon and Messrs. Morse and Monson, free merchants; and he and his cousin Alexander Wedderburn (q.v.), also out there through John Drummond, rallied to one another. In London he was supported by Andrew Drummond the banker who joined John Drummond in signing his

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0,f.11, John Lauder to J. Drummond, 26 Jan. 1727. He was posted to Fort St. George.
2. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/496-503A,f.7, Earl Morton to J. Drummond, 20 Jul. 1732; and Abercairney MSS. passim.

bond.¹ The Haliburtons, it might be added were landowners with considerable electoral influence in Angus, Mid-Lothian, Orkney and Shetland. In the latter they came under the shelter of the Earl of Morton, and enjoyed a close friendship with that family.²

The plum jobs abroad, in the 1720s, were in the Company's Civil Service where private trading was able to prosper most. These posts went to family and relations of very close friends. Only after they were served did Drummond grant others such lucrative posts; and again only in direct accordance with friendship, usefulness to government and to management of Scottish affairs through their local political influence. The careers of Drummond's cousin Alexander Wedderburn and those of Alexander Halkett, Henry Lowther, John Hope and Hugh Campbell reflect this pecking order. Alex. Wedderburn, son of John Wedderburn of Dundee was sent to the Bay of Bengal in 1721 through the influence exerted on the Company Directors by his cousin John Drummond. He eventually resigned the service and returned home in 1743. He started off as a Purser at Surat, with Drummond's help and moved to Fort St. George where he received Governor Macrae's additional support in the coastal trade. But in 1727 he applied to Drummond to be made a Factor in the Company's service in Bengal. He

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.8, James Haliburton to John Haliburton, 28 Jun. 1725; GD 24/Sect.1/495, f.24, John Drummond to James Drummond; GD 150/2639, n.p. John Haliburton to James Haliburton, 30 Dec. 1741; GD 150/3483/2, n.p., John Haliburton to the Earl of Morton, Jan. 1741; GD 150/3478/39, n.p. John Haliburton to his father James Haliburton, 25 Nov. 1736; GD 150/3483/11, n.p. John Haliburton to the Earl of Morton, 12 Oct. 1740; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.84, John Haliburton to John Drummond, 5 Feb. 1738; Love, Vestiges, Vol.2, p.332. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section'.

2. See Timperley, passim.

described this as without doubt the best that could be done for him.¹ Drummond persuaded the youth's father to send him money to trade with, sent him books himself and urged Governor Pitt, in September 1727, to carry on where Macrae had left off and help the young man to make his fortune. Wedderburn also received much help from the future Governor Bouchier. By 1731 Drummond and Sir Matthew Decker had got him his Factor's position in Bengal - for which he was fulsome in his thanks. Andrew Drummond the London banker and John Crawford² stood security. Wedderburn soon combined with others in the clannish group of young Scots treasure hunters sent out by Drummond in this period. They had in common Drummond's patronage and the urge to make money very quickly and not much else; although their Scottish heritage seemed to bring them closer together. Wedderburn became part of the circle of Scots who comprised Robert Douglas, Matthew Hairstanes, Colin Mackenzie and Dr. Littlejohn.³ He also made contacts in the country trade, especially with the merchant firm of Morse and Monson; and between 1731 and 1743 he built up a lucrative private business, using his Company position to

1. See Marshall, passim. He was perfectly echoing Commander Rannie's sentiments. See Ch.7, pp.177-8.

2. See Appendix 1 and pp.140 below for Crawford's relations, also sent out by Drummond.

3. S.R.O. GD 150/3474/53, A. Wedderburn to J. Drummond, 6 Nov. 1735; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.9. M. Hairstanes to J. Drummond, 2 Jan. 1727; f.13, A Wedderburn to J. Drummond, 4 Jul. 1727; f.33, A. Wedderburn to J. Drummond, 16 Aug. 1731; f.61, Robert Douglas to J. Drummond, 13 Jan. 1733; ff.63-6, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733. See also Marshall, p.230.

promote his fortune.¹

Alex. Halkett, son of Sir Peter Halkett of Pittfarrine (uncle to both John Drummond and Alexander Wedderburn) was sent out by his cousin John to Bengal in 1724 as a Writer. In 1733 he was made a Factor there by Drummond and his friends, despite Lord Townshend's son being in contention for the post.² Another Englishman, Henry Lowther, brother of Drummond's City friend Sir William Lowther, with the backing of Elizabeth, Lady Hyndford, used Drummond to get out to Bombay in 1725. In Bombay he became a bosom friend of John Hope. (q.v.) By 1728 he was busy applying to Drummond and Sir Matthew Decker for their help in securing the Chiefship at Surat, and was fawning upon Governors Phipps and Cowan with the same end in view. He too maintained his country trade exploits in which it is clear that Drummond had a personal involvement, especially in the coffee trade from Mocha.³

John Hope went to Bombay some time before 1725. While there, he became a close friend of Henry Lowther and he too shared in Drummond's patronage.⁴ Hugh Campbell was sent a Writer to Fort St.

1. S.R.O. GD 150/3474/53, ff.9,13,15,27,33,61, letters from M. Hairstaines, A. Wedderburn, Gov. Pitt, R. Douglas, to J. Drummond, from 1727 to 1733; GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.240, John Wedderburn to J. Drummond, 9 Jan. 1734; and Marshall, p.230, footnote 7. (Note also that his cousin John Haliburton was also friendly with Morse and Monson.)

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.71, P.Halkett to J.Drummond, 21 Dec.1724; and f.207,P.Halkett to J.Drummond, c.1733.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.75, H. Lowther to J. Drummond, 6 Apr. 1725; f.233, Eliz. Hyndford to J. Drummond, 28 Nov. 1733; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.23, H. Lowther to J. Drummond, 31 Dec. 1727.

4. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/E, f.90, Thos. Hope to J. Drummond, 18 Sep. 1732. He said "for all the services John Drummond did for his sons", he in turn was bound to serve him at the elections of M.Ps; see also S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.196, Thos. Hope to J. Drummond, 4 Sep. 1732; Riddy, p.5.

George in the 1720s. He was Drummond's main business agent there. By 1726 he was sending diamonds home to Drummond and to Sir Thomas Brand via Commander William Monson. These were in turn sold by them to a Mr Shales through the broker Isaac Nimes for £1,600. In 1728 a further 1,000 pagodas were remitted via Campbell's attorney Major Roach to Drummond. By that date Drummond had placed him under the care of Governors Macrae and Pitt, with whom he became very friendly. In 1732 Drummond had him made a Factor.¹

Apart from the money from remitting diamonds, Drummond was also pushing silver out to John Haliburton,² and was involved in the country trade with Henry Lowther, especially in coffee from Mocha, as described above. He invested through a native broker called Loldass who "made good" for them both "150,000 rupees (just under £15,000) with compound interest of 9 per cent."³ Drummond also lent money to Scots abroad, such as to Dr James Scott, Scott of Gowanberry's brother.⁴ With the purchase of Quarrel estate (£7,700 Scots),⁵ his deposits in Andrew Drummond's bank, and all his other exploits John Drummond was financially very healthy in the 1720s and 1730s.

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.75, H. Lowther to J. Drummond, 6 Apr. 1725; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.23, H. Lowther to J. Drummond, 20 Mar. 1728; and Riddy, pp.12-13; and S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.8, "Account of Sale of Bulses of Diamonds", 8 Jul. 1726; f.17, Gov. Macrae to J. Drummond, 14 Jan. 1728; f.19, Maj. Roach to J. Drummond, 21 Jan. 1728; f.36, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 10 Jan. 1732; f.50, H. Campbell to J. Drummond, 31 Jan. 1732.

2. S.R.O. GD 150/3483/11, John Haliburton to Morton, 12 Oct. 1740. Morton also lent him money.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.23, H. Lowther to John Drummond, 31 Dec. 1727.

4. Ibid. f.21, James Scott to John Drummond, n.d. but between 1725 and 1727.

5. Purchased in 1722. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, ff.66-68, William Drummond to John Drummond, 3 Feb. 1722.

Four of the most useful men he sent to India were Drs. Colt and Littlejohn (who arrived in Bengal in 1724) and John Stackhouse and Matthew Hairstanes, in Madras in 1726, where they were befriended, at Drummond's request, by Governor Pitt. As well as collaborators and correspondents, they looked after and organised those Scots sent out by John Drummond and, on his instructions, gave these young men every assistance, such as that given to Kenneth Mackenzie (q.v.) nephew of John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.); David Graham (q.v.), Hugh Sommerville's friend; Robert Baird the surgeon; and Peter and Alexander Blair, sons of Drummond's kinsman Peter Blair of Edinburgh, who arrived at Fort St. George in 1731 and 1732 respectively. Others, like Drummond's cousin, George Ramsay, already mentioned, the "idle and expensive" younger son of Bamffe, who was sent to Bombay in 1731, and Daniel Innes, "friend and kinsman" of Dr. Robert Innes, who went to Bombay, were also cared for, again at Drummond's request, by Governor Cowan and Henry Lowther.¹

Not surprisingly when the memory of the '15 was so strong in

1. The Mackenzie of Delvine connection was very important. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-4/ , f.87, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 19 Jun. 1731; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.29, K. Mackenzie to J. Drummond, 21 Dec. 1730; f. 41, Dr Littlejohn to J. Drummond, 20 Jan. 1732; GD 24/Sect.1/482-4, f.93, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 16 Jul. 1731. GD 150/3483/2, J. Haliburton to Earl of Morton, Jan. 1741; GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.179, Laurence Oliphant of Gask to J. Drummond, 20 May 1732. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.54, D. Graham to J. Drummond, 30 Feb. 1732. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.194, Duchess of Atholl to J. Drummond, 19 Oct. 1732. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.191, Lady Ann Ogilvie to J. Drummond, 7 Oct. 1732. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.40, D. Innes to J. Drummond, 12 Jan. 1732; f.41, Dr Littlejohn to J. Drummond, 20 Jan. 1732. GD 24/Sect.1/482-4, f.60, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 16 Mar. 1731; f.139, J. Drummond to W. Drummond, 16 Jul. 1732; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.11, John Lauder to J. Drummond, 26 Jan. 1727; f.73, A. Blair to J. Drummond, 15 Dec. 1733; GD 24/Sect.1/482-4, f.92, Gov. G. Pitt to J. Drummond, 18 Jan. 1731.

everyone's mind, John Drummond of Quarrel made no Scottish appointments to the company's military service. On the other hand many individuals patronised by him were given ships berths. Besides the trust this implied, it reflected how strong were Drummond's connections with the powerful shippers in the Company's service. This was especially so with the Lethieullier brothers, Christopher and Benjamin. Drummond's care for the career of James Macrae, later a ship's Commander and then Governor of Madras, exemplifies these shipping links. Nothing is known of Macrae's entry into the Company's service, but it must have been by the back door. He was probably co-opted as a Writer in Madras, perhaps as a useful Secretary to the Governor. His entry to the Company's service would be validated after the event in London. His very rapid promotion to Governor of Madras suggests, however, that he used his friendship with Milton (unexplained) and subsequently with Drummond.

Macrae was in regular correspondence with Drummond from the 1720s to the early 1730s (until he came back to Scotland). He enjoyed the support of Lord Milton and within the Company that of Henry Lyell, Governor Pitt, and Sir Gilbert Stewart, as well as that of Drummond and his cohorts there. In India he was supported by Drummond's friend Major Roach and his cousin Alexander Wedderburn - especially

in his feud with George Pigot.¹

Drummond's close friend, Moray of Abercairney (also a boon companion of James Haliburton of Pitcur), asking for patronage for a seafaring nephew, John Moray, illustrates the drive among trained Scottish seamen and others in this period to get out of Scotland to London and abroad because of lack of opportunities at home. But more than that it reflects the absolute necessity that then prevailed, of having a friend in Scotland (in this case Abercairney) who in turn had a powerful London friend (John Drummond).²

Others found a route out to India as ships surgeons or surgeons mates (posts which were usually abandoned upon arrival). Two examples of this were George Threipland, in 1724, and the future Commander Elliot. The latter was sent to Bencoolen in 1727 at the request of Lord Milton and his close friend Governor Carnegie (q.v). (He in turn had been granted his post in Bencoolen through Milton's understanding with Drummond). Sumatra was a miserable post where life expectancy was poor. But with luck and the type of backing Governor Carnegie could give, Elliot made a fortune. As far as

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.5, Christopher and Benjamin Lethieullier (and others) to J. Drummond, 15 Jul. 1725; f.13, A. Wedderburn to J. Drummond, 4 July 1727; f.17, Gov. Macrae to J. Drummond, 14 Jan. 1728; f.18, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, Sep. 1727; f.36, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 10 Jan. 1732; N.L.S. MSS. 16536, f.45, J. Drummond to Lord Milton, 11 Jul. 1727. Riddy, p.8. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.52, Lord Kinnoul to J. Drummond, 6 Nov. 1721. Ibid. f.88, J. Douglas to J. Drummond, 3 Oct. 1725; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.21, J. Scott to J. Drummond, May 1728; and ff. 60-1, Robert Douglas to J. Drummond, 13 Jan. 1733. See also A. Macrae, History of the Clan Macrae, pp. 235-242, and 'Patronage Profiles' Section, p.352.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.151, Moray of Abercairney to J. Drummond, 27 Jun. 1729. He added that all his relatives would be 'obliged' to Drummond.

Drummond and Milton were concerned, Gov. Carnegie had "useful connections in Forfar and Aberdeen" and his own promotion and that of Elliot followed accordingly.¹ In 1725 a young accountant, George Fotheringham, was recommended to Drummond by Sir Peter Halkett of Pittfarrine. He was introduced as a man of standing. He typified countless younger sons who had to go abroad to earn a living. George Fotheringham had only £2000 (Scots) but was intent upon embarking as a trader or free merchant in the East Indies. Halkett concluded his recommendation to Drummond with the sort of flattery which he was to hear very often, albeit that it was true, "the proofs you have given of your friendship to gentlemen of this country are so well known that many are solicitous to be recommended to your favour ... you know best what can be done."²

Drummond's powers of patronage increased in the decade 1730 to 1740. The Abercairney manuscripts alone indicate that over twenty shipping, surgeon and free merchant positions were found; and at least thirty posts within the Company's civil service, for needy Scots. Such numbers, while reflecting his continued patronage powers in the Company, also indicate, through the families served, the ever-stronger political links being forged through his own agency between the Scottish lairds and his own political masters. In general the bursts of activity by Drummond in distributing patronage

1. N.L.S. MSS. 16536, f.45, J. Drummond to Milton, 11 Jul. 1727. See also Appendix 2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.123, J. Stewart to J. Drummond, 11 Jan. 1728. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.15, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, Sept. 1727.
2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.80, Peter Halkett to J. Drummond, 28 Jun. 1725.

coincided with the lead-up to elections, such as those in 1727 and 1734. But there was a steady bestowal of favours through the years determined of course by the availability or otherwise of posts. From 1733 in particular, following Drummond's alignment with Islay, his devotion to serving the Argathelian and ministerial interests was marked by the increased patronage he brought to bear.

Drummond's formidable power inside the Company was portrayed by John Horne in his letter to Drummond in 1732 thanking him for making him Governor of Bombay in succession to Governor Cowan.¹ That year Drummond sent out medical graduates to the Company's Bengal Presidency, such as Surgeons Drummond and Robinson. They went out aboard the Drake to receive Dr Littlejohn's help when they arrived at Fort William.² Surgeon Andrew Munro arrived in 1733. He was later to minister to the dying Charles Carmichael, Lady Hyndford's son.³ He was typical of the profusion of trained doctors and surgeons searching for and finding posts abroad which in turn reflected the dearth of openings at home. His case exemplifies the excellence of Scottish medical training but also the hopelessness without connections. Only through people like John Drummond could the middle and upper classes provide for their sons in return for pledging their votes.

Many of the young men sent out by Drummond died soon after arrival, like "young Arbuthnot" dead in 1732, the year he went out;

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.51, J. Horne to J. Drummond, 14 Mar. 1732.

2. Ibid. f.41, Dr Littlejohn to J. Drummond, 20 Jan. 1732.

3. Ibid. ff.63-6, Gov. G. Pitt to J. Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733.

and "Mrs Smith's son", who died in Fort William that same year following his voyage out.¹ Others lasted a little longer. John Cleland died in 1733, after a year's residence; Henry Crawford after nine years (1732-1741). His connections were extensive: in Scotland his brothers Gideon, John and George Crawford; in India he was the friend of Governor Pitt and Commander Fasham Nairne - both close to Drummond.²

Another feature of Drummond's patronage was the help given to "ladies of quality", either in their efforts to get to India or help for their friends. It was striking and reflected the influence they commanded, directly or otherwise. For instance, as early as 1724 Lady Ramsden of Byram had managed to get him to send her son James Ramsden out to India.³ In 1732 Lord Cathcart urged Drummond to find Miss Ballantyne a passage out. She was on good terms with Lady Suffolk and Lady Betty Germain, among others. She arrived in 1733,⁴ the same year as a Mrs Baird, whose desire to go was brought to Drummond's attention by Lords Abercromby and Morton.⁵ Elizabeth, Lady Hyndford (and Sir Thomas Frederick) pressed Drummond to get her son Charles Carmichael and her nephews, surgeon Michael and George Carmichael out to good positions. They arrived in Surat in 1733 and

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.41, Dr Littlejohn to J. Drummond, 20 Jan. 1732; ff.63-6, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733.

2. Ibid. f.43, J. Cleland to J. Drummond, 23 Jan. 1732; f.75, H. Crawford to J. Drummond, 31 Jan. 1733; W. H. Warren and N. Barlow, St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, Madras, p.35.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.72, Elizabeth, Lady Ramsden to J. Drummond, 25 Jan. 1724.

4. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.61, J. Stackhouse to J. Drummond, 15 Jan. 1733; f.82, Mr Wiston to J. Drummond, 30 Nov. 1735.

5. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/496-503A, f.5, Earl of Morton to J. Drummond, 20 Jul. 1732.

were placed under the wing of Henry Lowther.¹ Charles Carmichael's case perfectly illuminates the influence of a powerful figure like Lady Hyndford. Apart from being a big landowner in her own right in East Lothian, she could influence her husband and the Lowthers, and help Drummond at elections. In the case of George Carmichael she instructed Drummond that he be "fitted out" for abroad in sea or land service "not too low" at Fort St. George.²

The Countess of Errol, writing from Slaines Castle, prevailed upon Drummond to get a Mr Fergusson's friend, Mr Irvine, sent out ships surgeon's mate, also in 1733.³ She and the Earl Marischal also gained (through Drummond's good offices) a post in 1733 for John Forbes, as a crew member of the Harrington, commanded by Captain Jenkins.⁴ Already in 1732, Drummond had obliged the Duchess of Atholl and Lady Ann Ogilvie.⁵ Even as early as 1713, in his first dealings with the East India Company and before he was a Director, he had been able to oblige Mrs Patricia Stevenson of Edinburgh by getting her brother William Stevenson made chaplain at St Mary's church, Fort St. George. He was befriended there by Governor Phipps, and died in office in 1721.⁶ But to cap all these instances of Drummond's grace and favour towards ladies, and to illustrate

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.68, Charles Carmichael to J. Drummond, 30 Jan. 1732; GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.233, Earl of Hyndford to J. Drummond, 28 Nov. 1733; f.238, Earl of Hyndford to J. Drummond, c.1732.

2. See Appendices 2 & 3, and S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.238, Eliz. Hyndford to John Drummond, n.d., but 1733.

3. Ibid. f.235, Countess of Errol to John Drummond, 20 Dec. 1733.

4. Ibid. Who was to have a war called after his ear.

5. See p.135, footnote 1 above.

6. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f. 55, P. Stevenson to J. Drummond, 26 Nov. 1721; W H Warren & N Barlow, St Mary's Church, Fort St. George, Madras, p.12.(Probably through Sir M.Decker.See pp.88-9).

further the potency of the system which operated through him, and which reached the highest in the land, Queen Caroline contacted him in 1733 through her Secretary, John Eckersall, to obtain a Writership for a friend.¹

Drummond's India patronage certainly was being used by leading figures in Scottish society and in political life in the 1730s. Patrick Sandilands, son of Lord Torphichen of Calder House is a good example. Not only did Drummond get him his command of an East Indiaman but he ensured that he would receive the support of Governors Cowan, Wake and Horne, and of the stalwart Henry Lowther.² In another instance Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick and his cousin James Home of Garnelshiel asked Drummond, Sir Matthew Decker and Ex-Governor Harrison to find Home's half-brother, William Rigg a writer's post. He went to Fort St. George in 1733 and died in Bencoolen in 1746.³ William Rigg had pleaded, in turn, with Drummond on behalf of his friend Oliver Stewart, and the two joined up in Fort St. George in 1737.⁴ That year Drummond also despatched to Fort St. George Matthew Coutts, of the London banking family, with whom he was on friendly terms. Governor Pitt was asked to take particular care of him.⁵

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/E, f.121, John Eckersall to J. Drummond, 25 Jul. 1733.

2. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, ff.63-6, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733; also ff. 70-2, R. Cowan to J. Drummond, 18 Aug. 1733; GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.222, Lord Torphichen to J. Drummond, 28 Aug. 1733.

3. S.R.O. GD 110/980/1-2, J. Horne to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 4 Sept. 1746.

4. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, f.56, W. Rigg to J. Drummond, 13 Jan. 1733.

5. Ibid. ff.70-2, R. Cowan to J. Drummond, 18 Aug. 1733.

Other friends and powerful interests were very well served - such as a Mr Alexander and the Earl of Tweeddale who got John Drummond to send the young brother of his friend, Mr Hay of Bolton, out to a vacancy.¹ The same Mr Hay used Lord Errol's good graces with Drummond to get their mutual protégé John Buchan out. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik asked Drummond to send his friend Mr Gabriel Rankin to Bombay as a surgeon. He was placed in the safekeeping of Governor Cowan when he arrived.² The Earl of Morton was satisfied when he and John Haliburton at Fort St. George, joined with Drummond in establishing Captain David Robertson in the coastal trade in 1741, an occupation he sustained until 1760. Here he met up with David Rannie who in these years was making his fortune, first as a supercargo then as a Free merchant along the same coast.³

Drummond's help to others could also embrace the exalted and the unusual. For example, he received a letter from the celebrated poet Alexander Pope in August 1724 thanking him for providing his nephew with a third mate's berth. In 1729 he was also responsible for the settlement in Leith of "21 foreigners" who were provided by him with houses and looms, and were "set to work to spin."⁴

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.150, Tweeddale to J. Drummond, 20 Mar. 1729; and GD 24/Sect.1/482-4, passim.

2. Ibid. f.235, Errol to J. Drummond, 20 Dec. 1733; and S.R.O. GD 18/3219, J. Drummond to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 28 Feb. 1734. See also H.M.S.C. Charles Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray MSS. p.155, No.200, Gabriel Rankin to John Drummond, 9/1/1733.

3. S.R.O. GD 150/3483/2, John Haliburton to Morton, Jan. 1741; and N.L.S. MSS.1423, f.164, D. Rannie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 16 Aug. 1760. Riddy, p.11.

4. See H.M.S.C. Charles Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray MSS. p.153, A. Pope to J. Drummond, Twickenham, 21 Aug.1724 and p.155, No.199, D. Forbes of Culloden to J. Drummond, Edinburgh, 31 Oct.1729. It was a reference to those weavers who lived at Picardy Place in Edinburgh and their spokesman with Drummond was one called M. Daseville.

Sometimes John Drummond interested himself in finding posts for those not so highly placed in Scottish society. For instance, in 1738 a John McCulloch applied to him and was successful in getting a job in the Company's warehouse in London.¹ But this did not happen often. He was more interested in helping the Scots lairds like the Stirlings of Keir, John Fullerton of Carberry's family and the Haldanes of Gleneagles and Airthrey; and he gave members of these families their opportunity to gain fabulous wealth for themselves.² Influence among the superiorities and wadsetters was everything to Drummond, although family and in some cases neighbours were helped. Family influence, however, not just property ownership was what counted when it came to elections; and the vast majority of the landed persons traced in these pages were helped by Drummond precisely because of the influence they could bring to bear among those who had votes in their respective localities.³

To sum up, East India patronage manifestly found its way into many of the mansion houses of the Scottish ruling classes. The pursuit of jobs abroad on the one hand was vigorously matched by the operation of the Drummond inspired response, making India posts available to friends and to others, in pursuit of voting influence.

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.89, "Petition to J. Drummond." n.d, but 1738.

2. See N.L.S.MSS. 5080, f.41, Robert Haldane to Baron Erskine, 6 Jan. 1758; and MSS. 3188, passim; MSS. 16647, f.16, Peter Halkett to Milton, 14 Jul. 1747; MSS. 1666, f.200, "Jacobite Journal", 8 Sep. 1748; and Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.564-5. Robert Haldane was a kinsman and very good friend of Baron Charles Erskine and close to Milton in this period.

3. Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.38; Riddy, pp.8-11; S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.177, Stirling of Keir to J. Drummond, n.d. but 1731; Marshall, p.3; J. Paterson, History of Ayrshire, vol. 2, p.19. See Appendices 1 to 4 and 'Patronage Profiles'.

What is clear from the evidence above, is that he worked as a friend helping out family and others - and he also acted as an integral part of the governmental patronage system concerned with maintaining its power in Scotland. Government, and Drummond, as instanced above, put enormous effort into the management of the political sub-structure of Scotland, among the heritors, the superiorities and the wadsetters. Support for government among them was pulled firmly together through John Drummond's efforts. In so doing Scottish resentment of the Union was probably bereft of the leadership required to produce a viable threat to the pro-Hanoverian Whigs. Many leading Jacobites, like Atholl, Errol, the Earl Marischal, Sir James Stewart and Sir David Threipland were persuaded to return to the establishment fold for the sake of family rewards. If the southern English found it difficult to accept this return of ex-Jacobites, despite Drummond's persuasion, he at least understood the value of their influence over many Scottish voters in large tracts of Scotland. This would be suggested by the posts given to friends and relations of the suspect Jacobite families mentioned above.¹

It is now agreed that by the 1720s the British government had accepted, at least theoretically, that the "solution to the problem of influential Scots Jacobites was re-integration into and reconciliation with the existing Whig establishment in Church and State."² This it would seem Drummond was trying to do in practical terms. He further understood, as Bruce Lenman has so accurately

1. See G. H. Jones The Mainstream of Jacobitism, pp.68-77, et passim. and Appendix 5 on Jacobites.

2. Lenman, pp.176-7.

pin-pointed, that the Whig Hanoverian government wanted to "conciliate the Scottish aristocracy and draw it back into the orbit of the existing political ascendancy. The last thing it wanted to do was to purge it ruthlessly from an institution of local government whose status it was anxious to enhance."¹ Much of Drummond's work among the superiorities and those who could sway them clearly reflects this kind of thinking. Scottish nationalistic sentiments and patriotism were partially and temporarily linked with Jacobitism in the 1700s,² and every method, social, economic, political (as above) and finally military, was used to try and douse it. End Jacobitism, give rewards and any threat to the Union would disappear.

Walpole's aim was to maintain a United Kingdom of Scotland and England and the government thereof; and all patronage, including that based upon the East India Company and its shipping, was administered with this clear and overriding aim in mind. The break-up of the new United Kingdom was a very real danger and the coronation of George I followed so quickly by the 1715 rebellion had made the English Whig ministry realize that it needed the support of a Scottish lobby to keep the 1707 Union alive and well. From 1715 Walpole, Townshend, Stanhope and Sunderland were fearful of Scottish patriotism and Jacobitism threatening that lobby.

To gain support in Scotland and to consolidate Westminster's power there the Scottish dimension was boosted by the Whig Administration, for instance through John Scrope, and by giving precedence to Scottish applications for patronage within the new

1. Lenman, pp.176-7.
2. Calder, p.533.

British state. But from around 1725 Walpole, with help from John Drummond, took this development much further. Walpole initiated a system which used any patronage for his own particular ends, and East India patronage became important and useful to him because it was so available and coveted by many of those landowners he wished to influence in Scotland. A deliberate ministerial fostering of this patronage took place and the job of putting it into operation was placed in the hands of the Argathelians and Drummond. It was also envisaged that the jobs and wealth brought back from India to Scotland in time would provide economic and social buffers to those twin threats to the Union, Scottish separatism and Jacobitism; thereby backing-up and giving substance to the political initiative.¹

The East India - Scots patronage apparatus put into operation in the late 1720s certainly provided Scots with the opportunity to share with their English cousins in the riches and other spoils available in India; and it is probably correct to say that it did stimulate support for the Union, helped in its survival and continuance; and rendered the '45 rebellion impotent in the long run. In the years that followed there continued the deliberate use of this patronage to weaken, dampen and finally suck the heart out of Scottish Jacobitism for the same Unionist ends and for British stability. The East India patronage system directed towards Scottish interests, backed by Walpole and the Argathelians and given the breath of life by John Drummond was to be one of the major stabilizing forces running like a current through British Society.²

1. See also Mitchison, pp.326-7.

2. See also Calder, p.436.

What also emerges from this study, from governmental involvement in particular, and from the quality and quantity of the Scottish landed classes shown to have been touched by India patronage in the 1720s and 1730s, is that the India connection, as far as Scottish affairs are concerned, was probably more important this early in the century than has been believed. In the chapters that follow, the theme is developed that it continued to be useful for political and economic reasons; and the way in which it was used by future ministries is traced. Neither the source of patronage centred in Leadenhall Street, nor the methods by which it could be channelled for government use dried up. Instead, the East India patronage system which helped to extinguish the threat to the political Union looming in Scotland, was to prove expedient in future crises and useful in its adaptability and variety.

John Drummond had made an important contribution to Scottish politics, and in a typically discreet manner. In an indirect way he also helped the socio-economic development of Scotland through the impact of returned Scottish Nabobs upon their own country.¹ After 1742 he was gone and the patronage format changed slightly with new players taking the stage. But the aims and function of the system that developed with him from the early 1720s to his death, remained. Tributes to him flooded in. Sir Matthew Deckers' was particularly moving. He had lived in friendship for 40 years and upward with

1. This is examined in Ch.2, pp.34-37.

this "worthy honest man". He thought Drummond's death "a loss to your Scotch Nation to whom at least to many, he has been a beneficial protector, even to a fault". And the Scottish politician Andrew Mitchell was moved to say "I wish I could say there were many now alive whose benevolence and generosity equalled his".¹

1. S.R.O. GD 150/3485/1 and 57.

SECTION C

CHAPTER 7.

Governmental Background in England and Scotland and the Patronage management of Lord Milton and John Mackenzie of Delvine 1742-1761.

Events at Westminster and details of Islay's control over Scotland form more than just a background to the political management structure in Scotland and use of India patronage there. It was probably as well for the future of the British state that the administration of Scotland after the long period of Walpole's rule was on a sound footing. The '45 had no effect upon the deployment of patronage and favours so firmly laid down in previous years. Nor did the highly unsettled nature of politics at Westminster lead to the collapse of the system. It might even be argued that it was because Scotland was so peaceful that squabbling could take place.

A result of the incoherence in English politics in the 1740s and 1750s was the degree to which Scotland fell under Islay's control. This development, traced below, was also helped by Islay's own strength and the fact that he shared in and continued to pursue, Hanoverian policies regarding the management of Scotland. This meant, for instance, keeping the peace, and satisfying, through the provision of all the patronage he could muster, the wishes of those politically powerful enough to do serious damage to the status quo.

India patronage was accordingly part and parcel of Islay's hoard of bargaining counters. It was important in helping him sustain his own paramount position and also for his pursuit of those same Hanoverian policies towards Scotland. In the eyes of Westminster politicians this India patronage was part of the currency

used to entwine Parliamentary wishes with those of the Scottish political and social elite.

The 18 years between Walpole's fall in 1742 and that of William Pitt the Elder in 1760 saw power pass rapidly from one group in Westminster to another. Carteret gave way to Henry Pelham in 1744, and his death in 1754 in turn led to a number of shifting alliances and re-groupings within the Whig oligarchy. However, Newcastle's stewardship and marshalling of patronage went a long way towards determining proceedings at Court and in Parliament. Cavendish was followed by Pitt the Elder in 1757 and his resignation allowed the Earl of Bute, espoused by the new monarch, George III, to form a ministry. Dislike of Bute at Westminster, English phobia towards Scots, and public disgust at the terms of the Seven Years War peace formula, largely negotiated by Bute, forced his resignation in 1763. Grenville's troubled short ministry ended in 1765.

However, despite all these changes the underlying attitude of Westminster politicians towards Scotland remained constant, with a marked predilection towards continuing the system of political management there, and with it, as much crown, legal and ecclesiastical patronage as could be spared. If other favours should come from a private source, such as the East India Company, so much the better, and Parliamentary figures lent themselves to this purpose when and where possible. But these shifts of power in London somewhat jumbled and blurred the lines of control and responsibility for Scottish affairs. From 1742 there was a short-lived revival of the Scottish Secretary post, in the person of Tweeddale, but it came to an end with the rebellion; and from 1746 to

1754 Newcastle, as Secretary for the North, held the responsibility entailed. The connection between the Secretaryship for the North and ministerial responsibility for Scotland continued but the Treasury became increasingly more involved in Scottish affairs through revenue collection, although from a political and administrative standpoint Treasury influence had already been well used by Walpole and his successor Henry Pelham.¹ Similarly, by virtue of the legal complexities involved in the day to day moulding of laws which had been passed in Parliament for English consumption to the distinctive Scottish legal and administrative reality, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's influence grew there too.

The policies of liberal patronage, political management and integration prevailed, despite the '45; although the traumatic effect of the rebellion on English statesmen was reflected in the hardening of views towards anything remotely Scottish. Fortunately, good work by Pelham, Islay and Milton helped batten-down anti-Scots feelings to some extent; and by turning aside much of the political rancour averted any real threat to political stability in the kingdom of the North.

1742 - 1761 - Islay and Political Control of Scotland.

After Walpole's fall in 1742 and John, Duke of Argyll's death in 1743, Islay came into his own as the fount of all patronage of importance. He was 61 years of age when he became 3rd Duke in 1743 and was one of the Scottish Elected peers in every Parliament until

1. See Murdoch, pp.1-8.

his death in 1761, aged 79.¹ Apart from the 16 elected Scottish Representative Peers, other Scots who were created Peers of Great Britain after 1707, were excluded from the House of Lords until 1782. They were usually to be found as Lords of the Bedchamber. Islay was able to utilise the patronage opportunities this situation offered.²

The fall of Walpole had left a vacuum which, although it was to prove temporary, split the Whig phalanx, and in 1742 the Squadrone again enjoyed a brief period of influence in Scotland, particularly with the appointment of Tweeddale as Secretary of State in that year. But by 1743 Islay was in charge despite the efforts of Mar, Montrose and Roxburgh, as well as Tweeddale, who were successive Secretaries of State between 1742 and 1746. They operated from London and like Islay, who depended upon Milton, they kept political agents in Edinburgh to do their bidding there. Baron William Mure was to do the same duty for Bute and his brother Stuart Mackenzie.³

Islay's triumph over the Squadrone together with his stance over the '45, where his loyalty to the Hanoverians was never in doubt, but neither was his compassion for his countrymen, helped him continue as the channel to and from Westminster and the executor of Scottish business. Until his death he was in control of all patronage pertaining to Scotland; and contrary to former belief

1. See A. Murdoch, The People Above, pp.36-103, passim.

2. See D.N.B. Vol.8, pp.341-2; Shaw, p.17. Scotland had 45 representatives in the Lower House, 16 in the Upper one. They were a potential source of trouble to Government if not under proper control. It was Islay's job to ensure that they attended the House and that they voted with Government. His distribution of patronage, of course, was how this was paid for. See Realey, pp.65-6; Lenman, p.8.

3. See Mitchison, pp.333-5; Simpson, pp.57-8; and Murdoch, p.23.

among historians, he used India patronage upon a wide scale.¹ In 1744 Pelham succeeded Carteret and took over Walpole's mantle of power. Islay he found very acceptable. He was a powerful and wily ally at Westminster and had command of an infrastructure in Scotland which more or less guaranteed the continuance of political management there in his interest, once the last fears of Jacobitism had subsided. By 1754 there was no real opposition to the Argathelians and Islay controlled Scotland on behalf of the Government.² He was able to use £1000 from the Secret Service fund to spend in the 1754 elections and although not a princely sum it indicated the strength of the Pelham - Islay understanding. It was evidence of the ministerial support for the effort to return loyal voters in Scotland and built confidence among Islay's henchmen, Milton, Erskine, Buccleugh, Scrope and Maule.³

The years 1746 to 1761 constitute a period of stability in Scotland under Islay although the Scottish electoral system was distorted further to fit the political aims of the Scottish upper classes. Burgh votes were gained through bribery and patronage; county votes through the creation of fictitious ones. This gave landed wealth unassailable control over Scottish politics. Only in the 1760s did uncertainty and some instability appear again.⁴ The

1. See for example Simpson, p.67. He believed Islay "pioneered the way without benefit of the East India patronage...". See Chart 2.

2. See Simpson, p.62 and Murdoch, pp.63-4.

3. See Simpson, pp.61-62. See N.L.S. MSS 10781, Letterbook of Baron Maule, 1748-61. passim. It shows Islay's team at work. John Scrope, Secretary to the Treasury, previously Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, Maule at the Court of Exchequer, and Charles Erskine, who succeeded Lord Milton as Lord Justice Clerk.

4. See Mitchison, pp. 343-4.

Townshend MSS, and especially the letters of John Dalrymple to Townshend in the late 1750s reflect this very tight-knit world of the leading aristocracy. The power of Islay and Milton is given full expression; for example John Dalrymple maintained that they managed affairs so that Andrew Stuart was given his chance in the Douglas case. He knew that "Milton has one of his own clerks who is Secretary to the Post Office, opening letters".¹

Elections and the lead-up to them developed an incredible importance and secrecy among the aristocracy. Quietly, even stealthily, the word was passed around and the desires of the leading superiors were made known. For example, Lord Milton indicated to the advocate Richard Campbell of Arkinch in 1758 that Islay preferred Provost Roseneath for the forthcoming election in his burgh.² And yet although Scottish business was in Islay's hands he still had to deal with the jealousy of Newcastle. Such was his enmity Islay suspected that he was attempting to build a new Scottish management structure. In fact it was Newcastle's fear of Islay's strength and independence in Scotland that drove him to stir up, once again, those enemies of the Argathelians such as, the Dundases of Arniston, Findlater and Deskford. Robert Dundas of Arniston, a cousin of Henry Dundas, enjoyed extensive patronage of his own. No love was lost between himself and Lord Milton and Arniston employed Sir David Moncrieffe to spy upon Milton. Enjoying the confidence of Hardwicke

1. John Dalrymple to Charles Townshend, S.R.O. G.D.224/295/3/33 dated 5 Oct.1759. See Maclean, passim for the Douglas Cause.

2. See S.R.O. Argyll muniments N.R.A.(S) 1209, Survey I, Bundle 193. See also S.R.O. R.H. 4/70, Reel 1, Bundle 55 on elections 1747-1753 which shows Lords Aberdeen, Newcastle, Morton, Argyll, Hopetoun, Findlater all dealing with the elections.

the Lord Chancellor, he held vast legal patronage in Scotland.¹ Only with his brother's death in 1754 did Newcastle give up this hostility to Islay and by 1755 he had lost control of Scotland to him. This did not mean to say that they could agree and in 1759 they were still arguing over the administration of Scotland and its political management, and Newcastle even tried to give Mansfield the control of patronage in Scotland. This short reverse was marked by Islay's temporary loss of control over the Scots M.Ps at Westminster. However, Henry Fox, in the ministry by 1755, was Islay's friend and gradually won Newcastle round.²

Such hostility meant that Islay found it difficult at times to get Scottish business done in London. The Scots north of the border regarded him almost as a Viceroy, but they would also go over his head if they had the ear of a leading English minister. Yet despite the Treasury's influence, the meddling of Newcastle and the Lord Chancellor's interference, it was Islay (until he died in 1761) who dominated Scottish affairs and kept strong reins on the management of Scotland, through Lord Milton. With his passing the political management of Scotland became more uncertain. Because Islay's system had been so personalised it could not long survive his death.³

It was probably visible from 1756 that the future management of Scotland might fall into the hands of Islay's nephew, the Earl of

1. Robert Dundas succeeded Duncan Forbes of Culloden as Lord President of the Court of Session, in 1747. See Murdoch, pp.70-91; Omand, pp.155-6, 201, 212.

2. In 1757 Fox envisaged Newcastle as Minister for England and Islay as Minister for Scotland. See Simpson, p.62.

3. See also Simpson, p.68 and M.S. Bricke, *The Pelhams V Argyll, 1747-1748*, in S.H.R., No. 61, pp.157-165.

Bute. This was helped by his growing stature with the future George III. Meanwhile, in the same period, William Pitt was building bridges that brought him into touch with the field of Scottish political management. Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Bute's great friend, had been secured a seat in Parliament in 1754 by Islay. Thereafter he acted as a go-between for Pitt and Islay in their London business and as the link man with Lord Milton, Islay's agent in Edinburgh.¹

Lord Milton

From the 1740s to the 1760s the disposal of India patronage in Scotland on behalf of the Government was in the hands of Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Lord Milton the Lord-Justice Clerk.² Milton's power was perhaps best described by a contemporary, Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, who in 1760 said, 'it can reflect no dishonour on me to be overpowered by Milton who has been for 20 years past the absolute dispenser of every office and every favour from the crown, and whose power over the Duke of Argyll (Islay) has got all his Grace's interest'.³ Nor was he to be ousted from that position in those years, despite the efforts of the Duke of Newcastle and the Lord Chancellor, Hardwicke. Sir Hew Dalrymple again makes this

1. See Murdoch, p.87; Ferguson, pp.146-165; Lenman, pp. 1-30, passim. Provost George Drummond had a prominent role as a Hanoverian agent. See also Chart 5 (for 1757 - 61 period).

2. See N.L.S. Saltoun Papers, MSS 16501-17880, Provisional Catalogue. Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (landowner at Saltoun and Brunstane) eldest son of Henry Fletcher of Saltoun and his wife Margaret Carnegie. Admitted Advocate in 1717, Senator of the College of Justice as Lord Milton in 1724; Lord Justice Clerk from 1735 to 1748. Keeper of the Signet from 1746 to his death in 1766. "The confidant and political Agent of Archibald, Earl of Islay and 3rd Duke of Argyll" from 1725 to 1760. See Charts 2 and 5.

3. S.R.O. GD 110/947/6. Sir Hew Dalrymple to _____, (unknown), dated 4 Aug. 1760.

clear: 'Cockburn (Sir James, of Langton, Berwickshire) goes about shouting against Milton's name, but all presents come now from Milton and no way under the direction of any English minister'.¹

In fact Milton undertook the duties of a sort of Scottish manager, a "sous-ministre", although there was no constitutional precedent for this and it is almost impossible to generalise about functions and characteristics.² Milton's son, Andrew Fletcher, served as Islay's private secretary.³ Only the Englishman John Scrope had acted in a position which was in some ways similar to Milton's representing Westminster views in Scotland. He did so from 1708 to 1724.⁴ William Mure of Caldwell would do the same for Bute's brother James Stuart Mackenzie in the early 1760s.⁵

Milton was an exceptional man whose energy knew no bounds. As well as acting "as a delegate for and channel of communication with the Scottish ministers in London",⁶ he looked after the ministry's interests in Scotland as well as those of the Argathelian group. He presented suitable candidates, be they Representative Peers for the House of Lords, or for Parliamentary elections, bye-elections or town council politics, especially those in Edinburgh. He distributed patronage at all levels.⁷ It is claimed for him that he "awakened

1. S.R.O. GD 110/947/6. Sir Hew Dalrymple to _____, (unknown), dated 4 Aug. 1760. For example, Newcastle could not get a nominee appointed to the office of General Inspector of Salt in Scotland.

2. Simpson, pp.66-7, and Lenman, pp.1-30, passim.

3. See Sedgwick, vol. 2, pp.39-40. Milton's wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Francis Kinloch, 2nd Bart. of Gilmerton.

4. See Ch.4, p.70.

5. Simpson, p.66.

6. Murdoch, p.20.

7. See N.L.S. Catalogue Survey and MSS 16604 to 16717, passim. Also A. Murdoch, The People Above, pp.12-21, passim.

among men of fortune an emulation to unite in promoting industry and knowledge"; and was an "eminent patriot who stood in the gap and saved our country from sinking into ruin".¹ The assessment is probably correct when it is considered that he served on the Commission of Annexed Estates, promoted Scottish banking being a founder of the British Linen Bank in 1746 and Deputy Governor of the Royal Bank.²

He was virtually in command of civil administration in Scotland from 1740 and it was fortunate for Jacobites, for Scotland, and for the political leadership in Westminster that he was there. His "humanity and clemency" after the '45 is well attested; and he "preserved and restored many unhappy persons and families".³ He presented so many pleas for mercy for Jacobites that he was in danger of being suspected in many quarters in London of "countenancing Jacobites too much."⁴ He could be accused in this way despite the fact that in liaison with the Duke of Newcastle he had ensured that every Justice of the Peace in Scotland was a non-Jacobite and "hand-picked in the counties". In many cases he was quite hard in his jurisdiction, but like Drummond of Quarrel before him, Milton knew the importance of re-integration and reconciliation.⁵

India patronage, although a substantial contribution, formed

1. E.U.L. Laing MSS 111, p.364, 'The Family of Fletcher of Saltoun'; c.1780, p.47.

2. Where the Directorships were filled by friends like: Tinwald, Drumure, Provost William Alexander; and with Duncan Forbes of Culloden as a trustee.

3. E.U.L. Laing MSS 111,364, p.47.

4. N.L.S. MSS 16660, f.204, Geo. Lind to Milton, London, 12 Jan. 1748.

5. N.L.S. MSS 16648, f.86, Newcastle to Saltoun, dated 30 Oct. 1747; Shaw, p.160; and. See also Appendix 5.

only part of an arsenal of favours at his command, and his disposal of the most important posts has been well-documented elsewhere.¹ For the most part they were used for furthering the political management of Scotland on behalf of Islay, the Argathelian party and the Whig ministries in London. Narrow political power such as the control over and management of elections was what mattered. Milton alone was in charge of Islay's 'Scottish Machine', using it to "support the candidature of friends by providing short-term election packages and long-term servicing of constituencies."² As Shaw tells us, Milton and the Argathelians monopolized all the apparatus of patronage administration in Scotland that had been created by Government at Westminster. These included (besides India patronage): the Court of Delegates, dealing with claims against the forfeited estates; the Board of Customs; the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures; and the Annexed Estates Commission. It was the same with regard to Scottish independent institutions such as the Convention of Royal Burghs, and the Royal Bank of Scotland. He also controlled Members of Parliament, Lords of Session and Ministers of religion.³

Although Milton directed and implemented policy in Scotland he was not alone as an agent. He supervised a network of Government men keeping them in order and lining them up in support. Most were his own personal friends and allies and if not were in some form of vassalage to Islay or other Argathelians. Patronage was channelled

-
1. See Shaw, pp.147-186, passim. and N.L.S. Saltoun Papers, passim.
 2. See Shaw, p.87,p.106 and pp.80-113 passim.
 3. Ibid. p.58.

through them according to importance, rank and usefulness.¹

Naturally their own families were attended to first when the need arose, but always the political motive was present. More than anything else, it was imperative that those who were powerful at elections among the superiorities and wadsetters should be served. They and those supporters deliberately placed in the important Scottish institutions ensured that arrangements were manipulated to advantage. Some were greater or lesser activists according to ability but they all operated in the Argathelian interest. In Scotland control of institutions and management of elections for Islay mattered; and local knowledge and influence were always important.²

But it was essential to have a man of Milton's calibre in Scotland. He was the "political fixer" needed for Islay's system to work. He was the "dynamic operator" using his connections and superior knowledge of the Scottish situation.³ Like his uncle Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the great patriot, he was a realist and understood what the 1707 Union had done to Scotland politically. This he faced up to and he politically managed Scotland on behalf of Islay and his Westminster masters because he believed that he was doing the right thing. He was also fortunate in that he was able to pursue a normal course of serving both himself and the public

1. See examples below, pp.162-164.

2. See also Shaw, pp.82,87,113.

3. Ibid. p.147.

interest at the same time.¹

The systematised use of India patronage clearly visible in the 1720s and 1730s, then under the control of Walpole and John Drummond of Quarrel, passed in the 1740s and 1750s to Islay and Lord Milton. Just as Drummond had been the mainstay in the operation of the earlier system so was Milton in the latter.² The number of powerful people Milton was in touch with is staggering. Even when the scope is narrowed by identifying only those concerned with the operation of India patronage, and not even counting the young men who actually benefited from it, well over a hundred people were positively involved. A great many others too, mainly landowners, can also be regarded, from meaningful evidence, as being in receipt of India patronage in return for political support. It is useful to categorise some of the most important of these people involved in the provision of this India patronage to show how far flung was Milton's web, from John o'Groats to Westminster; and by selecting various individuals demonstrate in the clearest way the system in operation in the Islay-Milton period, up to 1761.

As already indicated subordinate to Islay and Milton there operated an executive cum administrative group which was quite tight

1. His secrecy, intrigue, manoeuvre and love of power reveals a darker side to his character. See Shaw, pp.153,156. See also (Ed.) A. Allardyce, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, by John Ramsay, pp.86-90.

2. The information that follows has been drawn from the following: Shaw, pp.43-48, 147-186, passim; Murdoch, pp. 24-25; N.L.S. Fletcher of Saltoun Papers, MSS 16513-16524, 16604-16733, 16746-16753. Further details on most of those individuals mentioned follow in the text, and in the 'Patronage Profiles' Section. Further information on land holdings gained from Timperley, passim; and on political groupings and family from Sedgwick, vols. 1-3, passim, and Namier & Brooke, vol. 1, pp.469-512. See Charts 2 and 5.

knit. In England it consisted of Sir Gilbert Elliot in the Admiralty and John Scrope at the Treasury. Their knowledge was added to by those scraps of information forwarded by Milton's London spies, John Sommerville, David Scott and James Oswald. Those from the Scottish establishment included Baron Maule, Tinwald, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, James Erskine, Lord Grange and John Mackenzie of Delvine. They were aided by a network of agents and spies throughout Scotland, such as: George Lind, Provosts Drummond, McAuley and Lindsay, all of Edinburgh; and Quinton Crawford, George Cheape, George Irving, Alex. Ross, John Horne and Patrick Cuming in various burghs. His county influence was firmly based upon landed gentry connections, such as his own in East Lothian, the Fletcher family's in Angus and Fife, his mother, Margaret Carnegie of Pittcarow's in, Kincardineshire, his wife, Elizabeth Kinloch of Gilmerton's, in Midlothian and other kinsmen. Those related to him in one way or another included: Roseberry, Caithness and Fife; Carnegie of Southesk, Kinnoul, and the families of Kingston, Halkett, Bruce-Balfour, Dalrymple-Stewart, James Campbell of Burnbank, the Wedderburns of Gosford and the Middletons, who were also related to Islay.¹

Others in England invaluable for the operation of his system were Colonel John Middleton (Islay's uncle) and George Middleton the banker. Milton was also intimate with the London based Coutts family of bankers; with Campbell and Bruce's bank and with Edward

1. See N.L.S. Fletcher of Saltoun Papers, MSS. 16513-16524, 16604-16733, 16746-16753, et passim; Sedgwick, passim; Namier & Brooke, vol.1, pp.469-512; S.R.O. GD24/Sect.1/464C, ff.185-7, J.Kinloch to J. Drummond of Quarrel, 5 May 1734. (Milton's nephews William and John were sent to India by Drummond). See also Shaw, pp.43-48, and The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, 1722-1805, p.271.

Harrison, Governor of the Bank of England.¹ Inside the East India Company he was familiar with some of the most powerful Directors and Proprietors, as well as shippers and Company servants from all branches.² In Scotland the proper dispensation of the patronage he received from the Scots within the Company and from ministerial connections with that body (as well as from other powerful men, like the all-knowing Laurence Sulivan) involved lawyers like John Mackenzie of Delvine, Maule, Erskine and Duncan Forbes, mentioned already. They, together with John Davidson and James Burnett brought Milton up to the minute information on the strength of political affiliations at the grass-roots, and in turn served as vehicles for carrying patronage to the right destinations.³ Islay's own entourage was used too, both as landowners with political power attached to their properties and for their connections at Westminster and in the East India Company.⁴

Many leading figures of the day who were Milton supporters,

1. Charles Jenkinson, Patrick Crauford, M.P.; a Mr. Grant and a Mr. Goodchild were other invaluable friends in London.

2. Many of these were Scots. Right until his death in 1765 he was involved with: Captains George Cuming, Charles Foulis, Alexander Fraser, Fasham Nairne; Colonels John Graham, James Stuart and Sir Robert Fletcher of the Company's army; and Governor Carnegie (a relation) and Claud Russell of the Company's service. Among the leading Scots Directors his friends included: George Dempster, John Hope, Alexander and Abraham Hume and Henry Fletcher; among the Proprietors, Sir Alexander Grant, the Johnstone family and Alexander Stuart, whom he knew well. Most appear in the text below. See also Appendices 8,11,15,16.

3. See Ch.7, p.181, and 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

4. They included: Lord Ross, the Earl of Loudon, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Leven, Sir Colin and Sir James Campbell, Joseph Tudor, Alex. Fraser of Strichen, Patrick Campbell of Monzie, Patrick Grant of Easter Elchies, John Sinclair of Muckle and the Lord President, Robert Craigie of Glendoich. (See Shaw, passim, for others).

like Lords Grange and Belhaven, enjoyed India patronage, as did William Alexander, James Campbell of Restalrig, James Osborne, James Colquhoun and Robert Montgomery, all of Edinburgh.¹ David Rannie of Musselburgh and George Ogilvie of Cullen typified the presence of India patronage in the burghs. In the landward areas the presence and influence of this patronage is perhaps documented best of all. Milton's grasp of how the minds of the middling lairds worked was based on his own background at Saltoun, outside Haddington. John Clerk of Penicuik, Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Sir James Foulis of Colinton would all be as much known to him in the market place as they were in the salon. Fife lairds like Thomas Hope of Rankeillor, James Cheape of Strathyrum were friends whose political support was eased along with the use of India patronage.²

Probably those lairds further away geographically from Edinburgh required more attention. Among those who benefited were the following: Thomas Dundas of Finigask, Orkney, Alexander Abercrombie of Banffshire, Patrick Duff of Premnay and Sir John Baird of Newbyth, M.P., both Aberdeenshire. James Burnett of Monboddo, and James Allardice of Allardice, both Kincardineshire; George Dempster of Dundee, Colonel John Graham of Kinross, Sir Alexander Grant of Invernesshire, the Johnstones of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire

1. See Shaw, pp.43-48, 147-186 passim; N.L.S. Fletcher of Saltoun Papers; MSS 16513-16524, 16604-16733, 16746-16753; Sedgwick, passim; Namier & Brooke, vol.1, pp.469-512.

2. See Shaw, pp.43-48, 147-186 passim; N.L.S. Fletcher of Saltoun Papers; MSS 16513-16524, 16604-16733, 16746-16753; Sedgwick, passim; Namier & Brooke, vol.1, pp.469-512. Also see Appendix 3.

and Sir James Agnew of Wigtownshire.¹ But the manner in which family connection, Argathelian loyalty and electoral significance came together to advance a career in the Indies can be further illustrated by the lives of Sir Robert Fletcher, the Munros of Foulis and the Stirlings of Keir. Fletcher's particularly demonstrates just how effective a direct line to Milton could prove. The other two reveal how much the Milton-Argyll machine continued the Drummond-Walpole ties of earlier years.²

Robert Fletcher was the eldest son of the Jacobite Robert Fletcher of Ballinshoe, by Elizabeth Lyon, daughter of William Lyon of Carse, Angus. It was his mother's connection with Lord Milton and the guardianship bestowed upon him by this man, Scotland's charge d'affairs, that began his incredible career. He owed everything to Milton who, when asked, moved him from naval service to a Writership in Madras in 1757 and had him transferred, subsequently, to the East India Company army.³

Fletcher had a life worth recording. Shortly after he began his army career he was knighted for gallantry in action, dismissed

1. Shaw, pp.43-48, 147-186, passim. Another was John Pringle of Haining, Selkirkshire. Most of those mentioned above appear as M.Ps, Hereditary Sheriffs, or as a member of the family with the greatest influence and control in several of the counties and burghs of Scotland between 1740 and 1774.

2. Dempster, Graham and the Johnstones of Westerhall move into the centre of the political picture during the 1760s. Also, in 1727, in accordance with Milton's wishes, John Drummond of Quarrel had made Milton's relative, a Carnegie of Pittarow, Governor of Bencoolen. (N.L.S. 16536, f.43, J. Drummond to Milton, 17 Jun. 1727; Riddy, p.7; A.A. Cormack, The Carnegie Family in Gothenburgh, pp.15-16 et. passim.)

3. N.L.S. MSS. 16666, f.57, Robert Fletcher to Milton, 9 Feb. 1749; N.L.S. MSS. 16670, ff.226,228, Robert Fletcher to Milton on 13 Jun. 1750 and 27 Jul. 1750; See Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, pp.440-1; Riddy, pp.13-14; Timperley, p.21.

the Company for insolence, re-instated, then Court-Martialled and cashiered. Allowed back into the Company's service he rose to the rank of Colonel. By 1773 he was in trouble again. His open hostility to the Governor of Madras forced his exile from his post in the Presidency. Back home he used his membership of Parliament to get himself re-appointed to the Company's service, this time as a Brigadier-General. He then helped in the kidnap of the new Governor of Madras, Lord Pigot in 1775, placed the poor unfortunate in prison where he died; then expired himself on his way home in 1776.¹ He truly lived up to the assessment made by a friend that he was "a hot-headed and dangerous young man who will always be young."² But the help given to Fletcher illustrates the lengths to which Milton would go to reconcile old Jacobite sympathies with the new order. He did this for many, such as Fletcher's friend and contemporary, Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall.³

Several men with the Munro surname carved glittering careers in India. In the military field there was Sir Hector Munro of Novar (q.v.), the hero of Buxar, and Major-General Sir Thomas Munro who later in the eighteenth century became Governor of Madras and was one of the ablest of soldiers and administrators.⁴ Another, Robert

1. N.L.S. MSS. 16666, f.57, Robert Fletcher to Milton, 9 Feb. 1749; N.L.S. MSS. 16670, ff.226,228, Robert Fletcher to Milton on 13 Jun. 1750 and 27 Jul. 1750; See Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, pp.440-1; Riddy, pp.13-14; Timperley, p.21. See also Gurney, *passim*.

2. B.L. Add. MSS. 29134, f.251, Laurence Sullivan to Warren Hastings, 8 Dec. 1773.

3. By 1767 Fletcher was aligned with the Johnstones (sons of Sir James), and with L. Sullivan and his friend George Dempster (q.v.). See Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, pp.440-1.

4. See D.N.B., vol. 39, pp.395-397. See also A. Mackenzie, History of the Munros of Foulis, pp.509-536, *et passim*.

Munro from Invernesshire, captained an East Indiaman from 1762 to the mid-1770s, making himself a fortune. Others, like George Munro, who became a Writer in the Company's civil line, reached India if they could pull enough strings.¹ But perhaps the most intriguing were those members of the Munro of Foulis family, from near Tain who went to India. The Munro presence there is an excellent demonstration of the patronage and nepotism Milton allowed one of Scotland's leading families with strong electoral influence in Ross-shire. In 1718 a younger brother of Sir Robert Munro of Foulis was in Madras. By 1724 he had been joined by a cousin from Tain. They were both surgeons. Sir Robert's brother was Dr. Duncan Munro of Obsdale, who was Principal Medical Officer in Madras from 1720 to 1726. The other, Dr. Andrew Munro, was a surgeon there in 1724. They were both successful and long-lived. Duncan died in Bombay in 1746, Andrew died in 1757. They always ensured that the Foulis interest backed their own influence when securing positions in India for their relations. Dr. Andrew Munro's son, Robert Duncan Munro, was secured a Writer's post in Madras, as was his nephew, George Smith of Fordyce (q.v.). The son of Sir Robert Munro's other brother, Captain George Munro of Foulis, was found a position in Bombay. He was Dr. John Munro of Culcairn, and was to make friends in Bombay with Laurence Sullivan, which was to be useful to him later when Sullivan became Chairman and virtual ruler of the Company.

The Munros were clannish. George Smith of Fordyce shared in

1. See N.L.S. MSS. 1328, f.252, K. MacKenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, n.d. (but 1762); N.L.S. MSS. 1368, f.276, A. MacKenzie to Colin Mackenzie, 24 Mar. 1776; S.R.O. GD 128/4/3/13, R. Munro to Alex. Baillie of Dunean, 19 Dec. 1767.

his uncle Dr. Andrew Munro's estate in 1757 and John Munro of Culcairn acted as executor of the will. The same John Munro of Culcairn received a third of his uncle Duncan Munro of Obsdale's estate when he died in 1746. But apart from the India patronage they enjoyed the really distinctive feature about these Munros was their dedication to the medical profession.¹

It is intriguing that Duncan, Andrew and John Munro were contemporaries of the famous Munro family, beginning with the outstanding Dr. Alexander Munro, who dominated the Edinburgh Medical School throughout the eighteenth century and commenced their work in 1726, just when their kinsmen were starting in Madras. They were different branches of the same Munros of Foulis.² From 1720 to 1757 all the Principal Medical Officers of Madras were Scots: from Dr. Duncan Munro to Dr. George Ramsay, Dr. Matthew Lindsay, Dr. Andrew Munro, Dr. Robert Douglas and back to Dr. Andrew Munro again.³ It would appear that Munros were destined to inspire Scots medical societies wherever they settled.

The Stirlings of Keir began their India connection in 1735 when Archibald Stirling, second son of James Stirling of Keir 'the Venetian', and of his wife, Marion, eldest daughter of Alex. Stuart,

1. Love, Vestiges, vol.1, pp.177,240,320,388,407,438,454,456-9,550, vol. 3, p.60; S.R.O. GD 93/365, Disposition by Rev. Hugh Munro, Minister at Tain, 23 Mar. 1744; I.O.R. Madras Civil Servants, 1764-1795; S.R.O. GD 93/388, Dispositions dated 10 Nov. 1747 and 18 Sep. 1762; S.R.O. GD 98/391, Disposition dated 23 Oct. 1762; McGilvary, p.93, footnote 2; Timperley, pp.298,301,303. Sedgwick, vol. 1, pp.381-404, passim. (Sir Harry Munro of Foulis, M.P. for Ross-shire in 1746.) A. Mackenzie, History of the Munros of Foulis, passim.

2. See Records of the Royal Medical Society, Bristo Square, Edinburgh. Also A. Mackenzie, History of the Munros of Foulis, pp.305-322, 431-444.

3. Love, Vestiges, pp.550-1.

Lord Blantyre, went out as purser on a ship to Bengal. He did this, according to his brother, because "it offered him opportunities of getting a considerable quantity of goods on board."¹ He also assumed Supercargo responsibilities. The post of purser and the £350 that it cost came from Dr. Fullarton of Carberry, and he was also backed by Mr. Ochterlony, both friends and political allies of John Drummond of Quarrel. His elder brother, John Stirling, gave him credit to use for trading purposes in India; and with this backing he set himself up as a free-merchant in Bengal.² By 1760 he was the "biggest speculator in salt on the Company's new lands (around Chittagong, Bengal)", and by 1763 he employed 13,000 men manufacturing salt.³

This start given to Archibald Stirling, sending him on his way to a considerable fortune, was possible in itself only because of his family's political influence in Stirling. It was a venal burgh and was wooed by the Argathelians.⁴ Archibald's own position and that of his brother Harry, who was appointed an East India Company military cadet in 1737, stemmed from this local political situation. Again Dr. Fullarton was the principal agent. He stirred the Duke of Montrose to ask Lord Wilmington to use his influence with the East India Company Directors to gain a place for one of the Stirlings of

1. He had thought of going as a midshipman. See W.Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir and Cawder, p.535.

2. N.L.S. Delvine MSS. 1423, ff.164-5, D. Rannie to Rev. Webster, 16 Aug. 1760.

3. See Marshall, pp.120-1,154.

4. See Sedgwick, vol. 2, pp.381-404, passim.

Keir.¹ Apart from Archibald and Harry, four other Stirlings went out to India in this period. They included three uncles: John (who died there in 1742); Lewis; and Hugh (who died at Fort St. David in 1749); and another brother, Jamie, who went out in 1748. Only Harry held a Company position. He transferred from the military line and was Resident at Sillibar in 1742.²

It is certain that Archibald Stirling's own success in India opened the way for those relations and others that he helped, such as Charles Stuart, the brother of the 8th Lord Blantyre, a kinsman on his mother's side.³ But his own chance and that of his brother Harry, was due to connection and political influence with fellow Argathelians. The family had been Jacobite, Archibald's father having been locked up in Dumbarton Castle in 1715. But their connections and electoral power cancelled out any disability this offered. With the burgeoning landed estate came even more electoral significance for the Stirlings.⁴ Added to this were many connections. For instance, among his kinsmen Archibald could include: the Stuarts (Lords Blantyre) through his mother; his aunt was Margaret Stuart, wife of Sir Hugh Hamilton of Rosehall; his sister became Lady Stuart; his first wife's father was Col. William Erskine of Torrie; his cousin through marriage was Lord John Gray;

1. W. Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir & Cawdor pp.535-6; Sunter, p.137. The post was originally for Charles Stirling, but went to Harry when his brother called off.

2. See W. Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir & Cawdor, pp.535-545.

3. Ibid., p.543, Marshall, pp.5,195; S.C. Grier, The letters of Warren Hastings, vol. III, p.347; Barun Dé, Henry Dundas and the Government of India (1773-1801). A study in Constitutional ideas. Oxford University D.Phil. Thesis, 1961, pp.73-74.

4. See Timperley, pp.265,269,303,322,336.

and George Murray, 6th Lord Elibank, was related to him. His other friends in Scotland included: the Duke of Montrose, Lord Napier; David Rannie (q.v.); John Bell of Auchtermoney; and John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.).¹

John Mackenzie of Delvine.

Operating in Scotland on behalf of the Argathelians and Milton, pulling together the political support of innumerable families, Whig and Jacobite alike, was a most extraordinary lawyer, John Mackenzie of Delvine. He was born in 1709, the son of John Mackenzie, advocate, by his 3rd wife Margaret, daughter of Thomas Hay of Alderston, East Lothian and died in 1778. He was one of 14 children. His eldest brother, Alexander, sold him the Delvine estate situated near Dunkeld, Perthshire, around 1738.² Starting out in practice as a lawyer with so little that he had to borrow £395 from his wife's father, Crawford of Ballingray, Fife, by 1770 he had become a formidable landowner in Scotland with properties ranging from Edinburgh to Perthshire and on to Loch Carron in Ross and Cromarty which was the stronghold of his branch of the Mackenzie clan. He became the biggest landowner there.³ The wealth and property he amassed might be considered reward for his unrelenting

1. W. Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir & Cawdor, pp.535-545; Riddy, pp.9-10.

2. He died without issue and the estate passed to Alex. Muir-Mackenzie, son of his eldest brother's daughter Margaret. See (Ed.) W. K. Dickson, Letters to John Mackenzie of Delvine, Advocate, One of the Principal Clerks of Session, From the Rev. Alex. Munro, D.D., Principal of Edinburgh University, 1690-1698, in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society (5th vol.), pp.197-290. The Dr. Munro mentioned here was also of the Foulis family. See also A. Mackenzie, History of the Mackenzies, pp.613-5.

3. Timperley, pp.264-266, 276, 302; and N.L.S. MSS.1167, f.1, and MSS.1253-5.

labours on behalf of his political masters, particularly between 1757 and 1777.

Mackenzie was at the heart of a huge network. He operated in the same manner as Milton, channelling patronage, forwarding requests for favours and, when possible, satisfying those he could through his own resources, if the recipient was deemed to deserve it. He had been involved politically from the outset of his career, for instance, in 1740, in the Dingwall elections the Earl of Cromartie and Lord Fortrose referred to him as "a prominent legal agent" and charged him to "swear out criminal letters against Sir Robert Munro of Foulis", their greatest rival.¹

East India Company patronage figured to an extraordinary degree in his activities and he probably best reflects the manner in which these particular favours were disseminated in Scotland. In his political and business connections (which included acting as legal adviser for many great figures) and in his East India Company agencies, involving the remittance of fortunes from India, he was second to none. Above all he was versed in the niceties of Scottish electoral law, and as such was indispensable to his political masters. By 1770 he had become Deputy Keeper of the Signet and followed in the footsteps of Milton who had been Keeper of the Signet. As already noted, this office vested him with a great deal of electoral power. The Signet controlled Sheriff-Deputes and Sheriff Clerks who in turn officiated at elections. After 1747 and

1. Ferguson, p.94; also N.L.S. MSS. 1131, ff.17-20. Even though just married he acted as a Sheriff-clerk and attended Seaforth on 3 May 1754. See also his handling of elections and other rolls in the 1740s in N.L.S. MSS. 1140, ff.39, 202; N.L.S. MSS. 1145, f.62-63.

the abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions the influence of these local figures assumed an even greater importance. They determined the crucial point, whether or not a would-be elector was on the roll. Mackenzie was one of those trusted Government supporters who, along with others, such as the Provost of Edinburgh George Drummond (with whom he was also in touch) formed part of Milton's most trusted network.¹ As testified by his correspondence, Mackenzie's parliamentary and electoral involvement was deep and widespread. Milton entrusted him with the task of "making the application of my doctrine", that is fulfilling Argathelian political desires. He was the man with "the most experience of electoral laws and procedures" which was used to manipulate constituencies.²

His initial interest in India probably stemmed from his life-long passion to re-integrate the great Highland families into the Union and to prevent their further ruin. The fact that one of his younger step-brothers, George Mackenzie, also an advocate, was out in the '15 and only received a pardon in 1725 probably influenced him. But his inclinations also emerge in a bitter letter he sent to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat in 1768 in response to a vitriolic

1. On 12 Aug. 1740 Sir Hew Dalrymple presented him to Islay at Leith. N.L.S. MSS. 1140, f.39. See also N.L.S. Index, Introduction to Delvine Correspondence at MSS No. 1101; The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, p.240; N.L.S. MSS. 1140, f.19, John Christy to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 19 Feb. 1740; MSS. 1273, ff.58-60, Milton to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 31 Mar. 1758. Also A. Murdoch The People Above, pp.22-23 and p.35. W. Ferguson, The Electoral system in the Scottish Counties before 1832 in Miscellany Two of the Stair Society, p.271.

2. See W. Ferguson, The Electoral System in the Scottish Counties before 1832, in Miscellany Two, pp.263-283. See also N.L.S. MSS. 1273, ff.58-60. Milton to Mackenzie of Delvine, 31 Mar. 1758. Also ff.61 and 70 from Forbes of Craigievar. MSS. 1290, letter to the 9th Earl of Kinnoul; and MSS. 1294 to the Earl of Hopetoun and to Henry Home, ff.55-60. See Charts 2,3 and 5.

attack on himself. It was all the worse because (as Mackenzie's correspondence reveals) the two had been very close friends and Mackenzie had been Macdonald's lawyer and protector for decades. Mackenzie wrote "when from the revolution downwards the Highland families, a few only excepted, who chose the worst side, were almost extinguished, and yours by being overwhelmed in debt in full as great danger as most of them, joined relations with whom I am a close connection, they,(the Mackenzies) on the principle of sympathy and friendship interposed ,to their own loss, to prevent the impending ruin and were successful." This example, Mackenzie maintained, influenced him to help too and he had endeavoured to do so "for 40 years, not to gratify ambition or avarice or importance, on the contrary, insignificance has rather been my lot."¹

He was a Government supporter, Whig and Argathelian and used all the leverage he could to get posts for those he took under his wing who were similarly inclined. He operated part of the Government's patronage system and naturally used it for his own ends too. For over 50 years, from 1728, he built up his political, business and East India Company connections in Scotland and in London. His legal portfolio came to include some of Scotland's most eminent families. As that part of his affairs unravels, dealing only with India matters and patronage associated with the East India Company, a picture emerges of those in Scotland, London and within the East India Company who were involved, and how the various

1. N.L.S. MSS. 1310,f.52. J.Mackenzie to Sir A.MacDonald of Sleat, 21 Sep.1768. Also introduction to N.L.S. Lauriston Castle Collection, Delvine Papers; and E.U.L. Laing MSS. 11,629.

connections were made and maintained.

His earliest successes were due to his usefulness to his Mackenzie clan chiefs, as seen above, and the East India Company did not figure prominently until 1759, by which date his ex-Jacobite brother, George Mackenzie was in business as a merchant in London. Although they were to be unsuccessful in the first instance, Mackenzie of Delvine and his brother went out of their way to promote the career of a young cousin of theirs, the future Major-General Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coull. This youth was recommended to a series of ministers, such as the Earl of Marchmont, and to East India Company Proprietors, like John Horne, who might have got him into the Company's service.¹ With Mackenzie of Delvine's help Mackenzie of Coull then raised a Company of 30 military recruits in the Highlands and he managed "to carry" his "lank and thin body that's much fatigued" into England with the men. There Mackenzie of Delvine introduced him to General St. Clair, Gen. Watson, Sir James Macdonald and Col. Scott, and from this meeting Mackenzie of Coull and his men became part of a regiment going to India in the East India Company's service. To his disappointment the young Mackenzie of Coull was only given the rank of Lieutenant, and even the double salary he was granted did not cheer him.²

Once in India, however, he prospered, albeit slowly, though he was to suffer from fever and ill-health contracted there for the rest of his life. At first he wanted to "quit this country where we can

1. N.L.S. MSS.1337, ff.1-14, Letters from Alex. Mackenzie of Coull to John Mackenzie of Delvine, from 22 Jan. 1758 to 12 Oct. 1759.

2. Ibid. ff.19-33, Letters from A. Mackenzie of Coull to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, from 29 Jul. 1760 to 10 Jan. 1761.

find neither money nor employment or subaltern preferments." The advice from Mackenzie of Delvine's wife that he should "tie-in with a Nabob" was impracticable to execute, and he was "even tempted to marry if it would give him money."¹ Introductions and references from Mackenzie of Delvine followed. The most important of these was one to Sir Gilbert Elliot which resulted in a command of Sepoys coming his way. With this and military promotion came wealth. Of his masters, the East India Company Directors, he had a very small opinion, they were, he observed, "as miserable as their politics and couldn't solve the problems they had created abroad."²

By 1761 Mackenzie of Delvine had another of his relations in business in London, a nephew, Colin Mackenzie, who worked as a broker at Mr. Mayne's (q.v.) in New Broad Street. He was pressed into aiding and abetting Delvine's protégés.³ In Scotland Mackenzie of Delvine had decided to get himself thoroughly versed in India patronage, and asked his friend, Commander David Rannie for information on "how a young man may be provided for in India." Rannie was able to give him the details he required to the last letter. He had spent 35 to 40 years sailing to the East Indies, involved in the coastal trade there. He was versed in all aspects of Company, Shipping and Indian matters. Rannie, who resided in Musselburgh, had been a freemerchant and shipowner and had survived

1. N.L.S. MSS. 1337, f.34, A. Mackenzie of Coull to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 8 Apr. 1762.

2. N.L.S. MSS.1337, f.49, A. Mackenzie of Coull to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 13 Dec. 1771.

3. Ibid. f.33, A. Mackenzie of Coull to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 10 Jan. 1761; and P.A. for 14 Jan. 1772. (For Mayne see 'Patronage Profiles' Section).

the Black Hole of Calcutta incident. He had been useful to John Drummond of Quarrel and was linked with Milton, explaining his readiness to help Mackenzie of Delvine. He made a fortune in India and bought the Melville estate. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, married Henry Dundas, the future Viscount Melville, the other daughter, Janet, married Cockburn of Cockpen, and was mother of the celebrated Lord Cockburn.¹

Mackenzie of Delvine's connection with East India affairs proliferated from this date. His other nephew, Kenneth Mackenzie (brother of Colin, who was now in business in London under the watchful eye of his own brother George) was about to go to India. All strings were pulled on his behalf. Through his uncle, Mackenzie of Delvine and armed with his letters of recommendation, he was introduced by "Scots friends" to General Stringer Lawrence, Sir Alexander Grant and Commander Robert Haldane. These three represented the military, civil and shipping areas of the East India Company and were powerful figures. The young Kenneth Mackenzie also soon found out how influential Captain David Rannie was, and informed his uncle, Mackenzie of Delvine, that a letter from Rannie "would be of great service."² Captain Robert Haldane (q.v.) and Sir Alex. Grant (q.v.) "got Mr. Sullivan's promise" to help Kenneth Mackenzie, and eventually in 1762 he was allowed to go out as a free-trader

1. See N.L.S. 1423, f.164, D. Rannie to Rev. Webster, 6 Aug. 1760; f.165, D. Rannie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 16 Aug. 1760; Riddy, p.11; Marshall, pp.3,231-2; Omand, p.217; S.R.O. GD 51/11/4, Memorial, dated 1775 referring to D. Rannie's debts to the Prussian Bengal Co. in 1754 - paid off by Henry Dundas in 1764.

2. N.L.S. MSS.1328, f.244, Kenneth Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 16 Jan. 1762.

in Madras.¹

Once established in India both Kenneth Mackenzie and Alex. Mackenzie of Coull applied themselves successfully to accumulating fortunes. In Kenneth Mackenzie's case he attached himself to strong Scottish groups in Madras and in Patna in the 1760s. They included: a relative of his, Alex. Mackenzie, who later became a shipbuilder at Calcutta; John Graham (q.v.); Hugh Ross, nephew of Hugh Ross, merchant in London; Commander Francis Douglas, brother of Sir John Douglas; John Davidson, son of John Davidson, saddler, in London; and Commander Kenneth Mackenzie, uncle of Mackenzie of Scotsburn. Others in this Scottish group included: Captains Baillie (q.v.) and Wedderburn; Mr Bogle; Mr Mudie (for whom Kenneth Mackenzie worked at Patna); and Claude Russell (q.v.). Kenneth also kept in touch with Mackenzie of Coull.²

Another Scot who developed his career and fortune in the East India Company through Mackenzie of Delvine's good offices was John Cumming of Altyre, near Forres in Morayshire. He, like his brother Captain George Cumming "in all matters of law and business" made Mackenzie of Delvine his "oracle" and "wholly relied" upon his

1. N.L.S. MSS.1328, f.246, Kenneth Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 5 Feb. 1762; and f.249, on 16 Feb. 1762. A Mr. Macpherson "who sailed as Secretary to Admiral Boscawen in the East Indies" was also applying to another Director on his behalf. (*Ibid.*)
2. N.L.S. MSS. 1328, ff.254-255, Kenneth Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 9 Nov. 1762, ff.256-8, Kenneth Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 12 Jan. 1763; and also ff.260-261, 262-263, on 10 Nov. 1769 and 1 Sep. 1770; MSS.1256, ff.136, 143-144, John Cumming to John Mackenzie of Delvine, on 25 Feb. 1766, 24 Oct. 1769 and 30 Sep. 1774; MSS.1368, f.194, Colin Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 31 Jul. 1777; and f.276, A. Mackenzie to Colin Mackenzie, 24 Mar. 1776. John Mackenzie also patronised Lt. Rattray, whom he placed in the protection of Col. John Cumming.

"opinion and friendship."¹ John Cumming made Mackenzie of Delvine his agent for remitting and investing the fortune he made in India from his trading exploits. By 1770 Cumming had risen to the rank of Lt. Col. and had married Mary Wedderburn, daughter of Captain Wedderburn and niece of Wedderburn of Pitfern. His money was sent home via bills of exchange. He used Messrs Sumner and Gregory in London and their bankers, Castels and Wheatley. He settled money on all his relations, bought Gosford estate, East Lothian, for £8,000, and gave Mackenzie of Delvine power of attorney over his affairs. The gold he sent home with his children he made payable to "Messrs. Drummond, to save you (Mackenzie of Delvine) trouble about the exchange." He continued to remit money home through Mackenzie until his own return in 1777, mostly through gold and bills of exchange, although in 1774 he sent diamonds worth £4,300 through Thomas Anderson's remittance agency in Calcutta, which he consigned to Delvine. In 1775 he sent more worth £3,600. These were all sent via Drummonds bank in London and thence to Mackenzie of Delvine in Scotland. In 1775 he despatched another two consignments of diamonds by the same route, that is, Drummond's bank. They were worth £3,600 and £8,660 respectively. He followed this with a further £11,000 in bills and silver. On his return home he bought houses in Edinburgh, in George Square, Abbeyhill and Easter Road, and also in Leith. He had fortune, estate and property, with more money still to come from India. All of this he had entrusted to John

1. N.L.S. MSS.1256, f.7, Ann Mackintosh to George Cumming, 15 May 1749.

Mackenzie of Delvine and he had not been disappointed.¹

Interest in India had blossomed following Clive's exploits in 1757 and Mackenzie of Delvine certainly cashed in upon the flood of applications for posts that followed. Handling the London end of his business in this respect was John Davidson of Stewartfield, Writer to the Signet. Davidson was involved, on Mackenzie's behalf, with Scottish Company servants abroad and Scots Nabobs like George Mackay of Skibo and Captain David Rannie, as well as with Drummonds bank.² However, a great deal of Mackenzie's contacts with the Company stemmed from his duties as man of business for many of the Scots nobility and a number of great landowners. Most of these relationships had developed into strong friendships and a fusion of social, political and business interests had evolved through time. For example, Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat could, on the one hand, ask for assistance for his nephew, the future Sir John Macpherson, to get him out Purser on an East Indiaman, and on the other, refer to the "scorbutie eruption which has shown itself upon my body and hands, not unlike the Scotch fiddle." And he could write of his wife's wish to see "the land of Cakes", meaning Scotland.³

The same relationship applied to George Dempster of Dunnichen (q.v.). He and Mackenzie were good friends and involved in money

1. N.L.S. MSS.1256, ff.133-237, Letters from Col. (later Sir) John Cumming to John Mackenzie of Delvine, from 2 Feb. 1761 to 24 Nov. 1777; also MSS.1368, f.194, Colin Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 31 Mar. 1777; also Cotton, p.122. He commanded the East India Company's forces in Oudh.

2. N.L.S. MSS.10787, passim; and A. Mackay, The Book of Mackay, p.193. See also Love, Vestiges, vol. 2, p.321; and N.L.S. MSS.1256, f.174, 29 Nov. 1772.

3. N.L.S. MSS.1310, ff.33, Sir Alex. Macdonald of Sleat to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 8 Jul. 1768.

matters. In September 1768 Macdonald of Sleat could inform Mackenzie from St. Andrews that "the Silver Club will be played for tomorrow - Mr Dempster is here and great preparations are making for a Ball."¹ Dempster brought Mackenzie into Bute's ambit and he was also friendly with Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto through another client/friend, Captain Charles Congalton.² Through Congalton he was introduced to others with India connections, such as Elibank and the Grahams (q.v.). John Clerk of Penicuik was another who used Mackenzie of Delvine as his agent. His anxiety for his relations, Duncan and Robert Clerk ensured Mackenzie's participation. These two were active in Company politics, particularly with Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.), in the years from 1765 to 1774.³

John Mackenzie's intermediate position enabled him to fill an important role: as agent and contact for politicians, such as Milton, Bute and Elliot; for powerful Scottish families like the Macdonalds, Mackenzies and Clerk of Penicuik; for Company servants abroad, like Mackenzie of Coull and John Cumming. Through George Dempster, Thomas Cheape, Lauchlin Maclean and John Stuart of Hampstead - all active in company circles - he got to know Laurence

1. N.L.S. MSS.1165, f.52, G. Dempster to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 10 Jan. 1768; MSS.1310, f.38, Sir Alex. Macdonald of Sleat to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 21 Sep. 1768. The Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews has a famous painting "The Golfers" which is owned by Mrs. G. Cheape of Strathyrum, St. Andrews, descendant of Thomas Cheape, East India Company Director (q.v.). The painting shows (among others) John Mackenzie of Delvine, George Dempster, Thomas Cheape - all Scots connected with the East India Company.

2. N.L.S. MSS.1252, ff.67-68, C. Congalton to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 23 Oct. 1764.

3. Ibid. f.5, John Clerk to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 8 Aug. 1761; Maclean, p.170; John Mackenzie was already Sir Laurence Dundas' agent together with John Pringle W.S.

Sullivan, John Townson and other powerful Directors even better.¹ In Scotland he was friend and agent for the Earls of Kinnoul, Dundonald and Strathmore, all influential landowners. He ensured that Strathmore's brother, Mr. Lyon, was appointed Factor at Bencoolen in 1759.² For other powerful families in Scotland (some of whom have been mentioned already) whose East India links through the Government's patronage system were extensive, he performed the same service. These included the Cockburns of Eyemouth and Cockpen, Sir Hector Munro of Novar and Archibald Stirling of Keir. From 1760 he was the Earl Marischal's man of business and confidant; and from 1764 performed the same service for the Duchess of Atholl.³

1. Maclean, p.291.

2. See N.L.S. MSS. 1423, ff.164-5, D. Rannie to Rev. Webster, 16 Aug. 1760; and I. A. Robertson The Earl of Kinnoul's Bridge, The Construction of the Bridge of Tay at Perth, 1763-1772, in Scottish Economic and Social History, vol. 6 (1986), pp.18-32. (John Mackenzie, Kinnoul and George Dempster formed part of the Bridge Commission).

3. N.L.S. MSS. 1297, ff.107-156, passim; W. Mure of Caldwell, Selections from the Family Papers preserved at Caldwell, p.263. For George Keith, the 10th Earl Marischal, see A. Lang, The Companions of Pickle, pp.1-68. See also Chart 3.

CHAPTER 8.

The Company, the Government, and the Patronage of Directors, Proprietors and Shippers, 1742 - 1761.

The East India Company and Government.

Any systematised patronage network which involved East India Company posts depended upon strong Ministry - Direction links. Walpole's years of influence over the Company ended in 1742, and while not so strong as those years, relationships between ministries and the Company's executive remained close. Havoc set in with the first Governmental attempt to control the Company in 1766 and all harmony ended with the instability, financial disaster and governmental intrusion that befell the Company between 1770 and 1773.

Until the contested elections began in the Company in the 1757-58 period, it can be regarded as fairly stable in its executive functions. The same groups of merchants, London businessmen, shippers and returned Company servants controlled the Court of Directors. Among ministers, individual Members of Parliament and Company officials there were strong ties, such as those in 1756-7 of Newcastle, Devonshire and others of that ministry with the Company Chairman, John Payne, and with John Raymond, a leading member of the shipping interest. Then came the friendship of Laurence Sullivan, Deputy Chairman in 1757, with Pitt the Elder.¹ There is no doubt, however, that from 1761 the changes of government and Parliamentary efforts to get control of the Company's fledgling empire in India weakened the clear and continuous dialogue once entertained.

1. See McGilvary, pp.41,71,77-78; and Parker, pp.329-460, passim. See also Chart 5.

Government grasp of India patronage was now linked to whichever party ruled in the Direction.¹

With war in 1756, the prominence of Pitt as a war leader, and the appearance of Laurence Sullivan (a dominating figure who emerged from, and was supported by many of the returned Company servants) the character of Government - Company relations changed. Old lines of communication between the two gave way to new ones based on the needs of both to fight a war and, in the Company's case, of staunching the financial haemorrhaging, controlling indiscipline abroad, and political in-fighting at home. The understanding between Pitt and Sullivan of 1757 to 1761 gave way to that of Bute and Sullivan, lasting until 1763 when Bute resigned.

East India patronage remained useful to ministers in these troubled years to keep Scotland in its politically docile state. War, empire building and problems in America held their attention and left little time for home affairs. Also, by 1757 there was not much fear of Jacobitism. The systematic disarming and neutering of the Highlands by Cumberland and his associates had put paid to any physical threat. But political disruption in Westminster stemming from Scotland was still possible, and the need to further the integration of the two societies continued. It was fortuitous, therefore, that circumstances from 1757 were such that the number and variety of posts available through the East India Company multiplied.

1. See Ch.3 above on East India Company background. And Chart 5.

Naval and military demands necessitated close liaison between the Company and the Government.¹ Patronage blossomed. Ministers and Company Directors, working together, epitomised in the relationship of Pitt and Sullivan,² encouraged the spread of favours. Naturally enough Directors continued to serve family and supporters first, but increasing numbers of favours were given to Government M.Ps in close alliance with the leading Directors.³

Company Patronage.

It has been estimated from Writers Petitions and from contemporary opinions that around a quarter of all Writers for India were from Scotland.⁴ And there is no doubt that "Scots in exile" with their "innate clannishness" drew others to India.⁵ There is also little doubt that these young men were eminently suitable for posts in the Company, armed, as most were, with a classical education and skilled in "merchant accounts."⁶ But a great reservoir of manpower was also opened-up with the break-down of old semi-feudal loyalties in Scotland. This was particularly so in the Highlands, and especially after the end of Heritable Jurisdictions in 1747 which had fostered such a medieval outlook. Following Culloden, and with the approval and active co-operation of the main authorities, men were syphoned-off. Most went to the forces of the crown, but others who were available filled the openings in the East India Company's service which appeared with the onslaught of war in 1756.

-
1. See McGilvary, pp.76-78.
 2. Ibid.
 3. See also Parker, p.435.
 4. See Appendix 10, p.430.
 5. Marshall, pp.12,214.
 6. Ibid, pp.13,207.

But this still does not explain their presence in such numbers. What is clear is that by the 1750s the impact of the patronage system was being felt. Many recipients of favours from Walpole and John Drummond of Quarrel had become powerful figures in India. Some occupied important positions such as that of Governor (Alexander Davidson of Madras); Members of Council (John Hope, George Gray, George Scott); Military Command (Sir Robert Fletcher, Sir Archibald Campbell); Secretaries, Agents and Residents (like Alex. Wedderburn, Alexander Elliot and Colin Mackenzie). Enjoyment of these posts reflected strength at home in Westminster and in the Company. Layers of Scottish 'old boy' networks were being built up reaching and linking India, India House, Parliament and Scotland.¹

The successful prosecution of the war in India (and elsewhere) from 1757, and in particular the defeat of the French and the Nawab of Bengal led to a hectic scramble to get out to India. It transformed the status accorded India patronage at home. The friendship of an East India Company Director was fought for, and to be acquainted with the Chairman for that year, or his Deputy, augured well for those seeking favours.² The increase in the numbers of Scottish military cadets now sent abroad was extraordinary.³ "Of 16,770 military cadetships, 4,030 (24%) went to Scots, one tenth of these were Campbells", reflecting the strength of the Argathelian

1. See Appendices; and 'Patronage Profiles'. *passim*.

2. See McGilvary, p.47, on powers of the 'Chairs', and Parker, pp.339-340.

3. See Appendices 6 to 9.

influence and the way in which Scottish political managers also pursued the National interest, as perceived by Westminster.¹

And the picture was little different regarding the Company's civil servants. Their numbers in Bengal rose from 70 to 250 per annum in the 16 years from 1760 to 1776.² All of this can be explained by the lust for fortune and the needs of Company and Government in harness. Between 1760 and 1850 it has been calculated that Scots gained a quarter of all India patronage, which on a population basis should have amounted to an eighth or one ninth.

What it all meant was that more Company posts were available to Government because of the combined efforts of the ministries of Pitt and then the Earl of Bute (together with the East India Company Direction) to fight the war against the French and their allies. Scottish involvement was statistically high. The reasons for this phenomenon, at least from the mid 1750s to the mid 1770s, can be ascribed to the assimilation of the fighting highlander into the East India Company's forces (as well as the Royal Army). It is attributable, to a great extent, to the work of Islay and Milton,³ and also to recruitment to its ranks using the channels of the Scottish political machine, already well-versed and adept at getting and using India patronage. From 1757 and with increasing pace into the early 1760s the volume of patronage from the East India Company grew. The political management of Scotland was helped by this

1. See Riddy, p.17; and Appendices 6 to 9 below.

2. See Calder, p.693.

3. See Appendices 6 to 9 below.

through the posts that became available directly to the Government, and by others which reached sympathisers in Scotland because of footholds already gained in the Company at home and abroad by many kinsmen. Even more benefits came from the contested elections in the Company which drew in the Government and allowed more posts to come its way.¹

East India Company Directors, Proprietors and Patronage, 1742 - 1761.

The drift to London of the Scots gentry in the years that followed the 1707 Union presaged the arrival of Scottish business adventurers there. The failure of the Darien scheme and a lack of capital to inaugurate any similar ventures also pushed Scottish merchant adventurers towards London. They soon formed a distinctive business group, whose clannishness was remarked upon.² They seized the advantages from being resident in the biggest commercial metropolis of its day and took advantage of the opportunities denied them before 1707, when the English business world and trading concerns were largely closed to them. The East India Company was one such field of enterprise.

These London based Scots businessmen were purchasers of India stock; some, like Sir Alex. Gilmour and Sir Alex. Grant, were large

1. See Ch.3, pp.50-54 on East India Co. background, and John Drummond of Quarrel in Ch.4, pp.55-57 - all on the East India Company's relationship with Govt; and below, Ch.11, pp.266-285 for East India Company contested elections.

2. See also S.G. Checkland, Scottish Banking : A History 1695-1973. pp.16-17. 'The Scots had been bequeathed bold imaginative and ingenious characteristics, stemming perhaps from parish education and a position on the periphery of Europe.'

stockholders in the 1740s and 1750s.¹ Their involvement was part of the complex business world they moved in. Those Scots who bought India stock did so at first because it was the next best thing to a 'gilt' edged investment. Until the middle of the eighteenth century it was the case that the East India Company insisted upon the presence of buyer and seller at India House to effect the transfer of India stock. The increase in the use of letters of attorney to accomodate the transfer of stock (seen as early as 1702) eased this problem of having to be present, especially for foreigners like the Dutch, and those further afield, such as the Scots. These instruments were in almost universal use from the 1760s.²

For would-be Scottish Proprietors this had meant that from the 1720s to the 1750s they almost had to be present in London. But this was exactly where the Scottish nobility collected in large numbers after 1707, and where London-Scottish businessmen set-up shop successfully in the early years of the century. For Scottish landowners who could not get to London access to Company stock was made easy via agents exercising their letters of attorney. Equally, the funds to purchase stock were placed in the hands of relations and business contacts who put it to use and collected dividends in their own names, although mere nominees.³

But from the beginning the patronage system engineered by Walpole and Drummond relied upon stock owned by anyone, not just Scots, as

1. See I.O.R. L/AG/14/5/10 (for 1748-52); also G.J. Bryant, Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century, S.H.R. vol. LXIV, No. 177, April 1985, pp. 22-3.

2. See Sutherland(1), pp. 43-4.

3. Ibid. pp. 42-4; see also Marshall, p. 25.

long as they were amenable to Drummond, Decker, Chandos, Governor Harrison and others of the controlling group in the Company Direction at that time. Certainly this included Scots, but that point was not crucial. What was important was how far they would use their influence in support of the ministerial nominee. Scottish bankers like Andrew Drummond acted as agents for their brethren in the north, and also purchased stock on their own account. He had links with Company Directors John Hope and John Boyd. Charles Coutts, related to Coutts the bankers, was a Director intermittently from 1749 to 1761; and the Scottish-Dutch banking family of Hope became involved in the East India Company affairs by 1760.¹ Many were shareholders in the booming assurance companies, like the Sun Fire Insurance Company and the London Fire Assurance Company. Others, such as the Moffatt brothers, were underwriting East Indiamen.²

John Stewart, of York Buildings, (who is identified by his London address from others of that name) and who was involved in the importing of wines, demonstrates two developments. He typified how Scots enmeshed in local trade in the metropolis became proprietors of India stock, and, as an ex-Jacobite, how former opponents of Hanoverian rule were being absorbed. He and his father Archibald (younger son of Sir Robert Stewart, first Baronet of Allanbank) moved to London in 1759. Through an aunt he was connected to Sir Gilbert Elliot, and he was friendly with Andrew Stuart (q.v.). He was also the agent for Sir George Colebrooke, banker and powerful East India

1. See E. H. Coleridge, The Life of Thomas Coutts Banker, Vol. 1, pp.37-39; See also W. Mure of Caldwell, Selections from the Family Papers preserved at Caldwell, Vol.2, pp.73, 192.

2. See McGilvary, p.32, footnote 5.

Company Director.¹

William Fisher was another type of London-Scottish businessman. He acted as an agent for various prominent Scots who could not appear publicly to be involved in share dealing or operating in "margins", either because of public office, or because it was not then the gentlemanly thing to do. Scottish cartels had front men like Fordyce the banker, and were thus able to invest their money and keep their identities secret. Remittance of fortunes from abroad, such as through bills of exchange from India redeemable through the Company in London, required a skilled man. Attornies, like Kenneth Mackenzie of Lincoln's Inn, who remitted the fortune of Major-General Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coull, were very knowledgeable about the London money market.² Such a man had to know the Scottish as well as the London financial institutions, since he was entrusted to forward the money from London to the North.

It was impossible, in such a small business community, for these men not to dabble in East India Company business because of its importance in 'City' life. The throng of Scots congregating there was joined by those, like the Moffatts, who had made fortunes abroad and now resided in London beside their invested money. Or, like the Humes, they came into the mainstream of the Company and 'City' life after service in the Company or on board East Indiamen. Others,

1. See Maclean, pp.187-8; S.R.O. GD 224/45/28, Item 5; and Appendix 16. From his address he was probably connected with the York Buildings Company. (See footnote on p.35),

2. N.L.S. MSS. 1337, f.40. A. Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, dated 2 Sep. 1766; also I.O.R. Bombay Public Consultations, Vol 18, f.247, 10 Apr. 1752, and f.387, 11 Jun. 1752, Major William Mackenzie - Bills of exchange through James Stuart in London.

like General Hector Munro, returned home, but kept a stake in the Company.¹ Younger sons, like the future Major-General Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coull, were despatched to London to learn the secrets of the counting-house and to be near the centre of action for the East India Company and other financial institutions in the chance of speedy recruitment.² Many of these Scots scions are found in the Royal Society of Arts in the 1750s, which seemed to double as a Scots club.³ Others, like the Directors Thomas Cheap and Sir James Cockburn entered into business in London and became caught up in Company politics;⁴ or like the brothers Sir William and Robert Mayne, set the scene there for the Graemes of Kinross, their younger relations.⁵

London based Scots were very important, as is illustrated by the Humes in their dealings with the Company. From 1731 through to 1772 the India patronage system was given extensive support by the brothers Alexander and Abraham Hume, M.P., sons of the Jacobite Robert Hume of Ayton, Berwickshire.⁶ Their Scottish background, East India Company connections and stature in the City ensured their importance in the eyes of those ministers caring for Scottish affairs. Such was the case during the 1742 - 1761 period of Islay - Milton rule. For example, when they helped Sir Hew Dalrymple place

1. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

2. N.L.S. MSS. 1337, ff.1-3, A Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, dated 22 Jan. 1753; to his father, dated 9 Mar. 1758; and another to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, dated 29 Mar. 1758. He studied mercantile accounts, geography, "cyphering", French and fencing.

3. See McGilvary, p.38.

4. See Parker, pp.55,58.

5. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

6. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.652-3; Timperley, p.78; and 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

his brother William and his friend Charles Suttie in India it was done in accordance with Milton's wishes.¹ The Humes were important landowners in Berwickshire, through their father's estate, although their lives were spent in the south.²

Like so many with Jacobite connections or origins they started their careers in the Ostend Company. What really shaped their fortunes was that they each married a daughter of Sir Thomas Frederick who, together with his brothers Sir John and Sir Charles Frederick, was eminent in the East India Company.³ From March 1733 Alexander Hume, the eldest brother, held £1,000 of East India stock, a substantial sum then.⁴ And from 1737, intermittently until 1748, he served as an East India Company Director.⁵ Abraham Hume, as well as being a proprietor of East India stock was a Director of the South Sea Company and of the Exchange Assurance Company. Both men were active in East India Company politics from 1760.⁶ Apart from Sir Hew Dalrymple, they formed ties with Sir William Mayne and his brother Robert Mayne (q.v.) who were important to later developments in the patronage system. Relations and friends were provided for, such as William Stair Dalrymple, and Charles Suttie; and in 1747 so was their own nephew, Captain George Cuming (q.v.) of the Royal Drake East Indiaman, who later became an important Director carrying on the patronage work.⁷

-
1. See Sir Hew Dalrymple, 'Patronage Profiles' Section; and p.203.
 2. See Parker, pp.409,416; also Timperley, p.78, et. passim.
 3. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.652-3.
 4. I.O.R. L/AG/14/5/7, Stocks & Bonds, 1733-1737.
 5. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.652-3.
 6. See below Ch.10, p.248; and Parker, p.408,416
 7. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.652-3; Parker, pp.408,416; I.O.R. L/Mar/C/644, for 1747.

Due to the oligarchic structure of the East India Company few men, other than the most important Directors, had any real influence over the policies which were formulated; but each of the Directors had some share in the patronage.¹ Between 1742 and 1761 three Scots were Directors or had Scots connections: John Boyd, from 1753 to 1764 (Deputy Chairman in 1759); Charles Coutts, from 1749 to 1754 and 1758 to 1766; and John Hope, from 1738 to 1741 and 1744 to 1752.² Milton's connection with the East India Company was enhanced by the presence in the Direction of the Scot John Hope. From 1738 to 1752 he acted alongside Milton's other contacts there, like the Humes, Fredericks, Suttie, Baker, Chancerie, Drake and Watts. He was a distant relative of the Earls of Hopetoun and of Adriaan Hope, the Amsterdam banker, who had the same Scottish family connections as John Hope and who was involved deeply in the splitting campaigns that bedevilled Company politics in the 1760s.³ He perhaps also had some connection with Drummond of Quarrel's protégé John Hope, who was in the Company's service in Bombay in 1725 and became Customs House Controller there in 1751.⁴ John Hope (the Director) was aligned with Islay politically and was friendly with Sir James Johnstone (q.v.) of Westerhall, whose sons were also heavily involved in

-
1. See McGilvary, pp.43,124-6, on patronage powers; and Parker, pp.339-340 on powers of the Chairman.
 2. See Parker, passim.; and C.C. Prinsep, Records of Services of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants, 1741-1858, passim; Sutherland(1), p.30; and Appendix 15.
 3. See Riddy, p.12; Sutherland(3), p.458; Rev. Thomas Thomson, A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, vol.1, p.285; W. Anderson, The Scottish Nation : Biographical History of the People of Scotland, vol. 2, pp.489, 491, 492-495; Sedgwick, 2, pp.147-8.
 4. McGilvary, p.17. See above, p.133.

Company politics in the 1760s and 1770s.¹

While their connection with the Scottish business community in London was strong these Directors were by no means the only ones in the Direction open to requests for patronage that would benefit Scots. Ministerial penetration of the Direction meant that the ethnic origins of the 'Chairs' and leading Directors scarcely mattered. Company favours to help the Government pursue its objectives with regard to the political management of Scotland could be gained from those Company servants amenable to ministerial advances. There is evidence that the Director William Baker had links with Pelham and Newcastle and helped Scots. Thomas Rous, Frederick Pigou and Sir George Colebrooke were three English Directors with Scottish connections, who favoured Scottish applicants in the 1750s,² as did Crabb Boulton, John Dorrien and Robert Savage, who recommended Quinton Crauford, William Flockhart and Daniel Gordon, respectively.³

In the appointment of John Webster and of Alexander Dalrymple, and in the disappointment of Alexander Mackenzie of Coull, the patronage system at work during these years is made quite explicit. In 1761 John Webster was appointed Writer. He was the son of Alex. Webster D.D. whose first step in his son's interest had been to contact Milton in Edinburgh and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler of London. Both made application to Newcastle and he in turn to the East India Company Chairman, Laurence Sullivan. Webster's importance

1. See below Ch.11.

2. Bryant, p.41.

3. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, 1749-95, J/1/1 - J/1/15 and Appendix 15.

to Government was his relationship to the Erskine family in Scotland and to James Bogle, the "Secretary of the New Bank".¹ This operation of the patronage system is just as clear in the case of Alexander Dalrymple, 5th son of Sir James Dalrymple of Hailes, who entered the Company as a Writer in 1752. The fact that his father exerted massive electoral influence in East Lothian and that "his uncle was the Hon. General St.Clair, who in 1752 knew the Chairman", (William Baker), meant that his entry was assured.² His appointment typifies the favours granted to Scotland's senior and most influential families, if Argathelian and close to Milton. His promotion was rapid, pushed on by the weight of his family's political interest. By 1754 he was employed in the Secretary's office under Governor Pigot - achieved because of a personal recommendation from home. This power was used again in 1760 to get him on board ship; and by 1762 he had command of the London. A talent then developed, for map-reading and exploration, and his success in extending the possibilities of Company trade (still with the backing of powerful people in London and Scotland) saw him appointed as Hydrographer to the East India Company, and from there to the office especially created for him of Hydrographer to the Admiralty.³

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, 1749-95, J/1/1 - J/1/15 and Appendix 15.

2. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, 1749-95, J.1/1 - J/1/15; and C.C. Prinsep, Record of Services of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants, 1741-1858, passim.

3. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8, passim; D.N.B., vol.6, p.402; Love, Vestiges, vol.2, pp.490-1; Cotton, pp.181-8; Calder, p.709; Howard T. Fry, Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1801) and the Exploration of British Trade, Imperial Studies, No.XXIX (1970), pp.142-3.

Alexander Mackenzie of Coull, at school in London in 1757, looked to his clan chief, Lord Cromartie, for patronage and to John Mackenzie of Delvine, who played a key role in the Islay - Milton patronage system.¹ The young man's hopes were high since Islay had made his father Sheriff of Morayshire, in order, young Coull deduced, to "set up his nephew once more as a candidate for the County election."² However, he learned subsequently, that Islay had made a mistake with his father and by 1759 he regarded him as an enemy. In that year the young man tried to get to India through the favour of the Proprietor John Horne and with the influence of John Mackenzie of Delvine's brother George, a leading merchant in London.³ The Lord Register tendered his support while Lord Marchmont promised his influence with "a leading Director".⁴ But it was to no avail without the patronage machine working upon his behalf from Scotland. To John Mackenzie of Delvine he blasted against "the leading Triumvirate of this country (he meant Islay, Milton and probably Sir Gilbert Elliot) who while in friendship with you endeavoured to give you bad impressions of my father".⁵ Nor did "his Chief" escape censure, who would do nothing "when a wink" would have allowed Sir Alexander Grant, who was a leading Proprietor, to have provided for him. He would never again rely on "chiefs or mischiefs".⁶

1. See above pp.172-183 on John Mackenzie of Delvine.

2. N.L.S. MSS.1337, f.8, A. Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 13 Mar. 1759.

3. N.L.S. MSS.1337, f.10, A. Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 29 May 1759.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.f.11, A. Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 11 Aug. 1759

6. N.L.S. MSS.1337, f.11, A. Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 11 Aug. 1759.

Even more evidence of the Government's patronage system in operation and the strands of communication from Scotland to the East India Company Directors can be extracted from Writers Petitions. For instance, in 1749 Robert Erskine, son of Robert Erskine of Carnock and Carden, Stirlingshire, was supported in his application by Thomas Erskine, his relation, M.P. for the county, and firm Argathelian.¹ The same year Robert Moffatt benefited from his namesake in the Company Direction and from the backing of Scottish businessmen in London, Alex. Johnston and James Buchanan, who ran a counting-house. The following year, 1750, John Johnstone (q.v.), (born in "Haddock's Hole", Edinburgh in 1734), and then in 1753 Patrick Johnstone, both sons of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, entered the Company's service as Writers. They used their father's influence with Milton, who was anxious to embroil ex-Jacobites like Sir James and could do so by offering small patronage favours such as this. The fact that Sir James Johnstone had significant political influence in Dumfriesshire did not escape him either. The East India Company Proprietorship of their uncle, Lord Elibank did not go amiss when the brothers produced their recommendations.² Nor did William Lindsay, son of Sir Alex. Lindsay, and Lord Mansfield's nephew, find any difficulty in getting his Writership to Bengal, the best posting. Also the power of the Scottish legal establishment to work the patronage machine was reflected in the appointment in 1751

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8, passim; Sedgwick, vol.1, pp.381-404, passim; Timperley, p.330.

2. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8, passim; Sir James Johnstone controlled Dumfries Burghs in the 1740s. See Sedgwick, vol.1, p.397; See Timperley, pp.101,107,108,et passim. See also 'Patronage Profiles' Section; and Appendices 10 and 16.

of Claud Russell, son of John Russell, Writer to the Signet, of Braidslaw, Edinburgh; and again in 1752 when Robert Loch, son of William Loch, Writer to the Signet, was appointed.¹

The electoral influence of families in Scotland owning land but broadly termed of the second rank, was equally rewarded. An example was the successful petition of James Gordon, eldest son of James Gordon of Ellon, Aberdeenshire. Where, and when needed, additional weight could be put behind the petitioner's application to ensure success, such as happened to Charles Stuart, who in 1761 was vouched for by James and Thomas Coutts, London-Scottish bankers, who affirmed that the young man had served a banking apprenticeship in Edinburgh. The youth was fulsome in his thanks: "Mr. Stuart's humble respects to my Lord Bute and begs to present his most grateful thanks for the great honour conferred upon him by his Lordship's recommendation to Mr. Sullivan who has appointed him for a Writer for Bengal - If Lord Bute has any commands for India Mr Stuart will be heard of at Mr Coutts's any time this month and will think himself highly honoured in receiving his Lordship's orders."² In addition, what was perhaps the clearest signal of the growing presence and influence of the Scots in the Shipping interest was the appointment in 1754 of John Douglas as a Writer through the patronage of the Scottish

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8, passim. See also 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

2. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8, passim. Bute MSS, f.642, C. Stuart to Bute, London, 20 Nov. 1761. Bute's recommendation of Stuart to Sullivan had been carried there by Sir Gilbert Elliot. By November 1772, he was in Bengal living temporarily with a Scots colleague, Mr Lyon (q.v.). See also S.R.O. RH4/Reel.14/No.7, Charles Stuart to James Hunter Blair, 15 Nov. 1761 and 5 Nov. 1762.

Commander of the Lord Anson, Charles Foulis (q.v.).¹

In the 1742 - 1761 period implementation of Government's wishes could be achieved through those Directors who were Members of Parliament. Into this category and susceptible to ministerial pressure and persuasion came Alderman Sir William Baker, Alexander Hume, George Dempster and Sir Matthew Featherstonehaugh.² In the same years the number of Scots of the landed gentry who purchased India stock grew remarkably. They included: Andrew Stuart of Torrance; Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick; the father of George Dempster of Dunnichen; Patrick Murray, Lord Elibank; and Sir James and David Dalrymple of Hailes. In Scotland these gentlemen were able to satisfy Government politically, and, as Proprietors, opportunities for their own reward were available. The Argathelian signal was all that was required for them to secure Company posts for their friends in the Company.³

This depth of Scottish involvement in the Company, while signifying the entrance of Scottish capital into the London money market, also seems to reflect Scottish understanding of the benefits conferred upon them from earlier connections with the Company during John Drummond of Quarrel's years. Certainly the Dalrymples, Duncan Clerk, Andrew Stuart, Sir Alex. Grant, the Douglasses, Erskine and Fraser, mentioned above were very much involved with Argathelian control in Scotland and are to be regarded as contributing to the

-
1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8, passim.; See also Sedgwick vol.1, pp.381-404, passim. John Johnstone, W. Lindsay, Claud Russell and Captain Charles Foulis all appear below.
 2. See Namier & Brooke, vol.1, pp.150-156; and Parker, passim.
 3. I.O.R. (Stockholders 1742-1762) L/AG/14/5/9-12.

ongoing patronage system at Company level. Scottish landed wealth by engaging in capitalist exploits, such as the East India Company, banks and dealing in shares and dividends, found new vistas opening up. Political influence and the favour of those in power in Parliament could enhance these business prospects and those of associates.

One of this group of Proprietors, Sir Hew Dalrymple, M.P., of North Berwick, provides a striking example of the continued use of India patronage by Islay and Milton. Sir Hew Dalrymple maintained that all the positions and favours he received stemmed from Lord Milton, not least of these being India patronage.¹ From 1734 he was a virtual one man route to India for many young men. The county of Haddingtonshire and Haddington Burghs were held by the Dalrymples. They were some of the foremost and most influential landowners in Scotland with rich and varied connections. Their allegiance was invaluable to any would-be political manager. For example, Sir Hew's brothers included John Dalrymple (Hamilton) of Bargany, William (Stair) Dalrymple (q.v.) and Robert Dalrymple. His sons were Captain Robert and Hew Dalrymple; his nephew was James Dalrymple. Among his cousins he could list the Dalrymples of Hailes, that is Sir James and his sons who included Sir David, Lord Hailes and Alexander Dalrymple (q.v.) among others. His uncle was Captain William Stair Dalrymple.²

1. See Ch.7, pp.157-158.

2. See D.N.B. Vol. 13 pp.406-408, passim; and Timperley, passim.

Sir Hew was "one of the Duke of Argyll's gang",¹ but could also fall out with him and seek patronage from his enemies. For example, in 1746 he secured favours from George Grenville, who was then connected to Pelham and Sir Laurence Dundas'(q.v.) group, the latter being a particular enemy of Islay.² For most of the time, however, he was an Argathelian and his independent characteristics did not blind him to the offices he could gain from the Islay-Milton power base to pass on to his friends and relations. Study of how he exerted his influence to gain posts for some of these people uncovers much of how the system, in its largely personal and informal way, had to work. Charles Suttie, for example, a relation of Sir George Suttie who was a large landowner in his own right and an East India Proprietor and Director, acknowledged in November 1745 that Sir Hew had got him to India. He was undoubtedly referring to Sir Hew's political contacts with the Islay-Milton systems. Even Sir George Suttie's East India Company influence, although clearly very important was inferior to the influence of the patronage machine. In 1745 he now sought more help from Sir Hew, in particular he wanted to have his civil post changed from Tellicherry to Bengal that he might engage in trade. The power of the patronage system at work in Scotland through Sir Hew Dalrymple is depicted by a further request from Charles Suttie. He asked, and fully expected, that Sir Hew would not only arrange his switch to Bengal, but that he would also get Alex.and Abraham Hume to influence the East Indiaman's Commander,

1. See Sedgwick, vol.1, p.601.

2. S.R.O. GD 110/1303, ff.1-12, Letters from George Grenville to Sir Hew Dalrymple - 1746.

Commander, Captain Law, to allow him to sit at the Captain's table.¹

In 1752 the system operated perfectly to place Sir Hew's young brother William Stair Dalrymple in Fort William, Bengal, as a Writer. All the strings of connection and influence were pulled. In Scotland Sir Hew, his brother John, Laird of Bargany, and other big landowners, like Sir George Suttie, mustered their forces. Their efforts were funnelled through Sir Hew's London agent, a Mr Sainthill. Armed with letters of introduction and recommendation from Sir Hew, his brother William quickly gained favour with the 'Chairs', Alderman Baker and Mr Chancerie who "had the whole Direction" that year. He also had the backing of the East India Company Directors, Mr Drake and Mr Watts, gaining letters of recommendation from both to add to that of their fellow Director Sir George Suttie. Taking Drake's advice William changed from the notion of going Supercargo to that of Writer; and with such formidable backing it is no surprise that he was chosen to go to Bengal. Unfortunately the young man was not to live long. But before he died in the 'Black Hole' he was involved to the full extent of his credit in trading exploits, particularly with Governor Roger Drake and the Freemerchant John Brown. His bills of exchange passed through the Scottish firm of Innes and Clarke in Bengal and his London agent was the Scot, David Findlay.²

1. S.R.O. GD 110/975, Charles Suttie to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 8 Nov. 1745 and 18 Nov. 1745. See also pp.193-194 on Alexander Hume; and Bryant, p.28.

2. S.R.O. GD 110/1021/1-17, Letters of William 'Stair' Dalrymple to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 25 Aug. 1752 to 9 Jan. 1756.

Sir Hew Dalrymple's influence with those in control of patronage in Scotland and with the East India Company's Direction is reflected in several other cases. In 1748 he secured preferment for his nephew, James Dalrymple; and, to please Milton's agent, James Oswald, he got his friend, a Mr Reid, an introduction.¹ To satisfy the wishes of two influential voters, John Buchan of Letham and James Heriot of Dirlleton, he acted again to secure positions in the Company's service for their respective sons, Hew Buchan and James Heriot Junior.² It must have been an endless drudge for him. But politics (high or low) depended upon this chain of command. He understood perfectly his role in giving the correct favour to the politically and socially right person. He also received as much as he gave in that as one of the ruling families in Scotland, who knew from tradition, teaching and necessity what he must do, he got on with it. From his point of view, and that of his fellow travellers, in Westminster and north of the border, he was doing an important political job. He was not conscious of doing any wrong. Apart from threats or blackmail, patronage was almost the only means that he could employ to tie to himself and his cause, an individual who was socially and economically independent.

1. S.R.O. GD 110/1007, James Dalrymple to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 6 Nov. 1748; GD 110/963, James Oswald to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 23 Oct. 1748.
2. S.R.O. GD 110/1026, John Buchan to Sir Hew Dalrymple, n.d. (but 1752); and GD 110/987, James Heriot to Sir Hew Dalrymple, 26 Feb. 1756 and 8 Jan. 1757.

The Patronage System and the East India Company Shipping Interest
1742-1761

The East India Company Shipping interest of the 1720-1742 period which proved very useful to John Drummond of Quarrel, remained substantially the same in structure, size and function up to 1757. Until then it was still controlled by the same families of shippers who worked in close harmony with the East India Company's Direction and its Committee of Shipping. Ships husbands, owners, or Charter Parties, Commanders, shipbuilders and insurance underwriters formed a close-knit fraternity, collaborating with the Company, attending its different Courts and functioning in the running of the Company as Directors, Proprietors or Company Servants.¹

There were few opportunities available for interference by outside forces. Even important Directors found the Shipping Interest a law unto itself. However, one of the strongest levers the Chairman of the Company did have was that he allocated voyages to the East Indiamen, their owners and Commanders.² This gave him enormous power within the ranks of the Shippers, not to mention the Company itself. Some voyages were better than others, such as the Bengal run, where £8-10,000 could be made by a Commander and a good return made from his freight at the sales in the Company warehouses. For such a run the Chairman's support was vital; and he looked for a great deal of patronage and other forms of recompense in return.³ Drummond had used

1. In-depth research into the Shipping Interest is to be found in the following: Sutherland(1), pp.36-39; Sutherland(2), p.91 et passim; Shearer, pp.123-168; Parker, 394-442; McGilvary, pp.33-36, 38-39.

2. See Parker, p.34.

3. See Sunter, pp.518-521.

this avenue to gain seafaring positions to such an extent that his own exhaustion with it even turned him viciously against his brother with his constant requests, "I have told you once and again not to recommend any Surgeons to me, for all the East India Company ships have either Scots Surgeons or Surgeon's mates, and till some of them die I can, nor will look out for no more, for I am made the jest of mankind, plaguing all the Societys of England with Scots Surgeons..."¹

Ships husbands were canvassed directly for commands. Those officers appointed were confirmed by the Company. Between 1720 and 1774 EastIndiamen averaged 400 to 600 tons (but were officially registered at 499 tons to avoid carrying a parson). Crews numbered anything between 60 and 130. Besides the Captain they included 6 mates, a surgeon and surgeon's mate, a purser, supercargo and up to 5 midshipmen, "all gentlemen by education and family".² This patronage source was important, independent of Government, but open to its advances and to the back-scratching of Company Directors and Proprietors. The command of an East Indiaman carried such high rewards it was usually given to a relative or friend of the owners.³ Although in theory the crew, from the Captain to the ships cook had the 'privilege' of cargo space, only the Captain, Chief Mate and Second Officer were able to make a substantial profit from the private trade this permitted.⁴ But even one voyage could make a Commander's fortune and set him up for life. During the years in

1. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-484, f.62, J. Drummond to William Drummond, dated 18 Mar. 1731.

2. Cotton, p.24, and Parkinson, p.164.

3. Ibid, pp.24-25.

4. Sunter, p.521; Cotton, pp.31-33; Parkinson, pp.167, 200; Parry, p.65.

question he was allowed 25 tons on the outward journey and 15 tons homeward usually exceeded.¹ Three voyages brought the Scots Commander of the Plassey, John Waddell, £18,000 and he boosted this total with £1,224 from smuggling tea, the money being paid to him by the respectable banking firm of Walpole and Company of Lombard Street.² Among the Commander's other perquisites was the passage money, which could be 100 guineas and included the right to sit at the Captain's table; and passengers also paid him for cabins and meals. Ordinary seamen were often abused, their pay, food and beer being purloined by Captain and purser alike.³

Up to 1744 Scots Captaincies of East Indiamen were few and far between, but the energies of John Drummond of Quarrel and the Governmental patronage system in placing Scots seamen in the 1720s and 1730s began to bear some fruit.⁴ A continental war from 1740, war with France from 1744, and a need to recruit good seafarers also helped. But some Scots certainly served on East Indiamen and reached India prior to the John Drummond of Quarrel period; and it has been suggested that the Presbyterian Scots were more acceptable to the Dissenting and Huguenot families who dominated the Company's shipping. The education, work ethic and strong sea-faring traditions and skills of the Scots was matched by those of the East India Company shipping interest and formed a basis for mutual respect.⁵ Captain Robert Knox of the Ann, who became a Minister at Kandy,

1. Cotton, pp.29,31,132. He was also allowed to sell wine, cheese, beer and other foodstuffs. From 1772-95 the allowance was larger.

2. Ibid, pp.37-38.

3. Cotton. pp.67-69, 73-74, 84-85.

4. See Ch.6.

5. See Parker, pp.388,418,453 et passim.

exemplifies these qualities.¹ Together with Captain Alexander Hamilton, his brother Dr William Hamilton (a surgeon from Wishaw), and Captains George Heron, William Fraser of Bengal, Francis Seaton, Daniel Clarke, Arthur Maxwell and David Thomson he formed part of a small Scottish presence before 1707.²

After the Act of Union and with the memory of the bitter failure of the Darien Scheme fading Scottish seafaring fortunes changed for the better. With the Union the Scottish mercantile community in the City of London within a few years was able to forge contacts with the shipping world. Marriage and business enabled families like the Humes and Moffatts, discussed above, to penetrate to the highest positions within this select body.³ The shipping advantages from coming within the Navigation Acts were also seized upon by the Scottish Commanders and ships husbands. If registered within 12 months of 1707 Scottish vessels were admitted to British shipping and penetration of the English trading/maritime Companies followed.⁴

One of the first to benefit from these changes and who was to reach prominence in the East India Company marine was Captain Charles Boddam. He was born in 1680 in the small village of Boddam, two miles south of Peterhead. He joined the Company in 1710 and became Commander of the Charlton in 1716, then of the Walpole, trading to

1. See Cotton, pp.96,139-140.

2. Captain Alex. Hamilton wrote A New Account of The East Indies, circa 1700. Also see Cotton, pp.18,135-6,169; Riddy, pp.3-4; Love, Vestiges, vol. 2, pp.547,551, vol.3, pp.2,35-37,69.

3. See pp.193-194; 'Patronage Profiles' Section, pp.353-355 and Parker, p.416.

4. See R.H. Campbell Scotland Since 1707, pp.38-53.

China, from 1724 to 1736. Command of the Walpole was perhaps not mere coincidence, given the existence of the Walpole-Drummond East India Company patronage system during these years and the habit developed by ships husbands of naming a ship after a benefactor. By marrying Mary, the daughter of Rawson Hart, a Councillor in Fort St. George, he established himself; and with the birth of his sons Charles Boddam and Rawson Hart Boddam, it transpired a Company and shipping dynasty was formed. Charles Boddam Junior became a Company Director, and Rawson Hart Boddam Governor of Bombay. The latter married Frances, daughter of Nicholas Morse, very important in the Company and in shipping. Captain Charles Boddam Senior remained in Fort St. David and by 1748 had risen to 5th in Council there.¹

Naturally enough, most Scots seafarers in the Company's ranks did not reach captaincy. One or two were prominent between 1707 and 1744; they included Captain John Gordon of the Montague and Captain John Hunter of the Barrington. Both gained command in 1722.² Captain William Hutchinson commanded the Sutherland in 1723 and the Godolphin in 1754. By 1773 he was Dockmaster at Liverpool, amassing

1. See I.O.R. L/Mar/C/651, Register of Commanders (1737-1832); also see I.O.R. L/Mar/C/644, Records of Appointment, List of Applications from the Company's own Ships (1736-1810); and Charles Hardy, Register of the East India Company's Shipping, passim.; I.O.R. European Inhabitants, Madras, pp.14,17; Love, Vestiges, vol.2, pp.317-8,388; Parker, pp.25-27. Charles Boddam's brother, Thomas Boddam, was a member of the Cossimbazar Council in 1748 and Chief at Balsore in 1756, (See Datta, pp.962,970-1).

2. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464(N-0), f.19, Major Roach to John Drummond of Quarrel, 21 Jan. 1728. [Gov. James Macrae was also a Commander in the 1720s. (See above pp.136-7). Other Scots Commanders operated in the 'Country Trade' in the East, such as Capt. D. Rannie and Capt. W. Craig. (See Datta, p.313; I.O.R. Bombay Public Consultations, vol.18, f.246, dated 24 Feb. 1752)].

a fortune in between times.¹ Three other seafarers of this period might be mentioned here, William Leggatt, John Fergusson and Captain Campbell. In 1732 Fergusson became a surgeon's mate on board the Brittania. He had departed Ayr in 1731 and spent a year in London gaining the necessary patronage and recommendations. Captain Campbell of the Bengal Galley (coastal trade) died in 1730 fighting the pirate Maratha Admiral Angria. His name hints at Argathelian patronage.²

Those early seafarers already connected with governing political figures, such as Captain Gordon's links with John Drummond of Quarrel, were invaluable for later lines of patronage via the Company's shipping interest.³ By the 1750s Scots had penetrated the Company in large numbers, as Directors, Proprietors and servants (home and abroad); they were familiar with its organisation and the opportunities that it offered through Members of Parliament, through Scots in the banking and business world in London, through agents and countless other forms of contact. That they had certainly built upon early shipping connections formed because of John Drummond's manipulation of the patronage machine is testified throughout the Company's marine records in the period that followed, 1740-1761.

Between 1740 and 1743 it has been calculated that the number of

1. See I.O.R. L/Mar/C/651, Register of Commanders (1737-1832); Datta, pp.14,117,589-591; Hickey, p.2; and Cotton, p.41.

Hutchinson's two brothers also served in the Company. See below Appendix 11.

2. See M. M. Stuart, With the Brittania and the Hindostan, South East Asian Review, vol.7, No.4, July 1974, pp.315-320; Love, Vestiges, Vol.2, p.270, Vol.3, p.65.

3. S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464(N-P), f.19, Major Roach to John Drummond, 21 Jan. 1728.

European-built ships in the Company's service (East Indiamen), jumped from 55 to 63 and remained at or about this number until 1761.¹ At one time or another during the 18 years from 1743 to 1761, 25 of the 63 East Indiamen had Scottish Captains. Eight of these received their captaincies in the 1740s; Charles Foulis, Robert Haldane, Richard Elliot and Gabriel Steward (1744); George Cuming (1747); John Petrie and George Lindsay (1748); and Norton Hutchinson (1749). The other 17 appointments were spread evenly over the 1750-1760 decade: Gilbert Slater and John Watson (1750); Alex. Dickson, Benjamin Fisher and William Dalrymple (1754); Robert Veitch (1756); James Haldane, Alex. Hume and Cornelius Inglis (1757); Nathaniel Inglis and William Scott (1758); James Dewar and Alexander Macleod (1759); and George Baker, Charles Haggis, James Moffatt and Andrew Ross (1760).²

This remarkable influx giving a very strong Scottish presence among Commanders of European-built East Indiamen, can only be accounted for by a deliberate effort being made to engage Scots in this particular field to the exclusion of other ethnic groups. Growing Scots entry into the Company's business and into the running of its affairs, as outlined above, doubtless helped such a policy. Such a number of Scottish Commanders is also almost certainly an indicator that influential Scots, or pro-Scots individuals in the governing Establishment were at work, as well as charter-parties and

1. See Shearer, App. K, p.278; also Calder, p.443.

2. I.O.R. L/Mar/C/651, Register of Commanders (1737-1832); Datta, pp.11,54,55,172,313,1022; Love, Vestiges, vol.2, pp.270,337,446,548; Hickey, pp.35,230,259,271.; Cotton, pp.67,154,176; and P. Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India, 1734-1806, p.20. (Most of these men are dealt with in depth below).

ships husbands in the Shipping circles.¹ Also, 13 Commands were given after the outbreak of war in 1744 and another 12 after the start of the Seven Years War in 1756 and there is little doubt that these crises acted as some form of catalyst to these recruitments. The need for experienced sailors and more shipping accelerated developments. The East India Company was expanding too, and its role changed during these years, with defence of the Presidencies, control of the shipping lanes and growth of trade all being pursued at the expense of rival trading powers, especially the French. These events were mirrored inside the Company by an increase in the various interest groups all grasping for power and patronage.² It was a development, involving the shipping interest, which first surfaced in 1757 and progressed rapidly from that point to a series of bitter contested elections which affected the flow of East India Company patronage to such an extent that ministerial knowledge of, and contacts with, the controlling faction(s) in the Company was important for the systematised use of East India patronage for Scottish political management ends to continue.³

1. See Cotton, pp.48-49, especially on "hereditary bottoms". Among owners of East Indiamen their appointment of the Commander was so customary, it was regarded as a right they possessed.

2. See Shearer, pp.35,123-168, et. passim.

3. See below Chs. 9 & 11.

ROBERT AND JAMES HALDANE

Excellent illustration of patronage and the shipping interest at this time is found in the careers of Captain Robert Haldane, M.P. and his nephew, Captain James Haldane, both Commanders of East Indiamen. They became rich and important landowners in the 1742-1761 period from immense wealth drawn from India. Captain Robert Haldane, known as "The Entailer", was the son of John Haldane of Gleneagles and his second wife Helen, daughter of Sir Charles Erskine. He became the owner of the estates of Plean, Airthrey and Gleneagles before his death in 1767. Through his landed wealth, political connection and his East India shipping position he continued the network of political patronage, helping others to places on East Indiamen and also into the Company's service.

His initial entry to life on board an East Indiaman in 1725 was managed through the Erskines. He too was soon in the Argyll-Milton interest (which the Erskine tie gave him), an allegiance which he in turn transferred to Bute. He was made Captain of the Haselingfield, in 1744 and in 1746 first the Tryal and then the Prince Edward. By 1747 he had moved politically, to an independent position, although in 1746 he had been in direct communication with Milton. The reason for his shift at this time was his yearning for a seat in the Commons. He was willing to put his wealth towards attaining this goal, even passing up the offer of the Governorship of Bombay in this pursuit. By all accounts he was "an arrogant, ambitious, purse-proud man" and this probably led him, mistakenly, to oppose Milton and Argyll. But the support of Newcastle, Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.) and Alex. Wedderburn (q.v.), not to mention all his riches

availed him nothing in his designs upon the County of Stirlingshire. The Argathelian interest defeated him and by 1752 Milton had bought off his opposition. Part of the purchase price was the use of Milton's influence to ensure that Haldane's nephew, James Haldane, was made Captain of the Prince Edward that same year, in place of his uncle Robert.

Apart from Milton and the Erskines, especially Baron James Erskine, the Lord Chief Justice Clerk, Robert Haldane was friends with John Dalrymple of Culhorn, John Hamilton-Dalrymple of Bargany (Sir Hew Dalrymple's brother), Chalmers of Errol, George Ross (Lord Mansfield's man of business), and the Stirlings of Keir (q.v.), who were also involved in Company shipping. Lord Anson of the Admiralty was a good friend who helped him further the career of his own cousin, Adam Duncan of Dundee who later became an Admiral of the Fleet. Robert Haldane's allegiance to the Argathelian cause after 1752 is reflected in this list of fellow travellers and is demonstrated clearly in his withdrawal, without reservation, from Stirling Burghs in the 1760 election because Bute wanted the seat for Alex. Wedderburn. In return, that same year, he was asked to be M.P. for Perthshire by Milton. In this he was supported by Dalzell of the Binns and John Drummond of Paisley. Meanwhile, he continued to recommend young men to posts in India, and in this pursuit he met with a great deal of success whether in the shipping line or, as was the case with the young Walter Douglas in 1760, as a Writer in the

Company's service.¹

Commander James Haldane of Airthrey, son of Col. James Haldane, was granted his original position as a seaman through John Drummond of Quarrel, and at the request of both Walpole and the Duke of Argyll. He only gained his captaincy, as already mentioned, when in 1752-1753 the Argyll-Milton political influence was brought to bear. The importance of such an interest is emphasised by the fact that before this date James had already spent around 18 years at sea. After 12 years as Captain of the Prince Edward, he relinquished this post in 1765 to take command of the Duke of Albany. He also introduced his second son Captain James Alexander Haldane, into the Company's shipping, in so-doing carrying on a tradition. This son made a colossal fortune, trading in saltpetre and dealing with the Scots firm of MacIntosh and Hannay. Following his own death in 1768 James Haldane Senior was succeeded as Captain of the Duke of Albany by another Scotsman, Captain John Stewart.²

1. See Gen. Sir J. Aylmer L. Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles, vol. 1, pp.195-199; vol. 2, pp.293-305. N.L.S. MSS. 6044, ff.73-77, 'An Old Ochil Family', the Haldanes of Gleneagles."; N.L.S. MSS. 5080, Erskine MSS, f.41, Robert Haldane to Baron Erskine, 6 Jun. 1753, et passim; N.L.S. MSS. 3188, ff.34-41, dated May 1763, Report of the Committee Appointed to Survey the Roads from Stirling to Perth; N.L.S. MSS. 16625, f.14, R. Haldane to Milton, 14 Apr. 1746; N.L.S. MSS.16647, Sir Peter Halkett to Milton, 14 Jul. 1747 (Halkett was one of John Drummond of Quarrel's old political companions); N.L.S. MSS.16663, f.200 'Jacobite Journal', dated 8 Sep. 1748; N.L.S. MSS.16714, J. Drummond of Paisley to Milton, 3 Jan. 1760; I.O.R. Writer's Petitions, J/1/4, Walter Douglas, son of Alex. D. Wright (sic), Burgess in Edinburgh. He was Supervisor of Salt at Culross before going to India. (A John Haldane became a Writer in 1769 - I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/7, for 1769).

2. See Riddy, pp.9,10; N.L.S. MSS. 6044, f.74, 'An Old Ochil Family'; N.L.S. MSS.6102, f.1, Capt. J. Haldane (Younger) to Peter Halkett, 18 May 1768; I.O.R. L/Mar/C.651, Register of Commanders, 1757-1332; Timberley, pp.331,260, et passim. Lt. Col. James Haldane, was half-brother to Capt. Robert Haldane.

SECTION D

CHAPTER 9.

EAST INDIA COMPANY POLITICS, THE BUTE MINISTRY
AND PATRONAGE 1761-1765

From 1742 to 1757 the ministry's methods of extracting the East India Company's patronage followed the well-worn ways laid down in the Walpole-John Drummond of Quarrel period and now being continued by Islay-Milton. In all of this, connections, back-scratching and indulgence proved effective. Everything received a severe jolt with the contests that began in the Company in 1757, and especially after the election of Laurence Sullivan as Chairman. The main sinews of the system held firm, however, such as ministerial connection with the Company's leaders, and through inter-locking interests that stretched from Scotland down through the London business community, backstairs lobbies at Westminster and into the labyrinth of the Company's Courts and committees. Such groups were open to a variety of approaches that could end in India patronage for Government use in Scotland. The request for a post could be initiated in any of these quarters, as long as it got back to Westminster, or to the powers in Scotland to be used as electoral currency there.

The years from 1742 to 1757 were ones of harmony and compromise between Government and the Company and their need to work closely together had gained strength from the continental hostilities that began in 1740. Even closer collaboration was needed throughout the Seven Years War of 1756-1763, but with this came problems that began to stretch the Company's limited resources. The old commercial interest running the Company had no answer to the onset of pressures

and problems, external and internal, that began in 1756. War against the French, who allied with native rulers hostile to the English Company, led to a financial drain. The expense of prosecuting these wars and the added strain of remittance bills drawn upon the Company by servants abroad, began to take its toll.¹ These forces at work were reflected in a series of internal struggles for power in the Company which appeared publicly as events reached a crescendo in April 1758, and then reappeared in a more vicious form during the lead-up to the election of 1761 where prominent figures in Parliament as well as the Company became embroiled.²

Meanwhile, Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 raised the Company from a trading concern to a great territorial power. Politicians, merchants, bankers rushed to become Proprietors, and Company politics, those of Parliament and those of the City of London became enmeshed. By the early 1760s Newcastle, Cavendish then Pitt, Henry Fox, the Paymaster-General, and Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Islay's friend, were deeply involved in Company politics.³ Adventurers, speculators and aspiring politicians competed and jockeyed for position and patronage in the Company, lured by the prospect of riches and power that the East India Company and its possessions overseas now offered.⁴

All of these events, home and abroad, were to effect a change in the patronage system and the organised use of India patronage by Government for its own purposes in Scotland. They introduced

-
1. See McGilvary, pp.41-47 for detailed background.
 2. See below Ch.11.
 3. See also Sutherland(1), pp.79,103-104, and Chart 5.
 4. See also Maclean, p.153.

ministerial figures and other Members of Parliament into Company affairs on a scale hitherto unknown and which became public knowledge in the April 1761 election.¹ The power of the Company Chairman changed dramatically. The altered circumstances in India and the sharpened demand for patronage in London charged him with an overriding importance.² What is more, the attraction of India now meant that demand far outstripped supply, a situation only partly remedied by the need for mercantile and military recruits because the real fortunes to be made in India called for a position in the Company's civil service.³

The ministry's renewed interest in India affairs and its desire for patronage was aided by the Company's periodic need to renew its Charter. The price squeezed from the Company in exchange for the renewal of its Charter included India posts for selected individuals.⁴ Following the events in Bengal in 1757 there was an even fuller flow of posts to Scotland, indicated by the number of Scots allocated Writerships, by the surge of Captaincies and other seagoing positions and by the military cadetships and Scots regiments despatched to India.⁵ This rush was more pronounced from 1761 with the coming to power of Bute.⁶

The contest of 1758, unlike that of 1761, did not involve the "splitting" of stock into £500 units in order to create voting

1. See below Ch.11.

2. See McGilvary, p.58.

3. The rush for posts was reflected in the number of Writers Petitions. See I.O.L. Index of Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8; and Appendices 10 to 14.

4. McGilvary, p.41.

5. See I.O.L. Writers Petitions, J/1/1-8; and Appendices 7 to 14.

6. See below pp.223-227.

rights. It was the consequence of disagreements on what policies should be followed to deal with the Company's new found situation and problems in India, and also the determined efforts by new forces in the Company, those returned 'Indians', headed by Laurence Sullivan and Stephen Law, who, in alliance with friends in the Shipping Interest, challenged the old brigade in control of the Company's Courts. From April 1757 (when Sullivan became Deputy Chairman) to April 1758 the factions clashed in the Company's Courts and in public, through the press. Behind the struggle for control lay the glittering prize of patronage and the greater power and influence this gave. The Deputy Chairman, Laurence Sullivan, and his 'Bombay Squad' of Company servants returned from that Presidency were disenchanted at the ignorance and lack of concern in the old Direction. Backed by powerful figures in the Company's shipping, such as the Godfrey family, Timothy Tullie, Thomas Lane, Captain Samuel Hough and others, they squared up to the Chairman, John Payne and his coterie of supporters in the Direction who had no first-hand experience of India, being London businessmen.¹

From the very outset of these struggles for political control of the Company most Scots were involved as groups and as individuals, and overwhelmingly on the side of Laurence Sullivan. They constituted his friends, whether grouped as part of the Shipping Interest, Bombay Squad, Commercial interest in the City, or servants abroad. From his own Bombay days, up to 1753, Sullivan could count

1. See McGilvary, pp.33-36 on L. Sullivan and the Shipping interest; p.41 on the Direction's poverty of experience up to 1757; pp.45-46 on the Bombay Squad and details of the contest. See also above Ch.3, E.I. Co. Background section.

upon a number of Scots friends: George Scott, Accountant and Collector, Alex. Douglas, Customs Collector at Mahim, John Hope, Warehousekeeper, William Shaw, Andrew Gardner, Robert Erskine, David Seton, James Lister, John Cameron and Alex. Fleming. They were all members of the Company's service and many, like John Hope had returned to London.¹ Others from this period included: Captain Robert Haldane, Captain James Dewar, Captain John Watson (with whom Sullivan had business accounts) and Captain Forbes of the Bombay marine. On the military side he could count upon Major James Kilpatrick (who he made 3rd in Council in Bengal in 1757) and Major William Mackenzie.²

In London, from 1753 onwards, Sullivan built up more Scottish connections among his "natural interest", as he called the shippers. Captains Charles Boddam and James Moffatt were Scots supporters who were Commanders with a vested right of command, making them almost a permanent fixture in Company shipping. James Moffatt and his brother Andrew were also husbands of "permanent bottoms", that is, they had the vested right as owners or Commanders, to have a ship in the Company's service.³ Dr. John Munro was a member of Sullivan's "marine society", a syndicate involved in private trade, with members

1. See McGilvary, pp.9,16-17; and I.O.R. Bombay Public Consultations, vol.18, pp.544,554,562.

2. See McGilvary, pp.17,19,33,61; and I.O.R. Bombay Public Consultations, vol. 18, passim. See also pp.210-213 on Capt. Robert Haldane. See also P. Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India, 1784-1806, p.20; Holwell, p.168; Marshall, pp.3,213,329, et passim.

3. See McGilvary, pp.32-35. The Moffatts, Capts. James and John, and Andrew, were also insurance brokers for shipping; and as well as acting as Directors and Proprietors, they were involved as speculators in 'change alley', gambling, through advance knowledge they might have, upon the value of India stock. See also 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

operating in India and in London.¹ To this number Sullivan added, in 1755, Scots connections from the Royal Society of Arts, including a James Stewart and a Mr. Macpherson.²

From within the East India Company this Scots caucus worked hand in glove with Sullivan, sharing in the patronage he could offer. They despatched their favours to friends in Scotland, and through Sullivan had close ties with ministerial agents. From 1758 to 1761 Sullivan exerted an authoritarian control over all aspects of Company life. This firmness came naturally to him, but was also necessary to correct the abuses abroad, the mischief and mismanagement there, and to rescue the Company from financial collapse.³ Against a backdrop in India of fortunes being made, power being thrust into the hands of Company servants, and a general free-for-all, such a course of action meant he and Robert Clive, the hero of Plassey, would cross swords. It also meant that those servants (principally from the Bengal Presidency) castigated severely by Sullivan, would join with Clive when they returned home. From 1761 the Company was to reverberate with their struggles creating a knock-on effect upon the disbursement of India patronage.⁴

1. McGilvary, p.93, footnote 2.

2. The R.S.A. virtually became a Scots club. See McGilvary, p.35 and Ch.11, p.276 for 1760s connection.

3. For detailed study of L. Sullivan's government of the E.I. Co. and his friendship with William Pitt and other members of his ministry during these years see McGilvary, pp.63-120 passim.

4. See below Ch.11.

The Bute Ministry and East India Patronage 1761-1763

Islay died in 1761 but the shape of Scottish political management was already clear. John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, nephew to Islay, had become the key figure in the entourage of the new monarch George III. Although Islay and his nephew had fallen out in 1759 over the distribution of the Ayr Burgh seats,¹ by 1761 this had been patched up. There is little doubt, however, that the death of "so resourceful a friend" as Islay was to foreshorten Bute's own reign of power.² Bute was an Anglo-Scot who lived in Scotland only from 1739 to 1745.³ In 1739 he had helped heal the rift between Walpole and John, 2nd Duke of Argyll. His other appearance was as a Scottish representative peer in 1757. Bute's political career and insight were helped by being a confidante of the Royal family from 1747 to 1760, and undoubtedly this provided him with his opportunity when the new king was enthroned.⁴

While Islay was alive Bute had little control over Scottish patronage although there was a slight overlap during the first months of George III's reign because of Bute's influence with the king. But Islay continued his hold over Scottish affairs, and his old enemy, Newcastle, was pushed further out of things.⁵ Following the death of Islay in April 1761, Bute became the most important figure

1. See James N.M. Maclean 'The Early political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1796) and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821)', Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, p.312.

2. Simpson, p.60.

3. Murdoch, p.175.

4. See D.N.B., Vol. 55, pp.92-98; Murdoch, p.175, et passim.; See also S.R.O. Argyll muniments N.R.A.(S)1209, Survey I, bundle 45: Argyll did not believe Walpole's professions of friendship meant anything.

5. Murdoch, pp.204-5. See also Charts 4 and 5.

in Scots eyes. But Bute's lack of personal touch and an apparent boredom with Scots politics continued. He 'despised' the Scots patronage,¹ and was content to leave this to his adherents. His close group of friends, advisers and ministers in his Government, who included Henry Fox (later Lord Holland), the Earl of Shelburne, Lord Elginton, Gilbert Elliot of Minto, William Mure of Caldwell, James Oswald and Sir Harry Erskine all found themselves dealing with more in this respect.² Bute placed his brother, James Stuart Mackenzie, in charge of Scottish affairs which he thought would satisfy the Argathelians (whose support he now commanded) and would dispel their fears of a Squadrone revival led by Arniston and Marchmont.

Bute's own need to be in London and yet have someone controlling affairs for him in Scotland whom he knew and could trust also led to the choice of his brother.³ Yet at the same time, at Newcastle's insistence, Bute had given one of Islay's offices, that of Keeper of the Great Seal in Scotland, to a potential enemy, the Earl of Marchmont. This immediate sub-division of authority in Scotland in 1761 was added to by the degree of control Lord Mansfield exercised over Scottish proceedings.⁴ William Murray, 1st Baron and 1st Earl of Mansfield (and Lord Chief Justice in 1768) was one of Bute's closest advisers. He was an ex-Jacobite and close relative

1. Murdoch, p.211.

2. See N.L.S. MSS.10781, Letterbook of Baron Maule, 1748-61, f.137, Elliot to Maule, dated 9 Jun. 1761; N.R.A.(S) 631, Bute Papers, Nos. 133,134,n.p; Memorials of the Public Life and Character of the Rt. Hon. James Oswald of Dunniker, passim; and R. Sedgwick, Letters from George III to Lord Bute, 1750-1766, passim. See also Charts 2 and 5.

3. Mackenzie was to be the last politician from Scotland to have any real authority over Scottish affairs until the rise of Henry Dundas. (Murdoch, p.14).

4. Murdoch, pp.10-11.

of Lord George Murray, the Jacobite military commander at Culloden. Mansfield and his agent, George Ross, were useful and active, manipulating support for Bute in and out of Parliament.¹

Bute's seeming indifference to Scottish affairs and the threatened breakdown of clear lines of command was complicated further by Mackenzie's own reluctance to manage Scotland on his brother's behalf. He in turn thrust most of these duties upon Gilbert Elliot of Minto, former Lord of the Admiralty and now a Lord of the Treasury.² Mackenzie's own insensitivity added to the frustrations in Scotland and led to difficulties in maintaining loyalty among the Scottish group of Peers and M.Ps who were his responsibility. What saved the day for Bute, Mackenzie and Elliot was the willingness of Milton to go on as before, running the Argathelian organisation. To him and most others 'Scots attached to Bute and Argyll were almost indistinguishable'.³

The muddled manner in which the political management of Scotland was now to proceed probably helped Milton. But he had several important men and their agents to contend with besides Bute's brother and Mansfield. William Mure of Caldwell, Baron of the Exchequer was one of these. He was already an acknowledged representative of the Bute interest and acted together with Bute's

1. See Maclean, pp.351,381,550. He had also been a friend of Duncan Forbes of Culloden. See C. de B. Murray, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, p.34.

2. See Shaw, p.181, and Murdoch, p.214.

3. Shaw, p.181. See also Murdoch, p.229, n.d. Charles Jenkinson helped J.S. Mackenzie gain patronage for Scots through the Secretarial and Treasury Departments. See also A. Murdoch, The People Above, pp.99-109.

man of business, John Home.¹ Mure had been an M.P. until 1761. He was related to Elliot and had a family link with Milton.² Eventually Mure would succeed Milton, in the Autumn of 1764, but from 1761 they worked side by side, with Mure learning how to handle patronage and acting as "a point of contact in Edinburgh for those who wished patronage."³

Next to Milton, Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3rd Bart. of Minto, was by far the most important of Bute's Scottish connections and the man he relied upon when making appointments there. Elliot, an advocate, was familiar only with members of the legal profession in Scotland, but among them, of course, was Milton, who ensured that Elliot's friends would "act together to support a party line, the party being Bute's and the line Milton's."⁴ As well as participating with Milton and James Stuart Mackenzie in the management of Scottish political affairs,⁵ Elliot helped marshal Bute's Scottish support in the Commons, even after his leader's fall from grace in 1763; and his gifts as an orator and Parliamentarian were extremely useful.⁶

Throughout Bute's ministry Milton remained the most effective

1. See Maclean, p.381 and Murdoch, p.24.

2. Shaw, p.184. See also W. Mure of Caldwell, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell, Vol.2, pp.33,80,141,176,269, et passim.

3. Murdoch, p.235.

4. Shaw, pp.184-5.

5. For example, Elliot was still acting as a contact for Milton for Navy posts. See N.L.S. MSS.16715, f.1, Elliot to Milton, dated 28 Feb. 1760. See also Charts 4 and 5.

6. In 1766 30 M.Ps were identified as Bute's Scottish followers, whose Argathelian complexion was still evident. (See Sheffield City Library, Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS., n.p. dated 20 Dec. 1766; and D.N.B. vol. 6, p.671.) He was a friend of David Hume. See also Lady Elliot and Sir Arthur Elliot, The Elliots, pp.138,146-50.

politician in Scotland as well as its chief correspondent and spokesman. His powers failed very soon after its demise and he died early in 1766. On the whole the old Argathelian interest was happy to be harnessed to the Bute Government and to figure in its arrangements regarding Scotland. Milton's task was made easy in that clearly it was to their benefit to acclaim Bute, his friends and ministers, who were Scotsmen, who were the King's friends and who formed his Government. The choicest patronage flowed abundant from this, the fountainhead.¹

Patronage System 1761-1765 - Earl of Bute.

The patronage operation in Scotland during Bute's years in office naturally received a major fillip. It was controlled at the Scottish end by Milton and William Mure of Caldwell and in the East India Company mainly by the all-powerful Chairman, Laurence Sullivan. Shelburne, Holland and Eglinton all acted as Bute's subsidiaries and as alternate channels of communication with the Company, as well as for the routing of patronage. The complex infrastructure involving these principals, through which patronage was given and received can be glimpsed now and then. Boswell's diaries for example, give details of this, of Bute's partiality for the Scots and the nature of his alliance with other powerful individuals on their behalf, such as with Henry Fox (Lord Holland), "hired by the promise of a peerage to break the power of Bute's political enemies in the House."²

1. See also Murdoch, p.237 and Shaw, p.186.

2. Pottle, pp.17,18.

Nevertheless, Scottish affairs and the minutia of providing patronage for Scots had to be handled for Bute by one of his aides, so great was his distaste for this activity. In 1763 Boswell tried to get a job from Bute through Eglinton (Alex. Montgomerie), using a mass of Scottish contacts that included Lord Elibank (q.v.) and Sir James Macdonald, and even involved Lord Sandwich.¹ London was a hotbed of Scottish cliques by the 1760s, feting and dining one another. The Scottish aristocracy kept very much in touch and passed on favours. For example, the Duke of Queensberry, Sir Ludovic Grant, the Maxwells of Ammandale, the Anstruthers of Balcakie, Erskines of Kellie, Johnston of Grange and George Dempster of Dunnichen (q.v.) were part of this ménage.²

Bute's principal contact with Sullivan was through Shelburne and his intermediary, Col. Scott.³ But he could be more direct. In 1761 he personally recommended Charles Stuart to Sullivan, who in turn appointed the youth a Writer for Bengal.⁴ Charles Stuart was vouched for by James and Thomas Coutts, in Boswell's words, "well-known Scots bankers in London."⁵ At this time James Coutts was in collusion with Milton. In 1760 he thanked Milton for putting Royal Bank of Scotland business his way; and earlier he had supported

1. Pottle, pp.29,51-52,350. Other intimates included Patrick Crawford of Auchenames; and, from 1757, Alex. Wedderburn (q.v.).

2. Like others, including James 'Fingal' Macpherson (q.v.) they enjoyed Bute's patronage. Pottle, pp.29,31-33,110,300; J.N.M. Maclean The Early Political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1796) and Sir John Macpherson, Bart (1744-1821). Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, pp.68,78.

3. See Bute MSS. n.p. L. Sullivan to Shelburne, 24 Feb. 1763.

4. Bute MSS. f.642, C. Stewart to Bute, dated 20 Nov. 1761; and also I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/4, for 1761. See also Chart 5.

5. Pottle, p.105; and I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/14, for 1761.

Milton's scheme for the Linen Bank.¹ The normal approach, however, is conveyed in the cases of John Graham (q.v.) and Alexander Hall. In Graham's case Eglinton wrote to Charles Jenkinson the following in 1763, "The bearer is the young gentleman John Graham whom you was so good as to recommend to Mr. Rous (a Director) for a Company in the East India service. Graham waited on Rous with your letter of recommendation and Rous had agreed that he should have the Company, but this dispute coming on (the contested election) prevented the thing taking effect. Pray be so good as mention Graham to Sullivan. (The Company Chairman) He is really a fine young fellow..."²

Alexander Hall was the brother of Sir John Hall of Dunglass, near Berwick, an important landowner. In 1762 he was a Member of Council at Bencoolen, a very unhealthy place. Through a family friend, Dr Pringle, who was close to Shelburne, he tried to get away from Sumatra. Shelburne wrote to Sullivan on his behalf, but to no avail. Hall was needed by Sullivan because of his experience in dealing with the Dutch and the difficulty of replacing him, so unpopular was the spot.³

Bute will always be remembered in the context of India patronage because he was the only man of the first rank in British Society then, to despatch his 3rd son, the Hon. Frederick Stuart, to India. A Writership was obtained for him in 1769, through Sullivan, and he remained in India until 1775. Normally such a family would

1. N.L.S. MSS.16714, ff.160-164, James Coutts to Milton, 28 Jun. 1760, and MSS.16663, f.109, Coutts to Milton, 6 Feb. 1748.

2. Bute MSS. ff.276-277, Lord Eglinton to C. Jenkinson, 15 Apr. 1763. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

3. S.R.O. GD 499/22, Dunglass MSS. vol.2, pp.499-501, Alex. Hall to Sir John Hall, 4 Dec. 1762.

not contemplate a career in India in the Company's service for one of its scions. But Frederick was a black sheep. Bute wanted him out of the way; and there was always the chance that he would return with a fortune through the help of Warren Hastings and the Nawab of Arcot.¹

Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3rd Bart. of Minto

Under the aegis of Bute, Sir Gilbert Elliot was also in an excellent position to push forward the protégés of his Scottish friends and political supporters. Close association with James Stuart Mackenzie, intimate friendship with William Mure of Caldwell, long acquaintance with Milton and the Scottish legal elite - and his family's privileged position - ensured a firm base in Scotland. He also held some important posts: Lord of the Treasury, 1761-2, Treasurer of the Chamber, 1762-70, Keeper of the Signet in Scotland and Treasurer of the Navy from 1770 to his death.² He had powerful friends in London such as Pitt and the Grenvilles, and became the special confidant of George III.³ As one of the original members of the 'Poker Club' he was an intimate of William (Pulteney) Johnstone (q.v.), George Dempster (q.v.), and with members of the Edinburgh

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.3, p.500; B.L. Add. MSS.29194, f.97, n.d., but Apr. 1773, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings; Marshall, p.13. There were others, not quite so exalted, e.g. Basil Cochrane, son of the Earl of Dundonald (q.v.) and James Alexander, 1st Earl of Caledon (q.v.). Sullivan asked Hastings to care for Stuart and for Alex. Elliott (q.v.). See B.L. Add. MSS.29194, f.97, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 27 Apr. 1773.

2. D.N.B., vol.6, pp.671-672. His mother was a daughter of Sir Robert Stewart of Allanbank. (See Appendix 5 for information on other Stewarts of Allanbank). His wife was Agnes, daughter of Hugh Dalrymple, 2nd son of the 1st Bart. of Hailes. This gave other East India Company connections, e.g. Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North Berwick, (q.v.) and Alex. Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Navy, (q.v.).

3. Ibid.

literary circle, which included David Hume and John Home. Johnstone and Dempster consolidated his position within the East India Company. Elliot was kept well-informed upon India matters as they unfolded in the Company Courts. John Stewart (q.v.) of Hampstead, in particular, a leading Proprietor, acted as an informant and Elliot's correspondence indicates his own efforts, especially with Shelburne (after Bute's demise) to get posts for his countrymen.¹

During the Bute years, 1760 to 1763, Elliot was industrious but discreet in seeking favours. But it is clear that he was responsible for getting his relation, Quintin Crawford, a Writership to Madras in 1760, through the Director Crabb Boulton.² In 1770 his India connections were given fresh impetus with his second son Alexander's entry to the Company as a Writer. The backstairs dealings associated with this appointment readily reflected the way in which patronage would flow. It transpired that in 1769 Elliot was dealing in Company stock through Coutts the London-Scottish bankers and via an agent, Andrew Douglas. Three sums of £500 (i.e.£1,500), one of £600, one of £700 and one of £88 were introduced through the bankers; a total of £2,888. This sum was almost certainly used for the collusive transfer (splitting) of stock and Elliot was undoubtedly acting in support of Laurence Sullivan who made a successful bid to return to power in the Direction that year. Sullivan and his ally Colebrooke, who vouched for young Elliot in his Writer's Petition, ensured that he would be cared for; and Sullivan

1. N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11018, f.69, J. Stewart to Elliot, 25 Aug. 1767, and f.75, Shelburne to Elliot, 10 Sep. 1767. See Charts 4 and 5.
2. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/4, for 1760; Maclean, p.435.

also placed the youth under the protection of Warren Hastings in Bengal. Hastings made him his private secretary.¹ In Bengal Elliot proved an excellent narrator of ongoing events, conveying these observations home to his father. He also formed part of a Scots caucus which involved Bute's son, Frederick Stuart (q.v.), John Graham (q.v.), John Stewart formerly of Hampstead; and, from 1774, Lauchlin Maclean (q.v.).²

The 1765-1766 Watershed

In the 1760s the increase in the number of Company servants returning with impressive fortunes and, perhaps of more importance, the prominence given to these 'Nabobs' by a press avid for anything to do with fabulous riches from the East, naturally stimulated Scottish desires for more India posts. This played into ministerial hands in the sense that if they continued to satisfy this demand then electoral and Parliamentary support from the politically involved Scots who mattered in this context was assured. What is more, the economic needs of the Scottish gentry, the abolition of heritable jurisdictions and the eclipse of "clannish, semi-feudal elements" helped the blatant political manipulation. Nominal votes cast the right way continued to give electoral control,³ although "electioneering in this period was a hazardous business without a

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8, for 1770; N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11027, n.p. 31 Jul. 1769; Ibid., n.p. Laurence Sullivan to Elliot, 15 Jul. 1775.

2. N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11011, ff.109-55, Alex. Elliot to Sir Gilbert Elliot, 1 Mar. 1773 and 11 Jan. 1774; also John Stewart (Secretary to the Bengal Council) to Sir Gilbert Elliot, 11 Apr. 1773, and again on 25 Mar. 1774; also L. Maclean to Lord North, 9 Dec. 1774; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, p.395; Marshall, p.2; Maclean, pp.432,435.

3. See Sunter, pp.532,563.

lawyer at your elbow."¹ Landed family influence counted for much in the 1760s and 1770s, not just because of property but through intimate connections with Government (in Scotland and at Westminster) and with those mortgagees (wadsetters) who held a sub-division of the Superiorities and thus had a vote.

Bute continued the political patronage system that operated with Milton in charge and this master continued to create broad-based combinations of interests, such as through family connections and traditional alliances, to win elections. Increasingly the rewards given to loyal adherents included India patronage.² Even after his resignation in 1763 Bute tried to get all Scottish political management to continue to pass through his brother James Stuart Mackenzie who was by that time operating under the aegis of Grenville's ministry. Many of the Scots nobility who had followed Bute also welcomed Mackenzie's continuance in office and were happy to acknowledge him, but not the Scottish politicians in London to whom he appeared both obnoxious and obstructive.³ Even greater opposition came from that quarter because of Bute's efforts to make his brother the King's minister for Scotland although a great deal of Scottish patronage "passed through offices which Mackenzie did not control."⁴ For instance, many Scots in London followed Bedford who from 1764 was in Grenville's Government. They included Sir Laurence

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.39. See also Ferguson, pp.125,131.

2. See Namier & Brooke, vol. 1, pp.38-43. N.L.S. MSS.17532, Saltoun MSS. 'Parliamentary Elections', f.1-224, passim. Included were such East India Co. servants as Captain Robert Haldane, Col. Hector Munro and Sir Robert Fletcher.

3. Murdoch, p.256.

4. Murdoch, p.238.

Dundas, the Earl of Panmure and Lord Frederick Campbell who all expressed different views from those of James Stuart Mackenzie.¹

Yet Mackenzie did have power, clearly seen in 1765 when he bragged to Milton that the Generalship of the Mint in Scotland (a sinecure worth £250 per annum) "might possibly have fallen to the lot of a Captain of an Indiaman... if I had not strongly objected to it..."²

Basically, however, all was still well as far as proper political management in Scotland was concerned because Milton was still at the helm and because James Stuart Mackenzie depended upon him. This lasted until the Autumn of 1764 when Mure of Caldwell succeeded Milton.³ Before Grenville's fall in 1765 he forced James Stuart Mackenzie's dismissal and abolished the post of minister for Scottish affairs. Responsibility for Scottish business then reverted to the ancient Newcastle who formed part of the incoming Rockingham ministry. He in turn offered the powers of management of Scotland to Robert Dundas, the Lord President. But Dundas' refusal, the eclipse of Mackenzie, Elliot and Mure of Caldwell, and, more significantly, the senility then death, in 1766, of Milton created a new situation in Scotland.⁴ There now existed what could be described as a vacuum in the political management of that country

1. Murdoch, p.241. See also Sheffield City Library, Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS. n.p. "Followers of Bedford in the Commons", dated 20 Dec. 1766.

2. N.L.S. Saltoun MSS. SC 229, ff.85-6, James Stuart Mackenzie to Milton, 15 Jan. 1765.

3. See Murdoch, pp.232-3.

4. See Charts 4 and 5.

which was to last until the advent of Henry Dundas in 1778.¹

This uneasy situation had arisen through the collapse of the political management system that had been peculiar to the Argathelians. The control initiated by Walpole and John, 2nd Duke of Argyll, carried on by Islay and Milton under a succession of Governments had been necessary to ensure the security, the stability and ultimately the survival of the state after the Union. These fears had now passed. Also, ministries in the 1760s were so short in duration, and Scotland had been quiet for so long (since 1745 and with no signs of future disturbance) that this bred in Whitehall a casual attitude through being accustomed to the way Scottish administration and management were pursued. Also, so many Scots were now successfully entrenched in national life, in the Company and in its shipping, that Scotland was patronised if not managed. Lord Mansfield, meanwhile, gave guidance to the various Secretaries of the North regarding Scottish legal patronage; and some Scots made overtures to "great personages" such as Marchmont and Queensberry, thinking that they, like Islay before them, could supply posts.²

In a sense the tail began to wag the dog from 1766 in that those involved in Scottish politics and patronage were so caught in the same old grooves that they scarcely needed a political pilot to show them the way. Support for Westminster Governments was still

1. See Simpson, p.65, Murdoch, p.278. For almost 20 years there was no minister for Scotland. Neither Lord Kinnoul nor Robert Dundas, Lord President of the Court of Session, would accept the proposed revival of the post under Rockingham. See Namier & Brooke, vol.1, pp.173-5. There were General Elections in 1754, 1761, 1768 and 1774. See also A. Murdoch, The People Above, pp.109-131, passim.

2. Murdoch, p.262.

assured because those political sub-agents Milton had dealt with, such as the powerful John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.), continued to function as their master would have wished; as did those many influential leaders among the Scottish gentry who had given the Argathelians, and Milton, their support for so long.¹ India patronage, increasingly sought after,² was now to be had with the help of men in Scotland, like Mackenzie of Delvine, who still followed the policies of Milton, giving recommendations for posts to actual and potential Government supporters. But the vacuum in Scottish political management and the frequent change of ministries did allow manoeuvring by Opposition figures, and the wealthy Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.) was able to take advantage of this and the contested elections in the East India Company to get control of some India patronage. Increasingly developments in East India Company politics and the efforts of ever-hungry ministries to interfere and seize the seeming wealth the Company now generated, came to dominate patronage in the years up to 1774.

1. Significantly, in 1770 Sir Gilbert Elliot and J. Mackenzie of Delvine were made respectively, Keeper and Deputy Keeper of the Signet.

2. See, for example, the surge in Writers Petitions in the 1760s. (I.O.R. Writers Petitions, passim).

CHAPTER 10.

Ministries, Shipping and Company Patronage to 1774

Ministries and Patronage 1765-1774

The ministries from 1765 to 1770 of Rockingham, Chatham and Grafton were so short and so studded with other problems that Scottish matters scarcely troubled them. There was little from that quarter to cause dismay in Government circles anyway.¹ The sheer numbers of Scots going to India in the ten years from 1765 to 1774 suggests that India patronage was still funnelled by Government deliberately to benefit Scots. To do this the various ministries, from that of Grenville to North, followed Bute's example. They formed strong direct links with the most powerful factions in the Company which were competing for control of the Direction and thus of the patronage on offer, which by the 1760s and 1770s had swollen considerably. Apart from all else, Government and Parliament wanted to control the Company, its new territories in India, the wealth this promised and the favours this would allow them to confer. This would give more India posts to bargain with at elections and to buy supporters with, such as independently minded Scottish lairds. But whereas Bute's interference in Company politics was direct, his successors left the backstairs politics such liaison demanded to men of lower rank in Governmental circles. Exceptions to this were Charles Townshend and Lord Shelburne who, during Chatham's ministry, played leading roles in events surrounding the 1766 Parliamentary

1. See Murdoch, pp.260-1; Lenman, pp.29-55; and A. Murdoch, The People Above, pp.124-128.

inquiry into East India Company affairs.¹

Grenville's Government was shaky and he needed as much patronage as possible. He tried deliberately to create an 'interest' in the East India Company and the years 1764-65 saw him develop "a coordinated system of ministerial management,"² using followers of Clive, patronage seekers and ministry supporters inside the Company. In so doing many Company Directors became dependent upon the Government. It all ended with his exit from office. Rockingham, who counted the Proprietors George Dempster (q.v.) and John Macpherson (q.v.) among his friends, placed his weight behind the ruling majority in the Direction throughout the rest of 1765 and 1766. These Directors also happened to be followers of Clive.³ Chatham's Parliamentary inquiry which lasted into 1767 attempted to squeeze money from the Company, threatened direct involvement in its internal affairs and suggested that the ministry might not renew its Charter. However, members of Chatham's ministry, such as Shelburne, sided with Sullivan and his allies in the Company. To many casual observers it must have seemed, therefore, that Parliamentary tentacles reached deep into the heart of the Company.

The Duke of Grafton in 1768 deliberately placed Government nominees in the Company Direction in an effort to construct a ministerial faction there, like George Grenville had done earlier. Although he had the Scot William Fraser as his political agent,⁴

1. See John Brooke, The Chatham Administration, 1766-1768, pp.72-79, and Sutherland(1), pp.138-176; John Norris, Shelburne and Reform, p.22. See also Appendices 8, 10 to 12 and 15; also, Charts 4 and 5.

2. Parker, p.426.

3. Sutherland(1), p.155. See Chart 5.

4. Maclean, p.381.

his main Company links were through Sandwich and his man of business, Robert Jones. They brought the ministry and leading Directors, like Sir George Colebrooke and Sir George Wombwell, together.¹ From 1770 Lord North also had lieutenants, the very able Charles Jenkinson and John Robinson who handled all Company contacts. Sandwich helped here too, using his "personal influence with the Court of Directors solely for minor patronage", that is, for India posts.²

North merely carried on Grafton's system. He tried to 'manage' the Company Courts and committees through John Robinson and Charles Jenkinson who had earlier learned the ins and outs of the Leadenhall labyrinth when with the Bute and Grenville ministries. There was also considerable influence exerted within the Company through the connections between individual ministers and leading Directors. For example, Wedderburn and Mansfield directed the conduct of their protégés, Cheap and Moffatt.³ Parliament was split into many factions, which, when not in power, allied with those in the City hostile to the Ministry's friends within the Company; and attempts were made into the 1770s to exploit the feuding in the Company's ranks. The lack of control at home and abroad made it easier for these intrusions.⁴

The Company's financial crisis of 1772 brought on the Regulating Act of the next year and with it the first major wedge of Government control. It eventually led to the end of the Company's

1. See Sutherland(1), pp.178-9,181, and Parker, pp.61-3,322-4.

2. See Sutherland(1), p.215. Charles Jenkinson's patron in 1766 was the Scot Sir James Lowther. (See John Brooke, The Chatham Administration, 1766-1768, p.45.)

3. Parker, p.443.

4. See Sutherland(1) pp.177-239, passim;and Chart 5.

independence and placed patronage in the ministry's hands.¹ By the terms of the Regulating Act Proprietors with little political interest in the Company were forced out (£1,000 stock was required to have a vote and the annual election returned only 6 Directors on a rotationary basis). With these changes, only well-organised factions with long-term objectives could develop and prosper, such as the Shipping Interest and, in particular, the ministerial party.² Government now had a group in the Direction and statutory powers to regulate the Company's affairs alongside those of the Directors which pointed to an inevitable loss of the Company's independence.

The increasing ministerial control of the East India Company's patronage, from 1765, is illustrated by the activities of a leading Government figure, the Scot Alexander Wedderburn, the future Lord Loughborough; by the actions of the powerful Scottish Company Proprietor, Sir Laurence Dundas; and by the manipulations of the treacherous duo, James 'Fingal' Macpherson and John Macpherson.

Alexander Wedderburn, 1st Baron Loughborough, 1st Earl of Rosslyn and Lord Chancellor, was the 1st son of Peter Wedderburn, Advocate, of Charter Hall, Haddington, by Janet, daughter of David Ogilvie. He was a schoolfellow of Henry Dundas, friend of William Robertson, David Hume and Adam Smith, and counsel for the respondents in the famous Douglas case.³ He was called to both the Scots and the English Bar. His involvement in Indian affairs began in 1761 and dated from his friendship with Bute. He took Clive's

1. See also Parker, pp.424-431, passim.

2. Parker, p.431.

3. D.N.B. Vol. 60, pp.132-134; Namier & Brooke, vol.3, p.618.

side in the East India Company contested elections of the 1760s and became his legal adviser. In Parliament he sat as M.P. for Ayr burghs (in Bute's interest) from 1761 to 1768; for Richmond, Yorkshire, from 1768 to 1769; and then in the interest of Lord Clive for Bishop's Castle and Okehampton, from 1769 until 1774. In the 1760s he was a follower of Grenville. He spoke on East India Company business in the Commons and became closely connected with Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.). The Company Director Thomas Cheap (q.v.) was subject to his control in the 1768-1772 period when Wedderburn and Mansfield tried to assert ministerial domination over the East India Company Court of Directors.¹

In 1773, Wedderburn recommended his friend John Mackenzie to the Company Directors (and especially to Laurence Sullivan) for a Writership in Bengal. John Mackenzie was also a friend of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (q.v.), Samuel Hannay (q.v.), and was known to Lauchlin Maclean (q.v.). He had acted as a go-between for Wedderburn and Sullivan. Mackenzie was accordingly appointed by Sullivan who, in a private letter, also requested Warren Hastings to help him. This, he urged would prove to be a favour done himself, Maclean and *others who were Hastings' best friends*. Here, Sullivan was referring to Wedderburn. But Mackenzie, while posing as a friend to Hastings, was really hostile and worked as Wedderburn's secret confidante, informing his master of events in Bengal with a

1. D.N.B. Vol. 60, pp.132-134; Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.167; vol.3, p.618; E.U.L. Strachey MSS., n.p., 'Letters to Lord Clive', 1765-1775; K. Feiling, Warren Hastings, p.59.

prejudiced eye.¹ In 1772 Wedderburn had also supported Sullivan's Judicature Bill, but withdrew this support and reverted to his anti-Sullivan stance, following the Johnstone-Sullivan attack on Clive in the House.² He was raised to the peerage in 1780.³

Sir Laurence Dundas, M.P., 1st Bart. of Kerse, Stirling, was deeply involved in India patronage and Scottish political affairs in the late 1760s and early 1770s. In 1769, at the behest of his Parliamentary leader, Lord Rockingham, he bought large holdings of India stock (at least £100,000) to split for the East India Company election in April 1770.⁴ In this manner he was useful to the Rockingham ministry in its efforts to gain control of the Company's patronage, and his own political standing in Scotland was enhanced. With Government support and Company patronage at his fingertips he was able to contest the vested interest of the jealous Scottish nobility, many of whom regarded him as an upstart. These attitudes are particularly instanced in 1772 when he was challenged for his control of Stirling burghs by a "Colonel Campbell, a wealthy Nabob just returned from India."⁵ During this struggle, in which he was successful, Dundas tried (in vain) to get the support of William Graham of Airth, playing on vague claims of long friendship and using

1. See B.L. Add. MSS. 29134, f.167, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 17 Dec. 1773; E.U.L. Strachey MSS. Philip Francis to J. Strachey, 16 Sep. 1776.

2. Sutherland(1), p.232.

3. D.N.B. Vol. 60, pp.132-134.

4. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.357-361 and A. Murdoch, The People Above, pp.126-8.

5. Murdoch, pp.263-265. See also Appendices 7 and 8 for Col. Campbell.

the names of his political agents John Mackenzie of Delvine and John Pringle, W.S. to gain some respect from their credibility in political circles.¹ However, in Scotland, the situation was that Henry Dundas had eclipsed Sir Laurence Dundas in gaining overall control and leadership there. He stood for the old traditional landed classes and their values against the new commercial ones and especially against the increasingly important role in Scottish social and political life of what the 'Mirror' called "the 'Mushroom Family' who had sprung up overnight as the result of Indian wealth". Henry Dundas was helped in this by the "retreat" to Scotland between 1763 and 1775 of many Scots Representative Peers alienated by English brashness in politics and much else.²

By 1772 Sir Laurence Dundas had become a very rich man, but this wealth did not come through inheritance. He originated from the poorer gentry, born in 1710 the 2nd son of Thomas Dundas of Fingask, Stirling, by Bethia, daughter of John Baillie of Castlecary, Stirlingshire.³ He began to make his fortune acting as a Commissary during the '45, after gaining the confidence of the Duke of Cumberland.⁴ Real riches came his way during the Seven Years War, where he accumulated around £300,000.⁵ His earlier experience and contacts during the years of the rebellion now counted; the fact

1. N.L.S. MSS. 10944, f.175, Sir Laurence Dundas to W. Graham of Airth, 10 Dec. 1773; and N.L.S. MSS. 1078, f.1, James Masterton to W. Graham of Airth, 13 Dec. 1773.

2. See J. Dwyer and A. Murdoch, Paradigms and Politics: Morals, Manners and the Life of Henry Dundas, 1720-1784, in New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, edited by J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason and A. Murdoch, pp.211-227.

3. Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.167; and vol.2, pp.357-361.

4. See Murdoch, pp.263-5.

5. Ibid.

that the prosecution of the war involved close liaison with the East India Company brought him into touch with Leadenhall and its politics.

Dundas' wealth also involved him in Company matters. He was a good friend of George Dempster (q.v.), and as a Proprietor acted alongside Dempster in support of the Sullivan faction. He split stock for the Sullivanites in the 1769 contested election, linking with Duncan and Robert Clerk.¹ Earlier, in 1765, he had downed his enemy Sir James Cockburn (q.v.) by using his weight in the Direction. Such was his recklessness at this time he lost at least £90,000 in rash speculations, but with little effect on his fortune.²

In the 1770-1774 period Sir Laurence Dundas was always able to reward his followers in the Scottish burghs and those others he tried to influence. He made particular use of the East India Company as a source of patronage. Probably more than any other during those years of Company anarchy and ministerial pressures he was responsible for directing Company patronage into Scottish hands. Nevertheless, he was only working, in his own way, for the grander designs of both the Rockingham and Lord North ministries and tried to implement these policies both within Parliament and in the Company. Thus he carried on the link of India patronage and Scottish management, although in no substantial part could this be compared with the patronage machine of the Argathelians, or that of Henry Dundas which was to come.³

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.357-361.

2. See Parker, pp.407,408,416.

3. See Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, pp.357-361.

Dundas became a Baronet in 1762, and was Governor of the Royal Bank of Scotland from 1764 to 1777. With a stake of £10,000 he was also the biggest share-holder in the Forth and Clyde Canal Company. When he died in 1781 he left a fortune of £900,000 and an estate worth £160,000.¹

James Macpherson is probably best known as the "author, or translator, or editor, or forger of Fingal and other poems."² His direct involvement with India patronage does not appear until after 1774, but through his alliance with John Macpherson (q.v.), with Bute, and from his friendships with East India Company officials, such as Sir Samuel Hannay (q.v.), he figures much earlier. Born in 1736 poor, illegitimate, and with a Jacobite background he depended upon his wits and audacity alone. He was the son of Andrew Macpherson of Invertromie, near Ruthven in Badenoch. The idea of Ossianic ballads seems to have stemmed from his classical education at Marischal College, Aberdeen. Through the Fragments he gained entrée and instant fame with the Edinburgh literati - and more important, in 1761, the patronage of Bute. Through his agent, John Home, Bute paid for the publication of Fingal. From Bute he also gained posts for some of his relations, and he secured for life, the

1. See Sunter, p.537; A. L. Foley, P. Hayton, P. J. Maddock, The Forth-Clyde Canal from its Conception to Its Completion, 1762-1794. Edinburgh University Undergraduate Thesis, 1971, passim; Maclean, pp.224,231,233; The Scots Magazine, for March 1767 and May 1767, pp.165,253-4.

2. H. Trevor-Roper, The Ossian Forgeries, Spectator for 16 Mar. 1985.

sinecure of £150 per annum for being the Secretary and Clerk of the Council of West Florida. He was forced to spend 4 years there, returning to London in 1766, where he became a newspaper hack for Bute. He also resumed an earlier friendship with John Macpherson. Their alliance had one purpose, to make both their fortunes. To do this they supported any minister who could do anything for them; and James helped John in his efforts to act as the Nawab of the Carnatic's agent in England.

East India Company information was gleaned and Company officials, such as Sullivan, were used by James (as a Proprietor) solely to promote John's cause. In 1774 he and John Macpherson switched from the Duke of Grafton and his agent Bradshaw, to the patronage of North and John Robinson. They did so in order to secure John Macpherson's return to England as the Nawab's only representative. James Macpherson's efforts to link the ministry and the Company together in pursuit of fortune for John and himself also, unwittingly, furthered ministerial control of the Company and its patronage, because ministers were all too eager to find some cause which would legitimately involve them in the Company's affairs.¹

John Macpherson's entry into the East India Company was very well engineered. It set him upon a startling and colourful career.

1. For a full treatment of his political life during these years see James N. M. Maclean *The Early Political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1796)*, and Sir John Macpherson (1744-1821), Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967; also Namier & Brooke, vol. 3, pp.95-96.

The help given to him demonstrates the Governmental patronage machine's easy effectiveness. He was born in 1744 the second and youngest son of the Rev. Dr. John Macpherson of Sleat, Skye, and Janet, daughter of Donald Macleod of Bernera. She was sister of Capt. Alexander Macleod (q.v.), commander of the Indiaman Lord Mansfield. Macpherson was also related to the Earls of Seaforth. He graduated M.A. from Aberdeen in 1764 then removed to Edinburgh where he was befriended by Adam Fergusson. From 1764 to 1766 he was tutor to the Earl of Warwick's children, a post arranged by Fergusson. In 1767 Shelburne and Bute asked Warwick to get him a post of Factor in the East India Company's service. Such a request demonstrates Bute's continuing patronage of Scots political connections. Unfortunately for Macpherson, Shelburne could be of little help in getting the position himself, because he was dependent upon the Sulivanites for favours and they had been defeated by Clive and his followers in the contested election of 1765. Before Warwick's influence was brought to bear, Capt. Alex. Macleod schemed to get his nephew out to China as a Purser on board his own ship the Lord Mansfield, and into the East India Company through the "back door".

The friendship between Shelburne and Adam Fergusson benefited Macpherson and through them, in 1766, before he went to India, he met his namesake, but no relation, James 'Fingal' Macpherson (q.v.), with whom there was an immediate rapport, and they struck up a partnership which aimed at wealth and power for them both. In 1767 John

Macpherson sailed for India on the Lord Mansfield. At Madras he attended the Durbar of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and by dint of boldness, immense charm and trickery (he gave a magic lantern show) gained the Nawab's confidence. He had introduced himself as an "interpreter and agent" and the Nawab commissioned him to carry his grievances to the British monarch; and paid him well to do so, with £1,200 and jewels worth £3,000. But Macpherson's most important acquisition here was the credit and authority he gained, especially that of proclaiming himself the Nawab's agent.

By 1768 he was back in London plotting with James Macpherson. They set about gaining the Duke of Grafton's sympathy for the Nawab, while attacking Bute and Shelburne because of Grafton's enmity towards them. This in turn gained them Grafton's influence with the East India Company Directors under his control, enough to get John Macpherson out to India again. At first this did not succeed and both Macphersons tried to argue the importance of the Nawab as an ally of the Crown. They also tried frightening the Proprietors with the thought of the Nawab throwing his lot in with the French. Their threats failed, but through Grafton's influence in the Direction, John was appointed a Writer in 1769 to Fort St. George, in the Carnatic. Part of his security was put up by the Scot Sir Samuel Hannay (q.v.).

That year the Macphersons struck up friendships with Rockingham, with Laurence Sullivan, who was back in power in the Direction, and with the Scots Lauchlin Maclean, Andrew Stuart and their associates. Before sailing in 1770, however, their schemes

received a massive blow with Lord North coming to power. The letters of recommendation they carried from Grafton would now cut no ice with the Nawab, and James Macpherson had no influence with North. From 1771 to 1774, John Macpherson concentrated upon the accumulation of money (as Paymaster to the Army of the Carnatic), and upon winning the friendship of Warren Hastings and his supporters in London. He got himself transferred to Bengal beside Hastings. However, it was only following the arrival of Lauchlin Maclean and his hearty recommendation of Macpherson, endorsed by Laurence Sullivan, that Hastings took any notice of him.

In 1773 Lauchlin Maclean became the Nawab's agent in London, and John Macpherson was to be Maclean's representative at the Nawab's Durbar. Meanwhile, Macpherson continued to flatter Hastings and continued to convince him that he was a good "Company man" and a trustful friend. At the same time he was deeply involved in the revolts in Madras centring upon the Nawab's debts to Madras Councillors, and then in the Pigot scandal. Nevertheless, the communications link he opened between Hastings and the Nawab was useful and important to both at this time; and Macpherson also sided with Hastings in the struggles for power which developed between him and the "Triumvirate" following the implementation of the Regulating Act of 1773.

In 1777 Macpherson set out for London. He had been dismissed the Company's service by Pigot, whom he had been surreptitiously undermining. However, in helping to achieve the downfall of Pigot Macpherson found new favour in the Nawab's eyes; and he was now

regarded by Hastings and his supporters at home, as a true friend. Macpherson was not slow in using them and took advantage of their influence to get posts for his friends. From his position of trust John Macpherson and his ally James Macpherson then deceived Hastings, Sullivan and their friends mercilessly in their search for wealth and power. With Lauchlin Maclean's death in 1778 his agencies on behalf of the Nawab and Hastings fell into their joint control. Their continued trickery led to a fortune for them both, and a baronetcy and the Governor-General's post for John. But it was done at a cost, the shameful betrayal of Hastings, Sullivan and others.¹

SHIPPING AND PATRONAGE, 1761-1774

As the Company's business soared with the startling developments in India of the 1760s so did the number of European-built Indiamen employed by the Company. From 70 such ships in 1763

1. Most of the detail for this profile was culled from James N. M. Maclean, *The Early Political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1796)*, and *Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821)*. Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967. See also *D.N.B.* Vol. 35, pp.267-269; *Namier & Brooke*, vol.3, pp.96-7; *G.E.C.*, vol.5 (1707-1800); *Parker*, p.429; *R.S.A. Guard Book*, vol. 1, f.17, No.127 (this refers to his article on the use of ventilators on board ships for health reasons); *N.L.S. MSS.* 1694, W. Grant to Stewart of Allanton, 11 Feb. 1808; *Marshall*, p.184; and *Gleig(2)*, vol. 3, pp.133-4. (This gives a list of 10 Scots patronised by John Macpherson and ends "I omit other little ones...but these include the command of almost the whole service..."). He died in 1821.

the figures rose steadily: 76 in 1767, 85 in 1769, and 87 by 1771.¹ The number of Commanders in the Company's Court of Directors rose significantly too: anywhere from 3 to 6 in the early 1760s to between 7 and 9 in the 1769 to 1774 period.² With these increases in ships commanders the shipping bloc in Company politics assumed greater importance. Commanders had power, influence and patronage. Moreover, captaincy of an Indiaman was now a prized possession and its enhanced status attracted younger sons of the landed classes. Freeholders importuned those politicians they could reach who had influence with the Directors, for places for their friends and relations. A "good voyage" could set one up for life.³

Extensive Scottish penetration of this important shipping interest in the 1760s and 1770s is witnessed in many ways. Captains George Cuming, James Moffat and later William Fullerton Elphinstone sat as Company Directors. The Hume brothers, Alex and Abraham, Sir Laurence Dundas, Captain Charles Foulis, Andrew Moffat, Robert Preston, Simon Fraser and Gilbert Slater all became ships husbands.⁴ James Moffat enjoyed the favour of Lord Mansfield and repaid him with Company patronage.⁵ Scots families evolved among ships husbands, involving Directors, Proprietors, politicians and Company servants, home and abroad, all able to "provide commands for scions of Scottish

1. Shearer, Appendix K, p.278. The numbers slumped from 1770, coinciding with the Company's financial crash and the Government's intervention. (Ibid, Appendix J, p.277. See also Cotton, pp.40-44, and Parker, p.399).

2. See Parker, p.420. See also Shearer, pp.132-136,159,164-165.

3. See Parker, pp.400-417, passim.

4. See also Parker, pp.413-415; Shearer, pp.114-115; and Appendix 11.

5. Parker, p.415; and 'Patronage Profiles' Section, pp.349-351.

families of rank with whom they were connected."¹ Through marriage and business these Scots managed to penetrate the monopolistic Company shipping organisation with its rampant nepotism. Commanders Boddam and Baillie, free-merchants John Farquhar and David Scott found their way in because of their usefulness in the 'country trade' to business contacts among the London Shippers, and later because of their personal wealth. They helped each other with an instinctive clannishness laced with self-interest. William Elphinstone (q.v.) was helped by Sir Laurence Dundas, George Cuming by Alex. and Abraham Hume.² Some, through their entry into well-established shipping families gained extensive influence and control over shipping posts: Charles Boddam, Charles Foulis and James Moffat exemplify this. Through marriage Boddam became part of the powerful Morse-Vansittart family; Foulis and Moffat in the same way with Freeman; and Foulis patronised his nephew Commander Robert Preston who became part of this group.³

Company Directors, Proprietors, politicians and businessmen all accepted that patronage on such a scale was both right and proper. The careers of Captain Alexander Macleod, Charles Foulis and William Fullerton Elphinstone outlined here reflect this patronage and the fact that Scotland continued to benefit inordinately in terms of appointments. After 1765, although the stranglehold over Scottish political life exerted by the Dukes of Argyll was no more, those in power in Scotland, in Edinburgh and the localities, were still the

1. Parker, p.416. He points to the Humes, Sir Laurence Dundas, Charles Foulis, the Moffats, Preston and Fraser.

2. See also Parker, pp.415-418.

3. See also Parker, pp.477,481.

same Whig-inclined, Union-minded great and middling landowners who had been the bulwark of the Argathelian support for so long. Nothing really changed among Scottish political realities in the late 1760s and early 1770s and pursuit of posts and pensions followed well-grooved paths. In fact the triple boost of having Bute as Prime Minister from 1761, a war, and the massive expansion in India led to a follow-on in the use of India patronage for political purposes, even after the demise of the Argathelian direct control in 1766 with the death of Milton. Sufficient foundations had been put down to ensure the use of shipping patronage much as it had always been, into the 1770s. Those candidates with Jacobite pasts or tendencies swallowed their feelings and became good Whigs and supporters of George III. Nor did those promoting such people see anything but sound sense in such a policy of integration.¹

Lord Elibank's purchase of sixteenth shares in several East Indiamen typifies the twin drives of economic reality and the probability of patronage that such a move provided him with. It also seems clear that the contested elections in the Company made it easier for this Scottish penetration of the Shipping bloc in the 1760s. For example, in 1762 Fasham Nairn, with excellent contacts, kept his benefactor, Lord Holland, informed that "Mr. Sullivan, from your recommendation, is trying to get me a command." Nairn was to get his wish being made Commander of the Lord Holland next year.

1. For example: "Mr Stewart (Captain John Stewart) eldest son to Ardseal, who was forfeited in the year 1746. He has made four voyages to the East Indies and was now going out first mate." He was Boswell's companion in a chaise from Edinburgh to London on 15 November 1762, and whom he thought "a jolly honest plain fellow." (Pottle, pp.41-42).

His plea to Holland to keep supporting him had been answered. And it was the looming political contest that was behind this patronage. Sullivan's shipping connection and the importance of having another ally there, the Bute Government's interest in a successful election outcome for Sullivan, and satisfaction given to Scots Government supporters interested in the career of Fasham Nairn, these were the sort of factors that now determined much of the outlay of India patronage.¹ The rise and rise of Captain Stephen Macleane also illustrates these factors, from entry to the Company's marine service in 1767 to his command of the Duke of Grafton in 1773; all owed to his 1st cousin, Lauchlin Macleane's (q.v.) position at the heart of Company politics.²

However, Scottish penetration of the Shipping Interest did not rely unduly upon whomsoever controlled the Direction. The steady stream of Scots becoming Commanders continued, whether Clive or Sullivan dominated, and owed as much to ships husbands like the Moffats as to the Chairman of the Company. Over 30 Scots (exclusive of Macleod, Foulis and Elphinstone) held commands in the 1762 to 1775 period, and this is by no means exhaustive. Their promotion was regular: at least 6 between 1762 and 1765 when Sullivan was the leading Director; a minimum of 10 between 1766 and 1768 when Clive was dominant; 5 straddling the years 1769 to 1770, when Sullivan was back; and more than 10 in the 5 years from 1770 to 1775, when the ministry had supplanted the two rivals and their factions in the

1. B.L. Add.MSS. 51431, f.132, Fasham Nairn to Lord Holland, 11 Feb. 1762; Hickey, p.2; Cotton, p.39.

2. See Maclean, pp.18,92 and 308.

Company's Court of Directors.¹

Captains Foulis, Macleod and Elphinstone enjoyed and distributed shipping patronage in a grand manner. Their careers are particularly indicative of what India patronage and Government direction of it could achieve.

Charles and James Foulis, apparently from Colinton in Edinburgh, and in particular Charles Foulis, made deep incursions into the solid, unchanging dynastic families which controlled the East India Company's shipping interest. In doing so they paved the way for other Scots, such as their nephew Robert Preston, Commander of the Asia in 1768, and for friends like the cadet Mr Bagshaw. And when he became a ships husband, Charles Foulis promoted Scots to be commanders of his East Indiamen; such as: Captain Haggis, of the Prince Henry in 1760 and the Thames in 1764; Captain Alex. Hamilton of the Marquis of Hamilton, in 1769; and Captain John Lennox of the Anson.² Charles Foulis played an important role in the contested elections of the 1760s and 1770s, and through marriage and business formed part of the substantial Scottish presence that had infiltrated the Company and its Shipping by that date.

Charles Foulis first appears in Bombay in 1744 as a Commander, then in 1749 and again in 1754 as someone standing security for Sir James Foulis, sometime Mayor of Bombay and Commander of the Garrison.

1. See Appendix 11 for: Captains Baillie, Riddell, Abercromby, George Thomson, Hepburn, Waddell, Lennox, Whyte, Jamieson, Lauder, Macleane, Purves, Hamilton, Preston, John Stewart, Ker, John MacDonald, Mitchell, Robert Scott, Tod, Chisholme, Douglas, Fraser, William Lindsay, Young, Greig, Robert Mackenzie, Ogilvie, Baird, Lawson, William Thomson.

2. I.O.R. Marine Records L/Mar./B; Riddy, p.3; Cotton, pp.67,183,196; Hickey, p.3.

In 1752 Sir James had become a Bombay Councillor. He is almost certainly Sir James Foulis, Bart. of Colinton, who succeeded to the Baronetcy in 1742, the eldest son of Henry Foulis. Charles Foulis was probably his brother. It is not clear how they made their way to India, but by birth and connection they would be eminently suited to receive favours via the Argathelian patronage machine.¹

The friendship and support Charles Foulis and Laurence Sullivan gave each other throughout the rest of their lives - vital to Sullivan in the political contests of the 1760s and 1770s - certainly began in Bombay in the 1740s. Through Foulis' marriage this support for Sullivan became even stronger because Mrs. Foulis' sister married Andrew Moffat (q.v.) and his own sister, Margaret Foulis, married William Freeman. Both these gentlemen were important ships husbands, like himself, and both were firm supporters of Sullivan.² They were all friends of Charles Raymond and his family, another powerful shipper. The power and importance of the Foulis-Freeman-Moffat group was further strengthened by Lord Mansfield's connection through marriage to the Moffats. Also, Mansfield's 'man of business', fellow Scot, George Ross of Cromarty, created another cross-link through his friendship with William (Pulteney) Johnstone (q.v.), one of the Johnstone group in alliance with Sullivan and his faction.³

1. I am indebted to Dr. James Parker for this information. See also G.E.C., Vol.2, p.402; E.P.L. R. Br.(Roll) XDA.758.3.F76; Love, Vestiges, Vol.1, p.446; B.L. Add.MSS.29133, f.563, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 23 May 1773.

2. See also Parker, pp.111,416,477.

3. See Maclean, p.381; Parker, p.443; Namier & Brooke, Vol.3, p.379. These are the people referred to as Mansfield's support in the Company, and explain in particular his strength in shipping.

In Scotland in the 1760s the Foulis family had dealings with John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.), while in the London business world in general they were also active. As well as an East India Company Proprietor, ships captain, husband and owner, Charles Foulis was a manager of the Sun Fire Office, as was his relation through marriage, John Moffat. He enjoyed Mansfield's patronage and was involved through his family connections with the worlds of underwriting, brokerage and finance. These contacts, his friendships with Sullivan and Mansfield, linked Charles Foulis and his family in Scotland firmly into the patronage machinery used by Scottish political managers. He used the system himself, for instance he recommended John Douglas to a Writership in 1754.¹

Alex. Macleod was the 2nd son of Donald Macleod of the island of Bernera, lying off Harris in the Outer Hebrides. Donald Macleod, or the 'Old Trojan' as he was known, was a staunch Jacobite who was 'out' in the '15 and the '45. His eldest son, Captain Norman Macleod of Unish was just as loyal a Hanoverian and hunted his father as an outlaw after the battle of Culloden. Alex. Macleod almost certainly followed his brother in identifying with the Hanoverians, and took no part in supporting the rebellion. His advance in 1756 to a Captaincy in an East India Company ship (the Marlborough) could only have been achieved by such a circumstance. It is probable that he benefited from his brother's positive pro-Government moves. But also, the desire of the Argathelian authorities to re-integrate

1. See E.P.L. R.Br.(Roll) XDA,758.3.F76; Shearer, p.183; Parker, pp.182-186, 401-403,413,415,417; Sutherland(2), pp.58-59,80; Furber(2), p.490; Joslin, pp.353-355. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1, for 1754.

powerful families like these Macleods goes some way to explain the support he was given.¹ This is more understandable when it is considered that his family was related to the Earls of Seaforth, Chiefs of the Mackenzies, that he married Helen Maclean of Berneray (his cousin), while his sister married into the family of Macdonald of Sleat.² These families, Macleods, Macleans, Mackenzies and Macdonalds exerted a combined political influence which had to be carefully nurtured by political managers like Lord Milton.

In 1756 Captain Alex. Macleod, while commander of the Marlborough accompanied the expedition under Clive and Admiral Watson which set off from Madras to capture Calcutta.³ By 1767 he was Captain and owner of the Lord Mansfield, and remained so until he retired from the Captaincy in 1769 and from East India Company business in 1771.⁴ Through his kinsman, Sir Alex. Macdonald of Sleat, he was introduced to John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) who 'managed' quite a number of returned Company servants; and from him Macleod gained the advice he sought, which was how best to invest his

1. His father was free to return home after the Act of Indemnity. See Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.94-95; I. Grant, The Macleods, p.468; above pp.156, 171-172 on Jacobite re-integration; and Appendix 5.

2. J.N.M. Maclean The Early Political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1796), and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821). Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, pp.44,54-55; Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.94-95.

3. In 1759 he was still Commander of the same ship. See Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.94-95; and I.O.R. Marine Records L/Mar./B, for 1759.

4. His eminence was referred to by a jealous Scottish rival, Robert Simson, Ships Surgeon and friend of Captain William Elphinstone. See S.R.O. GD156/Box.49, Bundle 1, f.62, R. Simson to Lady Clementine Elphinstone, 12 Jul. 1767.

"considerable fortune".¹ He was succeeded as Commander of the Lord Mansfield by another Scot, Captain (Sir) William Fraser.² In 1778 Macleod purchased the Barony of Harris from Norman, the Chief of Macleod, for £15,000. This included the family lands of Bernera and St. Kilda. John Mackenzie of Delvine acted as his business agent in these transactions and in the extensive improvements to farms and fisheries that he was involved in. In 1780 he became M.P. for Honiton and died in Harrogate in 1790.³

Apart from making himself a considerable fortune, Alex. Macleod used his substantial power within the Shipping interest to further the careers and interests of his fellow Highlanders. In 1767, for instance, he and his friends became involved in getting (Sir) John Macpherson a position in the East India Company as a Factor. The plan was to get him out to India as a Purser on board his uncle's Indiaman, the Lord Mansfield. (Macpherson was Alex. Macleod's sister Janet's son. She was married to the Rev. Dr. John Macpherson of Sleat.) Meanwhile, Macleod's friend Lord Shelburne got Warwick (who in 1767 had influence in the Direction) to recommend that Macpherson be created a Factor, illegally, in India. Although Macpherson did in fact go out to India as a Purser on the Lord Mansfield, events in Madras overtook him and the

1. N.L.S. MSS.1310, f.33, Sir A. Macdonald to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 30 Jul. 1771. Macdonald knew nobody in Scotland "so conversant in the whole of what relates to Scotland" as John Mackenzie of Delvine.

2. See Cotton, p.189; Parker, p.418. He was a kinsman of the Director and Proprietor, Simon Fraser.

3. He appeared to have been a model Laird who cared for his tenants. See I. Grant, The Macleods, pp.496, et passim.; Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.167, and vol.3, pp.94-95.

ploy was not used.¹

Captaincy of the Lord Mansfield also suggests a strong connection between Macleod and William Murray, Earl of Mansfield. One probability is that Mansfield, a powerful parliamentary figure, who was tied by marriage into the Moffat-Foulis-Freeman shipping interest, also found time to back Alex. Macleod, and the ship was named in his honour. Alex. Macleod's ample India stock was probably another factor; as were his inclinations in Company politics where he was generally in accord with Governor Johnstone and James 'Fingal' Macpherson (q.v.).² All this bespoke a powerful Scottish cross-section involving ministry, shipping and the East India Company Direction in the 1760s.

William Elphinstone began life as the 3rd son of Charles 10th Lord Elphinstone by Lady Clementine Fleming. She was the real power behind his rise to fame and fortune in the East India Shipping. She was John 6th Earl of Wigtown's daughter and niece of the Jacobite George Keith, 9th Earl Marischal. The family owned large estates in Stirlingshire, Dunbartonshire and Lanarkshire, but they were heavily encumbered with debt. There was a large family, 5 sons (John, Charles, William, Lockhart, George Keith) and 5 daughters.³ In November 1755 Lady Clementine wrote to Lord Panmure (Baron Scrope) asking him to provide for William, in the knowledge that he was

1. See Maclean, The Early Political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1796), and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821). Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, pp.44,54-55,95; and Riddy, p.15. Many of the Lord Mansfield's crew were Highlanders.

2. See Parker, p.477.

3. W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family, vol.1, pp.5-6; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.400-1.

Milton's henchman and had "interest enough to get positions", that is, through the Argathelian political management network.¹

The weight of William's grand-uncle, the Earl Marischal was also brought to bear and in that year, 1755, aged 15, he entered the Royal Navy on board a ship sailing to Virginia and commanded by his relative, Captain Mudie. In 1756 he sailed to Gibraltar under Captain Ogilvie, then, following Clive's victory at Plassey, decided money was to be made in the East. He attended navigation classes and, again with his mother's help and that of the Earl Marischal and "Scottish contacts in the shipping world" was made Midshipman on the Winchelsea, East Indiaman, commanded by Captain Howe. He then had his mother write to Lady Stair to get Lady Howe to persuade her son, Captain Howe, to promote him. He understood that limitless influence was needed, and informed his mother "the best way is to get a Director to speak for me." By 1758 this was being done through an intermediary, Mr. Talbot, who had the requisite influence.²

From 1762 William Elphinstone was 3rd officer of the Hector and in 1765, aged 26 and just 10 years after making his first voyage he became Commander of the East Indiaman Triton, succeeding another Scot, Captain Gilbert Slater. This was unusual in one so young and involved a great deal of influence and "much negotiation". William

1. S.R.O. GD156/Box 49/Bundle 2, f.23, John Elphinstone to Lady Clementine Elphinstone (his mother), 7 Nov. 1755; and f.26, Charles Dundas to Charles Elphinstone, London, 9 Nov. 1755.

2. W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family, vol.2, pp.1-6, passim; See also S.R.O. GD 156/Box 49/Bundle 1, f.3, Charles Elphinstone to his father the Hon. Chas. Elphinstone at Cumbernauld, dated "The end of August 1757, Bengal." The letter referred to the death of the eldest son, John Elphinstone, and indicates that Chas. Elphinstone younger was already in India.

and his father had a share in the Triton, although it was in the name of a Mr. Farquharson. The money for this (£2,000 each) had come from the Earl Marischal. The appointment came mainly through the interest of Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.), a family friend, but also through John Hyde, Director of the London Assurance Company and an East India Company Proprietor who also had great pull with the shippers. Other influences were also at work in the promotion. These included the family links between the Elphinstones, Lord Elibank and the Johnstones (q.v.), whose interest within the Company was considerable. As soon as William's appointment had been verified, his brother, George Keith Elphinstone transferred from the Royal Navy to become 3rd mate aboard the Triton. Earlier, in 1761, before joining the Royal Navy, George had contemplated joining the East India Company proper or its shipping. His uncle, the Earl Marischal, had arranged for him to be a Writer if he wanted, and initially, when interested, he had called upon Gov. George Johnstone (his relation), Lord Howe, Lady Clementine's nephew Mr. Gascoigne, and a Mr. Ramsay.¹

On board the Triton the two brothers began to accumulate great wealth. They and their family understood that "money gained money there (in India) more than in the rest of the world." The first of 4 voyages to Madras and China was a great success. Their grand-uncle,

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.400-1; Parker, pp.416-7; I.O.R. Marine Records L/Mar/B; Hickey, p.5; Cotton, p.176; S.R.O. GD 156/Box 49/ Bundle 1, f.4, J. Hyde to Lady Clementine Elphinstone, 20 Oct. 1770; Ibid. f.38, W. Elphinstone to his father, c.1759; Ibid. f.48, E. Marischal to George Keith Elphinstone, 15 Dec. 1763; Ibid. f.56, John Hyde to Lady Clementine Elphinstone, 21 Nov. 1765; Ibid. Bundle 2, f.7, A. Murray to Lord Elphinstone, 3 Aug. 1750; Ibid. f.17, George Keith Elphinstone to his father, 6 Aug. 1761.

the Earl Marischal had ensured this by giving them another £4,000 to use, and they made the most of this. William in particular had a remarkable capacity for business and sent his profits and other surpluses home for banking and investment.¹

Captain William Elphinstone was extraordinary in other ways that probably had a bearing on his success. Hickey was enchanted with him - "a most gentlemanlike and pleasing man...a great acquisition to company." He was also daring and had smuggled "a smart little Madras girl" disguised as a boy into the Company factory in Canton, "where the presence of women was forbidden." He had brought her with him from Fort St. George. After a considerable furore, which stopped all trade, he was fined 500 dollars.² Probably this flair for combining social graces, financial opportunity and daring led him into marriage in June 1774 to Elizabeth Fullarton, eldest daughter of William Fullarton of Carstairs and niece and heiress of John Fullarton of Carberry, Mid Lothian. On the latter's death in 1775 the estate passed to his niece and her husband, who changed his name to William Fullarton-Elphinstone.³

William patronised others from his first command in 1765 and

1. W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family, vol. 2, p.6; S.R.O. GD156/Box 49/Bundle 2, f.123; Earl Marischal to Lady Elphinstone, 16 Oct. 1768; Cotton, pp.183-5.

2. Hickey, pp.190-191, 218.

3. Cotton, pp.183-185; W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family, vol.2, pp.6-9. This inherited fortune and the rest of his capital was invested wisely. He also regained the Tower of Elphinstone for the family. (Ibid.) Fullarton of Carberry was also referred to as "one of our East Indians." by Alex. Carlyle, writing to the Earl of Dalkeith on 1 Nov. 1759 (See GD 224/295/3/10). He was also, significantly, M.P. for Haddington District of Burghs. See (Ed.) Sir C. E. Adam, View of the Political State of Scotland, p.37.

even after his retiral from sea in 1777. Countless Scots passed to India voyaging with him on the Triton, or via other ships because of his position in Scottish political and social life. One recipient of this patronage in particular, Robert Simson, provides an excellent example. Simson always kept in touch with Lady Clementine Elphinstone, his real benefactor, and pressurised the family to move him from ship to ship until he became Surgeon on board the Triton.¹ Others who benefited from Elphinstone patronage included: Thomas Irwin, of the Royal George, Thomas Steven, who gained a Surgeon's post; Peter Copper; Alex Gray of the Devonshire; Charles Lindsay, posted to Fort St. George; Captain Whyte of the Hannah; Captain Thomson, the Calcutta; and on board the Triton in 1770, David Oswald and John Fleming.²

Elphinstone's power and influence within the East India Company and its shipping interest was of great political use to managers in Scotland. As a ship's commander, ships husband, Proprietor then Director until his death in 1824, he was much in demand. As David Scott, another powerful Scottish Director said "any Director with this valuable patronage could command a good interest in any Scottish Constituency."³ Elphinstone placed 'Stirlingshire gentlemen' in

1. S.R.O. GD 156/Box 49, Bundle 1, ff.57,58,74, R. Simson to Lady Clementine Elphinstone, on 10 Jan. 1766 and 26 Jun. 1769; to Chas. Elphinstone on 12 Jul. 1766. One of his illuminating statements was to describe a "native king" he had met on his voyage out as "a greater wretch than a Scotch collier." (Ibid.)

2. S.R.O. GD 156/Box 49, Bundle 1, ff.61,66,67,74,75,95, Thomas Irwin to William Elphinstone on 7 Sep. 1766; Thomas Steven to Lady Clementine Elphinstone, 3 Dec. 1767; Peter Copper to the Hon. Elphinstone, 5 Aug. 1768; Robert Simson to Lady Clementine Elphinstone, 26 Jun. 1769, 2 Apr. 1769, and 7 Jun. 1770.

3. Sunter, p.528. See also Cotton, pp.133-185; W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family, vol.2, p.9.

East Indiamen, so much so that it has been calculated that among the Stirlingshire Freeholders, who numbered between 50 and 60 from 1707 to 1750 and between 60 and 100 for the rest of the century, at least 30 at any one time were 'in the civil branches of the Government or the service of the East India Company.' In turn, this 'Indian patronage undoubtedly helped to support the Elphinstone interest.'¹

1. Sunter, pp.518,521,539.

CHAPTER 11.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY CONTESTED ELECTIONS 1761-1774 AND THEIR EFFECT ON SCOTTISH SHARES OF COMPANY PATRONAGE.

It has been possible to trace below the degree and depth of Scottish involvement in Company politics from 1761 to 1774, and with it the ferocity of the fight for some continued share in India patronage. Three major strategies were embraced by most Scots interested in Indian affairs in London during these years - all of them involving alliance with Laurence Sullivan, one of the Company's ablest leaders.

The first of these strategies meant directing India posts as per ministerial requirements, much in the same way as had been done from 1725 to 1761. Posts to Scots were granted according to Government, that is, Lord Bute's wishes, with the full connivance of Sullivan. This was a very clearly defined policy until 1763 when Bute fell from power, and it drifted on until 1765 when Sullivan was ousted from the East India Company's Direction and Lord Milton, who had retained his connections with Sullivan, despite Bute's fall, died.

The second strategy governing Scottish efforts to keep in touch with control of India patronage developed partly out of the Clive-Sullivan feud which had already embraced them prior to 1765. But it also emerged from the lack of any Governmental leverage or direction, for a period after 1765, as well as out of the opportunities for speculation and self-aggrandisement that accompanied the rapid change in the Company's affairs at home and abroad. Directors or leading Proprietors, regardless of being Scottish, recommended people to posts in proportion to the backing given by individuals or their

families, principally in financial terms, at the contested elections. But the large number of Scots involved in 'splitting' stock and the numbers receiving Writers positions in these years was out of all proportion. It was so much so that the Scots must be regarded at this time - as indeed they were by contemporaries - as a special entity.

First and foremost, they pursued their own ends. But it is probable that their clannish disposition (abetted by English hostility) made them appear more united than was the case. Basically, whomsoever dispensed India patronage, and how it could be procured, determined which faction Scots joined, individually, or in groups. From 1766 and the first efforts at State intervention in the Company's affairs via its Inquiry of that year, the third strategy, increasingly followed by the Scottish and Sullivan groups, was that of retention of the Company's independence. The campaign mounted by the Government to manage a majority of the Court of Directors, to control patronage and subvert the Company's position was actively resisted by Sullivan and his Scottish supporters. They understood that Governmental success would mark an end to their management of patronage, and so it proved after 1773. To the very last gasp Scottish efforts were made to maintain the Company's independence and with it governance of India patronage.¹

There were immense riches to be had from control of the direction of affairs, and wealth from India through carefully chosen servants abroad who used bills of exchange drawn upon the Company. Nomination of the Chairman or Deputy Chairman by one or other faction

1. See Charts 5 and 6.

was the ideal, but places on the Direction were very acceptable. However, the splitting of stock for political reasons during these troubled years gave the General Court of Proprietors teeth to the extent that powerful Proprietors whose support would be needed at the next election were able to influence the Direction, and, in turn, could receive the favours they asked for.

It is no surprise, therefore, to find that Scottish influence in the Company's Court of Directors and the Proprietors Court in the 1760s and early 1770s becomes more marked. Every Court of Directors from 1764 to 1775 had a Scottish member; and this regularity continued into the next century. They included: Charles Boddam, Sir James Cockburn, Thomas Cheap, George Cuming, George Dempster, Sir Hugh Inglis, George Johnstone, James Michie, James Moffat, William Fullerton Elphinstone, Simon Fraser and David Scott. Others had strong Scottish ties: William George Freeman, through the Foulis family, John Boyd through his Scottish-West Indies connections; Sir Henry Fletcher via his Lord Milton connection.¹ Among the Proprietors this Scottish involvement was no less marked with some, such as the Johnstone family and their uncle, Lord Elibank, playing a major part in the dramas accompanying Company politics in these years.²

The emergence of Scots such as the Johnstones (q.v.) in the East India Company, of Commanders like Charles Foulis (q.v.) and the Haldanes (q.v.) in Shipping, and of innumerable Scots who had been sent to India and were now in positions of power, wrung changes in

1. See Appendix 15; Parker, passim.; Riddy, p.12; Sutherland(2), p.30; Gurney, p.163.

2. See below. Appendix 16.

the way in which India patronage would be creamed off for purposes of Scottish political management. These Scots played active and vigorous roles in Company affairs. For example, Drummond, Fordyce and Fisher, all bankers in London, were involved in putting up money for the purchase of stock to be split into £500 voting rights. Sir Laurence Dundas, Alex and Abraham Hume, Sir William and Robert Mayne, brought their fortunes to bear for this purpose as well as 'dealing in the alley' buying and selling India stock. Others, such as Sir Gilbert Elliot, James and (Sir) John Macpherson, Andrew Stuart, Lauchlin Maclean and Lord Mansfield dealt in the sometimes shady areas of back-stairs politics, bringing to bear upon Company politics Government cash and influence, when and where the ministries desired.¹

From 1761 to 1765 those in Scotland who would be helped would be those with close ties with the Argathelians, as had always been the case, but satisfaction would also depend upon their own connections with those involved in Company politics, Shipping, and the direction of affairs abroad; or failing this, some such contact would be made for them through their Argathelian connection. Thereafter, patronage would depend upon the degree of intimacy enjoyed by agents and aspirants alike with members of the various administrations from 1766 to 1774, and by their involvement in Company politics. Scots caught up in the Courts and Committees, in the backstairs politics and in almost every facet of the East India Company's business assumed a new importance. Through them and their

1. Also reflected by the number of Scottish commanders of East Indiamen. See Appendices 11,15,16.

friends filtered the India patronage that made such involvement invaluable to Government and to Scottish political managers, whether North or South of the Tweed.

From 1761 Bute's links with Laurence Sullivan, the leading power in the East India Company, were directed through Lord Shelburne and the Secretary of State, Lord Egremont, usually using Egremont's Under-Secretary, Robert Wood, who had been Sullivan's friend for some considerable time.¹ The close liaison needed in framing the clauses of the settlement to end the Seven Years War, particularly as they applied to the Indian theatre, brought Bute and Sullivan together. They collaborated as early as 10 November 1761.² Sullivan had cut the ties he had with William Pitt when pursuing the war against the French in India. His allegiance was now to Bute, achieved via the good offices of Newcastle and Henry Fox (later Lord Holland).³ Sullivan had been deeply involved with Pitt's ministry in negotiating peace terms with the French. This involvement had to continue, despite the change of Government. Clause 11 of the final treaty was drawn up by Sullivan.

The April 1763 contested election was marked by the Bute ministry's wholesale and open participation on Sullivan's behalf. Political influence, the use of Government funds (through Lord Holland and the Pay Office) and secretariat influence, were all brought to bear; while myriads of Government dependants swarmed to

1. McGilvary, pp.110,119.

2. Ibid., pp.76,95,125. See also Chart 5.

3. Ibid., p.95, footnote 3, pp.108,114 and 125. Sullivan put patronage in the path of Pitt and Newcastle, then Bute and Holland.

his side and ensured his success against Clive and his allies.¹ In August 1763 Sullivan was approached by Sandwich, one of Grenville's ministerial friends, in an effort to stop the Sullivan-Clive feud. Sullivan was too powerful an enemy and his City support was an integral part of the backing required by Grenville's new Government. The attempt was of no avail and the arrival in England of despatches from Bengal saying that the Presidency had 'become a scene of bloodshed and confusion' ended the hopes of restraint on either side of the Company divide.² Clive then made certain of the support of the Grenville ministry (mainly through the ministry's busy agent, Charles Jenkinson) and this, as in April 1763, proved decisive in settling the outcome of the election of April 1764 in favour of the Clivites. The same proved the case in the 1765 election, although Bute worked hard for Sullivan that year.³

This interference in Company affairs by the head of Government, a Scotsman at that, was a clear sign to others, including many of his countrymen. The Company elections became open battlegrounds and Scots involved themselves in the purchase of India stock in order to split it into £500 units for voting purposes. Behind these moves lay greed for power, patronage and wealth. In February 1763 a formidable Scots group led by three brothers, George, John and William (Pultney) Johnstone, sons of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, entered the East India Company political stage. They joined Clive's 'Bengal Squad' against Sullivan at the April election,

1. McGilvary., pp.143,147,150. Shelburne was his principal ally within the Bute fold.

2. Ibid, p.159, footnote 4.

3. Ibid, See pp.165,173-4.

1763 simply because one of their number, John Johnstone, had been castigated and finally in 1764 was dismissed for his misdeeds in Bengal. Since 1761 they had been involved in splitting activities against Sullivan, raising loans from Scottish relations, like Andrew Stuart of Torrance (q.v.), who was rewarded in return with posts for his friends.¹ From February 1764 they again entered the lists in their attempts to get John Johnstone re-instated and his name cleared. Their political weight was significant to the extent that Sullivan admitted that "the Scotch" working as a unit seriously affected the outcome of the election.² The power of this group determined that John Johnstone was re-instated in 1764 and set an ugly precedent. Thereafter, their dislike of Clive's power and haughtiness, and his efforts to take John Johnstone's wealth from him in the Court of Chancery, brought them over to Sullivan's side for the April 1765 election.³

Sullivan built up his own Scottish support in the lead-up to the April 1765 election. To the Johnstones he added the powerful Proprietor John Stewart, who was against the renewal of Clive's jagir;⁴ and Charles Boddam (q.v.) was invited to be on his list, thus bringing in all Boddam's banking and shipping relations. Another Proprietor, Sir James Cockburn (q.v.), of Ayton, Berwickshire, who

1. McGilvary, pp.151, footnote 5, 160-1,166-7. Meanwhile other Scots, like the Moffats split stock for Sullivan.(Ibid.)

2. Bodleian, Sullivan MSS. Eng.Hist. b.190, f.1, et.seq., L. Sullivan to R. Palk, dated 22 May 1764. Also McGilvary, p.167.

3. Sutherland(1), p.139; McGilvary, p.180; and G.M., Vol. 34 of 1764, p.288, for their denunciation of Clive. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section. See also Chart 6.

4. McGilvary, p.171. A relation of this Proprietor, Dr Charles Stuart, who was a Director of the Sun Fire Assurance Co. was used too.

had a large stock holding, entered on Sullivan's side; and he brought with him his relation, James Stewart of Buckingham Street, London.¹ For this election he also gained the backing of George Dempster (q.v.), an independently minded Proprietor of some reputation and stature. At this time Dempster was not linked with the Johnstones - that came later - but he was a firm friend of Bute. In return for this support he was offered an important India post by Sullivan, which he turned down.²

Following Clive's victory in April 1765 (with Grenville's support) Sullivan was excluded from power and the make-up of the Direction reflected Clive's strength. Through his agents, Luke Scrafton and John Walsh, Clive dictated the business of the Court of Directors and controlled most Company patronage. Naturally Sullivan's Scottish allies paid the penalty, and coinciding with the senility of Milton and the ejection of James Stuart Mackenzie from office, the Argathelian use of India patronage haemorrhaged. The new relationships to be struck up would no longer be based upon unswerving loyalty to the Argathelian-dominated establishment that had been in power in Westminster and Edinburgh. All that remained of this was the headless body of Argathelian supporters in Scotland whose allegiance depended mainly upon the gratification of wants. From 1765 leading Scots managers and families in pursuit of India patronage, and new ministries at Westminster strove, almost blindly, to inter-link with each other and with those in the Company who could do them a favour. If not a powerful Director one year then perhaps

1. McGilvary, p.175; and 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

2. Ibid, pp.174,179; and 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

their would-be saviour would be one at the next election.

It was natural for those interested in getting patronage for Scots (whether in Government in Westminster or in Edinburgh) to look towards Scots in the Company. There were many of them and in the indiscipline accompanying the Clive-Sullivan struggle and in the rapid territorial transformation of the Company's fortunes abroad, opportunities to manoeuvre abounded. Some bought and sold India stock merely as speculators, others, like the Johnstones, were involved in the Company elections and split stock on behalf of their interest group. Others, like Lord Elibank (q.v.) became Proprietors who split stock to gain influence and to give better support to their kin. In Elibank's case this was to his son William Young (q.v.) and his nephews, the Johnstones.¹

From 1765 the on-going Clive-Sullivan feud pressed most Scots (as it did everyone else) into one faction or the other. Sometimes alliance with members of the administration dictated in turn which Company interest (Sullivan or Clive) they would back; but in time ministerial desires came to challenge both Sullivan and Clive within the Company until, by 1770, the Government's was the dominant interest. The need of ministries to be involved in East India Company politics, but not to be seen to be, also brought political adventurers like the Scots Lauchlin Maclean, James and John Macpherson into affairs. The scramble for funds with which to buy

1. See I.O.L. MSS. Eur.E.302/1, Letterbook of John Spencer, f.77, Spencer to L. Sullivan, 6 Feb. 1766; *Ibid.* Orme MSS. O.V.J. ff.119-133 and ff.141-160, "Account of all Transfers of India Stock made from the 1st February 1767 to March 1767", dated May 1767; and S.R.O. GD 32/24/34-57, *passim*, "William Young Correspondence 1767-1814". See also 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

stock came to involve a good cross-section of the Scottish nobility and gentry as well as business and banking firms such as the Hopes of Amsterdam (q.v.) who had Scottish origins and connections, and the banks of Fordyce, Fisher, Coutts and Drummonds. From 1766 to March 1769 Sullivan was unsuccessful in his efforts to defeat Clive and return to the Direction. Nevertheless, he continued to recruit Scots. For example, for the 1766 election he added Captain George Cuming (q.v.) and John Stuart (who lived in Hampstead) to his list, alongside George Dempster and the Johnstones, who were headed by the energetic George Johnstone, sometime Governor of Florida. For the 1767 contest he also had Lord Elibank splitting £1000 of stock alongside his nephews, the Johnstones. John Stuart of Hampstead introduced Lauchlin Maclean (q.v.) to Sullivan, then James Macpherson and Hope of Amsterdam joined this particular Scottish group.¹

Lauchlin Maclean brought in Sir Gilbert Elliot and with him

1. N.L.W. Powis MSS. Clive Papers, f.192, G. Dudley to Clive, 21 Nov. 1766. Dempster headed 9 Proprietors calling for a General Court to compliment Sullivan; I.O.L. MSS. (Photo.) Eur.63, 'Letters (dated 1759-1773) from George Johnstone to John Johnstone...to William Johnstone...relating to India Stock.' Letters 621-38, *passim*. These show some of the financial infrastructure linking Sullivan with L. Maclean, the Johnstones, Shelburne, the Hope Bank of Amsterdam and the firms of Goslings, Coutts, Grant and Fordyce - also to individuals such as the influential Wedderburn (Lord Loughborough); I.O.L. MSS. Eur.E.302/1, 'Letterbook of John Spencer', f.77, Spencer to Sullivan, 6 Feb. 1766, on the support of the Johnstones and George Cuming; E.U.L. Laing Papers, No.77, Div.2 (c.1770). 'Papers on the East India Company', ff.12-3. The writer was probably Gov. George Johnstone and he referred to the 1765-1767 period; P.R.O. (London), Chatham MSS. 30/8/56, ff.76-83, Shelburne to Chatham. From internal sources, dated 11 Mar. 1767. See also Maclean, p.154, and Sutherland(3), pp.451,461-2,481,484; I.O.L. Orme MSS. O.V.J. ff.119-33 and 141-60. "Account of all Transfers of India Stock made from the 1st day of February 1767 to March 1767." dated May 1767. See also Sutherland(1), p.146; and 'Patronage Profiles' Section.

Wedderburn (Lord Loughborough).¹ William Fisher the banker again joined Sullivan for the 1767 election, together with another Scots speculator, John Stewart, and Sir Robert Fletcher (q.v.). Fisher was buying stock as early as April 1766. In the General Court of Proprietors Sullivan could count on the support of James Johnstone, John Scott, Robert and Duncan Clerk.² Despite his defeats in the 1767 and 1768 elections Sullivan's list of 'Scotch' supporters grew as they combined speculation in India Stock, splitting of it for the contested elections, taking sides in the debates over the 1766-67 Parliamentary Inquiry, and wangling patronage for their families and friends. Dempster and the Johnstones gave particular support at this time.³

The Johnstones and Sir Robert Fletcher figured in another curious effort made in September 1767 to end the Clive-Sullivan feud. It was prompted by Robert Palk, formerly Governor of Madras and friend of both Sullivan and Clive. It failed, but part of the terms asked for by Sullivan are enlightening: "All prosecutions against the Johnstones etc. for recovering presents to drop. Sir Robert

1. N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11018, 'Letters to Sir Gilbert Elliot, 1766-7', f.75, Shelburne to Elliot, 10 Sep. 1767; Bury St. Edmunds and West Suffolk Record Office, 423/447, for votes in the General Court of 7 Jan. 1767 of Wedderburn, Dempster, William McIntosh and a Mr. Stewart; Maclean, p.269-270 for Lauchlin Maclean and his Scots friends.

2. Sutherland(3), pp.455,458 on splitting role of firm of Fisher & Young, stockbrokers and bankers; also Maclean, p.381 showing Fisher to be a friend of L. Maclean and "man of business" for the D. of Grafton; also I.O.R. Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/5. For Robert & Duncan Clerk see Sutherland(3), p.465, and I.O.R. General Court Minutes, vol.3, p.17, dated 14 Nov. 1766.

3. See Sutherland(3), pp.455,481; Colebrooke, Part 1, p.109; and N.L.W. Powis MSS. Clive Papers, 'Letterbook of May 1764-Sep.1766.', f.185, Luke Scrafton to Clive, 17 May 1766. See Chart 6.

Fletcher's indiscretion its hoped will be forgot by his Lordship (Clive) and that he will not object to his returning to his rank in the service".¹ Sullivan also harnessed Palk's Scottish friends for the 1768 election: Col. Charles Campbell, Captain Kilpatrick, Mr. A. Preston and Mr. Lind.² The support of another Scot, John Russell was important because he and 13 others had split £13,500 of Lord Holland's stock for voting purposes.³ This financial strength was increased by the backing of three London-Scots bankers, Grants, Fordyce and Coutts, as well as that of the Johnstone-oriented Hope of Amsterdam.⁴

These Scotsmen were responsible for Sullivan's successful return to the Direction in April 1769. Some of them changed to his side at the last moment. They split large sums and brought other influential figures over to Sullivan's side. For example, Lauchlin Maclean brought in Shelburne and Lord Holland; George Dempster recruited the Burkes and Lord Rockingham.⁵ Robert and Duncan Clerk, who had been involved in India politics since 1765, split £100,000 of Sir Laurence Dundas' (q.v.) money on Sullivan's behalf. William

1. Exeter Record Office, Kennoway Documents, Palk Family/Haldon Trust, 58/9, Box 104, Item 6, L. Sullivan to Robert Palk, 13 Sep. 1767.

2. H.M.S.C. Palk MSS. p.64, No.41, Memo by Laurence Sullivan. n.d. but July-Dec. 1767.

3. B.L. Add.MSS. 5147, f.117, dated 6 Oct. 1767.

4. I.O.L.MSS. (Photo.) Eur.63, 'Letters dated 1759-1773 from George Johnstone and John Johnstone...to William Johnstone...relating to India Stock.' Letters 621-628, passim.; Sutherland(1), p.146.

5. Ibid; Sutherland(1), pp.172,479,483; Maclean, pp.180-3,223-4; S.R.O. GD 224/45, a list of stock "sold for John Powell Esqre," dated 2 Feb. 1767; B.L.Add.MSS. 51398, ff.141-4, J. Powell to Holland, 26 Sep. 1766, Holland to Powell, 6 Oct. 1766; B.L.Add.MSS. 51434, ff.25-6. L. Maclean to Holland 27 Sep.1766; H.M.S.C. Palk MSS. List of East India Stock owed, 6 Mar. 1769; Sir J. Malcolm The Life of Robert Lord Clive, vol.3, p.245.

(Pulteney) Johnstone had introduced Dundas to Sullivan, who promised him in return for his support, a Writership to dispose of and the nomination of 2 of the Directors on his list.¹ The Johnstones and Hope of Amsterdam split at least £100,000 in a 'Grand Scheme' which they operated with Sullivan and Maclean. They bought stock at a high price using money they borrowed, such as that from the Director John Boyd, thinking that it would go even higher in value, so that at the rescounter they would pay back the money they borrowed and would pocket the difference. In between times the voting rights would win a place in the Direction. In fact they won the place but beggared themselves in doing so because the price of India stock collapsed. Other Scots who joined in the fray in April 1769 on Sullivan's side included members of the Shipping interest, such as Charles Foulis (q.v.) and his relation William George Freeman. It was he who brought in the Director John Boyd. Sullivan's old friend, John Stewart of Buckingham Street, London, the ex-Jacobite wine-merchant, sided with him too.²

The relationship between Sullivan and his Scottish friends following his return to power in 1769 was determined by his financial crash of that year. Sullivan (and his ally Vansittart) had promised to under-write the whole of the 'Grand Scheme' mentioned above. Henceforth, the aim of Hope of Amsterdam, the Johnstones,

1. North Riding Record Office, n.p. Affidavit written and signed by Robert and Duncan Clerk, dated London, 10 May 1769.

2. H.M.S.C. Palk MSS. pp.63-64, letter No.41, Memo by Sullivan, n.d., but between July and Dec. 1767; Ibid. List of East India Stock owed, 6 Mar. 1759; Ibid. pp.126-8, Letter 97, L. Sullivan to R. Palk, c.May-Sep. 1770; De Bertodano MSS. n.p. L. Sullivan to H. Vansittart, 28 May 1770; Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.480-1; and Maclean, pp.187-8, John Stewart was related to Sir Gilbert Elliot and Sir James Cockburn.

John Boyd, the Clerks and Sir Laurence Dundas was to regain their money. They also demanded and received patronage. For example, the Johnstones wanted Lord Mansfield's protégé, Sir John Lindsay, to be included in the 1769 Supervision setting out for India to look into administrative abuses there.¹ Sullivan also displayed his indebtedness to his Scottish supporters during a particular incident following the April 1769 election. A contest for the Secretaryship of the Royal Society of Arts arose between John Stuart of Hampstead and William (Pultney) Johnstone. Stuart was a particular friend of Sullivan's, but the latter was also deeply obliged to the Johnstones. Sullivan abstained from the vote on the matter, but then nominated for election to the R.S.A. the whole Scottish group being proposed by Johnstone, all 12 of them. Among others the list included George Johnstone, George Dempster and John Macpherson (later Sir John, Governor-General).²

In his struggles to remain a Director after 1769 Sullivan continued to enjoy the support of his Scottish friends. John Stuart of Hampstead and Lauchlin Maclean instigated a short-lived alliance with Clive and Colebrooke later in 1769; and the same John Stuart

1. See B.L.Add.MSS. 29194, f.97, Sullivan to W. Hastings, n.d., but c.Apr. 1773; H.M.S.C. Palk MSS. pp.126-8, Letter 97, L. Sullivan to R. Palk, c.May-Sep.1770; De Bertodano MSS. n.p., L. Sullivan to H. Vansittart, 28 May 1770; I.O.L. Eur. MSS. 63, George and John Johnstone letters. (From the Pulteney Papers in the Henry E. Huntington Library, California); Colebrooke, vol.1, p.168; Sutherland(1), pp.191-2,197-199; Maclean, pp.228-235.

2. See R.S.A. Minutes, vol.15 (1769-70), f.14, passim; and Allan, passim. Other Scots included: William (Pulteney) Johnstone, Menzies Campbell, William McIntosh, Archibald Kier, Alex. MacPherson, Duncan Davidson, Daniel Weir, Charles Mackenzie, Thomas Stewart, Patrick George Crawford, John Campbell, Gibbs Crauford.

once more lined-up the backing of Sir Gilbert Elliot and his son Alexander. But in 1770 Sullivan was ousted, due partly, he insisted, to the "dreadful treachery and base behaviour" of the Johnstones who deserted him at the election. They did so because they knew that he did not have Government support, was certain to lose and therefore of no further use to them.¹ However, in 1771 Sullivan was back again, due to the assistance of Lord North and he tried, to no avail, to have one of his Scottish friends, George Dempster, brought into the Direction with him. For the 1772 election most of the 'Scotch' fully supported him, assured of the certainty of a Sullivan-Colebrooke dominance in the Direction and, therefore, of patronage. Lauchlin Maclean, the Johnstones, John Stewart of Buckingham Street, Andrew and Col. James Stuart of Torrance (q.v.), and all Sullivan's supporters in the Shipping interest rallied round and he was made Deputy Chairman.²

The Scots as a group and as individuals also participated in the Company's financial crisis of 1772, the parliamentary inquiry that followed and in the formation of the Regulating Act of 1773. The financial crisis was the result of a variety of factors. Clive's dual system of government in Bengal was not working well. There was indiscipline and corruption among the Company's servants,

1. De Bertodano MSS., n.p., L. Sullivan to Henry Vansittart, 28 May 1770; N.L.W. Powis MSS, Clive Papers, 21 Nov. 1767 to 1774, n.p. Clive to Colebrooke, 11 Nov. 1769; N.L.S. Minto MSS. E.F.P. 10, n.p. John Stuart to Sir Gilbert Elliot, dated only 1773; Colebrooke, vol.1, p.199.

2. De Bertodano MSS, n.p. L. Sullivan to H. Vansittart, 28 May 1770; I.O.L.MSS. Eur.D.535, R. Barwell's Letterbook, f.53, Richard Barwell to Roger Barwell, n.d. (but c.1772). See also P.A. for 31 Aug., 1 Sep., 12 Sep., 14 Sep. 1772; and Chart 6.

and a bullion shortage in India, especially of silver. A resurrection of French hopes coincided with Hyder Ali's raids on the Carnatic, and Bengal suffered one of the world's worst disasters with the famine of 1769. The Company's revenues fell and its costs rose dramatically. Until Sullivan returned to the Direction those in power in Leadenhall were unaware of the true picture in India. Pro-Government and other Parliamentary factions were rampant within the Company creating an atmosphere perfect for speculation and certainly not for the welfare of the Company as an institution. The papers were full of sensational attacks on Clive, stimulated by the Johnstones as they pursued their vendetta.¹

In 1772 the crisis was sparked off by alarm at prohibitive military costs and a huge number of bills of exchange drawn upon the Company at short notice. And while this was being digested an international credit crisis struck. The Company, already beset by self-imposed difficulties, experiencing reduced sales and delayed payments, reached breaking point when the Bank of England refused to enlarge or renew its loan beyond October 1772 and money could not be gained anywhere else. Alexander Forsyth's bank crashed, Drummond's only just survived in the credit crisis. Sullivan desperately tried to stave-off the crash. One of his schemes was to ask his friend Hope, the Scots-Dutch banker for help, using the Company's tea stores as surety, but this failed.

1. See Sutherland(1), pp.219-222; A.M.Khan, Muhammed Reza Khan, Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan of Bengal, 1750-1775; London University Ph.D. Thesis (1966) pp.220-221,231-2; S.Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815,p.166; A.M. Davies, Clive of Plassey, p.467.

The Johnstones and particularly Governor George Johnstone, played an important role during these momentous months. In an effort to stem the build-up of ministerial control within the Court of Directors they allied with Parliamentary Opposition and tried to cancel-out Government control of the Direction by this rather circuitous and eventually doomed method. They and Dempster also played a part in the final events leading-up to and including the 1773 Regulating Act. Dempster urged Edmund Burke to go out as a member of the Superintending Commission to regulate the Company's affairs in the Presidencies (a plan which had been proposed by Sullivan in July 1772). This Burke declined. Meanwhile, Lauchlin Maclean's friend, Andrew Stuart of Torrance was proposed by Sullivan as a Supervisor, but this was finally scotched by Lord North in December 1772.

Dempster and the Johnstones had also backed Shelburne's call for a Parliamentary Inquiry which had been sparked-off by Sullivan's Judicature Bill. During the debate upon Sullivan's Bill in the Commons in 1772 (yet another attempt by him to reform the Company) Wedderburn and George Dempster spoke in favour while the Johnstones took the opportunity to launch another attack upon Clive. In this they had some success, while Sullivan's Bill failed.¹ Blinded by

1. See Sutherland(1), pp.219-221,225,231-258; B.L. Add.MSS. 29133, ff.533-6, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773; S.Weitzman, Warren Hastings and Philip Francis p.204; Colebrooke, vol.2, pp.15-18; B.L.Add.MSS. 29133, f.347, Francis Sykes to W. Hastings, Jan.-Feb. 1773; Hansard, vol.17 (1771-4), pp.327, 361-377,464-468,469-474; Nottingham University MSS. P.W.F. 10359, ff.1-21, 'Report of the Committee of Secrecy appt. to enquire into the state of the E.I.Co. (1773)'; Ed. T.W.Copeland, The correspondence of Edmund Burke.vol.2, pp.319,321; 13 Geo.III, c.9.

their rage against Clive, the Johnstones did not foresee, nor would they have wished for, Burgoyne's successful motion to set-up a Select Committee to investigate the abuses in the Company's government, a move which they had helped instigate, and which in turn paved the way for direct Government interference in the Company so utterly against their own interests. In fact from January 1773 the General Court of Proprietors, dominated by Richmond and George Johnstone, led the Company's opposition to Lord North.

But the final blow to the Company's chances of retaining independence and with it control of India patronage, came with the defeat of Sullivan in the Company election of April 1773. Even then Sullivan enjoyed a strong Scottish support which included the Johnstones, Dempster, Sir Laurence Dundas and Robert Scott. Of course this was natural since only Sullivan's survival in the Direction could help them regain the money lost by them in 1769 and allow them India posts to dish out to Scots friends. For this election Sandwich organised the pro-ministry forces within the Direction against Sullivan, who was also blamed, unfairly, for the 1772 financial crisis.¹ His fears of direct Government control, frequently expressed, were now realized. He said, prophetically, "the power of ministry was not to be resisted...in future they must

1. I.O.R. General Court Minutes, vol. 5, p.82, dated 31 Mar. 1774, and p.84, dated 8 Apr. 1774; A.M. Davies, Clive of Plassey, pp.472-8; Sutherland(1), p.232,246-8; B.L. Add.MSS. 29133, ff.533-6, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773. The Govt. nominees included the Scots, John Pringle, and Capt. Dewar.

govern the Company." In fact the 1773 election returned a majority of Directors amenable to every Government wish or suggestion.¹

With North's Regulating Act, control by the Government of the Company had really begun. 'Management' was by the Treasury, with the help of experts like Robinson, Jenkinson and Henry Dundas. They operated through agents in the Supreme Council in Bengal and by control of the East India Company's Court of Directors.² The latter was managed in a variety of ways: alliances between ministers and Directors; between ministers and vested interests, such as the Shipping interest; or through the influence of important figures like Lord Sandwich who had a strong following in the Company. The General Court was the only arena that could not be dominated and where some opposition remained. For the April 1774 election Sullivan rallied his Scottish supporters, Dempster, the Johnstones and Sir James Cockburn, for a last fight against Government control. He knew that this would be in vain and merely a gesture of defiance and the election result proved him correct. The final humiliation then arrived, when North and Robinson, though not a part of the East India Company, made a list of prospective candidates for the Direction who

1. De Bertodano MSS, n.p. Sullivan to Col. Wood, n.d. (but Apr. 1773); B.L.Add. MSS. 29133, f.535, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773. Even Lord Elibank was now in favour of the Regulating Act. (S.R.O. GD 32/24/34-57, passim. 'William Young Correspondence 1767-1814', Elibank to W. Young, Balancriff, 29 Oct. 1771).

2. Sutherland(1), pp.265-8; B.L. Add.MSS. 29133, f.97, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, n.d., but Apr. 1773; also f.561, L. Sullivan to R. Barwell, 20 May 1773; and Add.MSS. 29134, ff.84-96, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 24 Apr. 1774.

were vetted by Robinson and briefed upon their election approach.
"So daring are men grown in subversion of our liberty" raged Sullivan,
"in this country there is little honour or gratitude."¹

1. Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS., (Sheffield), Rockingham Papers, R. 1-1443(a), Richmond to Rockingham, 8 Apr. 1774; B.L. Add.MSS. 29194, ff.84-91,96-8, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings; and Ibid. ff.251-2, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 7 Jan. 1774.

CHAPTER 12.

CONCLUSION.

The administrators examined in this study regarded the East India Company and its far-flung organisation as a mechanism for unlocking political capital. This is specifically seen in the use of India patronage for the ends of Scottish political management within the years 1720 to 1774. The recipients of India favours, that is, families from the right rank in Scottish society with electoral support to offer in return, quietly secreted away such advantages. They were never something boasted about, such was the nature of the agreements that made them possible. Yet those involved included heads of Government, political managers in Scotland, the most powerful men in the East India Company and Scottish business exiles in London. One of the springboards for all of this was the existence of a dominant legal profession in Scotland; another was an easily managed political structure. Also, the East India Company was open to all would-be Proprietors. It was entering an expansionist period with great changes in its very structure and purpose, as well as coming under pressure from Government and its agencies.

The use of India patronage by London ministries in favour of Scots sprang initially from fears and suspicions that led to the opinion that stronger management was needed in Scotland. Such fears had good foundation. The commonality and many of the Scottish gentry were disillusioned with the Union and became restless after the '15. Popular demonstrations against London dictates were common. This was met by Whig fear of Scottish Jacobitism sparking off an English equivalent, and probably a touch of deep rooted

English nationalism which sensed a quickening of the Scottish pulse. Also, the Whig oligarchy was determined to keep and strengthen the Union, in itself still new and fragile. Riots, such as that over the Malt tax and the Porteous affair fuelled such sentiments. Hand in hand with this was a concern among political leaders that Westminster could become an unstable arena if the quality and political direction of the Scottish peers and Members of the Commons was not vouchsafed. As far as Walpole was concerned this was an important consideration. The newness of the Administration in 1722 and the need to consolidate his own power base meant that he had to embrace the most powerful group in Scotland, the Argathelians. Unlimited access to patronage from all sources went to them in return for unswerving support and alliance in Scotland and in London.

Governments used this patronage for much the same reasons until the mid 1760s, when the Jacobite threat was well and truly over, perhaps helped into oblivion by the use of India patronage. A sustained electoral support had been established by this date; and the integration of the two nations had progressed further, as had the anglicisation of the Scottish aristocracy. The fact that a Scottish economic revival had begun, probably stimulated to some degree by India money entering the economy, eased things for both Westminster and Edinburgh politicians. There was also a harmony to Scottish internal politics, and even after the demise of Argathelian control in 1765 India favours continued to seep northwards. By this date India patronage had been in use some forty years, and its continuation was helped by the course of Company politics, cross-ties among Scots in Parliament, in the London business world and in the Company.

The incorporation by the State of East India Company patronage was aided by the skills and experience of a new breed of Government administrator. Men of the highest calibre, such as Charles Jenkinson and John Robinson, had been involved at Westminster since the early 1760s. They had been active in the implementation of North's Act. Together with Henry Dundas they provided the competence needed by Government to regulate India patronage when it passed into ministerial hands in 1784. They were already in position in 1774, wresting control from the Company's traditional rulers.

But this study of India patronage and its usefulness for the political management of Scotland is only part of a larger tableau involving the Scottish-Indian connection. Mention has been made of the prominence of Scots in the economic life of the sub-continent, in the business life of London (which incorporated the East India Company) and of the financial benefits accruing to Scotland from all this. There is a deep and broad Scottish-Indian connection in the middle years of the eighteenth century, only partly explained here. "Scots who left their mark (in India) are in their hundreds...yet rarely, if ever, has the influence exercised by the people of that small country upon Indian history been mentioned."¹ The reverse is also true.

To the throng of Scots who went to India between 1720 and 1774 must be added the equally large numbers concerned with them through interest, family connection and dependence. Quite apart from the ordinary soldiers, sailors and others who went out, and have left no

1. Gibb, p.182.

record, some 1,000 young men from the top strata of Scottish society appeared in India during these years. Most calculations suggest that Scots gained about a quarter of all patronage then, which if measured on a population basis, should have resulted in a mere eighth or ninth of the total.¹ It was a sizable presence and the lives of those involved provide fascinating insights into Scottish society at that time. What is more, the India connection of these years was of considerable importance in the development of Scottish political and economic life, and hopefully this significance has been portrayed in the text.²

A final word upon the relationship of India patronage to the political management of Scotland must concern the motives for its existence. Certainly overwhelming evidence has been given of deliberate manipulation by Walpole and the Argathelians as far as the inception of this particular patronage machinery is concerned. Walpole began it in a rather haphazard and informal manner, using John Drummond of Quarrel. It never fully materialized in any formal pronouncement, which was really only to be expected, but was very clear in the correspondence of the politicians, political managers, Company officials and beneficiaries. In this it differed in no degree from any other form of patronage of the time. Walpole deliberately embarked upon the use of India patronage, adding it to

1. See Appendices. passim. The exodus of Scots in the 1760-1774 period has been described as an 'epidemical fury.' See I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, pp.185-189. Prior to 1750 Writers Petitions are scanty. Note also that the military figures given are for officers, not other ranks. See Marshall, pp.12,21-22, passim; and see pp.183-186,410,415-432.

2. See Mitchison, p.344 for views on the quality of East India Company recruits in these years, contradicted by this study.

other favours and sinecures at his command, to preserve the fledgling British state and his own pre-eminent position. The Whig oligarchy, north and south of the border willingly joined him in this during his lifetime and also throughout the years ahead. The greed and the need of those whose votes they chased dovetailed nicely with Administration's political needs. The capital owning classes of the period in question, whose wealth was mainly in the form of land-ownership, pursued courses of action that increased profits and enhanced capital. Employment of members of their own body in theatres such as India or the West Indies, where there was ample opportunity for the successful accretion of riches, made sense.

It might be said that the Scots governing classes were lured by the promises and tantalising glimpses of a new world opened up to them by the Union with England. Among many there probably also existed a belief in the necessity of a strong controlling force, albeit centred in London, which it was in their best interests and that of Scotland in the long-term, to adhere to.¹ Certainly prestigious posts and sought-after status came to those who embraced English culture and accepted London rule. In a sense they were the victims of cultural, political and economic enslavement, but their

1. In 1770 Mackenzie of Delvine called for a return to the Argathelian System. See A. Murdoch, The People Above, p.11.

conversion also showed that they were pragmatists. Many of the "indigenous Scottish elite" abandoned the mores of their culture in order to obtain advancement such as could be gained for themselves and their families by accepting and working towards political and social integration with their English counterparts.¹

It would seem that Walpole married this view of Scottish post-Union attitudes to his own requirements and opened up all avenues of patronage to Scots, including India patronage. He and his successors at Westminster were thereby assured of their continuance in power. Scotland entered a political sleep from which she has probably never awakened; and the political stability upon which later imperial and economic empires were based was ensured.

1. M. Hechter, Internal Colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development, 1530-1966, pp.103-4.

SECTION E

PATRONAGE PROFILES 1720-1774

(Scots who gave, received or were involved in the Distribution
of India Patronage)

This Patronage Profiles Section, arranged alphabetically, has been constructed to give depth and substance to the thesis. It gives a wealth of evidence, through examples, of the numbers of Scots involved, and of the endless ways in which India patronage of one sort or another, was given, supplicated and even demanded. It includes figures of major and minor importance. Wherever a profile helps the flow of the main text, this is where it is to be found. In such cases name, title, period, chapter and page reference are given in the profiles section.

By giving each individual a patronage period, bracketing him within one or other of the three major divisions in the thesis, the sinews of patronage and its flow from era to era is probably made much clearer. These individuals bring together many of the most important and indicative features of political management through the use of India patronage, from 1720 to 1774. Some throw light on more than one period and this is demonstrated.

These case studies have been given a biographical structure, but their aim first and foremost is to show India patronage connections. Sometimes this is slight, in other cases voluminous. With some it has also been necessary to go further with their lives in order to illuminate what this patronage meant.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Burnet ABERCROMBY</u>	<u>Commander</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: He was the son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, Clackmananshire and one of 4 sons. He was also a nephew of James Abercromby of Brucefield, Clackmananshire, whose estate passed to him. It was probably through this uncle that he obtained his seafaring post. Friendship with Clive in Bengal in 1767 led to a request from Abercromby in that year, for "a good voyage." In 1768 Abercromby was Captain of the Grenville. Although bankrupt in 1773 the Brucefield inheritance saved him. He retained his connection with the Company's shipping interest after his return to Scotland.

Sources: Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, p.2.

<u>James ALEXANDER</u> <u>(1st Earl of Caledon)</u>	<u>Civil Service</u> <u>Madras</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
--	---------------------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was the uncle of Boyd and Claud Alexander (q.v.) of Ballochmyle, and almost certainly responsible for their entry into the E.I. Company. He became Sub-Accountant and book-keeper at Fort St. George, Madras (later Claud became Paymaster-General in Calcutta). He returned home in the Plassey in 1763. His sister Rebecca married Josias Du Pré, Governor of Madras in 1766, which added more influence to his own on behalf of his nephews.

Sources: Love, Vestiges, vol.2, pp.438,456,567; vol.3, p.1; I.O.R. Madras Civil Servants 1702-1767; J. Paterson, History of Ayrshire, vol.2, p.336.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Boyd ALEXANDER</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Claud ALEXANDER</u>	<u>Bengal</u>	

DETAILS: They were the sons of Claud Alexander of Newton, Ayrshire and Jean Cunningham, and were brought into the E.I. Company through the influence of their uncle James Alexander (q.v.) and their aunt Rebecca who married the Governor of Madras. The Directors Frederick Pigou and Thomas Walpole backed their petitions for Writers posts. Walpole was at that time in business with a collateral branch of the Alexander family, the Scottish banking firm of William Alexander. The brothers were friends in India with Thomas Graham (q.v.).

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8 for 1771; J. Paterson, History of Ayrshire, vol.2, p.376; G. Crawford Shire of Renfrew, pp.386-7; A.H. Miller, Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Castles and Mansions of Ayrshire, passim; R.H. Campbell, Scotland Since 1707, pp.46-7; N.L.S. MSS. 10953, f.109, Boyd Alexander to T. Graham, 12 May 1800; Marshall, pp.48,243-256.

<u>James ANDERSON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>David ANDERSON</u>	<u>Bengal</u>	

DETAILS: They were the sons of David Anderson, W.S. James was born in 1749, David in 1750. They both gained entry to the E.I. Company through the patronage of Sir Laurence Dundas and the Company Directors George Dudley (in David's case) and John Pardoe (in James'). David Anderson later achieved fame as the friend of Warren Hastings while accruing a fortune sufficient to set himself up in "a small estate in a pleasant part of Scotland."

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/6 for 1766; Marshall, p.216; K. Feiling, Warren Hastings, p.366; Cotton, pp.120-1.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Sir William BAILLIE</u> <u>(of Polkemet)</u>	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>James Hope BAILLIE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>William BAILLIE</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Sir William Baillie of Polkemet successfully placed his eldest son James and second eldest, William, upon careers in the East India Company. He applied to Col. Alex. Hope (q.v.) the brother of Col. John Hope (q.v.), M.P. and East India Company Proprietor. Col. John Hope was in turn the friend of Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.). The eldest son, James, married the daughter of a Baillie Seton. He eventually returned from an "unhealthy salt station" in India with £10,000 and became "partner to a Mr. Taylor in the Land market."

Sources: N.L.S. MSS. 1073, f.6, Wm. Baillie to Col. Alex. Hope, n.d., but 1768; N.L.S. MSS. 1368, f.194, Colin Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 31 Jul. 1777.

<u>Col. William BAILLIE</u> <u>(of Dunean)</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> & <u>1765-1774</u>
---	-------------------------	---

DETAILS: He was one of Col. Staats Morris' 89th Foot, but remained in India after the Regt. disbanded in 1763. He fought beside General Hector Munro (q.v.) in the 1760s and again in the 1778-1782 period. He was the second eldest son of Alexander Baillie of Dunean, Invernesshire and nephew of Alexander Baillie of Dockfour. He made a fortune from his command of Sepoys. He sent the money home via his agent John Ogilvie and Drummond's bank (q.v.). Commanders Robert Munro and William Fullerton-Elphinstone (q.v.) were

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
his friends and he used them to bring home his diamonds and muslins. David Mitchell of the Scots firm Annan & Colquhoun, acted as his attorney and remitted his fortune to Scotland.		

<u>Lt. John BAILLIE</u> <u>(of Dunearn)</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was the younger brother of Col. William Baillie (q.v.). He said himself that "Sir Alexander Grant (in London) got him out to Madras as a Cadet" in the East India Company's army in 1768. Grant (q.v.) was a major Company Proprietor and he was helped in his patronage of John Baillie by his relation Duncan Grant. The initiative for such help probably came in the first place from Duncan Grant, who was a friend of Alex. Baillie Senior, of Dunearn, and of his eldest son, also Alexander Baillie. This younger Alex. Baillie spent time in London actively espousing the careers of both his younger brothers, William, already in India, and John, waiting to get out. A fellow Scot, Commander Robert Munro (q.v.) of the Hardwicke, took John Baillie out to India where he joined his brother William.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 128/1/1/1-26; GD 128/4/3/2; GD 128/1/3; GD 128/1/1/6; GD 128/1/4; K. Feiling, Warren Hastings, p.249; Love, Vestiges, vol.3, p.75.

<u>BAILLIE</u>	<u>CIVIL SERVICE</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
----------------	----------------------	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: Baillie was the son of Hugh Baillie of Saltcoats, Ayrshire. He had been in India for some time and risen to be Company Agent in Assam. The money he remitted home over the years had been deposited in the Ayr Bank, returning 4% interest. Young

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
-------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

in an Indiaman", but got nowhere. He "danced attendance and had to be dependent on others, going between Richmond, Hampton Court and Windsor." At Windsor he "found a friend", John Manship, the East India Company Director, whose patronage was vital. Once in Bombay, through Manship, and with his continued patronage, Beck prospered. He made friends, particularly with James Cheap (q.v.); and when they both returned to Scotland they renewed a friendship that proved to be strong and lasting. Cheap helped him to remit his fortune home to Scotland. His career exemplifies the need for a patron.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 240/41/5/2, Memorial, dated 11 Nov. 1782; GD 240/41/5/1, Copy of James Beck's Will, dated 1777; GD 240/30 Bundle 6, Nos. 1-61, passim.

<u>Alexander BRODIE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: Alex. Brodie was the 3rd son of James Brodie of Spynie, Elginshire, advocate and Sheriff of Elgin. He was forced to seek his fortune elsewhere when his brother succeeded as Laird of Brodie at a time when the family was burdened with heavily encumbered estates. His father's position and his own marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of James Wemyss of Wemyss, gave him the leverage required to get a position as a Writer to Madras in 1773. Brodie's achievement reflects the ongoing nature of the pre-1765 Argathelian system. Even during the free-for-all of the 1765-1774 period use could be made of his father's electoral influence to command an East India Company Civil service position; and at a time when these were in some demand.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
-------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

Sources: See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.119-120; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8 for 1773; Love, Vestiges, vol.3, pp.164,174,240. Through private trade and contracts he amassed a fortune, returning home in 1784. He became politically powerful and a supporter of Henry Dundas.

<u>Patrick Crawford BRUCE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u> <u>Bombay</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was born in Falkirk, the son of Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouse and Mary Agnew, daughter of Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw (q.v.). He was a friend of James Beck (q.v.) and an executor of his will along with John Manship, the Company Director, Alex. Davidson (q.v.) and James Cheap (q.v.). Family influence with Government gained him his Writers position.

Sources: See I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/6 for 1765; S.R.O. GD 240/41/5, Copy of James Beck's Will, 1772.

<u>John BURNETT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
---------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: James Burnett of Monboddo was a friend of Lord Milton and of Sir James Carnegie of Pittarow in Angus. He was also a lawyer. He contacted his kinsman, Thomas Burnett, a Proprietor in the East India Company, and with the concerted influence of Milton, Carnegie, Thomas Burnett and yet another, the Company Director John Michie, another relation, he was made a Writer in 1762.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/4 for 1762; Shaw, p.124.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Hugh CAMPBELL</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	See text, Ch.6, pp.133-4	

<u>Thomas Dugald CAMPBELL</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was the son of Thomas Campbell of Westminster and was recommended by the Director, Thomas Rous in 1770 for a Writership.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/8 for 1770; Records of Clan Campbell, p.100.

<u>Charles CARMICHAEL</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
---------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.6, pp.140-1

<u>George CARMICHAEL</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
--------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.6, pp.140-1

<u>Surgeon Michael CARMICHAEL</u>	<u>Medical</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-----------------------------------	----------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.6, pp.140-1

<u>Governor CARNEGIE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
--------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.6, pp.137-8

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Thomas CHEAP</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>James CHEAP</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: Thomas Cheap became an East India Company Proprietor in 1772, but not until 1777 was he successful in his efforts to become a Director.¹ His interest in the Company probably stemmed from several sources. He was the eldest son of George Cheap, Collector of Customs at Prestonpans,² by Mary, daughter of Alexander Wedderburn, Commissioner of Excise for Scotland. His cousin was Alex. Wedderburn (q.v.) the future Lord Loughborough, whose influence and patronage he was to enjoy. In return, after Cheap had entered the Direction, he responded to Wedderburn's ministerial proddings.

Another of Thomas Cheap's relations was James Cheap, son of James Cheap, merchant in Leith. Young James Cheap had been appointed a Writer in 1762 through Wedderburn's friendship with Bute and the favour of the Company Director William Aitken, M.P.³

In 1769, while in Bombay and Broach, as a Factor in the Company, James Cheap made an enduring friendship with James Beck of Damside, Fife (q.v.), a fellow Company civil servant. Beck owed his own position in the Company to the Director John Manship who had befriended him. James Cheap asked Beck to use Manship's patronage

1. Parker, pp.55-57.

2. John Drummond of Quarrel secured this post for him. See N.L.S. MSS. 16549, f.143, J. Drummond to Lord Milton, 18 Jan. 1732.

3. Parker, pp.55-57; and I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/4 for 1762.

to get his brother George Cheap out to India.¹

In 1763 Thomas Cheap had married Grace, daughter of John Stuart of Blairhall, and his wife Anne, daughter of Francis, 7th Earl of Moray. This in turn brought him the backing of Andrew and Col. James Stuart of Craighorn and Torrance (q.v.) as and when they became involved in the East India Company.² He was also a partner in the firm of Scott, Pringle and Cheap, wine merchants, supplying wine from Madeira to the Company's settlements. This brought him Company contacts, the post of His Majesty's Consul in Madeira from 1763-1771, and business friends in London. He was also on familiar terms with members of the East India Company shipping interest. Thomas Cheap's connections with Government followed from his diplomatic post in Madeira.³ From 1777 he was a leading Director deeply involved in Company politics. He kept his "strict" friendship with Alex. Wedderburn while providing for his "numerous family" as one contemporary observed.⁴

1. See I.O.R. Bombay Civil Servants. James Cheap's father's home was Wellfield in North Fife. James bought the estate of Strathyrum, St. Andrews, for £8,800 in 1782 (now part of the Old Course), and two other farms there for a total of £7,450. As James Beck said, he had changed "from a Broach Councillor to a Fife Laird of some consideration." See S.R.O. GD 240/30/Bundle 6, Nos. 1-61, esp. J. Beck to J. Bruce, n.d., but c.1782, and J. Cheap to J. Beck, 3 Jan. 1783; GD 240/41/5/2, Memorial, dated 11 Nov. 1782.

2. Parker, pp.55-57,390,459-460.

3. See Parker, pp.441-443.

4. See H. Furber The East India Directors in 1784, in J.M.H. vol.5 (1933), p.491, J. Atkinson to H. Dundas, 31 Jan. 1785; and B.L. Add. MSS. 29194, f.173, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 2 Jun. 1781.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Duncan CLERK.</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: He was active in East India Company circles, in splitting stock and in dividends. His close ties were with Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.) and with Laurence Sullivan.

Sources: Maclean p.170.

<u>Henry CLERK of Penicuik</u>	<u>Seaman</u>	<u>Pre-1720</u>
--------------------------------	---------------	-----------------

DETAILS: The son of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, he was apprenticed as a seaman and voyaged to India. He eventually entered the Royal Navy.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 18/5218.

<u>Sir John CLERK of Penicuik</u>	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
-----------------------------------	------------------	------------------

DETAILS: In 1760 he had John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) as his man of business. See also Ch. 6, p.143.

Sources: N.L.S. MSS. 1252, f.5, J. Clerk to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 8 Aug. 1761.

<u>The Hon. Basil COCHRANE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

<u>The Hon. John COCHRANE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: John and Basil Cochrane were sons of the 8th Earl of Dundonald. Both were appointed Writers in the service of the East India Company, John in 1766 and Basil in 1769. They were

recommended to these posts by their uncles Andrew and Col. James Stuart (q.v.)¹ With the help of Andrew Stuart in particular, John Cochrane was enabled to transfer very quickly from the civil to the marine branch of the Company. From 1773 to 1775 he was 2nd officer of the Indiaman Bessborough. He eventually became Deputy Commissary to the British forces in North America.² Basil Cochrane's rise in the Company was slow, illustrating how much depended upon the sort of influence given initially by his Stuart uncles. Andrew Stuart had advised him to stay in India and gain a fortune "cleanly"; but only in 1792 did this happen when he was made sole agent for the management and distribution of liquers for the Company's Indian army. After his return to Scotland, Basil Cochrane became a political supporter of Henry Dundas.³

-
1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/6 for 1766, and J/1/7 for 1769.
 2. Cotton, p.186.
 3. Love, Vestiges, vol.3, pp.556,578; N.L.S. MSS. 5388, f.66, Col. Jas. Stuart to B. Cochrane, 28 Sep. 1778; N.L.S. MSS. 1054, ff.118-119, B. Cochrane to H. Dundas, 21 Aug. 1812.
-

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Sir James COCKBURN</u>	<u>Director</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: James Cockburn, son of William Cockburn, merchant of Ayton and Eyemouth, Berwickshire, owed his advancement in classical fashion, to his family, friendship and influence. His family's property, the Langton estates in Berwickshire, were lost to

their principal creditors, the Cockburns of Cockburn. These James Cockburn regained and he restored the family prestige in so doing. He amassed a fortune in the West Indies as a merchant in partnership with his father-in-law, Henry Douglas, a London-Scottish merchant. The patronage of Bute, exercised mainly through Sir Gilbert Elliot and John Calcraft (who were also Cockburn's close friends) guaranteed his Baronetcy and his future prosperity as a Government contractor.¹

Cockburn's entry to East India affairs followed as a matter of course from his numerous commercial activities and the involvement in Company politics of his cousin, John Stewart, Wine Merchant in the Strand. From 1763 business connections with Sir George Colebrooke involved him further, and by then he was also a Proprietor of India stock. In 1767 and 1768 and again from 1770 to 1772 he was a Director, closely linked still with Colebrooke, joining with him in his alliance with Sullivan in 1772, splitting stock and electioneering in Leadenhall and in Westminster, which he had entered in 1770 as M.P. for Linlithgow burghs.² Typical of the Scots he patronised were George Ramsay, son of Sir James Ramsay of Banff, whom he recommended to a writership, and the brothers John and William Renton. They had

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.229-230; Maclean, pp.84,188,310; Parker, pp.58-60; Shearer, pp.199,203. Cockburn was also a confidante of Alex. Wedderburn (Lord Loughborough) and Alex. Coutts of Coutts bank. See N.L.S. MSS. 1055, ff.57-64, "Case of Sir James Cockburn, Bart... and Purchase of title of 'Principal Usher'." 23 Feb. 1758-22 Jan. 1766.

2. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.229-230; vol.3, p.406; Parker, pp.58-60; B.L. Add. MSS.29133, f.534, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773, and 29194, f.96, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 27 Apr. 1773; 29143, f.355, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 2 Jun. 1779; Colebrooke, Reminiscences, vol.2, passim. on Colebrooke's finances.

spent 3 years in London with the Scots firm of Fordyce, Grant and Co. At this time Cockburn was Chairman of the East India Company and deeply involved with Colebrooke in political and financial affairs.¹

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/8 for 1770 and Namier & Brooke, Vol. 2 p.7. I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/8 for 1770 and I.O.R. Madras Civil Servants for 1770-1776.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Mr COLVILLE</u>	<u>Midshipman</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: In 1754 Lord Colville asked the Earl of Loudon for his support in finding a place for his brother in the East India Company's shipping.

Sources: N.R.A.(S), 631, The Loudon Papers, Green Deed Box, 1753-1758, bundle 3.

<u>Quinton CRAWFORD</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
-------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.9, p.231.

<u>Commander George CUMING</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u>
--------------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: George Cuming gained command of the Royal Drake in 1747, and to attain this he would have spent at least 10 years serving on board East Indiamen. His career, therefore, began in the late 1730s when Drummond of Quarrel and Walpole dispensed India patronage. Through his wife, Susanna Dow, who was niece of Robert Hume of Ayton, Berwickshire, he enjoyed the considerable influence

that this landowner had with Scotland's political managers. His marriage also connected him with Robert Hume's sons, Alex. and Abraham Hume, Directors and shipowners in London (q.v.). Through them he gained direct access to the East India Company and its shipping. The Ayton, Berwickshire coincidence suggests a solidarity among all those with this connection, that is, Cuming, the Humes, and Sir James Cockburn (q.v.), also from Ayton. The patronage Cuming enjoyed he in turn visited upon other Scots. Boyd Alexander (q.v.) and the brothers, Thomas and James Graham (q.v.) are but two examples;¹ and he recommended his nephew James Cuming to a Writers post in 1766, using his position as a Director to the full.²

From 1747 Cuming was an important member of the Shipping interest, and when he became a Director in 1764 he promoted shipping views in the Company's committees. For all but 2 years he was a Director between 1764 and 1776, and at times thereafter, until 1787. He was an influential figure who took part (as did all men in his position in the Direction) in the contested elections of the period. From 1763 he was consistently pro-Clive and anti-Sullivan, because of Clive's friendship with Alex. Hume. This put him in a minority position in the shipping world because Sullivan commanded exceptional support there. Only with his alliance with Sir George Colebrooke in 1770, possibly through the Cockburn connection, did he come over to Sullivan's side. He remained with the Sullivanite-Colebrooke faction

1. Parker, p.408; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.229-230; N.L.S. MSS. 10922, f.72, George Cuming to Thomas Graham, 25 Feb. 1798; MSS. 10953, f.110, George Cuming to Boyd Alexander, 31 Jul. 1800.
2. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/6 for 1766.

until well after the 1773 Regulating Act.¹ He also continued to patronise his fellow Scots such as Donald Macleod of Grisernish, Kilmuir, Invernesshire. In 1770, using his powers as a Director, he had him appointed a Writer.²

-
1. Parker, pp.73-76,408; Shearer, p.202; P.A. for 9 Apr. 1763; B.L. Add. MSS. 29133, f.533, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773. He was proposed for the 1772 Supervisory Commission; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.229-230.
 2. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8 for 1770.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
Col. Sir John CUMMING of Altyre	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, ch.7, pp.179-181

<u>Major John CUNNINGHAM</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------------	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was created Chief Engineer on a survey despatched to the Persian Gulf. It was gained through the interest of George Dempster (q.v.) and James Macpherson (q.v.). They also gave him instructions and recommendations to Warren Hastings. He had previous Indian experience through service with the States-General.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 242/Box 40/2, Items 14,15,18,19.

<u>Hew Alex. CRAIG</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was the son of Captain Hew Craig. In 1770 he was created a Writer in the East India Company through the influence

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
-------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

of Sir George Colebrooke, the Company Chairman that year.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8 for 1770.

<u>Alexander DALRYMPLE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
	<u>then Hydrographer</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, ch.8, pp.196-7.

<u>Sir Hew DALRYMPLE</u>	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
		<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: See text, ch.8, pp.202-205.

<u>William 'Stair' DALRYMPLE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
----------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.8, p.204.

<u>John DAVIDSON, W.S.</u>	<u>Lawyer and</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>(of Stewartfield)</u>	<u>East India Co.</u>	<u>&</u>
	<u>Patronage Agent</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: John Davidson and his brother Henry Davidson were active patronage agents. John was the London link for Lord Milton and for John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.). As well as the transmission of patronage, John and his brother acted as middle-men for Company servants remitting their fortunes home. This was done through Drummond's bank in London, onwards to Mackenzie of Delvine in Scotland. John Davidson's own clients included Lord Selkirk and

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
George McKay of Skibo.	His Company connections included: Laurence Sullivan, Sir George Colebrooke, Dr. Charles Stuart, Andrew Stuart of Craighorn, Sir Alex. Grant (q.v.) and Captain Charles Grant (q.v.).	

<u>John DAVIDSON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u> <u>Madras</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
----------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------

<u>Alexander DAVIDSON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u> <u>Madras</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
---------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: John Davidson went out a Writer to Madras in 1752, with Claud Russell (q.v.). He befriended many Scots who followed him out, such as Kenneth Mackenzie (q.v.), nephew to John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.). John Davidson was the son of Mr. Davidson, saddler merchant in London. He rose to 2nd in command at Vizipatam in 1768 and came home with a fortune in 1776. While in India he managed to get his brother Alex. Davidson out beside him in Madras in 1760. He too prospered and became Chief at Vizipatam. Like his brother he also cared for fellow Scots, like Captain William Fullerton-Elphinstone (q.v.) and James Grant, Writer. His wife was with him when he died in India in 1791. It is probable that the two brothers, Alex. and John were connected to John and Henry Davidson of Stewartfield.

Sources: N.L.S. MSS. 10787, passim; N.L.S. MSS. 1328, f.254, K. Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 9 Nov. 1762; N.L.S.MSS. 1072, f.71, Charles Floyer to H. Dundas, 30 Sep. 1785; I.O.R. Madras Civil Servants, 1702-1767, passim; Love, Vestiges, vol.1, p.556; Cotton, p.134; Hickey, vol.1, p.171.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>George DEMPSTER</u>	<u>Proprietor & Director</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: George Dempster has been the subject of a great deal of recent research, as a figure of importance in 18th century British politics, in the East India Company, in Edinburgh literary circles, and in agricultural and economic improvements in Scotland from the 1760s to his death in 1813.¹ He came from a wealthy and privileged merchant family from the Dundee and Forfarshire area, the eldest son of John Dempster of Dunnichen, Dundee, by Isobel Ogilvie. At St. Andrews and Edinburgh Universities he trained as a lawyer, he was a member of the 'Poker' club, and was a friend for life of David Hume, William Robertson, Alexander Carlyle and Sir Adam Fergusson.² The Dempster family were strong Argathelians. In 1733 an uncle, George Dempster, had involved himself in elections on behalf of John Drummond of Quarrel, and worked against Drummond's political enemies in return for patronage and favours.³ This Government connection and the patronage that flowed from it continued with the young George Dempster in 1760. He informed Lord Milton that he had "secured three of Mr. Leslie's boroughs" for the Argathelians, news that Milton conveyed to Argyll. In return he asked Milton to get him a

1. See for example, D.N.B., Vol. 14, pp.334-335; Maclean, pp.181, 224-228, 279; Parker, p.82. I am also indebted to Mr. Brad Garnis for his contribution.

2. D.N.B. vol. 14, pp.334-335; and Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.313-7. See also (Ed.) J. Fergusson, Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson 1756-1813, pp.56-74, passim. He married Joanna Dundas, daughter of Chief Baron Robert Dundas.

3. S.R.O. GD 23/Sect.1/464/E, ff.107,143, George Dempster to John Drummond of Quarrel, on 20 Feb. 1733 and 20 Dec. 1733.

seat in Parliament "the highest object of my ambition."¹

In Parliament Dempster supported Pitt's policies, but became a follower of Bute in 1761 when he inherited Islay's support. This commitment to Bute also followed from his having persuaded Islay in 1760 to get Atholl to swing Perth Burghs over to Dempster, thus securing the seat for him.² But Dempster's attachment to Bute only lasted as long as he was Prime Minister. His own easy financial circumstances at that time and resentment at James Stuart Mackenzie's control led him, together with Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, James Murray of Broughton and Sir Alexander Gilmour, to take an independant line.³

However he remained an important Member of Parliament in Government eyes, because of his own landowning influence which translated into political influence, and which was enhanced by the nominal and fictitious vote (superiority) which Sir Adam Fergusson gave to his "intimate and life-long friend, George Dempster."⁴ By 1764 he was one of Lord Shelburne's group of close friends who included many of the leading personalities of the day: John Dunning, Chief Justice Pratt, David Hume, Johnson, Blackstone, Goldsmith and Reynolds. Others in this group were Laurence Sullivan, Isaac Barré and John Calcraft who, like George Dempster, and Shelburne too, were deeply involved in East India Company affairs in Parliament and in

1. N.L.S. MSS. 16713, f.198, Milton to Islay, 16 Dec. 1760; MSS. 16714, f.219, George Dempster to Milton, 20 Sep. 1760.

2. Murdoch, pp.207,211-2.

3. Murdoch, p.207.

4. Ferguson, p.129.

Leadenhall Street.¹

It was some time before 1764 that Dempster became involved in East India Company affairs. Undoubtedly his own position as M.P. for Perth Burghs, his connections with Bute and Milton, and the advancement of his own younger brothers accounts for this. Commander John Hamilton Dempster of the Earl Talbot, Company servants Charles and Philip Dempster, and Col. George Barrington, his brother-in-law, were helped by the patronage that George Dempster could give them as a Director and Proprietor who also had the best Parliamentary connections.² It is probable also, that in furtherance of his brother John's career, Dempster forged links with the Company's Shipping Interest and with Laurence Sullivan. He sided with Sullivan (whom he knew through the Shelburne connection) and with the Johnstones (q.v.) in Company politics in 1764; and they remained allies throughout the years and contested elections to come.³

George Dempster's East India Company involvement was shared with many of his Scottish friends, several of whom were considerable Proprietors. Sir Alexander Gilmour, M.P. was one, as was Dempster's great friend, Sir Adam Fergusson, M.P., Andrew Stuart of Craighorn (q.v.) and Alexander Wedderburn, the future Lord Loughborough. These men were also associates of the Johnstones, especially of

1. After 1765 he was a member of the Rockingham group in Parliament. See Williams, p.169; and Namier & Brooke, vol. 1, p.171.

2. Parker, pp.82-6; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.313-7; B.L. Add. MSS. 29143, f.247, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 15 May 1779. I am indebted to Mr. Brad Garnis for additional information used here.

3. See also Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, p.314; Parker, pp.383-4.

William (Pulteney) Johnstone, and of Laurence Sullivan.¹ After 1765 Dempster's Scottish connections also included John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.). All were involved one way or another with the East India Company in these years. They were the type of influential Scots who could nourish the hopes and desires of various families in Scotland, with influence in local politics, who hoped to get India patronage. Dempster's own ruinous Court case in 1768 threw him even more into Company business in his (successful) attempts to recover his fortune. He rose with the Sulivanite return to power in 1769, but his independent line, thereafter, ensured that he did not tumble with them in 1772. Instead, he was "the popular choice of the Proprietors," when he was elected Director that year. Since 1769 he had been back in Parliament for Perth Burghs defeating a fellow Proprietor, the Clive-backed William Macintosh of Auchintully; and he operated skilfully in both the national and the East India Company assemblies until 1790. In 1786 he bought Skibo estate (which earlier had belonged to George Mackay (q.v.), and later to Andrew Carnegie); planted a new village in Letham, Angus; started a fund among returned Scots-Indians of £9,000 for fisheries; and introduced agricultural improvements on a large scale.²

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.313-7,419-420; and Parker, pp.82-86.
2. I.O.L. Eur.MSS. Photo, Eur.63, letter 615, George Dempster to William (Pulteney) Johnstone, 30 Oct. 1767, and letter 626, 8 Oct. 1767; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.313-7; (Ed.) J. Fergusson, Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam Fergusson 1756-1813, p.65.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>George DICK</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>John DICK</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>Mungo DICK</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: They were the sons of John Dick, merchant in Dundee, and his wife, Anne Kerr; and grandsons of John Dick of Pitcarro, Angus. They owed their posts to the East India Company Proprietor, Mr Kerr, probably an uncle, and to their family's electoral influence in Angus. George entered the Company's service as a Writer in 1759, John as a Writer in 1766 and Mungo, also as a Writer, in 1770.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/3 for 1759. J/1/6 for 1766 and J/1/9 for 1770.

<u>Andrew DOUGLAS of GALA</u>	<u>3rd Mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>James DOUGLAS of GALA</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>Robert DOUGLAS of GALA</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: James Douglas used his family's influence with John Drummond of Quarrel to get himself and his brothers, Robert and Andrew to India in 1733. He and Robert were Writers at Ft. St. George. They were related to the Scotts of Gala (q.v.). A Mr. Ochterlony and their brother-in-law Mr. Smith, contacted John Drummond of Quarrel on their behalf. He in turn called upon Capt. Hudson to take Andrew Douglas 3rd mate. And he asked Gov. George Pitt and Capt. Myles to help James and Robert.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f88, J.Douglas to J.Drummond, 3 Oct.1725; GD 24/Sect.1/N-O, f.21, J.Scott to J.Drummond, May 1728; and ff.60-1, Robert Douglas to J.Drummond, 13 Jan.1733.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Dr. Robert DOUGLAS</u>	<u>Principal Medical Officer, Madras</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: He was a kinsman of the Earl of Morton (Douglases). He was a surgeon, and was sent to India by John Drummond of Quarrel, Morton's friend. Drummond also used his influence to have him promoted. Robert Douglas was a friend of John Haliburton (q.v.), while at Fort St. George. He returned to Scotland in 1742.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.61, R. Douglas to J. Drummond of Quarrel, 13 Jan. 1733; GD 150/3483/2, J. Haliburton to E. of Morton, Jan. 1741; Love, Vestiges, vol.1, p.247.

<u>Hugh DRAPER</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
--------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was a brother of Daniel Draper. His Bombay post was granted in 1734 by John Drummond of Quarrel at the request of Sir William Governor Cowan and Henry Lowther (q.v.) were urged by John Drummond to help him.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, ff.78-81, Hugh Draper to J.Drummond, 5 Feb. 1734.

<u>Andrew DRUMMOND'S Bank</u>	<u>Bankers</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
		<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: By the 1760s and 1770s Andrew Drummond's bank in London, which in the 1720s and 1730s had links with John Drummond of Quarrel and Walpole, had assumed an importance beyond its purely financial dimensions. It continued to care for the resources of the exiled Scots nobility in London. Links were made with their legal

representatives in Scotland and the agents of the London-based Scots gentry and businessmen. These legal agents in particular were nurtured and sustained by the Drummonds, men like John Davidson W.S. of Stewartfield (q.v.), and his brother Henry, who were agents for the Duke of Buccleuch, among others. This Scottish connection was relatively easy to maintain, given the strength of Drummond's own relations in Scotland and the services the bank could provide in remitting money or bullion North or South, as required. Andrew Drummond, who had started the bank at Charing Cross, was a brother of William Drummond, 4th Viscount Strathallan. He appointed the Viscount's two sons, the Hon. Henry Drummond, M.P., and Robert Drummond; and later the 3rd member of this family, John Drummond, joined the firm too. Earlier, in 1753, this John Drummond had been sent out to India as a Writer, through the influence Drummond's bank had with the East India Company Directors. Apart from its usefulness for Scots depositors, Drummonds bank was good for making contacts. Scots businessmen in London met Scottish lairds in a neutral environment and they combined to make money. Connections were formed involving the bank, East India Company Directors and other institutions. In 1762, for example, John Drummond, of Drummonds bank, was one of the 9 Directors of the Sun Fire Office Insurance Company. He and most of the other Proprietors of this Company were also East India Company Proprietors and members of the Company's shipping interest. This East India Company dimension was enlarged in the 1760s, through the Bank's involvement in the Company's contested elections. Drummond's bank joined with its Scottish subscribers in backing the Sullivan faction in these

struggles, putting up much needed cash.

Drummond's bank continued this sort of activity into the 1770s. In 1772 it began a subscription of £100,000 to support Sir George Colebrooke, the East India Company Chairman. Through John Davidson sums were drawn from the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Selkirk, Andrew Stuart of Craighorn and Torrance (q.v.), and from a John Seton and John Campbell. Colebrooke crashed, largely because of the credit collapse of 1772-1774, and although Drummonds bank itself was not much affected, and in fact emerged with enhanced prestige, others were not so lucky, and in 1775 Colebrooke still owed Selkirk £19,959.¹

1. See Bolitho & Peel, passim; N.L.S. MSS.10787, f.120, dated 30 May 1775 and ff.160-7, dated 11 Apr. 1775, J. Davidson to Drummonds. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.342-3; B.L.G. (1858), p.320; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/2 for 1753. (Henry Drummond later married Ann Dundas, cousin of Robert Dundas, 3rd of Arniston and nephew of Henry Dundas); see also Guildhall Library, 'St. James' Register, for 1765, p.240; Hickey, vol.1, p.99.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Sir Laurence DUNDAS</u>	<u>Proprietor</u> <u>Landowner</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, ch.10, pp.242-245.

<u>Henry DUNDAS</u> <u>1st Lord Melville</u>	<u>Politician</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
---	-------------------	------------------

DETAILS: For 30 years, from 1784 to 1805, Henry Dundas was,

as Lord Cockburn described him, "the Pharos of Scotland."¹ His career has been very well documented.² During this time he was the Government's agent, controlling the election of the Scottish representative peers and Scottish M.P.S. He was Treasurer of the Navy from 1783, and in practice, head of the Board of Control set up to manage Indian affairs by Pitt's Act of 1784. The patronage he held was enormous and he used it to bring Scots seats to the support of Government.³

Some evidence of his preparation for all this is visible in the years up to 1775. By birth he had the proper connections. He was the 4th son of Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord President of the Court of Session, by his 2nd wife, Anne, daughter of Sir William Gordon of Invergordon, Bart. He was the half-brother of Robert Dundas, who, like his father, was also to become Lord President of the Court of Session. From Edinburgh High School he went to the University then the Faculty of Advocates. By 1766, aged 24, he was Solicitor-General for Scotland. Family ties helped him to this early success. His financial security came in 1765 with marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of Commander David Rannie of Melville (q.v.) master of an East Indiaman. She brought with her a dowry of £10,000. Through her father he gained a knowledge of India and of the East India

1. Omand, p.214.

2. H. Furber Henry Dundas 1st Viscount Melville, passim. C. Matheson, The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville 1742-1811.

3. See D.N.B. vol.6, pp.186-191.

Company and its affairs.¹ Dealing with David Rannie's estate, upon his death in 1768, also brought Dundas into touch with John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.) and John Davidson (q.v.) both involved in Indian business. Dundas was obliged to Mackenzie "for your delicacy with regard to the late Mr. Rannie's affairs...John Davidson knows more of all these affairs than I do."²

Dundas proceeded to establish himself in the eyes of some of the most powerful Scottish figures. In 1766 he met William Murray, Lord Mansfield who thought he was destined for the highest positions. By 1772 he was a friend of the Duke of Buccleuch; two years later he was M.P. for Midlothian; and in 1775, aged 33, he was made Lord Advocate in Lord North's ministry.³ On his move to London his brother Robert Dundas, the Lord President, kept him informed of Scottish affairs. On his death in 1787 control of the Scottish political patronage network he had possessed passed to Henry Dundas.⁴

It was no coincidence, therefore, that Dundas became immersed in Indian affairs and that he should bend India patronage to the ends of Scottish political management. He was more aware than most contemporaries of the use made of this patronage over the previous 40 years, and better placed to use it again when the opportunity arose.⁵

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.354-7. Dundas' 1st wife died in 1773. By her he had 1 son and 3 daughters. He married again to Lady Jane Hope, daughter of John, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun. See also F. Brady, Boswell's Political Career, p.10. Brady agrees with Boswell's assessment of the Dowry rather than the £100,000 quoted by C. Matheson, The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville 1742-1811, p.17.

2. N.L.S. MSS. 1165, f.57, H. Dundas to John Mackenzie of Delvine, n.d. but 1768.

3. Omand, pp.184,185; Murdoch, pp.267-281; Maclean, pp.222-4.

4. Omand, p.214.

5. See also pp.38-39 above.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Lord ELIBANK</u>	See <u>Johnstones</u> .	

<u>Alexander ELLIOT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	See text, ch.9, pp.231-2.	

<u>Sir Robert FLETCHER</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	See text, ch.7, pp.166-7.	

<u>William FLOCKHART</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	He was born in 1743, the son of John Flockhart, Edinburgh. In 1760 he was recommended for the post of Writer by the Director John Dorrien, who was a staunch supporter of Laurence Sullivan, virtual ruler of the East India Company at that time. The appointment can be regarded as part of Sullivan's campaign of building up support among his Scottish connections; and in particular of appointing Bute and Milton's political friends.	
<u>Sources:</u>	I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/4 for 1760.	

<u>Mr. FORBES</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	He got his post in the early 1730s through the	

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
-------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

influence Mr. Farquharson of Aberdeen had with John Drummond of Quarrel.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.125, F.Farquharson to J.Drummond, 10 Dec. 1723.

<u>George FOTHRINGHAM</u>	<u>Freemerchant</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
---------------------------	---------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.6, p.138.

<u>John FOTHRINGHAM</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He gained his post through Drummond of Quarrel in the 1730s. He was the son of George Fotheringham (q.v.) who had been sent out in 1725.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.44, John Fotheringham to J.Drummond, 30 Jan.1732.

<u>Commander Charles FOULIS</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
---------------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------------------

<u>Major Sir James FOULIS</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
-------------------------------	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, ch.10, pp.255-7.

<u>James FRASER, M.P.</u>	<u>Freemerchant</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
---------------------------	---------------------	------------------

DETAILS: James Fraser was probably the son of James Fraser, Merchant and Apothecary of Golden Square, London. The elder James

Fraser was a holder of India stock in 1750.¹ He was also a kinsman of Simon Fraser, London merchant and East India Company Director, who lived at Kings Arms Yard, London, and had other residences at Blackheath, Kent and Ness Castle, Invernesshire.² James Fraser the younger, became a Freemerchant in Bengal. He was a friend of the Grahams (q.v.) and the Maynes (q.v.). Benefiting from Warren Hastings' generosity he obtained a contract in 1772 for supplying boots and other military stores. He returned in 1782 with a fortune, only to face years of litigation with the family and executors of his last partners, Col. Graham Harper and Col. Alexander Hannay, brother of Sir Samuel Hannay (q.v.), over a contract for supplying elephants to the Nawab of Oude.³

It would appear, therefore, that the operation of patronage, through Simon Fraser, enabled the young Fraser to get to India. He was supported there from London, through his father and Simon Fraser's influence in the East India Company and in the London business world, such as with the Maynes (q.v.) who in turn recommended him to their nephews, the Grahams. And Simon Fraser's support of Warren Hastings' friends in the contested elections in the Company resulted in James Fraser, younger, being put on the road to a fortune by Hastings.

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.469-470; and I.O.R. Stock Ledgers L/AG/14/5/3-12.

2. See Parker, pp.110-111; and Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.469-470.

3. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.469-470. A bitter feud arose between Fraser and Capt. Robert Stewart (q.v.), one of the arbiters in the case.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander William FULLERTON-ELPHINSTONE</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, ch.10, pp.260-265.

<u>Commander GIBSON</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: In 1727, in a letter to John Drummond of Quarrel seeking his favour, Gov. Pitt informed him that Gibson's "wife is very rich", but his wife's riches must have been overestimated. The love of wealth was the sole reason for going East. Two or three voyages, however, guaranteed their joint fortune.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.15, Gov.Pitt to J.Drummond, 11 Jan.1727

<u>Sir Alexander GILMOUR</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------------	-------------------	------------------

DETAILS: Involved in East India Company politics and in its affairs in general, usually he was in association with his fellow Scots, Sir James Cockburn (q.v.) and Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.).

Sources: N.L.S. MSS. 10787, ff.103-395, passim.

<u>Daniel GORDON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
----------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was recommended to the post of Writer in 1760 by Sullivan's friend and fellow Director, Henry Savage. Like William Flockhart (q.v.) the appointment was part of a deliberate plan by Bute and Laurence Sullivan that they build up Scots presence in the

East India Company. In return, Sullivan would have them do his bidding in East India Company elections and Bute would have their families do the same in elections in Scotland.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/4 for 1760.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>David GRAHAM</u>	<u>Ships mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: John Drummond of Quarrel, Sir John Eyles and Commander John Fenton were responsible for Graham's appointment to Gov. Bouchier's ship, captained by Fenton. Accompanied by his sister, Graham arrived in India to be helped, on Drummond's orders, by Dr. Littlejohn (q.v.).

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.54, D.Graham to J.Drummond, 30 Feb.1732

<u>John GRAHAM</u>	<u>Military then Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765 1765-1774</u>
<u>Thomas GRAHAM</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>George GRAHAM</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Sir William & Robert MAYNE</u>	<u>London Merchants</u>	<u>1742-1765 1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: By 1770 three sons of John Graham of Kernock, a merchant in Edinburgh, were in India. Two of them, full brothers, John and Thomas Graham, arrived in the 1760s, John to a military command in 1763, Thomas as a Writer in 1768. They were the offspring of their father's second marriage to Helen Mayne, daughter

of William Mayne of Powie Logie, Clackmananshire. George Graham, the eldest of the three in India was a half-brother. His mother was Agnes Buchanan, John Graham of Kernock's first wife.¹

The Grahams owed their positions in India to Sir William Mayne, M.P., Bart. (later Baron Newhaven) and to his brother, Robert Mayne, M.P. The Maynes were uncles of John and Thomas Graham through their mother, Helen Mayne. Robert Mayne was a partner in the London banking firm of 'Mayne and Needham'; and Sir William Mayne ran the family business of 'Mayne and Barn'. He had been a merchant in Lisbon and returned, to London, with a modest fortune in 1751. From 1757 to 1763 he was also a director of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company.² Sir William Mayne was the chief architect in procuring the necessary patronage for his nephews. He and his brother were firm followers of Bute.³ Sir William let Bute know that he desired a military command for young John Graham. Bute in turn communicated this request to the East India Company Director, Thomas Rous, through Lord Eglinton and Charles Jenkinson. However, the contested elections of April 1763 intervened, by which Rous was ousted from power, to be replaced by his arch-enemy, Laurence Sullivan. The same approach, through the same channels was made to Sullivan with the

1. L.G. Graeme Or and Sable, a Book of the Graemes and Grahams, pp.597, et. passim.; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.525-6; vol. 3, pp.124-5; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/7 for 1768.

2. This firm had the E.I.Co. Directors James Saunders, James Tierney and James Savage as Directors. See Guildhall Library, St. James' Register (1765), p.240; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.525-6; vol. 3, pp.125-6. Robert Mayne was married to Charlotte, the sister of Alex. Pringle of Whytebank, Selkirk (q.v.), an East India Company servant. See also Pottle, p.60 for their membership of the 'Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Sciences.'

3. See Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.125-6.

certainty of success because young John Graham's wife was also, coincidentally, Laurence Sullivan's ward, a responsibility inherited from his friendship in Bombay with her father, Thomas Saunders.¹

From 1770 the three brothers in India combined with but one thought in mind, to accumulate wealth. They gained contracts for supplying the troops in Bengal and engaged in private trade in association with the Maynes in London. John was transferred from the East India Company army and made Resident at Burdwan in 1770. By 1774 he had remitted home at least £95,000, some of it in diamonds.² With his arrival in India in 1770, George, the eldest brother had taken charge. He used all his knowledge and expertise learned in Jamaica and by 1776 had gathered a considerable fortune as well.

Besides the Maynes in London, the Grahams were involved with numerous Scottish friends and associates. Many of these in India were partners in firms they had set up and were busy trading. For example, before 1766, Thomas and John were doing business with David Killican and Dr. Burnett, John Fleming, William Duff, Charteris and Menteith, Captain Fullerton, Thomas Motte and Mr. Dangeroux. They traded in grain for the army and for East Indiamen, bought and sold

1. Bute MSS. 11, ff.276-7, Ld. Eglinton to C. Jenkinson, 15 Apr. 1763; S.R.O. GD 29/32, n.p., Col. Graham to the Court of Directors, Apr. 1772; De Bertodano MSS., L. Sullivan to R. Barwell, 15 Jan. 1778. See also David Marshall Genealogy of the Grahams of Kinross, passim. John Graham rose to the rank of Col. See B.L. Add. MSS. 29194, f.89, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 13 Oct. 1773.

2. Marshall, pp.1, 195,244,315; Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.525-6; See also S.R.O. GD 29, Grahams of Kinross Papers, passim. The Grahams were friends of the Johnstones (q.v.).

freight in the costal trade, and got involved in moneylending.¹ They set up and operated a sugar mill, bringing the parts and the engineer from Britain, and they traded in China silk. In many ways David Killican was a special friend to the Grahams. They remitted their fortunes home through his agency; and it is more than likely that it was they who asked Sullivan and Sir James Cockburn to make Killican a Factor in Bengal in 1771. He had already operated there as a freetrader for some considerable time.²

With George in Midnapore and John and Thomas in Patna they covered vast territories and operated successful joint ventures. Friendship with Sullivan brought them the support in India of a multitude of people, and in particular that of Warren Hastings and Robert Barwell in the Bengal Council. Through them the Grahams and Killican gained the 'carriage' contract (carpentry work at Fort William). As their trade expanded they ventured into opium, cloth, arrack and tobacco. They introduced Scots as sub-agents and merchants, such as Messrs Crawford and Duncanson, and Captain Mackenzie.³

William Berrie, one of their agents in India, a fellow Scot and one of their chief informants was quite explicit in his depiction of

1. S.R.O. GD 29/1865-1866 - George Graham Accounts up to 15 Mar. 1776.

2. See S.R.O. GD 29/1867-1871, passim.; and I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8 for 1771.

3. See S.R.O. GD 29/2055/1, William Mayne to George Graham, 10 Aug. 1771; GD 29/2055/2, Wm. Mayne to Geo. Graham, 17 Nov. 1772; GD 29/2056/2, John Graham to George Graham, 6 Sep. 1772; GD 29/2056/3, John Graham to Geo. Graham, 10 Sep. 1772; GD 29/2056/4, John Graham to Robert Barwell, 10 Sep. 1772; GD 29/2056/6, John Graham to Robert Barwell, 7 Nov. 1772; GD 29/2056/9, John Graham to Geo. Graham, 3 Apr. 1773.

how India patronage and Scottish affairs were still entwined. His letter to George Graham in 1774 asked if a son of the Edinburgh advocate, Dr. Cullen, could be placed in the protection of Captain Mackenzie. It was thought at home that he had the chance of command of an Indiaman, and if this could be achieved "it would go down well in Scotland" where Dr. Cullen was "well-known and highly respected by almost all the nobility."¹ Almost all young Scots mentioned to the Grahams by Berrie were the sons of good friends in Scotland who were vitally interested in their welfare. It was expected at home that these Scots abroad would rally round each other; and the whole 'clan' in India could expect the unfaltering support of those at home. Thus the Grahams enjoyed the favour of the Grants, the Fullartons and Elphinstones because of their friendship with Col Grant, and Commanders Fullarton and Elphinstone. Through them Lieutenants Buchanan, Drummond, Macintosh and Hamilton got promotions. Medical men were introduced to each other, such as Dr. Urquhart to Dr. Hunter. At India House, apart from Sullivan, they had the patronage of Daniel Weir, Col. Dow, Sir Robert Fletcher and John Adams.²

The activities of the Maynes, Grahams and their associates reflect this development in the manner in which patronage was to be dispensed in the 1760s. Soon shares of India patronage would

1. S.R.O. GD 29/2057/7, William Berrie to George Graham, 10 Sep. 1774. Berrie's own security at India House, allowing him to operate as a "free-mariner", was signed by "Mr. Robert Bogle a brother of George Bogle." (q.v.).

2. S.R.O. GD 29/2057/15, W. Berrie to Geo. Graham, 11 Nov. 1774; GD 29/2057/19, W. Berrie's Accounts for 1774; GD 29/2057/21, W. Berrie to Geo. Graham, 26 Dec. 1774; and GD 29/2128/9. Lauchlin Maclean to John Graham, London, 29 Dec. 1775. Maclean promised the support of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (q.v.) and Col. Stuart (q.v.), for Graham's relation Duncanson.

depend upon involvement in Company contested elections and a successful conclusion to that annual struggle was spelt out by the make-up of the Direction every April. By the mid-1760s the need for phenomenal purchase of India stock sucked in resident Scots (like Lord Elibank (q.v.) and London Scots like the Maynes) and they went in deeper than they wished. As Robert Mayne said "we have, for many years, held each of us, a qualification, tho' with considerable loss, to serve our friends on your side and to enable us now and then to provide for a relation."¹ By the end of the 1760s patronage continued to depend upon factors such as points of contact inside the Company Direction, Company Shipping, the London business world, Parliament, and Scottish families with political influence; but it now also involved the impact of money made in India being used for voting purposes. Robert Mayne was able to inform John Graham that his possession of stock would give him a sway with the Direction when he returned home.² The Grahams eventually managed to come back to Scotland, purchase Kinross House and take control of Kinrosshire seats by 1778. They also retained their India stock and with it considerable influence.³

-
1. S.R.O. GD 29/2122/4, R. Mayne to John Graham, 11 Jan. 1775.
 2. S.R.O. GD 29/2122/4, R. Mayne to John Graham, 11 Jan. 1775.
 3. See Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.46; and S.R.O. GD 29, passim.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Sir Alexander GRANT, M.P.</u> <u>5th Bart. of Dalvey, Elgin</u>	<u>Landowner</u> <u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Sir Alexander Grant was ever ready to help his own

family, collateral branches of the Grants and his fellow countrymen to get to India. He began these activities in 1761. By that date the impoverishment his family had suffered due to involvement in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 was behind him and he had made a fortune in the West Indies as a merchant. He bought lands in Elgin and Nairn and as a City of London businessman "his interests extended from the Mediterranean to the West Indies, America, Africa and India."¹ During the Seven Years War he became a friend of John Calcraft, Bute's agent, and was on familiar terms with Milton, and Bute's acolyte, Eglinton. Through Calcraft and Bute came many contracts and patronage, particularly posts to India. This was helped by the fact that from 1749 Grant had been a Proprietor of India stock. Yet the fact remained, without the influence Bute had with the Company Directors Grant's initial success at gaining posts for friends would have been limited.²

Grant's Scottish agent was John Davidson W.S. of Stewartfield (q.v.), and he also numbered Captain Robert Haldane (q.v.) as one of his friends. He was useful to Bute from a political point of view, through the Grant control in Invernesshire, Nairn and Elgin burghs. Later he was also able to smooth the passage of patronage himself, from the shipping interest, via the likes of Capt. Haldane, or through his influence with the friends he cultivated among the leading Directors, such as Laurence Sullivan and Thomas Rous.

He was born the eldest son of Sir Patrick Grant, 4th Bart. of

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, p.528; and Timberley, pp.236,237.

2. See I.O.R. Stock Ledgers, L/AG/14/573-12 for 1749; and Namier & Brooke, vol.2, p.523.

Dalvey, Elgin, and Lydia, daughter of William MacIntosh of Borlum. He helped in particular, the Grants of Ballindalloch, Knockando and Auchterblain, showering his favours upon those recommended to him by family and friends. If asked to make a preferment because of political reasons he showed no hesitation, whether the request came from Sir James Grant of Grant of Knockando in Scotland, or from Westminster.¹ He had little difficulty securing posts in the naval, military or civil line. For example, in 1761, he, Capt. Robert Haldane and the Director John Dorrien (one of Sullivan's henchmen) helped Commander Charles Cathcart Grant, brother of James Grant of Castle Grant and Moy. The next year John Baillie of Dunain, Invernesshire was given a military cadet's position. In 1761 Sir Ludovick Grant of Knockando was sent out to India by him where he became a Captain in the 89th Foot Regiment, returning with a £10,000 fortune. Two others of this branch followed: Charles Grant, who died going out in 1771 and Lt. Lewis Grant who set off in 1768. In 1765 and then in 1768 two of the Grants, Henry and James, brothers of John Grant of Ballindalloch were sent out as Writers. And in 1770 another Ludovick Grant, "a son of Auchterblain", was helped to an ensign's position.

Sir Alexander Grant also joined forces with James Bean (q.v.) and Major Dow in 1770 to send Lord Grant's kinsman, McGregor Grant, out to India as a military cadet. Probably his best appointment was Charles Grant of Knockando, who arrived in India in 1767. He was to

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, p.528.

become a Director and Chairman of the East India Company in the 1800s, after spending a lifetime in Bengal building up a commercial community and also accumulating a fortune.¹

1. See S.R.O. GD 248/49/2/12-13, Charles Cathcart Grant to Jas. Grant, Castle Grant and Moy, 6 May, 1761 and 17 Aug. 1761; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/6 for 1765 and 1768; Hickey, vol. 1, pp.133-4, 283; S.R.O. GD 248, Letters of Charles Grant, 1791-1803; GD 248/50/1/19, James Bean to Lord Grant, 20 Mar. 1770; GD 248/50/1/1 and GD 248/50/2/65, Lewis Grant to James Grant of Grant and Moy, on 25 May 1770 and 30 Nov. 1771; GD 248/12,21,47, Seafield Papers; Gibb, p.184, C. H. Philips, The East India Company 1734-1834, p.338 et passim; Marshall, pp.175-6; W. Fraser Chiefs of Grant, pp.511,517,520; Cotton, p.182 et passim; Timberley, pp.73,169,236,237. I am obliged also to Mrs. E. Campbell of Pitreavie, Fife for information on the Grants illustrating how many Grants from those collateral branches, who were helped by Sir Alex. Grant, also found their way to India helped by relatives already there.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>George GRAY</u> <u>(Senior)</u>	<u>Surgeon</u> <u>Bengal</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>&</u>
<u>George GRAY</u> <u>(Junior)</u>	<u>Civil Service</u> <u>Bengal</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: George Gray (Junior) was the son of the Surgeon at Fort William, Bengal. His Writers Petition of 1754 was signed by his lecturers at Edinburgh University. He survived the capture of Calcutta in 1756 and became a Bengal Councillor. On his return to Britain, George Gray (Senior) extended himself in furthering his son's career. He was one of a group of Scots Nabobs who were all friends and who allied with one another in the pursuit of favours for their connections, seeking both within the Company and in Parliament. George Gray (Senior) acted as Lord Mansfield's agent, and both men manipulated Bute's political support on his behalf. He was friendly with Sullivan, with whom he advised his son to keep on good terms.

Charles Stuart (Lord Blantyre's son), the Stirlings of Keir, Capt. Robert Haldane and the Grahams of Kinross (q.v.s) were his allies within the Company.

Sources: I.O.L. MSS. Eur. D.692, Letterbook of George Gray, 1760-9, ff.4,13,25, George Gray to G. Gray Younger, on 17 Dec. 1766 and 26 Mar. 1763; and to Henry Verelst on 10 Apr. 1761; Datta, vol. 1, pp.610,835.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander Robert HALDANE</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Commander James HALDANE</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, ch.8, pp.214-216.

<u>John HALIBURTON</u> <u>(of Pitcur)</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
--	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was the son of John Haliburton and entered the East India Company as a Writer in 1735 through the influence of his father's brother-in-law, John Drummond of Quarrel. His skills as a linguist involved him in negotiations with the French. He was murdered during a Sepoy mutiny at Pondicherry in 1748.

<u>John Gordon HALIBURTON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>David HALIBURTON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: John and David Haliburton were the sons of John Haliburton of Muirhouse, a merchant in Edinburgh, and nephews of John

Haliburton of Pitcur (q.v.). They were both posted Writers to Madras, taking advantage of their dead uncle's friends there. Prior to his appointment in 1765 John Gordon Haliburton had been apprenticed to the London-Scots firm of Cochrane. His brother David joined him in Madras in 1769. They both excelled as linguists, like their uncle, and became Persian translators. The complete neglect of these brothers in the 1765-1774 period contrasts with the support and promotion of Scots abroad given during the operation of the Argathelian political patronage machine up to 1765 and exemplified in their uncle's career.

Sources: See Love, Vestiges, vol.2, pp.322,353; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/6 and J/1/7 for 1765 and 1769; N.L.S. MSS. 1072, f.108, John Haliburton to H. Dundas, 17 Nov. 1786; see also Ch.6, pp.130-131.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Alexander HALKETT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	See text, Ch.6, p.133.	
<u>Alexander HALL</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	See text, ch.9, p.229.	

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>..... HAMILTON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: Sent to Tellicherry in 1733 by John Drummond of Quarrel.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-O, ff.70-2, R.Cowan to J.Drummond, 18 Aug.1733.

<u>William HAMILTON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was the son of Professor Robert Hamilton of the School of Divinity at Edinburgh University. Born in 1742 he was raised in Kinghorn, Fife. He was posted Writer for Madras in 1765 through the recommendation of the Director Henry Hadley. This patronage would seem to be linked to the fact that Henry Hadley was also an Oxford and Leydon scholar. His brothers (John and George Hadley) were scientists and mathematicians and probably knew Professor Robert Hamilton. William Hamilton's career in India stretched to 1790, when he returned to settle in Fife.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/6 for 1765; Parker, pp.126-127.

<u>Sir Samuel HANNAY M.P.</u> <u>3rd Bart. of Kirkdale,</u> <u>Kirkcudbrightshire, and</u> <u>Philpot Lane, Fencurch</u> <u>Street, London</u>	<u>London Merchant</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--	------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: Sir Samuel Hannay maintained the London end of a business partnership that embraced three other brothers busy making fortunes in India in the 1770s and 1780s. One of them, Ramsay

Hannay, was a Free Merchant, trading to China and involved generally in the 'Coastal' trade of India. He worked hand in glove with another brother, Col. Alexander Hannay of the East India Company's army, who shared with James Fraser (q.v.) a contract for supplying elephants to the Nawab of Oude. The third brother was John Hannay, who had been appointed a Writer in 1769. They were the sons of William Hannay of Kirkdale and Margaret, daughter of Patrick Johnston of Girthon, Kirkcudbright. Samuel Hannay's influence was considerable. He was important in the East India Company, straddling both the shipping interest and the City men who predominated in the Direction. He was a close associate of John and James 'Fingal' Macpherson (q.v.) and was also one of the Nawab of Arcot's creditors.¹ Hannay illustrates the degree of penetration by Scots businessmen of the London controlled patronage by the 1770s.

1. See I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/7 for 1769; Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.156, vol.2, pp.470,579; Marshall, p.211; and C. H. Philips, The East India Company 1734-1834, pp.29,30,41,64.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Adriaan HOPE</u> <u>(of Amsterdam)</u>	<u>Banker</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: He was a cousin of the Hopetoun family and related to the Hopes of Craighall. He engaged his firm in the purchase of India stock for splitting purposes during the Company elections of the 1760s and 1770s. He dealt mainly with the Johnstones and with Lauchlin Maclean, supporting the Laurence Sullivan group. Much of his business was done through Fordyce's bank. His dealings also involved Sullivan himself, as well as Henry Vansittart, Thomas Lane

and Sir George Amyand, all figures in the Company Courts. He had Parliamentary links with John Hope, M.P. for Linlithgowshire (which was in the Hopetoun interest) who had previously spent much of his time in Holland. Adriaan Hope was one of the Sullivan-Sir George Colebrooke group in the early 1770s.

Sources: Namier & Brooke, vol.1, pp.171-173,638; Maclean, p.222; de Bertodano Papers, n.p., L. Sullivan to H. Vansittart, 28 May 1770. See B.L.G. (1939), p.1150 for ancestry of this line. Also M. G. Buist, At Spes non Fracta. Hope and Company, 1770-1815, pp.3-21, passim.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>John HOPE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: See text, Ch.6, p.133.

<u>Captain Sir John HOPE</u> <u>(of Balcomie)</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
--	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He died in Bengal in 1763. Before his death he had become the 3rd Bart. of Balcomie, succeeding his father Sir George Hope, 2nd Bart. He was the grandson of Sir William Hope, the Earl of Hopetoun's younger brother. His career he owed to the family's interest.

Sources: Anderson, vol.2, p.492.

<u>Alexander and</u> <u>Abraham HUME</u>	<u>London Merchants</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
---	-------------------------	--

DETAILS: See text, Ch.8, pp.193-194.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander John HUNTER</u> <u>of the Barrington</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: "A Scotsman's son", he was appointed through John Drummond of Quarrel in 1731.

Sources: The Mackenzie of Delvine connection was very important. See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-4/, f.87, J.Drummond to W.Drummond, 19 Jun. 1731; GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.29, K. Mackenzie to J. Drummond, 21 Dec.1730; f.41, Dr.Littlejohn to J.Drummond, 20 Jan.1732.

<u>Commander HUTCHINSON</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
----------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: In 1723, John Stewart of Stewartfield in Aberdeenshire prevailed upon John Drummond of Quarrel to get Col. Hutchinson's son to sea.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.123, J.Stewart to J.Drummond, 11 Jan.1723.

For Sir Hugh INGLIS see Claud RUSSELL

<u>The JOHNSTONES of Westerhall</u>	<u>Landowners</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>and</u>	<u>Proprietors</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Lord ELIBANK</u>	<u>Directors</u>	
	<u>Civil Servants</u>	

DETAILS: Sir James Johnstone of Westechall, Dumfriesshire, 3rd Bart. had seven sons and a daughter by Barbara Murray, daughter of Alexander, 4th Lord Elibank. There was a decided Jacobite taint to the family, reflected in Sir James Johnstone's own inclinations, in

the marriage of his daughter, Margaret to one of the Jacobite leaders, Lord David Ogilvie, and also in the tendencies of his eldest son and successor, Sir James Johnstone, 4th Bart. However, these feelings were not (overtly at least) shared by the other members of the family, who appeared stout Whigs and loyal Hanoverians. In age order these sons were: Patrick, William, George, John, Gideon and Alexander. Four of these brothers became employees of the East India Company. Patrick went out to India in 1750 and met his death in 1756 in the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta. John spent 14 years in Bengal. He was 32 years of age on his first visit home in 1763/64, and eventually accumulated a fortune of £300,000, one way or another. A great deal of controversy even then, surrounded the manner in which this money was gained. Gideon accompanied John to Bengal and he too returned safely, but with only a modest fortune. Alexander was dismissed the Company's service in 1767. He eventually became a Lt. Col. in the 70th Foot Regiment of the Royal Army.¹

But it was the other two sons, William and George (3rd and 4th sons respectively) who, together with John, formed one of the most colourful and dynamic groups involved in the East India Company's affairs. These three took active roles as speculators, Proprietors and participants in the contested elections that created havoc in the Company from 1761 onwards. Much later, in 1784, George Johnstone was to become a Director. Their eldest brother, Sir James, along

1. See D.N.B. Vol.10, p.963. Also C. L. Johnstone, History of the Johnstones 1191-1909, pp.175-183; D.N.B, Vol. 10, P.963; Namier & Brooke, vol.2,pp.685-6; Marshall, p.173; Riddv, pp.12-14; N.L.S. MSS.1006, 'Small Collections', n.p. "Alex. to" (recipient omitted), dated 11 Feb. 1764.

with Alexander and Gideon, took a supporting role; and they joined with their uncle, Patrick Murray, 5th Lord Elibank, in buying enough India stock to make themselves considerable Proprietors with voting rights which they threw behind George, John and William.¹

Although neither George nor William Johnstone served as Company servants or in the Company's shipping, they were involved in its Courts, as Proprietors, for many years. Without doubt the need that they felt in the 1760s to close ranks and defend John from the wrath of his employers and superiors, in the figures of Laurence Sullivan the Company Chairman, and then Lord Clive, engaged their full attention. But the continued hatred between them and Clive, the defence of John's fortune from attempts made through the law Courts to take it from him, speculation in India stock and a fascination with the Company's contested elections kept them actively involved throughout the 1760s and 1770s.²

In the beginning, however, it was the Government patronage system, working through Islay and Milton which determined they would have an interest in the East India Company. Their father, besides being a personal friend of Lord Milton had a commanding political influence among the superiorities in Dumfriesshire. His interest and that of Lord Elibank made Milton very amenable to his requests

1. See also Parker, pp.150-153.

2. See Sutherland(1), passim; Parker, pp.150-153, 383-386; I.O.R. Eur. MSS. Proto. Eur.63, Letters from George, John Johnstone to William (Pulteney) Johnstone, 1759-1773, taken from the Pulteney Papers in the Henry E. Huntington Library, California, Letters 458, 622, 623, 624, 638, 640, dated 3 Feb. 1763, 12 Aug. 1767, 31 Aug. 1767, 22 Jul. 1768, 20 Oct. 1768.

for help for his sons. Patrick, John, Gideon and Alexander all benefited. In 1760 William Johnstone married Frances, daughter and heir of Daniel Pulteney, who in turn was heir to William Pulteney, Earl of Bath. Overnight William Johnstone was rich, with at least £18,000 of a fortune and over £1,000 per annum in revenues. In 1767 he and his wife inherited the estate on the Earl's death and that earlier of her father. William assumed the name of Pulteney-Johnstone. Consequently he could afford to be very particular in the position he looked for from Milton. He suggested, in 1760, that Islay did not like him, but reminded Milton of his promise to his uncle, Lord Elibank, that he would find him a good post.¹

With the independence that came from his new-found wealth, William (Pulteney) Johnstone had less need for patronage for himself, but had his brothers to think about. He had already made friends with George Dempster (q.v.) and Andrew Stuart of Craighorn (q.v.), who were then involving themselves with the East India Company; and he forged friendships in Edinburgh literary circles and among his fellow lawyers. He had also enough connections among the Directors by this date, to recommend a certain Adam Smith to them.² The good standing with the ministry enjoyed by the Johnstone family was also

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.683-684, vol. 3, pp.341-2; N.L.S. MSS. 16716, ff.41,43,54, William Johnstone to Ld. Milton, 29 Mar. 1760, 12 Apr. 1760, 11 Dec. 1760; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1, J/1/5, for 1750, 1753, 1764; Parker, pp.150-153; Malcolm M. Stuart Lying Under the Company's Displeasure, South Asian Review, vol. 8, No.1 (1974), pp.43-52; K. Feiling Warren Hastings, pp.58-60; S.R.O. GD 128/1/3/1-6, Col. W. Baillie's Journal, commenced 1761, passim; See also Marshall, pp.115-137,173-175,195,206,236-7, 242 on John Johnstone and the firm of William Bolts, William Hay and John Johnstone, in Bengal.

2. Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.341-2.

seen in 1763 when Bute obtained the post of Governor of West Florida for George Johnstone. He had earlier been a merchant seaman, but transferred to the Royal Navy and served with distinction in the Seven Years War. He was on half-pay as a Captain when Bute offered him this position.¹ George Johnstone was a rather erratic, and quarrelsome man, but his boundless energy gained him the grudging respect of ministers, Directors and Proprietors. This was soon apparent as he became the chief organiser of the Johnstone party and their allies in East India Company politics in the 1760s.

Patrick Murray, 5th Lord Elibank, of Balencrief, Haddington, was an uncle of the Johnstones, sons of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire (q.v.). His India connection began in the late 1750s when he became a Proprietor, but his interest really quickened in the 1760s when the furore concerning his nephew, John Johnstone (q.v.) erupted in Leadenhall. The vigorous activity of the Johnstone brothers in the contested elections guaranteed his own involvement in support of them. He provided money for splitting purposes and added his considerable influence in the General Court of Proprietors.

Apart from his nephews, Elibank was also diligently forwarding the career of his illegitimate son, William Young, whom he was able to send out as a Writer in 1764. The Scottish political managers who were his friends, such as Sir Gilbert Elliot and Milton, ensured

1. He also arranged for his friend James 'Fingal' Macpherson to go with him, although this was turned down. See D.N.B. vol.10, pp.963-5; J. N. M. Maclean, The Early political Careers of James 'Fingal' Macpherson (1736-1791) and Sir John Macpherson, Bart. (1744-1821) (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1978), pp.84-86, 90.

the necessary recommendations were made and the influence of his nephews, the Johnstones, within the Company did the rest. Elibank sent his son an unending stream of advice and extended himself financially to help his cause. In his own words, in the splitting of stock he "adventured beyond his depth, chiefly out of a view of helping his son." This he continued to do until 1775. In the hope of advancing William Young's career he approached Directors and Proprietors such as Governor Rumbold, Sir George Colebrooke, Henry Vansittart, Laurence Sullivan. Although living almost entirely in Scotland he "took a side in India politics in hopes of being able to serve."; and in 1769 had joined with his nephews, the Johnstones, and with Sullivan, Vansittart and Lauchlin Maclean in their 'Great Scheme' which was to return the Sulivanite party to power in the Direction. He was severely injured financially by the fall in India stock which almost ruined the others involved.¹

The Johnstones had been well-served by the Islay-Milton-Bute patronage system and they themselves built-up ministerial contacts. Besides Bute, Shelburne and Holland made common cause with them in Company elections. Also Sir James Lowther (1st Earl of Lonsdale)

1. See Sutherland(1), p.117; Col. Hon. A.C. Murray, The Five Sons of Bare Betty, pp.159,160,166,204, et passim; Marshall, pp.40,214,216; S.R.O. GD 32/24/34-57, passim. Wm. Young Correspondence, 1767-1814. Young treated his father despicably. He eventually amassed a fortune, mainly from the opium trade, with money (£1,000 per annum) sent by his father. On Young's behalf Elibank used the influence of his own brother, General James Murray, Charles Stewart, Clavering and George Ross, who acted as agent and manager for himself and his brother, Gen. James Murray. See also I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/5, for 1764. See also The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, 1722-1805, p.279. He maintained Elibank was a member of the Jacobite 'Cocoa-Tree' Club, and thus a Jacobite.

was George Johnstone's intimate friend and had him returned to Parliament for the borough of Cockermonth in 1768. William (Pulteney) Johnstone became M.P. for Cromartyshire in the same year although offered Perth burghs, as mentioned already, through the interest of his friend George Dempster.¹

Within the East India Company the Johnstone connections stretched in every direction. Besides George Dempster and Andrew Stuart they made friends and allies among countless other Scots. By siding with Sullivan from 1764 they embraced Proprietors like Hannay and James Dalrymple of Hailes, and fellow adventurers like Lauchlin Maclean. There were family ties with the Director John Hope; while Adriaan Hope, banker of Amsterdam, as well as Coutts, and Goslings bank, were all involved with them in splitting activities - as were Grant and Fordyce, and the Dumfries bank. Johnstone connections among Scots at home and in London were extensive too. They included: Alex. Wedderburn (Lord Loughborough), the Earls of Hopetoun, Erskine of Kellie, Sir Adam Fergusson, and James Boswell.²

In many ways the careers and activities of the Johnstones epitomise what the East India Company and its patronage could do for Scots. The patronage system gave them opportunities. They made their fortunes using the Company, or carved positions for themselves

1. The eldest brother, Sir James Johnstone, 4th Bart. and John Johnstone were all to become M.Ps later. See Namier & Brooke, vol.1, p.4(), vol.2, pp.681-7, vol. 3, pp.341-2; D.N.B. vol. 10, pp.963-965.

2. Namier & Brooke, vol.2, pp.686-7, vol.3, pp.341-2; I.O.L. Eur. MSS. Photo. Eur.63. Letters from George & John Johnstone to William Johnstone, 1759-1773, passim; Riddy, pp.12-13; E.U.L. Laing MSS. 11.73, J. Dalrymple to Gov. Johnstone, Sunday 6th n.d.(but c.1763-4).

using the Company as the vehicle to do so. For 50 years Scots had been helped in this manner and the large Scottish presence in the East India Company, among Directors, Proprietors, Shippers and Company servants was the direct result.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Mr KEITH</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u> Son of a minister in Orkney. His post came in the 1730s through the Earl of Morton's influence with John Drummond of Quarrel.		
<u>Sources:</u> S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/496, f.23. Morton to J.Drummond, 10 Sept.1735.		

<u>James LAMB</u>	<u>Ships mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u> Appointed through John Drummond of Quarrel in 1732, but died on his first voyage.		
<u>Sources:</u> See S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-4/, f.87, J.Drummond to W.Drummond, 21 Dec.1730; f.41, Dr.Littlejohn to J.Drummond, 20 Jan.1732.		

<u>William LINDSAY</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>George LINDSAY</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Robert LINDSAY</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Sir John LINDSAY</u>	<u>Plenipotentiary and Naval Commander</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: William Lindsay was the son of Sir Alex. Lindsay, 3rd Bart. of Evelich, Perth, of the Balcarres family, by Amelia,

daughter of David Murray, 5th Viscount Stormont, and sister of William Murray (q.v.), 1st Lord Mansfield. William was helped by his uncle, Lord Mansfield, to a Writers post in 1750. George and Robert Lindsay were the sons of the 5th Earl of Balcarres. They too enjoyed Mansfield's patronage. Their Writerships were made available through his influence (partly personal, partly ministerial) with the Directors Sir William James, George Cuming and Daniel Weir, who recommended them. Probably the most important of these Lindsays was Sir John (brother of William Lindsay (q.v.)), son of Sir Alex. Lindsay and also a nephew of Lord Mansfield. In 1769 he was sent to Madras through the pressure of the ministerial faction in the Company, which in turn was influenced by Mansfield and others. He went out as Naval Commander (R.N.) and Minister Plenipotentiary, to treat with the Nawab of the Carnatic and other native rulers. These powers were given to him in a compromise agreement made by the Crown and the Company. He was recalled in 1771 because his autocratic behaviour exasperated Governor Du Pré of Madras and the East India Company Directors. He was succeeded by Admiral Harland. Warren Hastings thought he typified most of the Scots he knew who "had a very powerful bias to politics and a most unconquerable aversion to those who had more power than themselves."

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/1 for 1750, J/1/8 for 1770 and 1771; Namier & Brooke, vol.3, p.44; Sutherland(1), pp.106-7, 199,200; Brvant, p.27; K. Feiling, W. Hastings, p.73; H.M.S.C. Palk MSS. p.141, No.111, W. Hastings to R. Palk, 12 Oct. 1770; Gurney, pp.152-3.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Alexander MACDONALD</u>	<u>Ships Surgeon</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: He was a Jacobite who was found a position on board the Lord Mansfield commanded by Capt. Alex. Macleod (q.v.) of Bernera. He had Skye connections.

Sources: Riddy, p.14.

<u>Capt. William MACINTOSH</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was at sea earlier. His second spell, in 1773 was engineered by Laurence Sullivan, Deputy Chairman of the Company that year. Sullivan called upon Warren Hastings to help him.

Sullivan's activity on MacIntosh's behalf perfectly illustrates the degree to which patronage after 1765, depended upon support gathered from all quarters for the Company elections. Sullivan said "MacIntosh's friends and connections I am well acquainted with and I wish much to serve." MacIntosh was also a friend of John Stuart of Hampstead (q.v.) and of Lauchlin Maclean (q.v.).

Sources: B.L. Add. MSS. 29133, f.345, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 26 Jan. 1773; De Bertodano MSS. n.p., L. Sullivan to Stephen Sullivan, c. 6 Apr. 1778; Maclean, pp.90-91, et passim.

<u>Major-General Sir</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>Alexander MACKENZIE of Coull</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, Ch.7, pp.176-7; Ch.8, p.193.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander Kenneth MACKENZIE</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: "Nephew to Scotsburn" to whom he owed his career.

Sources: N.L.S. 1329, f.255, K. Mackenzie to his uncle, John Mackenzie of Delvine, dated Nov. 1762.

<u>John MACKENZIE of Delvine</u>	<u>Lawyer</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
--------------------------------------	---------------	--

DETAILS: See text, Ch.7, pp.172-183.

<u>Kenneth MACKENZIE (nephew of John Mackenzie of Delvine)</u>	<u>FreemERCHANT</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
--	---------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.7, pp.178-179.

<u>Lauchlin MACLEANE</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--------------------------	-------------------	------------------

Details: A political adventurer of the highest order, Lauchlin Maclean was born an Ulster-Scot and Jacobite. He graduated Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh, then served in the Indian Wars in America. After his return he became involved in East India Company affairs and by 1766 he was co-ordinating the efforts of a group of speculators in East India stock. Through a common friend, John Stuart, of Hampstead, he was on familiar terms with Sullivan, and

was also an intimate of Clive's friend, Robert Orme.¹

One of the leading orators in the House, Isaac Barré, introduced him to Shelburne, as did the Scot, General Duncan Clarke, who like Maclean, was also involved in East India Company business. Shelburne quickly realised how useful this clever man could be and by October 1766 Maclean was made his Under-Secretary of State and 'man of business'.²

From 1767 to 1770 he headed various combinations splitting stock in favour of the Sullivanite party. His twin objectives were the return of Sullivan and their mutual friends to the Direction (with all the patronage this would bring him), and to line his own pocket. In pursuit of these ends he drew together a cabal of Scots recognised as such and referred to by Sullivan in distinct terms as his "Scotch" support. Through Sullivan, Maclean was befriended by Warren Hastings who pushed money-making posts in Maclean's way when sent to India by Sullivan in order to recoup the fortunes they both lost in the financial disaster of 1769.³ And the careers of his relatives, Commander Stephen Maclean of the Indiaman Duke of Grafton, and of Henry Maclean, sent as a Writer to Bengal in 1772, exemplify the patronage he commanded.⁴ Eventually Maclean became Warren Hastings' agent in Britain in the years 1775-6; and followed this by becoming agent for the Nawab of the Carnatic, succeeding John

1. Maclean, pp.154-5.

2. Maclean, pp.170-171.

3. See Sutherland(1), pp.234,235 *et passim*.

4. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/3 for 1772.

Macpherson. He died at sea in 1778 when his ship was lost in a gale.¹

1. See Maclean, pp.381-384,429-436.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander Alexander MACLEOD</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: See text, Ch.10, pp.257-260.

<u>Lt William Macleod</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
---------------------------	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: In 1759 Lt. Macleod asked the Earl of Loudon for a certificate verifying his military service in the '45 requested by the East India Company Direction.

Sources: N.R.A.(S) 631, The Loudon Papers, Green Deed Box, 1753-1758, bundle 2.

<u>James MACPHERSON</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------	-------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.10, pp.245-246.

<u>Governor John MACPHERSON</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
---------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.10, pp.246-250.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Governor James MACRAE</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u> <u>Civil Servant</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: Governor of Madras from 1725 to 1730, he was to play a major role in the Company. Macrae, who had gone to sea around 1692 had only a smattering of education. Nevertheless, he became Commander of an East Indiaman, in 1720 escaped from the clutches of the pirate Edward England, and ended up as a linchpin in John Drummond of Quarrel's management of East India patronage.

See also text, Ch.6, pp.136-7.

<u>William MAXWELL</u>	<u>Civil Service</u> <u>Bengal</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was a near-relative of Andrew Moffatt (q.v.), and of Sir Thomas Mills. Sullivan asked Warren Hastings to show Maxwell special patronage favours because his "relations and friends" had supported them both, because they were "much in debt" to them, and "upon whose influence we shall in future much depend." This was a reference to the importance of the 'Scotch' group in East India Company politics. Later, in 1782, Maxwell was still a friend of Sullivan's as well as of John Macpherson (q.v.), Governor George Johnstone (q.v.), and Lauchlin Macleane.

Sources: B.L. Add.MSS. 29136, f.398, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 14 Dec. 1775; 29137, f.146, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 3 Apr. 1776; 29156, f.450, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 12 Nov. 1782.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
-------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

Sir William and Robert MAYNE

See Grahams of Kinross.

<u>John MICHIE</u>	<u>Director/Chairman</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--------------------	--------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: In 1771 he placed his nephew Jonathan Duncan in India. He was loyal to the ministry and promoted ministerial control over the East India Company. He was able to use India patronage for Scots protégés with Government blessing.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/8, for 1771. Jonathan Duncan was the son of James Duncan of Woodhouse, Montrose; Parker, pp.175-8,445,462; P.Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India 1734-1806, p.95 et passim.

<u>Captain James MOFFATT</u>	<u>Ships Captain and Underwriter</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------------------------

<u>Andrew MOFFATT</u>	<u>Ships Husband and Insurance Underwriter</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
-----------------------	--	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: Several circumstances would seem to suggest that the Moffatt brothers, James and Andrew, were involved quite substantially in directing India patronage to ministry for use in Scotland. Apart from their own Scottish origins through their father, their sister Martha was married to Charles Bruce, the Earl of Elgin, and James was patronised by Bute via James Oswald, who was Lord of the Treasury from 1759 to 1763. James, a former Commander of an East Indiaman, and his brother were ship owners and insurers. Through marriage they were linked with the Director William Freeman and the powerful Scots Commander Charles Foulis (q.v.); and in association they formed a major phalanx within the Company shipping interest. This was important in that they were providers of Company

civil service posts and shipping berths. For example, their relation Robert Moffatt was appointed a Writer in 1749. To secure this they drew upon the patronage system fully, and the young man was recommended by the Scottish Proprietors James Buchanan and Alex. Johnston. Later in 1773, when even stronger in the Direction, they ensured that their brother John was helped to a 1st mate's post on the Hector.

The marriage of Lord Mansfield's nephew, Sir Thomas Mills to Andrew Moffatt's daughter, formed the other vital link in the Ministry-Company-Scotland connection; and their activities indicate a steady involvement in placing India patronage in ministerial hands when so desired. In the 1750s they kept a low profile, operating from Lombard Street, building up business with other insurers and with freight agents like William Braund, and with the Sun Fire Assurance Company. The startling developments in the East India Company home and abroad in the early 1760s embroiled them deeply. To their roles in the shipping interest they added speculation in India stock and involvement on Laurence Sullivan's side in the contested elections of the period. From 1761 to 1765 Bute's wishes and those of Sullivan, were followed; and from 1765 to 1768 they remained allied with Sullivan. Together with his other backers in the shipping interest they provided him with firm support up to 1768. However, that year James Moffatt became a Proprietor and in 1774 a Director, and during these years he faithfully executed the wishes of his relation through marriage, Lord Mansfield, and increasingly

followed a ministerialist line in the Company.¹

1. See I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1 for 1749; Parker, pp.182-186; Cotton, p.176.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>William MONTEITH</u>	<u>Ships Surgeon</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: A cousin of Thomas Shairp of Houston House (q.v.).
Monteith informed his cousin that he obtained his post through the influence of General Dalziel of the Binns.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 30/1582, Wm. Monteith to Thos. Shairp, n.d. but 1739.

<u>MUNROS of FOULIS</u>	<u>Medical Officers and Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u>
-------------------------	---	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.7, pp.167-9.

<u>General Sir Hector MUNRO of Novar, Rosshire</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
--	-------------------------	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: Hector Munro was the first son of Hugh Munro of Novar, a merchant of Clayside, Sutherland, by Isobel Gordon, granddaughter of Sir Robert Gordon, Bart., M.P. of Embo, Sutherland. He started his military career as a volunteer in Louden's Regiment in 1745. He subsequently served in the 49th foot, until 1749 and then in the 31st foot. He owed his promotion to his kinship on his mother's side with the Duchess of Gordon. In 1756 she made him a Major in the 89th Foot, (the regiment of her 2nd husband, the American Staats Morris), which sailed for India in 1759. When the contested elections broke out in the Company, Munro took the Sullivan

side and was rewarded with the command of the Company's troops in Bengal in preference to Clive's man, Major John Carnac. Munro went on to rout the native forces at the decisive battle of Buxar in 1764. He became at once the saviour of Bengal and was able to amass enormous financial rewards, such as his prize money of 80,000 rupees (approximately £10,000); a present from the Raja of Benares; and 2 lakhs of rupees (approximately £20,000) compensation for not being given the grant of a Jagir in Bengal such as Clive had obtained.

With this fortune Hector Munro returned home. He had succeeded his father upon his death in 1761. He purchased the Novar estate from his cousin George Munro and also the Muirtown estate, Elginshire. In 1766 he entered into a contested election for Inverness Burghs and successfully employed his Indian wealth against the West Indian riches of his opponent, Sir Alexander Grant (q.v.). He was returned for the seat in 1768 and retained it until 1802. His agent in his Company, political and domestic affairs was John Mackenzie of Delvine (q.v.).

Hector Munro retained his interest in Company politics and as a Proprietor continued to back Sullivan in the contests in Leadenhall. The credit collapse of 1772 which destroyed the East India Company's independence, also led to the ruin of the Ayr bank. Munro, who had money deposited in both suffered financial loss. This stimulated his return to India in 1777 as Major-General and Commander-in-Chief at Madras. French designs on India had been resurrected because of the war with the American colonists.

Munro's irascibility led him into clashes with Warren Hastings, but success at Pondicherry in 1778 and Negapatam in 1781

balanced the ineptitude shown against the Tiger of Mysore, Hyder Ali in 1780. He resigned his position in 1782 and on his return to Scotland in 1783 proceeded to spend his regained wealth on his estates. He gave employment to many when work was short, rebuilding Novar House, constructing Indian styled monuments, like the one at Fyrish, Evanton, and in general demonstrating evidence of much needed public spiritedness.¹

1. Nanier & Brooke, vol. 3, pp.180-1; D.N.B., Vol.39, pp.395-397; Maclean, pp.435,531; Alex. Mackenzie, History of the Munros, pp.515-516; Marshall, pp.171,178; C .H. Philips, The East India Company 1784-1834, p.62; I.O.L. MSS. Eur. 302/1 'Letterbook of John Spencer', f.54, Spencer to L. Sullivan, 6 Feb. 1765; N.L.S. MSS. 1337, f.38. A. Mackenzie to J. Mackenzie of Delvine, 10 Feb. 1765; N.L.S. MSS, 1167, f.164, Hector Munro to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 17 Sep. 1770; J. M. Bullock Territorial Soldiering in North-East Scotland 1759-1814, passim.

(N.B. Morris's Regt. of Highlanders was raised at the instigation of the Duchess of Gordon with the help of the highland chiefs and with the Duke of Newcastle's approval. Islay ordered the Regt. to India where it remained from 1760 to 1763). See Appendix 9. It became the Gordon Highlanders.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Patrick JURRAY</u> <u>(Lord ELIPARK)</u>	See the <u>Johnstones</u> of Westerhall.	

<u>Commander Fasham NAIRN</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
-------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text. Ch.6, p.140; Ch.10, pp.253-254.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Mr NAISH</u>	<u>Supercargo</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: John Drummond had ensured his passage to India in 1731 in response to the wish of his brother William Drummond, and of his friend Sir Matthew Decker. Naish was a brother of Dr. Naish of Rowen, a friend who lived near the family home at Blair. Supercargos invariably disembarked at a Presidency and set themselves up as Freemerchants.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/482-4, f.93, J.Drummond to W.Drummond, 16 Jul.1731.

<u>Thomas OGILVIE</u>	<u>Midshipman</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-----------------------	-------------------	------------------

DETAILS: This appointment was made in 1732 by John Drummond in response to the request of Lady Anne Ogilvie of Fotheringham, wife of the Earl of Hopetoun. She had been to India herself. John Drummond was assured of the Hopetoun political interest.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.2/464/C, f.191, Lady Ann Ogilvie to J.Drummond, 7 Oct.1732.

<u>Thomas OGILVIE</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-----------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was born at Askirk, Roxburghshire, the son of William Ogilvie of Hartwood and Elizabeth Elliot. The powerful Ogilvie and Elliot connections assured him of the Director John Michie's interest (q.v.), and he recommended Ogilvie for the post of

Writer in 1770. He returned to Scotland in 1790.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/8 for 1770; Madras Civil Servants, 1706-1767, passim.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Peter OLIPHANT</u>	<u>Surgeon</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: John Drummond of Quarrel had him appointed Surgeon at Fort St. George in 1732. From there he went to Gombroon until 1741. He was the brother of Laurence Oliphant of Gask who pleaded with John Drummond on his behalf. His application was also supported by the Earl of Morton and, in India, by that of Governor Cowan and John Haliburton (q.v.).

Sources: S.R.O. GD 150/3483/2, J.Haliburton to Earl of Morton, Jan.1741, GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.179, Laurence Oliphant of Gask to J.Drummond, 20 May 1732.

<u>George PATERSON</u>	<u>Secretary to Plenipotentiary Sir Robt. Harland</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------	---	------------------

DETAILS: He was an informant who wrote to his Scots friends at home about his contemporaries abroad, especially about enemies like Governor Du Pré of Madras. He angled for friendship and social intercourse with George Dempster (q.v.). His Scots friends included: Col. Ross, Charles Smith and the two partners in the firm of Johnson & Mackay, who were all at Madras in 1773. He proclaimed himself a friend of Dr. William Fordyce, and of Messrs. Hunter, Ramsay, Webster, Ker and Dick, prominent members of Scottish society.

Lauchlin Macleane (q.v.) and Andrew Stuart (q.v.) used him to procure introductions to the Nawab of the Carnatic.

Sources: I.O.L. MSS. Eur. E.379/8, pp.31,33; Eur. 379/4. Geo. Paterson to Geo. Dempster, 27 Jan. 1773; p.151, Geo. Paterson to Dr. W. Fordyce; H.M.S.C. Laing MSS. vol.2, p.477, T. Ruddock to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, 20 Aug. 1775. (The latter refers to a "splendid ball" for 700 thrown by Paterson in Dundee in 1775.)

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander Sir Robert PRESTON</u> <u>M.P.</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Robert Preston's career is one of the best illustrations of how far riches and success could be gained from India patronage. He was born the 5th son of Sir George Preston, 4th Bart. of Valleyfield, Perth. After his father's death he virtually governed his brother, Sir Charles Preston, the 5th Bart, and eventually succeeded him in 1800.¹ It must have been difficult for Sir Charles Preston to have suppressed his brother Robert in the easiest of circumstances, but faced with financial disaster from an encumbered estate and the natural vigour of his brother who had returned from India very quickly, and with a fortune, he soon took a back seat.

Robert Preston's success was due in nearly every way to the patronage of his uncle, Charles Foulis (q.v.) who by the 1760s had penetrated the East India Company's shipping interest. In 1762 he found the young man a berth as 3rd officer on the Clive. By 1768 he

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.3, p.362; Parker, p.416, footnote 2.

had pushed him to his first command, the Asia, and then of the Hillsborough, from 1775-1776.¹ By 1777 Robert Preston, aged 37, had retired from the sea and returned to Valleyfield with the fortune he made from his voyages.

After setting the encumbered estate in order Preston began increasing his fortune by becoming a ship owner and insurer with his uncle Charles Foulis. His uncle's friends were his, and especially the powerful Laurence Sullivan and Warren Hastings; and in the shipping interest he joined with Foulis's other relations the Freemans and Moffatts (q.v.).² Preston became a leader of the East India shipping group in Parliament and a leading member of the shipping interest management committee. As such, he was able to help others to shipping positions. Scots who shared in ship ownership like him included: Sir William Forbes of Edinburgh, John and Adan Drummond of Golden Square, London, bankers, and Thomas Coutts, banker in the Strand. Their presence illustrates how many Scots were making their way into the heart of the shipping bloc in the Company.³

1. See Cotton, p.190.

2. B.L. Add.MSS. 29135, f.53, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 15 Feb. 1775. "Preston is nephew to my unshaken friend Foulis."

3. S.R.O. GD 1/453/Boxes 1-3, n.p.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Alexander PRINGLE of Whytebank, Selkirkshire</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: He was appointed Writer to Madras in 1765 and was recommended by the Chairman for that year, Henry Crabb Boulton, a

Clivite. Pringle almost certainly owed his good fortune to the patronage of his father's friend Dr. John Rutherford of Edgirstone, a neighbouring estate, and to the Duke of Buccleuch to whom the family estate at Yair (where Alex. Pringle was born) had been sold. The Pringles were surrounded by properties belonging to gentlemen with East India Company connections, such as Lord Elibank, his nephew John Johnstone and Sir Gilbert Elliot. Dr. Rutherford's own family entered the Company's service. Robert Rutherford became a Writer in 1768 and the other son, William, was given a ship's berth.

Alex. Pringle's promotion was steady but unspectacular and by 1778 he had risen to Senior Merchant in Madras. Earlier, in 1775 his father died leaving him with the responsibilities of the family and the estate. He used remittances from India to purchase back and to improve the land, raising its revenues from £170 per annum to £200 per annum. His brother Peter Pringle, serving as a surgeon in the Company's service at Vizipatam in 1774, also sent money home. Alex. was helped by his friendship with Laurence Sullivan's nephew, John Sullivan while at Tanjore, and by the marriage of his sister to Robert Mayne (q.v.). He returned home in 1790 with a moderate fortune, in doing so realizing the words he had penned in the 1770s "we shall all have enough and bye and bye be happy in reflecting on our days of distress."¹

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/6 for 1755, J/1/7 for 1768; Madras Civil Servants, 1765-1790; S.R.O. GD 246/Box 25, Bundle 1, Nos.5,6,10. H.H. Goodlad to A. Pringle, 28 Sep. 1771; GD 246/46/1, A. Pringle's European Letterbook, 1776-78, passim; GD 1/325, A. Pringle's Father's Daily Journal for 1754, passim; A. Pringle The Records of the Pringles of the Scottish Borders, p.241; Timberley, pp.318-9; Bryant, p.23.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Charles RAITT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: He was recommended for the post of Writer by the Director William Thornton, a Sullivanite. Like William Flockhart (q.v.) and Daniel Gordon (q.v.) Raitt's appointment was almost certainly a result of the Bute-Sullivan patronage link.

Sources: I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/4 for 1762; Parker, p.230.

<u>George RAMSAY</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
----------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.6, pp.130, 135.

<u>William RAMSAY</u>	<u>Ships mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-----------------------	-------------------	------------------

DETAILS: In 1721 William Ramsay, nephew to James Ramsay, steward of the Earl of Kinnoul's (q.v.) lands at Dupplin was despatched "a sailor to the East Indies". Ramsay was supported in his application to John Drummond of Quarrel by the Earl of Kinnoul, by his own brother, William Drummond, and by Scott of Logie.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1//464/C, f.52, Lord Kinnoul to J.Drummond, 6 Nov.1721.

<u>Surgeon Gabriel RANKIN</u>	<u>Medical Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-------------------------------	------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.6, p.143.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Captain David RANNIE</u>	<u>Freemerchant</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: See text, Ch.7, pp.177-8.

<u>William RIGG</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
---------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.6, pp.142.

<u>Commander David ROBERTSON</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u>
----------------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.6, p.143.

<u>James ROD</u>	<u>1st Mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
------------------	-----------------	------------------

DETAILS: He owed his position to William Moncrieff, landowner in Perthshire, who wrote to John Drummond on his behalf in 1731, the letter being delivered by Rod himself. The connection itself was flimsy. He was the son-in-law of Moncrieff's friend "Mr. Finlayson, minister of this parish". However, the importance of a voyage to India was made clear. Rod had already sailed to China, then commanded his own ship to the West Indies where he was shipwrecked by hurricanes in 1730. He now asked to go 1st mate on an East Indiaman rather than command his own ship to the West Indies "after experience and due consideration of both trades..."

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464c, f.163, Wm. Moncrieff to John Drummond of Quarrel, 6 Feb. 1731.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Claud RUSSELL and</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Sir Hugh INGLIS</u>	<u>FreemERCHANT</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: Claud Russell was the son of John Russell of Braidshaw, Writer to the Signet, and his wife Mary Anderson. He was an Edinburgh lawyer who, using his Argathelian and legal establishment connections got his son out to Madras in 1751 as a Writer.¹ Young Claud went out with another Scot, Alex. Davidson, and by 1756 he had been Clerk of the Peace, Coroner, Major and then Sheriff of Madrasapatnam. By 1761 he was a Commissary at Pondicherry, and by 1771 a Madras Councillor. Twenty years was a long time to stay healthy in an Indian climate and Russell had nobody to push his career along. He met and was friendly with Kenneth Mackenzie, nephew of John Mackenzie of Delvine but he received no favours from that source.² In 1762 he was joined in India by his cousin, (Sir) Hugh Inglis, later Chairman and Director of the Company. He went out using the same channels as Claud.³

Even in India factional strife was prevalent. It mirrored the struggles taking place in Leadenhall. From 1769 Russell was an ally of Clive against Sullivan and Vansittart, and threw his weight against

1. I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/1 for 1751; Love, Vestiges, vol.3, p.12; The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, pp.307-3.
2. I.O.R. Madras Civil Servants, for 1752, 1771, 1777, 1780, 1782. He was also Chief at Vizagapatam. Love, Vestiges, vol.2, pp.440,583,555,586; N.L.S. MSS. 1328, ff.232-3, K. Mackenzie to John Mackenzie of Delvine, 1 Sep. 1774.
3. Parker, pp.142-6,388,390,460. Inglis was a free-merchant and regarded as an "honest man who... got a moderate fortune in Bengal...". He became a great power in India. I.O.R. Court Book, vol. 93, pp.642-3, for 6 Oct. 1784; Furber(2), p.482, R. Atkinson to H. Dundas, 22 Jul. 1784. Inglis backed Sullivan in the 1780s.

Sullivan during the Company elections. His Scottish friends in the Shipping and in the Direction that he joined with in this antipathy to Sullivan included Sir James Cockburn (q.v.) and George Cuming (q.v.).¹

1. I.O.L. MSS. Eur. E.276, Madras Letterbook of Claud Russell, Russell to Cockburn on 3 Feb. 1777, and to John Harrison (Director) on 20 Sep. 1777; also Sir John Malcolm, The Life of Robert Lord Clive vol.3, pp.247-8, Clive to Russell, 10 Feb. 1769.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Commander Patrick SANDILANDS</u> <u>(son of Lord Torphichen)</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: Appointed by John Drummond of Quarrel in the early 1730s.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, ff.70-2, R.Cowan to J.Drummond, 18 Aug.1733; GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.222, Lord Torphichen to J.Drummond, 28 Aug.1733.

<u>Col. Caroline</u> <u>Frederick SCOTT</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
--	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was appointed by the East India Company Directors in 1752 to be Chief Engineer and to oversee defences at Ft. St. George, Ft. William, Bombay and all other settlements. They appointed him direct from the Duke of Cumberland's army, and he had served at Culloden. He died suddenly, on 12 May 1754 at Madras.

Sources: Love, Vestiges, vol.1, p.441.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>James SCOTT of Gala</u>	<u>Ships Surgeon</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
<u>John SCOTT of Gala</u>	<u>Ships Surgeon's mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: In 1725, James Scott was made Ships Surgeon of the Barrinford. By 1728, his namesake, John Scott was acting as his surgeon's mate. James was the brother of Scott of Gowanberry; John the brother of Scott of Gala and a nephew of James Douglas (q.v.). They owed their posts to John Drummond of Quarrel who kept contact with James Scott and lent him sums of money.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.88, J.Douglas to J.Drummond, 3 Oct.1725; GD 24/Sect.1/464 N-0, f.21, J.Scott to J.Drummond, May 1728; and ff.60-1, Robert Douglas to J.Drummond, 13 Jan.1733. Also K. Scott, Scott 1118-1923, p.177.

<u>Major John SCOTT</u>	<u>Warren Hastings' Agent</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
-------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: John Scott owed his career to the patronage of Lord Mansfield. With the added backing of Bute and Shelburne and their influence with Laurence Sullivan, he was enabled to go to India in 1753. Sullivan in turn recommended Scott to Warren Hastings.

Sources: Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.414-415; Shearer, p.72; Gleig(2), vol.2, pp.528 et seq. and vol.3, p.99.

<u>Gen. John SCOTT</u> <u>(of Balcomie)</u>	<u>Landowner/proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>George SCOTT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>Archibald SCOTT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Richard SCOTT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Henry SCOTT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Andrew SCOTT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>John Balliol SCOTT</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Richard, Henry and John Balliol Scott were the sons of Gen. John Scott of Balcomie and Scotstarvit, Fife (1725-75), who had invested part of his wealth in East India stock. As a landowner and Proprietor he was able to help his own family and fellow kinsmen, like Archibald and Andrew Scott, and bring to bear the influence of Directors like John Manship and Sir James Cockburn (q.v.). He was also M.P. for Caithness 1754-6; Tain Burghs 1761-1768 and Fifeshire 1768-1775.

Sources: Namier & Brooke, vol.3, p.413; I.O.R. Writers Petitions J/1/5 for 1764, J/1/6 for 1766, J/1/8 for 1770 and 1773. Also K. Scott, Scott 1118-1923, pp.17-20.

<u>Thomas SHAIRP</u> <u>(of Houston House)</u>	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Walter Shairp (son)</u>	<u>Ships mate</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>Thomas Shairp (Grandson)</u>	<u>Company Servant</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
<u>John Shairp (Grandson)</u>	<u>Company Servant</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Andrew Stuart of Craigthorn (q.v.) was asked to find East India Company positions for Thomas Shairp of Houston's two grandsons. George Dempster (q.v.) was asked to "find a berth on a ship" for his son Walter.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 30/1597, Christina Shairp (daughter of Thomas Shairp) to her father, 3 Mar. 1770; GD 30/1901, T. Shairp to A. Stuart, 14 Feb. 1772; GD 30/1906, T. Shairp to G. Dempster, 13 and 15 Aug. 1774.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>George SMITH (1737-1789)</u>	<u>FreemERCHANT</u>	<u>1742-1765</u> <u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: George Smith was a native of Fordyce, near Portsoy, Banffshire. The land was owned by General Abercromby of Glasshaugh, the local laird. Smith was also the nephew of Dr. Andrew Munro (q.v.), Chief Medical Officer for Madras who died there in 1757. From these connections he gained the requisite recommendations for a career in the East. He acted as trustee for his uncle and gained his estate at Canton upon his death. It provided sufficient funds to send him to Europe where he trained in merchant accounts. First he was a clerk in Holland and then in Paris, then when his father, James Smith of Fordyce, died in 1767 his inheritance was enough to send him overland to the East Indies and he settled as a free-merchant in Madras beside his Munro cousins. There he married his cousin, Margarete Aurora Munro. He also prospered to such a degree that he accumulated a fortune somewhere in the region of £50,000. In his will, which he wrote when facing death on the way home, one of his bequests paid for the establishment of a school and teacher in Fordyce and an education for boys in the area named Smith. This George Smith bounty was administered for 150 years after his death.¹

1. A.A. Cormack, Historical Outline of the George Smith Bounty (Fordyce Academy), pp.3-11; P. Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India, 174-1801, p.37 et passim; Love, Vestiges, vol.3, pp.14,61; also Fordyce Parish Church and Planning and Development Dept. of Banff and Buchan District information sheet.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Alexander STEWART</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: He was the eldest son of the Jacobite Stewart of Ardshiel who forfeited in 1746. In 1762 he was made 1st mate on an Indiaman. After four voyages he became Captain of the Duke of Albany in 1768, succeeding Captain James Haldane (q.v.).

Sources: Riddy, p.14.

<u>"Little" John STEWART</u>	<u>Shelburne's Agent</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
------------------------------	--------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: He was an adventurer and secret agent who worked with Lauchlin Maclean (q.v.) in the world of backstairs politics embracing Westminster and Leadenhall Street. He and Maclean worked for Shelburne and were particularly active forming connections between the Chatham ministry and the Company's directorate in the 1766 to 1768 period. He recruited and helped young Scots in London by introducing them to the Royal Society of Arts, which had become a 'Scots' club in all but name by this period. Stewart was the son of James Stewart, Attorney of the Exchequer in Edinburgh; and was a cousin of John 'Jack' Stewart and of Archibald Stewart.

Sources: J.N.M. Maclean, The Early Political Careers of James 'Finjal' MacPherson (1736-1796), and Sir John MacPherson, Bart. (1744-1821), Edinburgh University Ph.D. Thesis 1967, pp. 157-5; Allan, p.29.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Keith STEWART</u>	<u>Applicant for the Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Stewart made an application to Lord Sandwich for a Writers post. But with John Michie's absence from the Direction in 1774, Sandwich felt that he had no other pro-ministerial Director that he could call upon.

Sources: Parker, pp.445-447.

<u>Oliver STEWART</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-----------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: The patronage of John Drummond was won for him by William Rigg (q.v.) and he became a Writer in Ft. St. George in 1733, beside Rigg.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, f.56, W. Rigg to J. Drummond, 13 Jan.1733; ff.63-6, Gov. Pitt to J. Drummond, 29 Jan. 1733.

<u>STIRLINGS of Keir</u>	<u>Freemercchants and Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u> <u>1742-1765</u>
--------------------------	---	--------------------------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.7, pp.169-171.

<u>Andrew STUART</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1742-1765.</u> <u>1765-1774</u>
----------------------	-------------------	---------------------------------------

<u>Col. James STUART</u>	<u>Military Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
--------------------------	-------------------------	------------------

DETAILS: Andrew Stuart of Craighorn, Lanark will be best remembered for his advocacy during the famous Douglas case, and as a

candidate for 'Junius', thorn in the side of Governments in the 1760s.¹ But he also figured largely in East India Company politics. In particular, he loaned money to his friends the Johnstones and George Dempster for the purchase of stock during the contested elections. He was part of an intimate group of friends, all Scots and all Proprietors who, besides Dempster and the Johnstones, included Sir Adam Fergusson and Alex. Wedderburn.² He was the 2nd son of Archibald Stuart of Torrance, Lanark, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Andrew Myreton of Gogar, Edinburgh, W.S. His importance in the operation of a patronage network was realised even then. He was known by many families who trusted him. The favours he could command came through his own position as a Proprietor, but much more important patronage came through his association with the Dukes of Hamilton. His father was a Writer to the Signet, and both father and son were law agents for the Hamiltons. Islay and his circle confirmed his stature when he entered London society; Mure of Caldwell, the Hamilton-Argylls, Bedfords, Lord Gower, Conway, Beaufort and Hertford all backed him.³

His East India Company connections began in earnest in 1761 when he became a Proprietor. This appears to have been stimulated by his intimate friend William (Pulteney) Johnstone. It is also possible that his interest in India affairs had been stirred through his wife Margaret, who was daughter of Sir William Stirling, 4th

1. Maclean, passim.

2. The list also included David Hume. See Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.495-6; N.L.S. MSS. 5400, Stuart of Torrance Cash Book, passim for 1761-1763.

3. Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.495-6.

Bart. of Ardvoch, Perth and kinsman of the Stirlings of Keir (q.v.).¹

Andrew Stuart was always aware of the effect that Jacobitism in his family had on the London establishment. His elder brother had served Charles Edward Stuart as an officer in the Jacobite army. On the other hand, his younger brother, James Stuart, had elected to serve with the Hanoverian army. After 28 years service which involved duty in North America and the West Indies, he was transferred (through Andrew) in 1770 to the East Indies, and then to command of the East India Company's forces in Madras in 1775. There he was promoted to full Colonel. Col. James Stuart was also deeply involved in the Gov. Pigot scandal that erupted in the 1770s. He helped place the Governor in prison, where he died, and was subsequently court-martialed himself and expelled from the Company's service. These events were carefully monitored by his brother Andrew and his reinstatement was brought about through Andrew and all the friends he could muster.²

From 1770, when Col. James Stuart had first arrived in Madras in the Royal Army, Andrew busied himself in Company affairs as a Proprietor, politician and patronage monger. He was close to Sir George Colebrooke, as well as to the Johnstones and George Dempster, as ever. Laurence Sullivan, Edmund Burke and Lord North were his friends. Mansfield was his enemy. He was mentioned as a potential

1. Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.495-6.

2. Namier & Brooke, vol.3, p.497; Maclean, passim; George McElroy, Col. James Stuart and the Coup against Lord Pigot. (Unpublished manuscript.); Gurney, passim; Barun De, Henry Dundas and the Government of India (1773-1801). Thesis for D.Phil. Oxford University, July 1961. passim.

candidate for the Commission of Inquiry of 1772 and North wanted him for the Supreme Council in Bengal in 1773. This led to an outburst against him, as Sullivan reported to Hastings, "Being a Scotchman it gave our enemies scope for an attack, and Mr. Stuart, with many amiable qualities, the sweetest disposition, excellent understanding and an unsullied character was scoured to a most illiberal degree." He was turned down for the post.¹

By 1776 Andrew was also a good friend of Henry Dundas and the "Scotch Ministry." He later succeeded his elder brother in the Torrance estate and inherited that of Sir John Stuart of Castlemilk. He was a bridge from the organised Government patronage up to 1765, over the mayhem that lasted from 1766 to 1775, to the new control of Henry Dundas.²

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.495-6. He had also become Remembrancer in Exchequer in 1771. See also P.A. for 19 Aug. 1772; B.L. Add. MSS. 29133, f.533, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 28 Apr. 1773.
 2. See also Namier & Brooke, vol.3, pp.495-6.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Charles STUART</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>

DETAILS: See text, Ch.8, p.200; Ch.9, p.223.

<u>Frederick STUART</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
-------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.9, pp.229-230.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Sir James STUART</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>

DETAILS: Stuart was the son of the Solicitor-General for Scotland and a Jacobite exile who was pardoned in 1771. He was also a brilliant political economist, "a very deep man and a universal genius" according to Laurence Sullivan. Sullivan acknowledged his help in drawing up plans for the better government of India, to be of use to Warren Hastings. Stuart asked Sullivan and Hastings to use their influence on behalf of his sister Peggy and other relatives in India.

Sources: B.L. Add.MSS. 29136, f.59, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 20 Feb. 1775.

<u>Dr. John STUART (of Hampstead)</u>	<u>Civil Service-Secretary to the Bengal Council</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
---	--	------------------

DETAILS: He was the son of Henry Stuart, his brother was Henry Stuart, and he was uncle to yet another, Lt. Henry Stuart of the East India Company army. He was also a cousin of Sir Simon Stuart. Dr. John Stuart arrived in Bengal in 1771. He had been recommended by Laurence Sullivan and Sir George Colebrooke. On his arrival he was handed the post of Secretary to the Bengal Council. He had been deeply involved in the politics and splitting of stock for votes in the 1760s. Since 1764 he had been Laurence Sullivan's "bosom friend... he has my whole confidence." Warren Hastings was asked "to be his shield." But by the new regulations that came into force with the Regulating Act of 1773, Philip Francis had him dismissed. Stuart (of Hampstead), as he was known by contemporaries in London, had worked hardest of all during the furious contest of

1769. He was also a friend of the Director John Townson and of Richard and Edmund Burke, and had acted as go-between for them and Laurence Sullivan.

Sources: Maclean, *passim*; I.O.R. Writers Petitions, J/1/8 for 1771; (Ed.) T. W. Copeland, The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, vol.2, (1768-1774), p.357; I.O.L. Francis MSS. f.53, No.13, P. Francis to D'Oyly, 25 Aug. 1775; B.L. Add. MSS. 29151, ff.167-9; L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 19 Oct. 1781; 29153, f.515, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 16 Apr. 1773.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Charles SUTTIE</u>	<u>Free Merchant/ Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>Sir George SUTTIE</u>	<u>Proprietor</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
<u>DETAILS:</u>	See text, Ch.8, pp.194,203-204.	

<u>George TRAPER</u>	<u>Surgeon's mate</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
----------------------	-----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: As a direct result of help given to John Drummond of Quarrel by the Duchess of Atholl during the 1732 election in Dundee, her protégé, George Traper was found a post as a surgeon's mate. Prior to this date he had been maintained by Sir George Stuart of Guarantully, and apprenticed to a Mr. Stirling of Perth.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.194, Duchess of Atholl to J.Drummond, 19 Oct.1732.

<u>John WEBSTER</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1742-1765</u>
---------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.8, pp.196-7.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>TITLE/POSITION</u>	<u>PATRONAGE PERIOD</u>
<u>Alexander WEDDERBURN</u>	<u>Civil Service</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>

DETAILS: See text, Ch.6, pp.131-132.

<u>Alexander WEDDERBURN</u> <u>(Lord Loughborough)</u>	<u>Statesman</u>	<u>1765-1774</u>
---	------------------	------------------

DETAILS: See text, Ch.10, pp.240-242.

<u>Commander WILSON</u>	<u>Ships Captain</u>	<u>1720-1742</u>
-------------------------------	----------------------	------------------

DETAILS: Appointed through John Drummond of Quarrel in the early 1730s. He was involved in the 'Country' trade, sailing from Ft. St. George to Surat.

Sources: S.R.O. GD 24/Sect.1/464/N-0, ff.70-2, R.Cowan to J.Drummond, 18 Aug.1733; GD 24/Sect.1/464/C, f.222, Lord Torphichen to J.Drummond, 28 Aug.1733.

* Sources for entries in the Apparatus (other than those given) are included in the general bibliography.

A	B	C	D	E
<p>Dummond's Govt. & English Political Correspondents.</p>	<p>Dummond's Scottish Political Correspondents Patronised.</p>	<p>Three sent abroad by Dummond.</p>	<p>Dummond's East India Company Connections (home & abroad)</p>	<p>Dummond's Business Friends.</p>
<p>Lord Albemarle</p>	<p>Moray of Abercainrey Lord Abercromby Lord & Lady Abernour (E. of Morton's son) Mr. Alexander Earl of Arundale Mr. Arbuthnot Duchess of Atholl</p>	<p>Miss Ballantyne</p>	<p>Gov. Bayton (Pt. St. George)</p>	
<p>Lord Bathurst</p>	<p>Mr. Baird Mrs Baird</p>	<p>Alexander Blair Peter Blair (sons of Peter of Edinburgh)</p>		
<p>Lord Bellingham</p>	<p>Peter Blair (of Edinburgh) Dummond's 'kinsman'.</p>			
<p>Bolingbroke</p>				

A	B	C	D	E
<p>Sir Thomas Brand</p> <p>James Byrdges (Earl of Chandos)</p> <p>John Campbell (2nd D. of Argyll) Archibald Campbell (3rd D. of Argyll)</p>	<p>Sir John Bruce (formerly Ilpe of Ouldraines. An Enemy by 1732)</p> <p>Mr Buchan John Burn Eden Burnett</p>	<p>Charles Carnichael George Carnichael Michael Carnichael (son & nephews respectively of Lady Myrnford)</p> <p>John Cleland</p>	<p>Gov. Bouchier</p> <p>Gov. Carnegie (of Banoolan) (Friend of Lord Milton)</p> <p>Dr Colt Gerard Corryen (Shipping)</p>	

A	B	C	D	E
John Crawford	Sir Hew Dalrymple	Henry Crawford Gibson Crawford John Crawford George Crawford (brothers)	Gov. Comm (Madras)	Coutts (Bankers London)
Lord Douglas	Daniel Draper	Robert Douglas Arthur Douglas James Douglas (brothers)	Sir Matthew Decker	
Agatha Drummond (niece)		Hugh Draper (Daniel's brother)	Andrew Drummond - banker and proprietor	

A	B	C	D	E
<p>John Edersall (Queen's Secretary)</p> <p>Charles Erskine (Solicitor-General)</p>	<p>George Drummond (father)</p> <p>George Drummond (nephew)</p> <p>James Drummond (brother)</p> <p>William Drummond (brother)</p> <p>Laurence Drummond (kinsman)</p> <p>John Drummond of Megginch, M.P.</p> <p>Lord Duncade</p> <p>Viscount Dryplin</p>	<p>Mr. Elliot</p>	<p>John Durand (Shipping)</p> <p>Barrington Eaton (Shipping)</p>	<p>Sir John Eyles (Director)</p> <p>Commander John Renton</p>
<p>Lord Elphinstone</p> <p>Lord & Lady Errol</p> <p>Mr Farguherson</p>				

A	B	C	D	E
<p>Andrew Fletcher (Lord Milton)</p>	<p>Mr Ferguson</p> <p>John Forbes of Ollodan</p> <p>George Poltringham of Bardnes</p> <p>John Poltringham</p> <p>John Fullerton</p> <p>John Gordon</p> <p>David Graham, M.P.</p> <p>Lord Grange</p>	<p>Miss Graham (sister of David)</p> <p>John Graham</p>	<p>Sir Thomas Frederick, M.P. (Shipping)</p> <p>Commander Gibson</p>	<p>Edward Gibbon, M.P. banker - London</p> <p>Richard Hoare (banker)</p>

A	B	C	D	E
<p>Mr Hay of Bolton</p>	<p>Commander James Hildre Commander Robert Haldane James Haldurton, M.P. of Pitou (married to Dunmond's sister Mary)</p> <p>Jean Haldurton (sons and da. of James (niece) Sir Peter Halkett, M.P. of Pittfarrine.</p> <p>Mr Hamilton Alexander Hay</p> <p>Charles, 1st Earl of Hopeoun Sir John Hope (2nd Earl of Hopeoun) Sir Thomas Hope of Rankeilior and Hope Park, Edinburgh.</p>	<p>Matthew Haldaranes</p> <p>James Haldurton John Haldurton</p> <p>Alexander Halkett (son of Sir Peter)</p>	<p>Gov. Edward Harrison M.P. and Director</p>	<p>Messrs. Hope (Dutch bankers)</p> <p>Gov. John Home (Dorkey)</p>

A	B	C	D	E
	<p>James Home of Garraleshiel (cousin of Sir Hew Dalrymple)</p> <p>Colonel Hutchinson</p> <p>Elizabeth, Lady Hyrford. Dr Robert Irres</p> <p>Mr Irvine</p> <p>Mr Keith of Orkney Sir James Kinloch Earl of Kinnoul James Lamb</p> <p>Lord Leven Richard Lindsay</p>	<p>Mr Hutchinson (son of the Col.)</p> <p>Daniel Irres (kinsman of the Dr.)</p>	<p>Commander Hutson</p> <p>Commander Hunter</p> <p>Commander Jenkins</p> <p>Christopher Lethbaldler Benjamin Lethbaldler (shippers)</p>	<p>Sir Theodore Janssen, M.P. : 47 banker - London. 33</p> <p>Sir John Lambert : banker - London John Law - French financier.</p>

A	B	C	D	E
<p>Henry Lowther of Westmoreland Sir William Lowther (brother of Henry) of Swillington Yorks, M.P.</p>	<p>Earl Marischal John Mackenzie of Dalvire Kenneth Mackenzie of Salforth (Lord Roctrose) Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, M.P. (3rd Bart.) Mr Mackenzie of Gray's Inn.</p>	<p>Colin Mackenzie John McQuilloch John Bray</p>	<p>Dr. Littlejohn Henry Lyell (Director) Gov. James Macrae (of Madras) Proprietor Commander Min Commander William Monson Commander Myles Morse & Monson - Free- merchants, Ft. St. George. Monson (Director)</p>	

Northborough

A	B	C	D	E
	Mr. Murray (Jacobite) Sir David Naltn		Commander Rastan Naine	
	Dr Nalsh	Mr Nalsh (brother of the Dr.)		Isaac Nimes banker - London
	Mr Ochterlary Lady Ann Ogilvie of Rochrington	Thomas Ogilvie		
	Laurence Oliphant of Gask	Peter Oliphant (brother of Laurence)	Gov. Philips Gov. George Morton Pitt, M.P.	
	Lord Queensberry Lord Queensferry Sir Gilbert Ramsay (Drummond's maternal grandfather)	Thomas Pringle		
	James Ramsay	George Ramsay William Ramsay (nephew of James)		

A	B	C	D	E
Baron John Scrope	<p>Lady Ramsden (of Byran) - English.</p> <p>Mr Rankin David Rennie Mr Robinson Lord Rotheres</p> <p>James Scott of Logie</p> <p>Iugh Scott of Gala Scott of Gowanberry</p> <p>James Sinclair Mr. & Mrs. Smith</p> <p>John Strachouse Sir Gilbert Stewart Sir James Stewart (brother) William Stewart (brother) John Stewart of Stewartfield</p>	<p>James Ramsden (son of Lady Ramsden)</p> <p>Major Roach</p> <p>William Riggs Commander Sardinians</p> <p>John Scott (relation of Logie)</p> <p>Mr. Smith Iugh Sommerville</p>	<p>Commander David Robertson</p> <p>Captain John Shephard</p>	<p>Mr Stales</p>

A	B	C	D	E
<p>Sir Robert Walpole</p>	<p>Sir George Stuart of Garraully</p> <p>Mrs Patricia Stevenson (of Edinburgh)</p> <p>Stirling of Keir</p> <p>Dr William Stratford (Canon of Christchurch, Oxford) (English)</p> <p>Sir David Threipland (Dunmore's kinsman)</p> <p>Lord Threipland (of Calder House)</p>	<p>Oliver Stewart</p> <p>Ordnance William Stevenson</p> <p>George Threipland (son of Sir David)</p> <p>Patrick, son of Lord Threipland</p> <p>George Traper</p>	<p>Gov. Wake.</p> <p>Commander Willson</p> <p>Josias Wordsworth (Director)</p>	
<p>Lord Tomstland</p>	<p>Earl of Tweeddale</p>	<p>Alexander Wetherburn (son of John)</p>		
<p>John Wetherburn of Dirbee</p>				

APPENDIX 2

THE SCOTTISH POLITICAL STRENGTH (IN LANDOWNING AND ELECTORAL TERMS)
OF JOHN DRUMMOND'S CONNECTIONS (See Appendix 1) PER COUNTY AND BURGH.

Aberdeenshire - average of 55 voters.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Landowner</u> (<u>Timperley</u>) ¹	<u>Electoral</u> (<u>Sedgwick</u>) ²
Farquharson	Yes	
John Burnett	Yes	
Earl of Errol	Yes	
Earl Marischal	Yes	
John Forbes		Yes

[1732 to 1747 Sir Archibald Forbes, M.P. - pro-govt. through Argathelian Whig interest].

Argyllshire - 40 to 50 voters

Dukes of Argyll controlled the interest - Hereditary Sheriffs. Campbells returned as M.Ps.

Ayrshire - 103 voters

Lord Cathcart	Yes
Gov. Macrae	Yes
Sir David Carnegie	Yes
Mr Alexander of Ballochmyle	Yes

[Chief interest held by the Dukes of Argyll, Earls of Loudon, Earls of Eglintoun].

Banffshire - 30 to 40 voters

Lord Abercrombie	Yes	Yes
Thos. Ogilvie		Yes

[1715 to 1727 Alex. Abercrombie M.P.; 1734 to 1747 and beyond, James Abercrombie M.P. (son of Alex. Abercrombie). Chief interest held by Abercrombie, Duffs and Ogilvies - all pro-govt.]

1. See Timperley, pp.1 to 33 passim. With these lands shown went superiorities.

2. See Sedgwick, vol. 1, pp.381 to 404 passim. They enjoyed political influence through title, station or office, such as hereditary sheriff.

	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
<u>Berwickshire</u> - 50 voters		
Lord Hyndford	Yes	
Marquis of Tweeddale	Yes	
Sir John Sinclair		Yes

[1741 to 1747 and beyond Sir John Sinclair M.P. pro-govt. Chief interest in the Earls of Marchmont].

Buteshire - 15 voters

[Chief interest in the Bute family and kinsmen, the Dukes of Argyll. Patrick Campbell M.P. from 1722 to 1747 and beyond].

Caithness - 13 voters

Sir James Sinclair of Ulbster	Yes	Yes
John Gordon		Yes

[Sinclairs of Ulbster had purchased the Hereditary Sheriffdom in 1715. They were pro-govt. All M.Ps. from 1715 to 1741 and beyond pro-govt.].

Clackmannanshire - 25 voters

Chas. Erskine		Yes
---------------	--	-----

[William Dalrymple was Hereditary Sheriff. 1722 to 1734 Sir John Shaw of Sauchie M.P., pro-govt.; 1734 to 1747 James Erskine (Squadron); 1747 and beyond, Thos. Erskine, pro-govt.].

Cromartyshire - 5 to 10 voters

John Mackenzie of Delvine	Yes	
Lord Seaforth	Yes	
Mackenzie of Rosehaugh	Yes	
Sir Kenneth Mackenzie (Lord Fortrose)	Yes	Yes
John and Sir Henry Munro of Foulis		Yes

[Earls of Cromarty were Hereditary Sheriffs. From 1727 to 1729 Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and Sir George Mackenzie M.Ps. pro-govt.].

	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
<u>Dumfriesshire</u> - 50 to 70 voters		
Earl of Hopetoun	Yes	
D. of Queensberry	Yes	Yes
Charles Erskine		Yes
Marquis of Annandale		Yes
Lord Douglas		Yes

[Dukes of Queensberry were Hereditary Sheriffs. Annandale interest very strong. 1722 to 1734 Charles Erskine M.P. pro-govt. From 1741 to 1747 and beyond Sir John Douglas and Lord Charles Douglas M.Ps.].

Dunbartonshire - 20 voters

Lord Elphinstone	Yes
------------------	-----

[Dukes of Argyll held the interest].

Edinburghshire (Mid Lothian) - 80 voters

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik	Yes	
James Haliburton	Yes	
Earl of Hopetoun	Yes	
Mr. Law of Lauriston	Yes	
Lord Torphichen	Yes	
Marquis of Tweeddale	Yes	Yes
Earl of Morton	Yes	
Sir John Baird		Yes

[1715 to 1722 John Baird M.P. pro-govt.].

Elginshire (Morayshire) - 40 to 50 voters

Earl of Moray (John Stewart)	Yes	Yes
Sir James Stewart	Yes	Yes
William Stewart	Yes	Yes
John Forbes of Culloden	Yes	Yes

[Earls of Moray had been Hereditary Sheriffs, but out in the 1715 and chief interest devolved to the Grants of Grant. Moray interest still strong].

	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
<u>Fifeshire</u> - 81 voters		
Duke of Atholl	Yes	
Sir Peter Halkett	Yes	
Sir Thomas Hope or Rankeillor (and Hope Park, Edinburgh)	Yes	
Earl of Hopetoun	Yes	
Earl of Leven	Yes	
Earl of Moray	Yes	
Sir John Sinclair	Yes	
Marquis of Tweeddale	Yes	
Earl of Morton	Yes	
Earls of Rothes (Leslie)	Yes	Yes

[Hereditary Sheriff the Earl of Rothes. His cousin, Sir John Anstruther, of Anstruther burghs, was M.P. from 1715 to 1741].

Forfarshire (Angus) - 42 to 70 voters

Mr. Ochterlony of Pitfourie	Yes	
Sir David Carnegie of Southesk	Yes	Yes
Mr. Arbuthnot	Yes	
Mr. James Scott of Logie	Yes	Yes
Ogilvie of Fotheringham	Yes	Yes
Haliburton of Pitcur	Yes	
Mackenzie of Rosehaugh	Yes	
Munro of Foulis	Yes	
Wedderburn	Yes	
Earl Marischal	Yes	Yes

[Although attainted for part in 1715 the Ogilvie, Carnegie and Maule families kept some interest up to 1727 and were strong thereafter].

Haddingtonshire (East Lothian) - 55 voters

Sir Hew Dalrymple	Yes	Yes
Fletcher of Saltoun (Lord Milton)	Yes	Yes
Lady Amelia Halkett	Yes	
Earl of Hopetoun	Yes	
Countess Hyndford	Yes	
Marquis of Tweeddale	Yes	Yes

[From 1708 to 1741 John Cockburn M.P. pro-govt. 1741 to 1747 Lord Charles Hay (Brother of M. of Tweeddale)].

	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
<u>Invernesshire</u> - 30 to 80 voters		
John Forbes of Culloden	Yes	Yes
Earl of Moray	Yes	
[Chief interest lay with Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. 1722 to 1741 Sir James Grant M.P. pro-govt. Whig.]		

<u>Kincardineshire</u> - 20-30 voters		
John, Viscount Arbutnot	Yes	
Earl Marischal	Yes	Yes
Mr. Burnett	Yes	
Mr. Carnegie	Yes	Yes
James Scott	Yes	Yes
[Hereditary Sheriff had been George Keith, the Earl Marischal. He was Jacobite so Govt. had apptd. deputy sheriffs. But interest still strong. 1715 to 1734 James Scott of Comieston M.P., pro-govt. 1734 to 1747 and beyond, John Falconer and Sir James Carnegie M.Ps., both pro-govt. too].		

<u>Kinrosshire</u> - 25 voters		
Duke of Atholl	Yes	
[Hereditary Sheriff was Sir John Bruce Hope - hostile from 1729. 1715 to 1727 William Douglas M.P. 1727 to 1741 and beyond, John Bruce Hope].		

<u>Kirkcudbrightshire</u> - 51 voters		
Charles and Thomas Hairstanes	Yes	
Alexander Murray of Broughton		Yes
Earl of Annandale	Yes	Yes
Duke of Queensberry	Yes	
[Hereditary Sheriff was the Earl of Annandale. He was related to Alexander Murray of Broughton M.P. from 1715 to 1727, pro-govt. 1727 to 1741 Patrick Heron M.P., pro-govt.].		

	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
<u>Lanarkshire</u> - 70 voters		
Lord Elphinstone	Yes	
Earl of Hopetoun	Yes	
Lord Hyndford	Yes	
Duke of Queensberry	Yes	
Sir James Stewart	Yes	Yes

[Hereditary Sheriffs were the Tory Dukes of Hamilton. From 1715 to 1718 the pro-govt. Whig James Lockhart M.P. 1718 to 1750 Opposition M.Ps.].

Linlithgowshire (West Lothian) - 40 voters

Earl of Hopetoun	Yes	Yes
Lord and Lady Torphichen	Yes	

[Hereditary Sheriff was the Earl of Hopetoun. 1715 to 1722 Sir James Cunninghame M.P. pro-govt.; 1722 to 1727 George Dundas, M.P. (Squadron); 1727 to 1741 Alex. Hamilton M.P. pro-govt.].

Nairnshire - 15 to 20 voters

John Forbes of Culloden	Yes	Yes
-------------------------	-----	-----

[Chief interest and Hereditary Sheriffs were the Campbells of Cawdor. They were supported by the Whig ministry. Pro-govt. M.Ps. from 1722 to 1747 and beyond were: John Forbes of Culloden, John Campbell, Alex. Brodie, John Campbell].

Orkney & Shetland - 7 voters

Earl of Morton	Yes	Yes
Robert and George Douglas		Yes
James Haliburton		Yes

[In the 17th century the Crown granted the isles to the Earls of Morton. All M.Ps. returned were related to the Mortons. George Douglas, the Earl's brother was M.P. from 1722 to 1730 as was Robert Douglas from 1730 to 1747 and James Haliburton from 1747 and beyond].

LandownerElectoralPeeblesshire - 20 voters

Sir James Clerk of Penicuik Yes

[Earls of March were Hereditary Sheriffs (Douglases). They controlled all elections in the period 1715 to 1747 and beyond].

Perthshire - 39 voters

Drummonds of Blair	Yes	Yes
John Drummond of Megginch	Yes	Yes
James Haldane	Yes	
Duke and Duchess of Atholl	Yes	Yes
Lord and Lady Kinloch	Yes	
Earl of Kinnoull	Yes	
John Mackenzie of Delvine	Yes	
Earl of Moray	Yes	
James Moray of Abercairney	Yes	
Laurence Oliphant of Gask	Yes	
Sir George Stewart of Grandtully	Yes	
Stirlings of Keir	Yes	
David Graeme		Yes

[Centre of Jacobitism but chief interest belonged to the Dukes of Atholl, the Hereditary Sheriffs (Murrays). They were pro-govt. 1715 to 1724 Lord James Murray M.P.; 1724 to 1726 the Whig landowner David Graeme; 1726 to 1727 the Whig Mungo Haldane of Gleneagles; 1727 to 1734 John Drummond of Megginch, a follower of Atholl whose daughter married the 2nd Duke. He also had Islay's total support. 1734 to 1747 and beyond Lord John Murray].

Renfrewshire - 40 voters

Lord Cathcart (via his father-in-law Sir John Shaw of Greenock)	Yes	Yes
---	-----	-----

[The Hereditary Sheriff was the Earl of Eglintoun - but he did not intervene in elections. 1715 to 1722 Sir Robert Pollock (Whig), was M.P.; 1722 to 1727 Thomas Cochrane; 1727 to 1734 Sir John Shaw, a protégé of the Duke of Argyll. 1734 to 1742 Alex. Cunninghame of Craigends (Opposition Whig); 1742 to 1747 William Mure of Caldwell, also opposed to the ministry].

Landowner

Electoral

Rosshire - 31 voters

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie		Yes
Mr. Robert Munro of Foulis		Yes

[From George I onwards the Sheriff was appointed by the Government. (William, 12th Lord Ross and his brother General Charles Ross [Tory]). 1715 to 1722 Charles Ross M.P. (Tory); 1722 to 1727 Alex Urquhart (Govt.); 1727 to 1733 Charles Ross M.P. (Govt.); 1733 to 1734 John Munro (Govt.). He had the support of his uncle the Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes. 1734 to 1741 Hugh Rose (brother-in-law of Forbes [who was then the Sheriff]). 1741 to 1746 Charles Rose M.P.].

Roxburghshire - 60 voters

Thomas and John Pringle	Yes	Yes
Hugh Scott of Gala	Yes	
Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto		Yes

[Chief interest that of the Hereditary Sheriff Archibald Douglas of Cavers. 1715 to 1722 William Douglas M.P. (Govt.); 1722 to 1727 Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto M.P. (Govt.); 1725 to 1728 William Douglas M.P. (Govt.); 1728 to 1741 John Rutherford M.P. (Squadron)].

Selkirkshire - 31 voters

Lord Elphinstone	Yes	
Hugh Scott of Gala	Yes	
Thomas & John Pringle	Yes	Yes

[Chief interest that of the Hereditary Sheriff John Murray of Philliphugh (John Pringle was his brother-in-law). 1715 to 1727 John Pringle M.P. (Govt.); 1730 to 1734 James Rutherford M.P. (Govt.), also brother-in-law to the Hereditary Sheriff; 1734 to 1747 John Murray M.P. (Opposition)].

Landowner

Electoral

Stirlingshire - 51 voters

Robert, James & John Haldane	Yes	
Lord Elphinstone	Yes	
Charles & Thomas Erskine		Yes

[The Chief interest that of the Hereditary Sheriff the 1st Duke of Montrose (Squadrone). The Erskine interest in abeyance due to the Earl of Mar and the 1715. 1715 to 1722 Munro Haldane M.P. (Squadrone); 1722 to 1727 John Grahame M.P. (Squadrone); 1727 to 1734 Henry Cunningham M.P. (Govt.) Erskine interest; 1734 to 1741 Sir James Campbell M.P. (Govt.) Through Cunningham who was praeses of the election meeting; 1741 to 1747 Lord George Graham (Govt.) with Erskine support.

Sutherland - 10 voters

Sir James Fergusson	Yes	Yes
James Sinclair	Yes	Yes

[The Chief interest was that of the Hereditary Sheriffs the Earls of Sutherland who were 'Whigs and Govt. pensioners'. 1715 to 1727 William Gordon M.P. (Squadrone); 1727 to 1734 William Sutherland M.P. (Govt.); 1734 to 1736 Sir James Fergusson M.P. (Govt.); 1736 to 1747 James Sinclair M.P. (Govt.)].

Wigtonshire - 37 voters

John Gordon of Grange	Yes	
-----------------------	-----	--

[Chief interest that of the Hereditary Sheriffs the Agnews of Lochmaw. They were allies of the (Govt.) Whig Stewarts, Earls of Galloway and the Dalrymples of Stair. 1715 to 1727 John Stewart (Govt.) an Argyll Whig was M.P.; 1727 to 1741 William Dalrymple M.P. (Opposition); 1741 to 1747 James Stewart M.P. (Govt. Whig)].

Aberdeen Burghs - 85 voters

Lord Arbuthnot		Yes
----------------	--	-----

1715 - Jas. Erskine M.P. (Tory); 1715 to 1722 John Middleton M.P. (Govt.) Argyll Whig; 1722 William Kerr M.P. (Squadrone); 1722 to 1739 John Middleton M.P. (Govt.); 1739 to 1743 John Maule M.P. (Govt.). He was Secretary to Islay, half-brother of William Maule (Lord Panmure) who controlled Arbroath, Montrose and Brechin. Aberdeen Council consulted him on choice of Member.

Landowner

Electoral

Anstruther Easter Burghs - 94 voters

Lord Rothes

Yes

[Chief interest was in the Anstruther family, headed by Sir John Anstruther. The Hereditary Sheriff was Lord Rothes. 1715 to 1734 Philip Anstruther (nephew of Sir John) was M.P. (Govt.); 1741 to 1747 John Stewart M.P. (Opposition); 1747 and beyond Philip Anstruther M.P.].

Ayr Burghs - 83 voters

Charles Erskine

Yes

[Under Argyll/Bute control; and in 1723 Argyll and Islay were guardians of their nephew the 3rd Earl of Bute. 1715 to 1720 Charles Oliphant M.P. (Govt.); 1720 to 1721 Duncan Forbes M.P.; 1721 to 1734 William Stewart M.P.; 1734 to 1741 James Stewart M.P.; 1741 to 1747 George Forbes M.P.; 1747 to 1749 Charles Erskine M.P. All Government Whigs].

Dumfries Burghs - 93 voters

Duke of Queensberry

Yes

Marquis of Annandale

Yes

[Chief interest in the Douglasses, Dukes of Queensberry; and the Johnstones, Marquesses of Annandale. 1715 to 1722 Alex. Fergusson M.P. (Govt.); 1722 to 1727 William Douglas M.P. (Govt.); 1727 to 1734 Archibald Douglas M.P. (Govt.); 1734 to 1735 Charles Aerskine M.P. (Govt.); 1735 to 1738 Wm. Kirkpatrick M.P. (Govt.); 1738 to 1741 Sir Robert Laurie M.P. (Govt.)].

Dysart Burghs - 83 voters

Lord Rothes

Yes

James Sinclair

Yes

[Chief interests were the Earls of Rothes and James Sinclair, an Argyll Whig. 1715 to 1722 William Kerr M.P. (Squadron); 1722 to 1734 James Sinclair M.P. (Govt.); 1734 to 1741 Thomas Leslie M.P. (Squadron); 1741 to 1747 James Oswald M.P. (Govt.)].

	<u>Landowner</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
<u>Edinburgh</u> - 33 voters		
John and Sir William Baird of Saughtonhall	Yes	Yes
Earl of Moray	Yes	
Rigg of Morton	Yes	
Provost George Drummond		Yes

[Controlled by the Duke of Argyll and Islay. 1715 to 1721 George Warrender (Lord Provost) M.P.; 1721 to 1734 John Campbell M.P. (Govt. Whig); 1734 to 1741 Patrick Lindsay M.P. (Govt. Whig)].

Elgin Burghs - 96 voters

Lady Ann Ogilvie (dau. of Earl of Findlater)	Yes
---	-----

[Chief interest in the Earl of Kintore (Tory) and Earl of Findlater (Whig). 1715 James Murray M.P. (Tory); 1715 to 1722 John Campbell M.P. (Argyll Whig); 1722 William Fraser M.P. (Jacobite); 1722 to 1727 John Campbell (Argyll Whig) M.P.; 1727 William Stewart (Argyll Whig) M.P.; 1728 to 1734 Patrick Campbell (Argyll Whig) M.P.; 1734 to 1741 William Stewart (Argyll Whig) M.P.].

Glasgow Burghs - 88 voters

[Chief interest in the Duke of Argyll].

Haddington Burghs - 99 voters

Andrew Fletcher (Lord Milton)	Yes
----------------------------------	-----

[Chief interest that of the Dalrymples of Hailes (branch of the Stair family). 1715 to 1722 Sir David Dalrymple M.P.; 1722 to 1734 Sir James Dalrymple M.P.; 1734 to 1742 James Fall M.P. (Govt. Whig)].

Landowner

Electoral

Inverness Burghs - 70 voters

Duncan and John Forbes of Culloden	Yes
Kenneth Mackenzie (Lord Fortrose)	Yes

[Chief interest in the Forbes family of Culloden. In Inverness the Seaforths Hugh Rose also strong. 1715 to 1722 William Stewart M.P.; 1722 Alex. Gordon M.P. (Squadron); 1722 to 1737 Duncan Forbes M.P. (Govt.); 1737 to 1741 Duncan Urquhart (nephew of Duncan Forbes) M.P. (Govt.); 1741 to 1747 Kenneth Mackenzie (Lord Fortrose) M.P. (Govt.)].

Linlithgow Burghs - 94 voters

Earl of Hyndford	Yes
George Douglas (Lord Morton)	Yes
John Murray	Yes
James Carmichael (son of Lord Hyndford)	Yes

[Chief interests were the Earl of Hyndford in Lanark, the Earl of March in Peebles, John Murray (Hereditary Sheriff of Selkirkshire) in Selkirk, the Duke of Hamilton in Linlithgow. 1708 to 1722 George Douglas M.P. (Whig); 1722 to 1725 Daniel Weir M.P. (Tory); 1725 to 1734 John Murray M.P. (Tory); 1734 to 1741 James Carmichael M.P. (Govt.). He was son of the Earl of Hyndford].

Perth Burghs - 124 voters

Earl of Rothes	Yes
Charles & William Erskine	Yes
John Drummond's family and relations	Yes

[The burghs were open and venal. The Earl of Rothes, with his seat at Cupar, was the nearest to an interest. 1715 to 1722 Patrick Haldane M.P. (Govt.); 1722 Charles Leslie M.P. (Squadron); 1722 to 1727 William Erskine M.P. (Argyll Whig); 1727 to 1743 John Drummond of Quarrel M.P. (Govt. Whig). "A wealthy businessman who supported the Government."].

Landowner

Electoral

Stirling Burghs - 98 voters

Charles, Thomas and James Erskine	Yes
Sir Peter Halkett	Yes
James, Robert and George Haldane	Yes

[The Burghs were open and venal. 1715 to 1728 Henry Cunningham M.P. (Govt. Whig); 1728 to 1734 Thomas Erskine M.P. (Islay Whig), nephew of James Erskine who was attached to Islay; 1734 to 1741 Peter Halkett M.P. (Islay Whig)].

Tain Burghs - 80 voters

Robert Munro of Foulis	Yes
Charles Aerskine	Yes
Earl of Morton	Yes

[Chief interests were the Sinclairs of Ulbster in Wick, the Earl of Morton in Kirkwall, the Munros of Foulis in Tain, the Earl of Cromarty in Dingwall and the Earl of Sutherland in Dornoch. 1715 to 1741 Sir Robert Munro of Foulis M.P. (Govt. Whig); 1741 to 1742 Charles Aerskine M.P. (Islay Whig, Govt.)].

Wigton Burghs - 76 voters

[Chief interests were the Earls of Galloway (Stewarts) in Wigton and Whithorn; Earl of Stair (Dalrymples) in Stranraer and New Galloway. 1715 to 1722 Sir Patrick Vane M.P.; 1722 to 1728 William Dalrymple M.P. (Govt.); 1728 to 1734 John Dalrymple M.P. (Govt.); 1734 to 1741 James Stewart M.P. (Govt.)].

APPENDIX 3

Connections among powerful political families associated with John Drummond. They strengthened his position in Scotland and that of the Argathelian group within the Whig party at Westminster governed by Walpole.

1. Moray of Abercairney - Haliburton - J. Moray (nephew).
2. Aberdour - Douglas - Dunicade - Halkett - Haliburton.
3. Argyll - Islay - John Scrope - Milton.
4. Atholl - Sir George Stuart of Garantully.
5. Bathurst - Wentworth.
6. Governor Carnegie - John Carnegie M.P. of Baysack (1715 Jacobite) - James Murray (1715 Jacobite) - Milton.
7. Lord Douglas - Robert, Andrew, James Douglas (his brothers) - Fotheringham - Ochterlony - Alex. Wedderburn - Smith (Wedderburn's brother-in-law).
8. Drummonds of Perth - Viscount Strathallan - Andrew Drummond (London banker).
9. John Drummond of Megginch - John Hay of Haystoun (uncle).
10. Dupplin - E. of Kinnoul (his father) - Oxford (his mother was the daughter of R. Harley the 1st Earl of Oxford) - Erskine (Dupplin's father was Mar's brother-in-law).
11. Elliot of Minto - Carnegie - Milton.
12. Errol - Earl Marischal - Surgeon Irvine - Mr. Fergusson.
13. Charles Erskine - John Mackenzie of Delvine - Queensberry - Sir Gilbert Stuart - Monzie - James Campbell - Sir John Hope - William Hairstanes (Charles Erskine's father-in-law) - James Erskine (M.P. for Aberdeen Burghs in 1715) - Ramsay of Bamffe, Perth (Erskine's mother was the widow of Thomas Ramsay of Bamffe) - Thomas Erskine of Alloa, M.P. - Thomas Hay, 7th Duke of Kinnoul (his wife, Charlotte, was Hopetoun's daughter).
14. John Forbes - Duncan Forbes of Culloden (cousins) - Clerk of Penicuik's cousin. [John Forbes was Deputy Sheriff of Edinburgh in 1722 (son of Sir David Forbes of Newhall), and Duncan Forbes' Advocate Deputy in 1725] - Earl Marischal - Countess of Errol.
15. Haldanes.

16. Hopetoun - Hope of Rankeillor and Hope Park - Sir John Hope - Charles Erskine - James Sinclair - James Gordon.
17. Sir James Kinloch - Halkett - Haliburton - Aberdour - Leven - John Drummond's family in Perth and their connections.
18. E. of Kinnoul - James Gordon - Coutts the bankers - Andrew Drummond, banker - E. of Morton - Grange - Alex. Hay - Mr. Hamilton - Mr Alexander.
19. John Leslie, 8th E. of Rothes - Tweeddale (married to Jean, daughter of John, 2nd Marquis of Tweeddale).
20. Henry Lowther - Sir W. Lowther - H. Lowther (Senior) - Earl of Hyndford.
21. Gov. James Macrae - Macrae's brother - Milton - Alex. Wedderburn - Major Roach - Governor Pitt.
22. Mackenzies.
23. Milton - Carnegie - Macrae - Kinloch (through his wife, daughter of Sir Francis Kinloch, 2nd Bart. of Gilmerton).
24. Commander Monson - H. Campbell - Gov. Macrae - Major Roach - Gov. Pitt.
25. E. of Morton - Aberdour (his son) - Halkett - Haliburton - Wedderburn - John Drummond's brothers and family connections - Abercromby - Cathcart - Rothes.
26. Ogilvie - Fotheringham - Findlater - Hopetoun.
27. Oliphant - J. Haliburton - Morton - Laurence Oliphant of Gask (brother).
28. Queensberry - Leven - Clerk of Penicuik.
29. W. Ramsay - Kinnoul - Scott of Logie - Drummonds of Blair.
30. W. Rigg - Sir Hew Dalrymple (cousin) - James Home of Garnelshiel (brother).
31. Commander D. Robertson - John Haliburton - Morton - John Mackenzie of Delvine - David Rannie.
32. Scott of Gala - Douglasses.
33. Sir Gilbert Stewart - Peter Wedderburn - Halkett.
34. George Threipland - Sir David Threipland (father) - Christian Threipland (sister) - Elizabeth Threipland (sister and wife of Henry Smith of Cammo) - all relations of John Drummond.

35. George Traper - Lady Lovat (grandmother) - Duchess of Atholl - Sir George Stuart of Guarantully - Mr. Stirling of Perth.

36. Scots in India 'managed' by John Drummond who had useful political relations in Scotland. These included: Alex. Wedderburn - M. Hairstanes - Kenneth Mackenzie - Commander Wilson - Matthew Coutts - Henry Crawford - Arbuthnot - Naish - Hamilton - Cleland - Ramsay - Sandilands - Munro.

APPENDIX 4

JOHN DRUMMOND OF QUARREL'S PARLIAMENTARY FRIENDS. THEY MUSTERED IN THE ARGATHELIAN BLOC AS GOVERNMENT WHIGS AND WALPOLE SUPPORTERS.

On the whole these were the same powerful and influential men to be found in the Scottish counties and burghs. Many of them received India patronage from Drummond. Until 1742 Argyll and Islay were joined at various times by Lords Abercromby, Queensberry, Annandale, Douglas, Rothes, Tweeddale, Morton, Hopetoun, Atholl, Cathcart and Findlater. In the Commons Drummond was joined by others he favoured with India posts. They included: Alexander Arbuthnot, M.P. for Inverness;¹ Sir John Hope Bruce of Culdraines (only until the 1732 election);² and John Drummond of Megginch.³ Charles Aerskine, Solicitor-General and then Lord Advocate,⁴ was accompanied by Thomas Erskine, the eldest son of the 6th Earl of Mar and his kinsman. Thomas Erskine was also firmly in the Drummond camp through the Erskine connection and also because of his mother, Lady Margaret Hay, who was the daughter of Drummond's great friend, Thomas Hay, 7th Earl of Kinnoull, and firmly in the Argathelian-Walpole circle.⁵ Another supporter was James Erskine, who was attached to Drummond because his mother was the widow of Thomas Ramsay of Bamffe, Perth, Drummond's relation on his mother's side.⁶

1. See J. Foster Members of Parliament, Scotland, p.16.

2. Sedgwick, vol. 2, pp.47-3. He was married to the sister of Sir Peter Halkett, Drummond's great friend.

3. See Sedgwick, vol. 1, p.622.

4. Sedgwick, vol. 1, p.420. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Hairstones of Craigs, Kirkcudbrightshire. (see Matthew Hairstones Ch.6, p.132).

5. See Sedgwick, vol. 2, p.17. He was married to Lady Charlotte Hope, daughter of Charles, 1st Earl of Hopetoun, also Drummond's friend.

6. Sedgwick, vol. 2, p.14.

Others in Parliament just as important and useful to the Argathelians and linked to them through India patronage included Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, James Haliburton of Pitcur, Sir John Hope (later 2nd Earl of Hopetoun), David Graeme, Sir Peter Halkett, Kenneth Mackenzie (later Lord Fortrose), Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty, Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, John and William Maule, Sir James St. Clair, William Stewart, and James Scott of Logie.¹ Added to John Drummond's other friends in Parliament, through business and connections in London, they formed a not inconsiderable knot of supporters and gave him a fairly formidable political interest. This latter group consisted of colleagues like Sir Matthew Decker, Sir John Eyles and Governor Edward Harrison, who were fellow East India Company Directors as well as Members of Parliament. Others included Sir Thomas Frederick, the Shipper, Edward Gibbon, Richard Hoare and Sir Theodore Janssen the banker.² The faction also embraced: Edward Lord Harley, Sir William Lowther of Swillington, Yorkshire; Alexander and Abraham Hume, who were also Proprietors of India stock; John Pringle, relative of Drummond's friend Thomas Pringle of Selkirk; and Sir John Ramsden of Byram, Yorkshire, husband of Lady Ramsden whose son was helped to India by John Drummond.³

1. See Sedgwick, vols. 1 & 2, passim.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

APPENDIX 5

JACOBITISM AND THE PATRONAGE SYSTEM 1742-1774

The fall of Walpole in 1742 had left a power vacuum in Scotland and England, and with Whig power divided the scene was set for the Jacobites. The movement was helped by the absence of strong forces in the Highlands, and by the fact that law-abiding Chiefs were in the minority.¹ Before the rebellion the Government's aim was to contain the Highlands as a hostile political region and Argyll was consulted in this capacity. Containment did not work, and after the '45 the Government's intention was to "integrate the Highlands with the rest of Britain"; and at a political and military level this policy was "pursued extensively and with great determination", because the ministry had received a real fright.²

Islay helped subdue the rebellion, but thereafter, he and Milton favoured a gentle wearing away of the Jacobites from their old connections to the new Hanoverial order, "with an emphasis on economic improvement rather than political repression."³ Pelham's willingness to use the Argathelians in Scotland allowed them their opportunity to push for such assimilation, and the Pelham-Argyll link was very good for Scotland and the Jacobites, lasting until Pelham's death in 1754.⁴ One of Islay's ideas was the formation of Highland regiments after the '45.⁵ His lead was followed by his lieutenants

1. Mitchison, pp.333-5.

2. Youngson, p.26.

3. Murdoch, p.67, mentioned in The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, 1733-1805, p.272.

4. Ibid., p.67. See also Sir James Grant's Memorial to Henry Pelham, 30 Oct. 1765, Mitchell Library, S.R. 177.

5. See Appendix 6 on E.I.Co. regts.

in Scotland. Duncan Forbes of Culloden suggested in 1746 that although the rebellion began in Scotland most Scots were "well affected" and that counting them in with the rebels would cause trouble. No disadvantages, he argued, should, therefore, be shown to the Scots.¹ With Milton, known Jacobites who could be assimilated, were treated kindly. Cumming of Pitulie, Graham of Airth the Younger, Hamilton of Reidhouse and John Hay, W.S., were in this category.² However, following Pelham's death in 1754, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke squeezed identifiable Jacobites off the various official Commissions, especially in Invernesshire. He thus thwarted the original intention of allowing Jacobites to gradually fill posts, such as Justices of the Peace, in doing so becoming absorbed into the new political regime.

There was a need, therefore, for India patronage in this post-Culloden, and particularly, post-Pelham period. Islay and Milton determined upon the use of Indian favours to cajole and entice Jacobite sympathisers into reconciliation and acceptance of the Hanoverians and the Union. This patronage was not conspicuous enough to cause outrage elsewhere in Whig circles. It could be managed and directed quietly and without fuss.³ As it was, in London Milton was suspected because of this policy of "countenancing Jacobites too much."⁴

1. E.U.L. Laing MSS. vol. 2, p.384, 'Suggestions by Duncan Forbes of Culloden.'

2. N.L.S. MSS. 16627, f.8, Alex. Howe to Milton, 6 Mar. 1746. For Milton's strenuous efforts at assimilation see p. 156 et passim.

3. Lenman, pp.176-7; Riddy, p.14.

4. N.L.S. Milton MSS. 11669, f.204. George Lind to Milton, 12 Jan. 1743.

It is probable that Captain Robert Haldane (q.v.) and his nephew, Captain James Haldane (q.v.) carried Jacobite sympathisers to India. Certainly Robert Haldane was mentioned in the 'Jacobite Journal' of 1748 and James became Captain of the aptly named Indiaman the Duke of Albany. There is no trace of Jacobitism, however, in the Haldane family, and it appears that they were fulfilling the wishes of their friend Milton in transporting them east.¹ The appointment in 1762 to the Captaincy of the Duke of Albany, of Alexander Stewart, eldest son of the Jacobite Stewart of Ardshiel, was certainly due to the influence of Islay and Milton. Stewart succeeded Captain James Haldane in the post.² Captain Alexander Macleod of the Lord Mansfield (q.v.) gave a similar service, providing a recognised escape route for Highland Jacobites. Although not a Jacobite himself, his father had been 'out' in the '15 and the '45, and probably explains his sympathies. The ships surgeon on the Lord Mansfield, for example, was the Jacobite Alexander Macdonald of Skye.³ Captain William Fullarton-Elphinstone (q.v.) provided the same kind of service. His grand-uncle was the Jacobite George Keith, 10th Earl Marischal of Scotland, who helped him with money and all the influence he could still bring to bear.⁴

Yet another example of this activity was the case of Baillie John Stewart, a merchant in Inverness, who sent one of his sons to India using Government inspired India patronage. He was owner and

1. N.L.S. MSS. 16663, f.200, dated 8 Sep. 1748 'Jacobite Journal'; Riddy, pp.8,10.

2. See Riddy, p.14.

3. See I. F. Grant, The Macleods, The History of a Clan, 1200-1956, pp.468,496; Riddy, p.14.

4. See W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family, vol. 1, pp.5-6.

part-owner of a dozen ships "skipped by highland gentlemen, kinsmen or sons-in-law." He was sympathetic to the Jacobites and used his Whig friends to help them. Finally, there was John Stewart, son of the Jacobite Archibald Stewart, M.P., who in turn was a brother of Sir James Stewart of Allanbank. By 1759 John Stewart was a partner in his father's wine-merchant business in York Buildings, London, which had been set up after the '45. By the mid-1760s John worked hand in glove with Lauchlin Maclean (q.v.) and his cousins, John Stewart, wine merchant in the Strand, and with Sir James Cockburn (q.v.), furthering the careers of his kinsmen through the East India Company. Most of this help was given in the free-for-all years of 1765-1774 and it reflects the fact that to outward appearances at least, most Jacobites had become very nearly good Whigs.¹

1. See Namier & Brooke, vol. 3, pp.480-1; Maclean, pp.186-7; Shearer, p.200. Sir James Stewart of Allanbank was the son of the Solicitor-General for Scotland. He had been a Jacobite exile and a political economist. In 1771 he was pardoned. (For York Buildings see above, p.34).

APPENDIX 6

THE DELIBERATE RECRUITMENT OF SCOTS INTO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ARMY USING GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE, 1720-1774

Before the 1750s the presence of Scottish soldiers in India was due mainly to Scottish adventuring spirit. For generations beforehand this Scottish presence had been witnessed in the armies of France, Russia, Sweden and elsewhere in Europe. Certainly poverty of both sustenance and opportunity at home had helped create this development as well. Scots in India were no different. In the 1704 to 1714 period Scots such as Lt. Wallace, Ensigns Kirkbred, Sommerville and Alex. Campbell were members of Independent Companies in Madras. They were not Company servants but were contracted by the Presidencies as and when required. In the following decades more Scots are to be found, particularly in Madras and again mainly as members of independent Companies; for example, Major David Wilson, Captains James Johnson, Alex. Sutherland, Alex. Fullerton, Lt. David Murray and Ensign Clarke.¹

Between 1740 and 1755 the major factor encouraging the large military recruitment to India was the European war which spilled east to the Presidencies of the rival European combatants. As far as Scotland was concerned two other factors contributed to the flood of Scottish soldiers who made their way east - out of all proportion to Scotland's population within the British Isles. One of these was the impact of the Walpole-Drummond, Islay-Milton patronage system;

1. Love, Vestiges, vol.1, pp.128,129,157,158,196,205,212,387,547,549; W. H. Warren & N. Barlow, St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, Madras, p.36; Records of Clan Campbell, pp.1,228; P. Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India, 1784-1906, p.19.

the other, the post Culloden drafting of troops, such as Col. Caroline Scott from the Hanoverian side.¹ In the 1740s and early 1750s most of these Scots made their way to the major theatre, the Carnatic, where war against the French and their allies was being fought. By 1746 the Madras garrison had been built up to 10 officers; St. Davids, Pondichery the same. By the 1750s this number had doubled and by 1775 those on the Madras establishment alone numbered 412, an "amazing increase in the course of a generation."² The numbers of officers and soldiers in the Company's settlements doubled from 1020 in 1747 to 2601 in 1755. They included Capt. Bruce at Fort St. David, Pondicherry in 1747, Ensign Campbell in Bombay in 1741 and Ensign Thomas Kirkpatrick at St. Helena in 1741. It is not surprising that many of these men were Campbells. Islay's patronage of his kinsmen is reflected in the large number of that clan (at least 12 out of 25 Scots officers) in Madras between 1747 and 1757.³

Massive recruitment came with the Seven Years War. Ex-Jacobite soldiers were now considered acceptable recruits. Even the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, expressed his interest in raising regiments in Scotland. In 1759 he asked the Lord Advocate, Robert Dundas, his opinion on this.⁴ The elder Pitt's neutral attitude to the Scots helped; and the machinery of recruitment in the Highlands (through the Chiefs), and in the Lowlands (through the Lairds),

1. See Bryant, passim.

2. Love, Vestiges, vol.3, p.75.

3. Love, Vestiges, passim; Records of Clan Campbell, passim; N.L.S. Minto MSS. 11041, Item 8. (See also Campbells in Appendix 7).

4. Omand, p.161.

worked to denude the country of its fighting men.¹ Among these Scots going into the Company's forces as officers, most were the sons of the Scots aristocracy and upper bourgeois. More often than not their military cadetship was because not enough influence could be brought to bear to gain a Writers position in the civil branch. The East Indies also saw the arrival of Royal forces, such as the Duke of Gordon's 89th Foot, who set foot in India in 1760. Scotland was being scoured for men,² but the influx from there into the Company's army continued. It was added to by many from the Royal forces who remained in India when their regiment was disbanded.³

These young Scotsmen were in India to get a fortune quickly and get out again. They appear on the establishment of every Presidency from 1747 onwards in ever-increasing numbers. Sons of the Lowland Whig gentry preponderated, but their numbers were leavened by clutches of 'loyal' Highlanders, such as the Campbells; a trickle of ex-Jacobites like Capt. Alex. Grant; and a collection of maverick adventurers like General Andrew Anderson and Major John Morrison.⁴ By 1759 Clive was writing home, "I beg that you desist from recruiting so many Scotch Highland men to your service...their only concern is to quit your service within a twelve-month with a plundered fortune."⁵ He referred only to the Scots officers in the Company, not to the troops, whose treatment was scandalous.

1. See Calder, p.677; and Bryant, p.23.

2. See for example, the efforts of Sir Alex. Mackenzie of Coull, Ch.7, pp.173-4.

3. See Murdoch, p.277; Bryant, pp.23-28; and Appendix 9. Islay coordinated the efforts of the Highland Chiefs in raising the newly constituted regiments.

4. See Appendices 7,8,9.

5. Riddy, p.2.

Mutinies broke out in the Royal regiments at the first hint that India was to be their destination.¹ As late as 1766 there was still no proper military organisation and administration structure for the recruitment of Company troops. Each man cost £10 plus one shilling per day sustenance. He was sent out untrained, unclothed, usually unfit and, in many cases, diseased.²

But from 1755 recruitment into the Company's military service continued at an enormous pace. From a total of 2601 European officers and soldiers in its service in India in 1755 the figure rose to 3647 by 1761, treble the 1747 figure. By 1763 this number had doubled again to 6597. The numbers rose remorselessly: 7141 by 1767, 8352 by 1768, and 8527 in 1770.³ It has been calculated that by 1772, 250 of the serving 800 odd Company officers in India came from Scotland; that is, one third of the total. Together with the 280 Scottish troops in the Company's service then, this number, a total of 560, equalled one seventh of the total 4250 Europeans on the Company's military establishment.⁴

The statistic that by 1772 one third of the East India Company's military officers abroad were Scots illuminates the effectiveness of the patronage machinery in Scotland. These young Scots, on the whole more needy, better educated and more aware of Indian opportunities than their English cousins were first to grasp,

1. See Bryant, p.25; S.R.O. GD 128/4/3/4, Col. William Baillie Younger, of Dunain, to his father, Ft. St. George, 10/6/1763. Young Baillie, in India with Morris's Regt., 89th Foot, expected to return home just as needy as when he came out, "a poor reward for scorching in the sun."

2. S.R.O. GD 224/45/38/Item 3.

3. See N.L.S. MSS. 11041, Item 8.

4. See Bryant, p.23.

and also to be directed towards, this career opportunity.¹

1. See 'Patronage Profiles' Section and Appendices 7,8,9, for examples.

APPENDIX 7.

CAMPBELLS IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MILITARY SERVICE 1748-1774

The many Campbells who made their way to India did so through the patronage of the Dukes of Argyll, and in particular, from 1748 onwards, through Islay and Bute.¹ In the 26 years from 1748 to 1774, at least 40 officers from cadet branches of the Campbells were recruits to the Company's military service. In several cases the contacts used by the Argathelians and the manner of recruitment is readily seen. For example:

Lts. Alexander and Patrick Campbell of Ardchattan, made their way into the East India Company's service in 1763. Patrick, the eldest, did so through the Bute interest, while Alexander married into the family of the East India Company Director, Thomas Rous.²

Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverneill was the 2nd son of James Campbell of Teurchan, Commissary of the Western Isles and Chamberlain of Argyll. Archibald was seconded from the British army in 1768 to be Chief Engineer in Bengal. He was a Lt. Col. in 1778 when he went home with a large fortune from private trading ventures, shipyards and docks. He became M.P. for Stirling Burghs in 1774, using his Indian wealth against Sir Laurence Dundas (q.v.). After further service with the royal army in America, he was again returned to India at the request of his friend, Henry Dundas, to become in 1785 the Governor of Fort St. George, Madras. He resigned and returned

-
1. See Appendix 6.
 2. Bryant, pp.27,31.

home in 1789.¹

Col. Charles Campbell XVth of Barbreck. He was the son of John Campbell XIV of Barbreck. He served in the East India Company army from 1749 to 1792. His Colonel's commission in 1760 was signed by the Chairman, Laurence Sullivan - a certain mark of the patronage system in operation, from Islay through Milton to Sullivan. From 1753 he had been second in command to General Laurence. From 1764, following the seige of Madura, which he commanded, he began to accumulate money. This was reflected in Scotland where he bought property in the Isle of Bute, and an estate in Argyll in 1767. He also inherited Hartfield estate through his mother. In 1767 Sullivan wanted Robert Palk, Governor of Madras, to get him to use his money to purchase stock for splitting purposes.²

Capt. Donald Campbell XVIth of Barbreck. He was the eldest son and heir of Col. Charles Campbell of Barbreck (q.v.). The Bute-Sullivan connection was used to ensure his father's wish that he enter the Company's service. His career began in 1761 and ended in 1783.³

Col. Donald Campbell of Glensaddel. He was the son of Col. Campbell of Glensaddel and Mary Campbell, 2nd daughter of John Campbell XIVth of Barbreck. He was the brother-in-law of Col. Charles Campbell XV of Barbreck (q.v.), and uncle of Donald Campbell XVI of Barbreck (q.v.). Like his brother-in-law, he entered the East India Company

1. Namier & Brooke, vol. 2, pp.179-180; Records of Clan Campbell, pp.27-31; Riddy, p.3; B.L. Add.MSS. 29166, f.123, L. Sullivan to W. Hastings, 20 Aug. 1734; S.R.O. GD 1/6/3, and GD 1/6/8; Love Vestiges, vol. 1, p.19.

2. Records of Clan Campbell, pp.50-54; Love Vestiges, vol.1, pp.486, 556, 588; H.M.S.C. Palk MSS. p.63, f.4; p.64, p.82, note 2 and p.240, no.237, R. Palk to the Nawab of the Carnatic, n.d. but circa Mar.1774.

3. Records of Clan Campbell, pp.93-93.

through Islay's patronage, transferring from the Guards, arriving in India in 1753 aboard the Marlborough. He resigned in 1771, received a handsome reward from the Nawab of Arcot for his services, and by 1775 he was in Campbeltown where he owned several estates.¹

Captain Donald Campbell of Castle Sween. He was the son of Colin Campbell and Marion MacNeill of Colonsay, and another of Islay's protégés. He served in the British army from 1741 to 1747 and fought at Culloden. By 1750 he was in Madras in the East India Company army. He died at Bowmore, Islay in 1795.²

-
1. Records of Clan Campbell, pp.88-92.
 2. Records of Clan Campbell, pp.83-88.

APPENDIX 8

Select List of

SCOTS OFFICERS IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MILITARY SERVICE 1720-1774

General Sir Ralph ABERCROMBY	Col. Donald CAMPELL
Major-General Patrick Alexander AGNEW	Capt. Donald CAMPELL (of Castle Sween)
General Andrew ANDERSON	Capt. Dougald CAMPELL
Lieutenant ARDLOCH	Major-General Dugald CAMPELL
Lt. John BAILLIE	Lt. Duncan CAMPELL
Lt.Col. A.W. BAILLIE	Ensign Duncan CAMPELL
Lt.. William BAILLIE	Ensign George CAMPELL
Col. William BAILLIE	Capt. George CAMPELL
Sir David BAIRD	Major-General George CAMPELL
Captain Robert BANNATYNE	Col. James CAMPELL
Lt. Alexander BAYNE	Lt. John CAMPELL (1753)
Captain BOSWALL	Coronet John CAMPELL (1761)
Lt. Hugh BOYD	Ensign John CAMPELL (1761-4)
Lt. Archibald BROWN	Lt. John CAMPELL (1763-1770)
Capt. George BRUCE	Capt. John CAMPELL (1767-87)
Lt. Col. Robert BRUCE	Capt. John CAMPELL (1768-1791)
Capt. John BUCHANAN	Capt. John CAMPELL (1770-1803)
Lt. Col. James BURETT	Lt. John CAMPELL (1771-1780)
Capt. Alexander CAMPELL	Capt. John CAMPELL (1748)
Sir Archibald CAMPELL	Ensign Mildmay CAMPELL
Col. Charles CAMPELL	Lt. P. CAMPELL
Lt. Colin CAMPELL	Lt. Patrick CAMPELL
Lt. Daniel CAMPELL	Ensign Peter CAMPELL
Lt. General David CAMPELL	Lt. Ralph John CAMPELL
Captain Donald CAMPELL (of Barbreck)	Major Richard CAMPELL

Lt. Robert CAMPELL
Capt. William CAMPELL
Ensign William CAMPELL
Capt. William CAMPELL
Ensign CARSTAIRS
Ensign CLARKE
Lt. James COCKBURN
Capt. Sir John CUMING
Major John CUNNINGHAM
Lt. John DALZIEL
Ensign Laurence DONALDSON
Ensign Charles DOUGLAS
Col. Alexander DOW
Lt. DRUMMOND
Major-General Patrick DUFF
Capt. Alexander DUGUID
Capt. ELLIOT
Lt.-Col. William ELLIOT
Sir Robert FLETCHER
Lt. Alexander FORBES
Major Sir James FOULIS
Capt. Alexander FRASER
Capt. Charles FRASER
Capt. James FRASER
General S. FRASER
Capt. Alexander FULLERTON
Capt. GARDINER

Lt. Gilbert GIBSON
Capt. John GRAHAM
Capt. David GRAHAM
Lt. Lewis GRANT
Capt. Alexander GRANT
Capt. Sir Ludovic GRANT
Major John GRANT
Ensign Ludovic GRANT
Ensign McGregor GRANT
Lt. Francis HAMILTON
Capt. Robert HAMILTON (1749)
Capt. Robert HAMILTON (1772-1785)
Col. Alexander HANNAY
Col. Gabriel HARPER
Lt.-Col. John HENDERSON
Major Alexander HERON
Capt. Sir John HOPE
Lt. John HUME
Lt. William HUME
Lt. David HUNTER
Capt. James JOHNSON
Capt. William JOHNSON
Capt. James KILPATRICK
Ensign Thomas KIRKPATRICK
Col. Alexander KYDD
Col. Ross LANG
Lt. Alexander LEIGH

Lt.-Col. Alexander LEITH	Lt.-Col. John MACPHERSON
Lt. LENOX	Captain MAULE
Lt. LINDSAY	Lt. Francis MAXWELL
Lt.-Gen. Colin MACAULEY	Captain Patrick MAXWELL
Lt. MACDONALD	Lt. Robert MAXWELL
Lt. McINIOSH	Sir Thomas METCALFE
Lt.-Gen. John MACINLYRE	Capt. Alexander MITCHELL
Lt. Aeneas MACKAY	Major Archibald MITCHELL
Lt. Donald MACKAY	Major John MORRISON
Capt. Donald MACKAY	General Sir Hector MUNRO
Lt. George MACKAY	Lt. David MURRAY
Lt. Hector MACKAY	Lt. James OGILVIE
Lt. James MACKAY	Lt. Alexander PATERSON
Lt. Robert MACKAY	Ensign William PATERSON
Major MACKAY	Major William RAITRAY
Major MACKENZIE	Ensign Andrew ROSS
Major-General Sir Alexander MACKENZIE	Lt.-Col. Patrick ROSS
Capt. David MACKENZIE	Col. Caroline Frederick SCOTT
Lt. Alan MACLEAN	Major John SCOTT
Lt.-Col. James MACLEAN	Lt. Charles SCOTT
Lt. John MACLEAN	Colonel SCOTT
Capt. Lauchlan MACLEAN	Lt. James SINCLAIR
Lt. Daniel MACLEOD	Ensign SMITH
Lt. Donald MACLEOD	Ensign SOMMERVILLE
Lt.-Col. Allan MACPHERSON	Major William STEVENS
Lt. MACPHERSON	Lt. William STEVENSON
Lt. W.C. MACPHERSON	Lt. Archibald STEWART

Ensign Henry STIRLING	Colonel David WEDDERBURN
Lt. Henry SIUART	Captain Henry WEDDERBURN
Colonel James SIUART	Lt. David WILSON
Capt. Alexander SUTHERLAND	Lt. Alexander WYNCH
Lt. WALLACE	Lt. John WYNCH
Colonel WATSON	<u>Total</u> - 170

The above does not form a comprehensive list of all the Scottish officers who served in the East India Company's military service in these years. However, it illustrates the numbers involved in this study and by reference to most in the text, the sweep of India patronage, much of which was Government controlled. The total number of Scottish officers (not non-commissioned ranks) was probably around 450; and approximated to one third of the total officer establishment. [See Bryant, pp23-4, and passim]

APPENDIX 9

THE 89th FOOT - COMMANDED BY THE DUCHESS OF GORDON'S HUSBAND, THE AMERICAN STAATS MORRIS.

The 'Highland' Regiment sailed for India in 1759 (arriving in 1760); and when it disbanded in 1763 many joined the East India Company's military service.

OFFICERS IN LT. COL. MORRIS'S COMPANY, 1759.

1st Major - Capt. Scott.

2nd Major - Capt. Munro (from Barlow's Regt.)

Captains: Duke of Gordon, Duncan MacPherson, Alex. Duff, William McGillivray, William Grant, Norman Lamont, George Morrison.

Captains/Lieutenants: Lord William Gordon, Lawrence Leith, Alex. Stuart of Lisnurdie, Alex. Stuart of Finninver, William Harrison, Alex. Finlayson, John Gordon, George Campbell, Rohes Thomas, Richard Maitland, Alex. Godsinar, William Bailey, John MacDonald, William Macleod, Donald Macleod, Ludovic Grant, William MacPherson, Alex. MacPherson.

Ensigns: Lord George Gordon, Mathias Colest, Hugh Gordon, James Gordon, Patrick Ogilvie, John Edwards, Henry Gilchrist, John MacPherson, Alex. Donald (Adjutant), James Bowner (Quartermaster), Alex. Chalmers (Chaplain), Alex. Findlay (Surgeon).

MAJOR ALEXANDER DUFF'S COMPANY

Alex. Baillie	Daniel Miller
Peter Brown	Norman Ross
Alex Castell	Alex. Smith
Hugh Gallon	Andrew Stephen
Charles McBaine	James Stuart
Daniel Mackenzie	James Thompson
Daniel Maclaine	Robert Urquhart

James Wink

CAPTAIN GEORGE MORRISON'S COMPANY

James Allan	Robert Shand
James Baillie	John Smith
Daniel Campbell	William Troop
Charles Rea	John Williams

COLONEL GEORGE SCOTT'S COMPANY

James Burrel	John Mannoeh
John Coxial	Donald MacDonald
William Fraser	Alex. MacKenzie
Archibald Kilbreath	John McPherson
Thomas Lisk	John Stephen

Alex. Stobie

THE DUKE OF CORDON'S COMPANY : MAJOR HECTOR MUNRO

William Allan	George Home
Alex. Cook	James Leywood
William Donald	Robert Stuart
Donald Farquharson	James Tolmie
James Gow	(Chaplain Shepherd)

CAPTAIN WILLIAM MCGILLIVRAY'S COMPANY

Alex. Bousie	Daniel McKay
Daniel Cameron	John McGillivray (Senior)
John Cameron	John McGillivray (Junior)
Finlay Campbell	John McGillivray
John Cattenach	Thomas McGillivray
George Fraser	Daniel McKenzie
James Fraser	Hugh McKenzie
John Fraser (Senior)	John Milne
John Fraser (Junior)	Alex. Munro
William Gordon	Finlay Munro
Charles McCulloch	Hugh Ross
Daniel McDonald	Alex. Stickmil
Alex. McIntosh	William Stuart

(Total - 110)

(Sources: S.R.O. GD 128/1/1/1; GD 224/295/3/2, Maj. George Scott to Charles Townshend, 12 Dec. 1759, N.L.S. MSS. 1337, f.37)

APPENDIX 10

Select List of
SCOTS HOLDING POSTS IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CIVIL SERVICE - 1720-1774

BOYD ALEXANDER	DAVID ANDERSON
CLAUD ALEXANDER	JAMES ANDERSON
JAMES ALEXANDER	.....ARBUTHNOT
JAMES HOPE BAILLIE	PETER BLAIR
WILLIAM BAILLIE	THOMAS BODDAM
JOHN BALFOUR	GEORGE BOGLE
DUNCAN ANDREW BAINE	LAURENCE BOGLE
ROBERT BARCLAY	ALEXANDER BRODIE
JAMES BECK	JAMES BRODIE
ALEXANDER BLAIR	PATRICK CRAWFORD BRUCE
JOHN BURNETT	
ALEXANDER CALLANDER	JAMES CHEAP
ALEXANDER CAMPBELL	JOHN CLELAND
HUGH CAMPBELL	BASIL COCHRANE
THOMAS DUGALD CAMPBELL	MATTHEW COULTS
CHARLES CARMICHAEL	HEW ALEXANDER CRAIG
GEORGE CARMICHAEL	HENRY CRAWFORD
GOVERNOR DAVID CARNEGIE	QUINION CRAWFORD
..... CARNEGIE	JAMES CUMMING
WILLIAM CHALMERS	WILLIAM CUMMING

JAMES DALRYMPLE	ALEXANDER DOUGLAS
ROBERT DALRYMPLE	JOHN DOUGLAS (Writer 1754)
WILLIAM STAIR DALRYMPLE	JOHN DOUGLAS (Writer 1759)
GOVERNOR ALEXANDER DAVIDSON	ROBERT DOUGLAS
JOHN DAVIDSON	WALTER DOUGLAS
CHARLES DEMPSTER	WILLIAM DOUGLAS
PHILIP DEMPSTER	HUGH DRAPER
GEORGE DICK	JOHN DRUMMOND
JOHN DICK	PATRICK DUFF
MINGO DICK	WILLIAM DUFF
JOHN DOD	JAMES DUNCAN
JONATHAN DUNCAN	
ALEXANDER ELLIOT	GEORGE ELLIOT
..... ERSKINE	
DAVID FINLAY	THOMAS FORBES
WILLIAM FLOCKHART	JOHN FULLERTON (1730s)
JAMES FORBES	JOHN FULLERTON (1770s)
ARTHUR GORDON	JOHN GRAHAM (of Kinross in 1770)
DANIEL GORDON	JOHN GRAHAM (W. Hastings' Agent)
JAMES GORDON	THOMAS GRAHAM
CHARLES GRAEME	CHARLES GRANT
DAVID GRAHAM	HENRY GRANT

JOHN GRAHAM (1724-1741)

JAMES GRANT

JOHN GRAHAM (Writer 1758)

GEORGE GRAY

J. GRAY

MATTHEW HAIRSTANES

WILLIAM HAMILTON

JOHN HALDANE

JOHN HANNAY

ALEXANDER HALL

JAMES HAY

DAVID HALIBURTON

WILLIAM HAY

JOHN HALIBURTON

JAMES HERIOT

JOHN GORDON HALIBURTON

JOHN HOPE

ALEXANDER HALKETT

JOHN HUNTER

JAMES HAMILTON

GOVERNOR CHARLES HUICHINSON

JOHN HAMILTON

CHARLES HYNDFORD

THOMAS HAMILTON

THOMAS HINDMAN

DANIEL INNES

ALEXANDER JOHNSTONE

JOHN JOHNSTONE

GIDEON JOHNSTONE

PATRICK JOHNSTONE

.....KETH

JOHN KINLOCH (1771)

JOHN KENNOWAY

WILLIAM KINLOCH

DAVID KILLICAN

..... KINNAIRD

JOHN KINLOCH (1734)

JAMES KIRKPATRICK

JOHN LAUDER

GEORGE LINDSAY

JAMES LAURELL

ROBERT LINDSAY

LACHLAN LESLIE

WILLIAM LINDSAY

MATTHEW LESLIE

ROBERT LOCH

FRANCIS LIND

JOHN LYON

JOHN McCLINTOCK

GOVERNOR SIR JOHN MACPHERSON

GEORGE MACKAY

JOHN MARJORIBANKS

HECTOR MACKAY

WILLIAM MAXWELL

JOHN MACKENZIE

ROBERT MOFFATT

KENNETH MACKENZIE

..... MUIR

HENRY MACLEANE

ROBERT DUNCAN MUNRO

DONALD MACLEOD

GEORGE MUNRO

ALEXANDER MURRAY

ANDREW NEWTON

JAMES OCHTERLONY

THOMAS OGILVIE

GEORGE PATERSON

PATRICK BLENDERLEITH

WILLIAM PEIRIE

ALEXANDER PRINGLE

GEORGE PROCTOR

CHARLES RAITT	DONALD ROSS
ANDREW RAMSAY	GEORGE ROSS
GEORGE RAMSAY	JAMES ROSS
WILLIAM RANKIN	JOHN ROSS
JOHN RENTON	WILLIAM ROSS
WILLIAM RIGG	CLAUD RUSSELL
GEORGE ROBERTSON	SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL

ROBERT RUTHERFORD

ANDREW SCOTT	RUSSELL SKINNER
ARCHIBALD SCOTT	..... SMITH
GEORGE SCOTT	JOHN STACKHOUSE
HENRY SCOTT	JOHN STEWART
JOHN BALLIOL SCOTT	KEITH STEWART
RICHARD SCOTT	OLIVER STEWART
DANIEL SEIGN	JOHN MAXWELL STONE
JOHN SHAIRP	CHARLES STUART
THOMAS SHAIRP	FREDERICK STUART
CHARLES SIMPSON	DR. JOHN STUART

JOHN TIMSON

JOHN WEBSTER	ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN
WILLIAM YOUNG	TOTAL: 191

The above does not form a comprehensive list of all the Scots holding Civil servant posts in the East India Company between 1720 and 1774. But it illustrates the numbers involved in this study; and by reference to many of them in the text, suggests the sweep of India patronage, much of it Government controlled. [Note that Writers Petitions are missing and incomplete prior to 1749.]

SCOTS HOLDING EASTINDIAMEN BERTHS - 1720-1774

Captain Burnett ABERCROMBY	Hugh DUFF (4th mate)
Captain BAILLIE	Captain ELLIOT
Captain John BAIRD	William FALCONER (ships mate - poet)
Captain George BAKER	John FERGUSSON (ships surgeons mate)
James BEAN (ships mate)	Captain Benjamin FISHER
James BIGGER (ships mate)	John FORBES (ships mate)
Captain Charles BODDAM	John FOIHERINGHAM (ships mate)
Captain CAMPBELL	Captain Charles FOULIS
Dr. CARNEGIE (ships surgeon)	Captain (and Gov.) William FRASER
Captain Charles CHISHOLME	Captain Sir William FRASER
Captain Daniel CLARKE	Captain Alex. FULLERTON
Henry CLERK (ships mate)	Captain William FULLERTON-ELPHINSTONE
John COCHRANE (ships mate)	Captain GIBSON
Captain William CRAIG	Dr. Walter GOUDIE (ships surgeon)
Captain George CUMING	David GRAHAM (ships mate)
Captain CUMMINGS	Captain Charles Cathcart GRANT
Alexander DALRYMPLE (Hydrographer)	Captain GREIG
Captain William DALRYMPLE	Captain Charles HAGGIS
Captain John DEMPSTER	Captain James HALDANE
Captain DEWAR	Captain John HALDANE
Captain Alex. DICKSON	Captain Robert HALDANE
Andrew DOUGLAS (3rd mate)	Captain Alex. HAMILTON (1687-1727)
Captain Francis DOUGLAS	Captain Alex. HAMILTON (1768)
Captain Sir Peter DOUGLAS	Captain John HAMILTON
Captain Robert DRUMMOND	Captain George HEPBURN

Captain George HERON	Captain Kenneth MACKENZIE
Captain HUDSON	Captain Robert MACKENZIE
Captain Alex. HUME	Captain Stephen MACLEANE
Captain John HUNTER	Captain Alexander MACLEOD
Captain George HUTCHINSON	Captain (and Gov.) James MACRAE
Captain Norton HUTCHINSON	Captain Arthur MAXWELL
Captain William HUTCHINSON	Captain David MITCHELL
Captain Cornelius INGLIS	Captain James MOFFATT
Captain Nathaniel INGLIS	John MOFFATT (1st mate)
Mr IRVINE (ships surgeons mate)	Dr. William MONDETH (ships surgeon)
Thomas IRWIN (2nd mate)	John MORAY
Captain Alex. JAMESON	Captain Robert MUNRO
Captain Robert KER	Captain MILES
Dr Alex. KNOX (ships surgeon)	Captain Fasham NAIRN
Captain Robert KNOX	Captain James OGILVIE
James LAMB (ships mate)	Thomas OGILVIE (midshipman)
Captain John LAUDER	Captain John PETRIE
Captain Peter LAWSON	Captain PIRIE
William LEGGATT (ships mate)	Captain Robert PRESTON
Captain John LENNOX	Captain Charles FURVIS
Captain George LINDSAY	William RAMSAY (ships mate)
William LINDSAY (midshipman)	Captain David RANNIE
Captain Ninian LOWIS	Captain James RATIRAY
Dr. Alex. MACDONALD (ships surgeon)	Mr REID (ships mate)
Captain John MACDONALD	Captain Thomas RIDDELL
Alex. MCGREGOR (ships mate)	Captain David ROBERISON
Captain William MACINTOSH	James ROD (1st mate)

Captain Andrew ROSS	Captain Alexander STEWART
Robert ROSS (ships mate)	Captain Charles STEWART
William RUIHERFORD (ships mate)	Captain John STEWART
Captain Patrick SANDILANDS	Captain Robert STEWART
Captain Alex. SCOTT	Captain David THOMSON
Dr. James SCOTT (ships surgeon)	Captain George THOMSON
John SCOTT (ships surgeons mate)	Captain William THOMSON
Captain Robert SCOTT	Dr. George THREIPLAND (ships surgeon)
Captain William SCOTT	Captain Alexander TOD
Captain Francis SEATON	Captain Robert VEITCH
Walter SHAIRP (ships mate)	Captain John WADDELL
Captain Gilbert SLATER	Captain John WATSON
Dr Thomas STEVEN (ships surgeon)	Captain WHYTE
Captain Gabriel STEWARD	Captain WILSON

Captain Robert YOUNG

TOTAL 133

The above does not form a comprehensive list of all the Scottish seamen employed by the East India Company between 1720 and 1774. But it illustrates the numbers involved in this study; and by reference to most of them in the text, suggests the sweep of India patronage, much of it Government controlled. [The exact numbers of officers of EastIndiamen between 1720 - 1774 is almost impossible to determine. Other than Commanders, there are no ready lists of 1st, 2nd, 3rd mates, ships surgeons or other officers. But as in other areas, it can be reckoned roughly that Scots numbered around a quarter of the total.]

SCOTTISH DOCTORS OF MEDICINE AND SURGEONS HOLDING POSTS IN THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE IN INDIA - 1720-1774

DR. JAMES ANDERSON	DR. HUNTER
THOMAS ARNOT (Surgeon)	WILLIAM INGLIS (Surgeon)
ROBERT BAIRD (Surgeon)	DR. JAMES KERR
DR. ALEXANDER BOSWALL	DR. MATTHEW LINDSAY
DR. DANIEL CAMPBELL (Surgeon-General)	DR. LITTLEJOHN
GEORGE CAMPBELL (Assistant Surgeon)	DR. ANDREW MUNRO
JAMES CAMPBELL (Surgeon)	DR. DUNCAN MUNRO
WILLIAM CAMPBELL (Surgeon)	DR. KENNETH MURCHISON
MICHAEL CARMICHAEL (Surgeon)	PETER OLIPHANT (Surgeon)
DR. COLT	PETER PRINGLE (Surgeon)
DR. ROBERT DOUGLAS	DR. GEORGE RAMSAY
..... DRUMMOND (Surgeon)	..... RANKIN (Surgeon)
MR. ELLIOT (Surgeon)	..... ROBINSON (Surgeon)
..... FORBES (Assistant Surgeon)	WILLIAM ROXBURGH (Surgeon)
DR. WILLIAM FORIH	DR. WILLIAM SEMPLE
DR. WILLIAM FULLERTON	WILLIAM STEWART (Surgeon's mate)
..... GILLIES (Surgeon)	DR. STOREY
..... GORDON (Surgeon)	GEORGE TRAPER (Surgeon's mate)
GEORGE GRAY (Surgeon)	DR. URQHART
DR. WILLIAM HAMILTON	DR. JAMES WILSON (Senior)
..... HEPHURN (Surgeon)	DR. JAMES WILSON (Junior) <u>Total: 42</u>

This is not a comprehensive list of all the Scottish medical practitioners in India from 1720 to 1774. However, the numbers shown here indicate a substantial presence; while many of them were helped to their posts through Government patronage.

SCOTTISH FREEMERCHANTS IN INDIA 1720-1774

ALEXANDER ADAMSON	..... INNIS & CLARKE
THOMAS ANDERSON	WILLIAM JAMESON
JOHN BANE	JAMES JOHNSON
WILLIAM BERRIE	JAMES LAUDER
JOHN BROWN	JAMES LISTER
MURDOCH BROWN	THOMAS LOCKHART
DR. BURNETT	ALEXANDER MACKENZIE
DAVID CLMING	COLIN MACKENZIE
..... CRAWFORD	KENNETH MACKENZIE
JOHN DOUGLAS	LACHLAN MACINTOSH
WILLIAM DUFF	JOHN MAXWELL
..... DUNCANSON	..... MENZIEH
JOHN FARQUHAR	..... NAISH
JOHN FERGUSSON	ANDREW ROSS
JOHN FLEMING	DAVID SCOTT
SIR CHARLES FORBES	JAMES STIBBALD
GEORGE FOIHRINGHAM	GEORGE SMITH
JAMES FRASER	ARCHIBALD STIRLING
JOHN GILCHRIST	JAMES STIRLING
RAMSAY HANNAY	JOHN STIRLING
DAVID HARE	LEWIS STIRLING
JOHN HENDERSON	..... SIUART
JOHN HUNTER	CHARLES SUTTIE
SIR HUGH INGLIS	..... JACKSON & WEDDERBURN

TOTAL 50

This is not a comprehensive List of all the Scots Free Merchants in India from 1720 to 1774. It does suggest, however, the numbers of Scots involved in these years. Many of them arrived there through Government connivance. [Scots formed a good quarter of the total numbers involved. See also Marshall, p.21.]

APPENDIX 14

MISCELLANEOUS AND UNTRACED SCOTS IN INDIA 1720-1774

WILLIAM ABERCROMBIE	KENNETH MACKENZIE
MRS. JANE ALLARDICE (nee SMART)	A. MACKRABIE
MRS. BAIRD	WILLIAM HAY MACNAUGHTON
MISS BALLANTYNE	HECTOR MACNEILL
HEW BUCHAN	DAVID MUIRHEAD
JOHN BUCHAN	WILLIAM MUNRO
ALEXANDER BURNES	WILLIAM MURISON
CHARLES CONGALTON	JOHN MURRAY (MACGREGOR)
ROBERT EDMONSTONE	PETER MURRAY (MACGREGOR)
JOSEPH FLEMING	..... PAISLEY
REV. FRANCIS FORDYCE	HERCULES ROSS
JOHN GALLOWAY	HUGH ROSS
CAPTAIN HYNDMAN	JANE RUSSELL (WIFE OF CAPT. RUSSELL)
JANET INNES (WIFE OF GOV. PITT)	HAMILTON RUSSELL
JOHN McCULLOCH (Labourer)	W. SCOTT
JOHN MACDONALD	..... STEWART
COLIN MACKENZIE (Surveyor-General)	JOHN WALKER

TOTAL - 34

APPENDIX 15Select List ofEAST INDIA COMPANY DIRECTORS WHO PATRONISED SCOTTISH APPLICANTS1720-1774

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>	
WILLIAM BAKER	(1720-1742)	
SIR FREDERICK FITZWILLIAM BARRINGTON	(1742-1765)	
CHARLES BODDAM	(1765-1774)	Scottish Extraction
HENRY CRAEBB BOULTON	(1742-1765)	
SIR JOHN BOYD	(1720-1742)(1742-1765)	Scottish Extraction
RICHARD CHALNCY	(1742-1765)	
THOMAS CHEAP	(1765-1774)	Scottish
SIR JAMES COCKBURN	(1765-1774)	Scottish
SIR GEORGE COLEBROOKE	(1765-1774)	
CHARLES COULTS	(1742-1765)	Scottish Extraction
SIR JAMES CREED	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
GEORGE CUMING	(1765-1774)	Scottish
SIR MATTHEW DECKER	(1720-1742)	
GEORGE DEMPSTER	(1765-1774)	Scottish
JOHN DORRIEN	(1742-1765)	
ROGER DRAKE	(1742-1765)	
JOHN DRUMMOND	(1720-1742)	Scottish
GEORGE DUDLEY	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
SIR HENRY FLETCHER	(1765-1774)	
WILLIAM GEORGE FREEMAN	(1765-1774)	Scottish Connection
HENRY HADLEY	(1765-1774)	
(Gov.) EDWARD HARRISON	(1720-1742)	
JOHN HOPE	(1720-1742)(1742-1765)	Scottish

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>	
ALEXANDER HUME	(1720-1742)(1742-1765)	Scottish
SIR WILLIAM JAMES	(1765-1774)	
HENRY LYELL	(1720-1742)	
JOHN MARSHIP	(1742-1765)	
JOHN MICHIE	(1765-1774)	Scottish
JAMES MOFFATT	(1765-1774)	Scottish
JOHN MONSON	(1720-1742)	
JOHN PARDOE	(1765-1774)	
THOMAS ROUS	(1765-1774)	
SIR GILBERT STEWART	(1720-1742)	Scottish
LAWRENCE SULLIVAN	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
SIR GEORGE SUTHE	(1720-1742)(1742-1765)	Scottish
WILLIAM THORNIC	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
DANIEL WEIR	(1765-1774)	
JOHN WOODHOUSE	(1765-1774)	
JOSIAS WORDSWORTH	(1720-1742)	

Total - 39

(15 with Scottish Associations)

11 in 1720-1742 period

14 in 1742-1765 period

20 in 1765-1774 period

This list is not exhaustive but indicates those positively identified as patrons.

SCOTTISH PROPRIETORS OF EAST INDIA COMPANY STOCK - 1720-1774

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>
HANNAH DODDAM	(1720-1742)(1742-1765)
JAMES BUCHANAN	(1742-1765)
THOMAS BURNETT	(1742-1765)
GEORGE CAMPBELL	(1742-1765)
DUNCAN CLERK	(1765-1774)
SIR JOHN CLERK	(1742-1765)
JAMES COATES	(1742-1765)
THOMAS COATES	(1742-1765)
SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE	(1765-1774)
ROBERT DAI ZIEL	(1720-1742)
JAMES DONALDSON	(1742-1765)
HENRY DOUGLAS	(1742-1765)
JAMES GEORGE DOUGLAS (E. of Horton)	(1742-1765)
ANDREW DRUMMOND	(1720-1742)
SIR LAURINCE DUNDAS	(1765-1774)
WILLIAM DUNBAR	(1742-1765)
SIR GILBERT ELLIOTT	(1765-1774)
JOHN ELLIOTT	(1742-1765)
Hon. JAMES ERSKINE	(1742-1765)
CHARLES FERGUSSON	(1765-1774)
SIR ADAM FERGUSSON	(1765-1774)
THOMAS FLEICHER	(1742-1765)
SIR WILLIAM FORBES	(1765-1774)

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>	
CAPTAIN CHARLES FOULIS	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
JAMES FRASER	(1742-1765)	
SIMON FRASER	(1765-1774)	
SIR ALEXANDER GILMOUR	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
SIR ALEXANDER GRANT	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
CAPTAIN ROBERT HALDANE	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
SIR SAMUEL HANNAY	(1765-1774)	
ADRIAAN HOPE	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	Dutch, but Scottish extraction
ABRAHAM HUME	(1720-1742)(1742-1765)	
ALEXANDER HUME-CAMPELL	(1742-1765)	
GEORGE JOHNSTONE	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
SIR JAMES JOHNSTONE	(1742-1765)	
JOHN JOHNSTONE	(1765-1774)	
WILLIAM (PULNEY) JOHNSTONE	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
..... KERR	(1765-1774)	
ROBERT MACINIOSH	(1765-1774)	
ROBERT MACKAY	(1765-1774)	
LAUHLIN MACLEANE	(1765-1774)	
JAMES 'FINGAL' MACHERSON	(1765-1774)	
GOVERNOR JAMES MACRAE	(1720-1742)	
ROBERT MAYNE	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
SIR WILLIAM MAYNE	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
GENERAL SIR HECTOR MUNRO	(1765-1774)	
PATRICK MURRAY (Lord Elibank)	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)	
JOHN SCOTT	(1765-1774)	

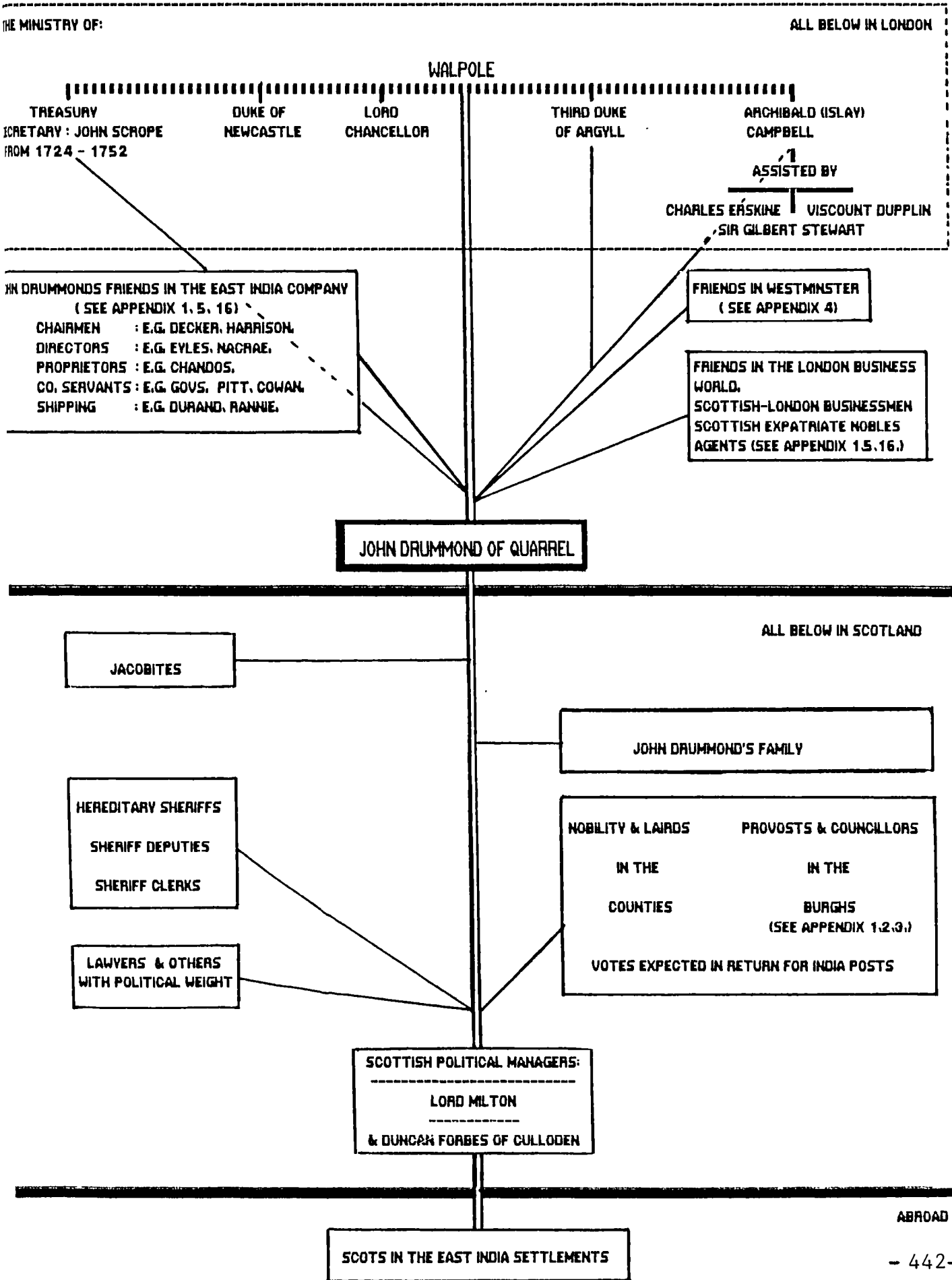
<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>
JOHN STUART (of York Bldgs)	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)
ANDREW STUART	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)
SIR JAMES STUART	(1765-1774)
JOHN STUART (of Hampstead)	(1742-1765)(1765-1774)

TOTAL - 52

5 in 1720-1742
31 in 1742-1765
31 in 1765-1774

This list is not exhaustive but indicates those positively identified as Proprietors.

ILLUSTRATING HOW INDIA PATRONAGE WAS GAINED THROUGH JOHN DRUMMOND OF QUARREL FOR ELECTORAL USE IN SCOTLAND AND POLITICAL MANAGEMENT THERE. A REQUEST FOR PATRONAGE COULD ORIGINATE AT ANY POINT. (LINES INDICATE A TWO-WAY FLOW OF ACTIVITY)



ILLUSTRATING THE PASSAGE OF INDIA PATRONAGE THROUGH ISLAY AND LORD MILTON FOR ELECTORAL USE IN SCOTLAND AND POLITICAL MANAGER THERE.

(A REQUEST FOR PATRONAGE COULD ORIGINATE AT ANY POINT; THE LINES INDICATE A TWO WAY FLOW OF ACTIVITY)

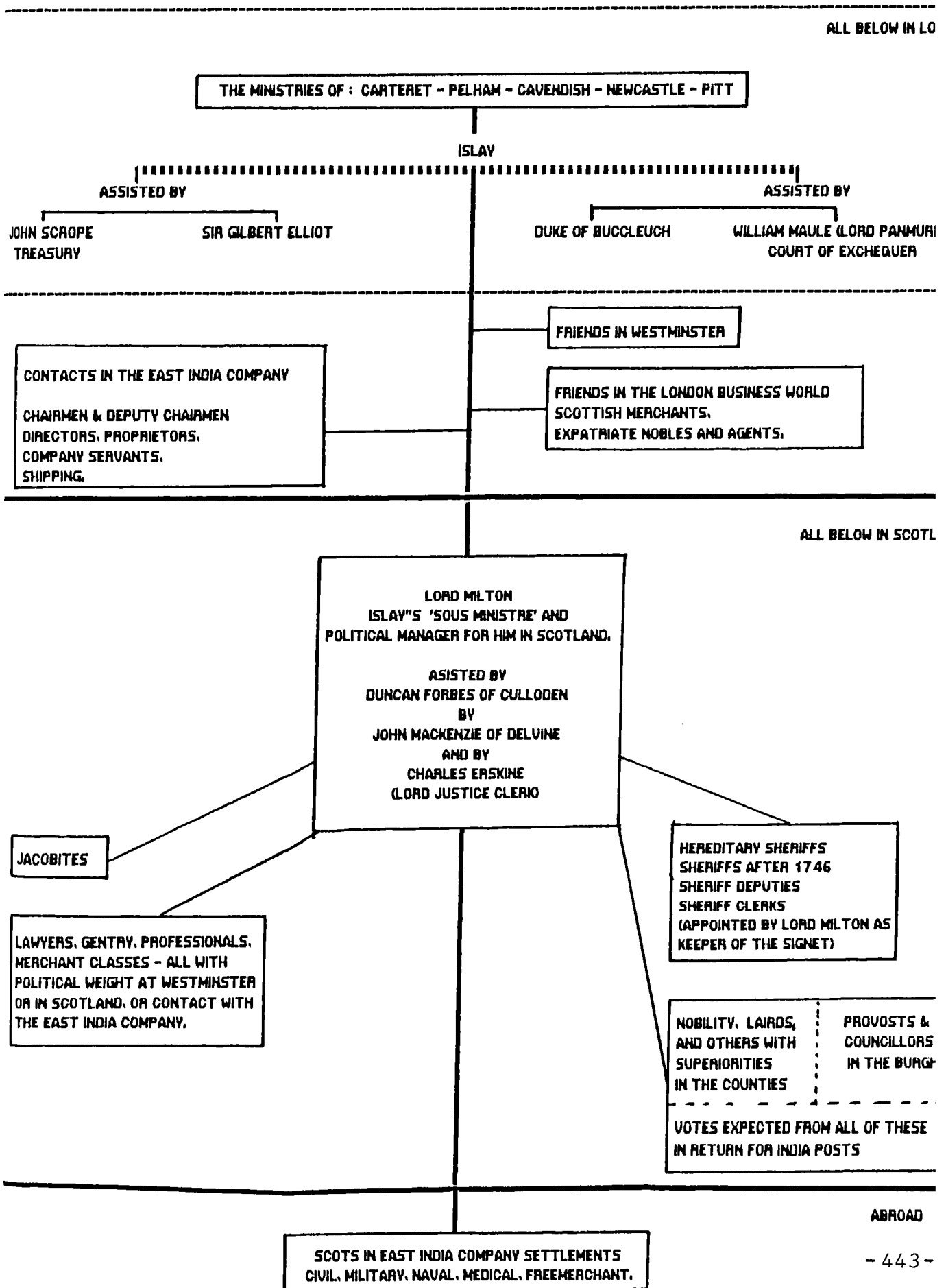
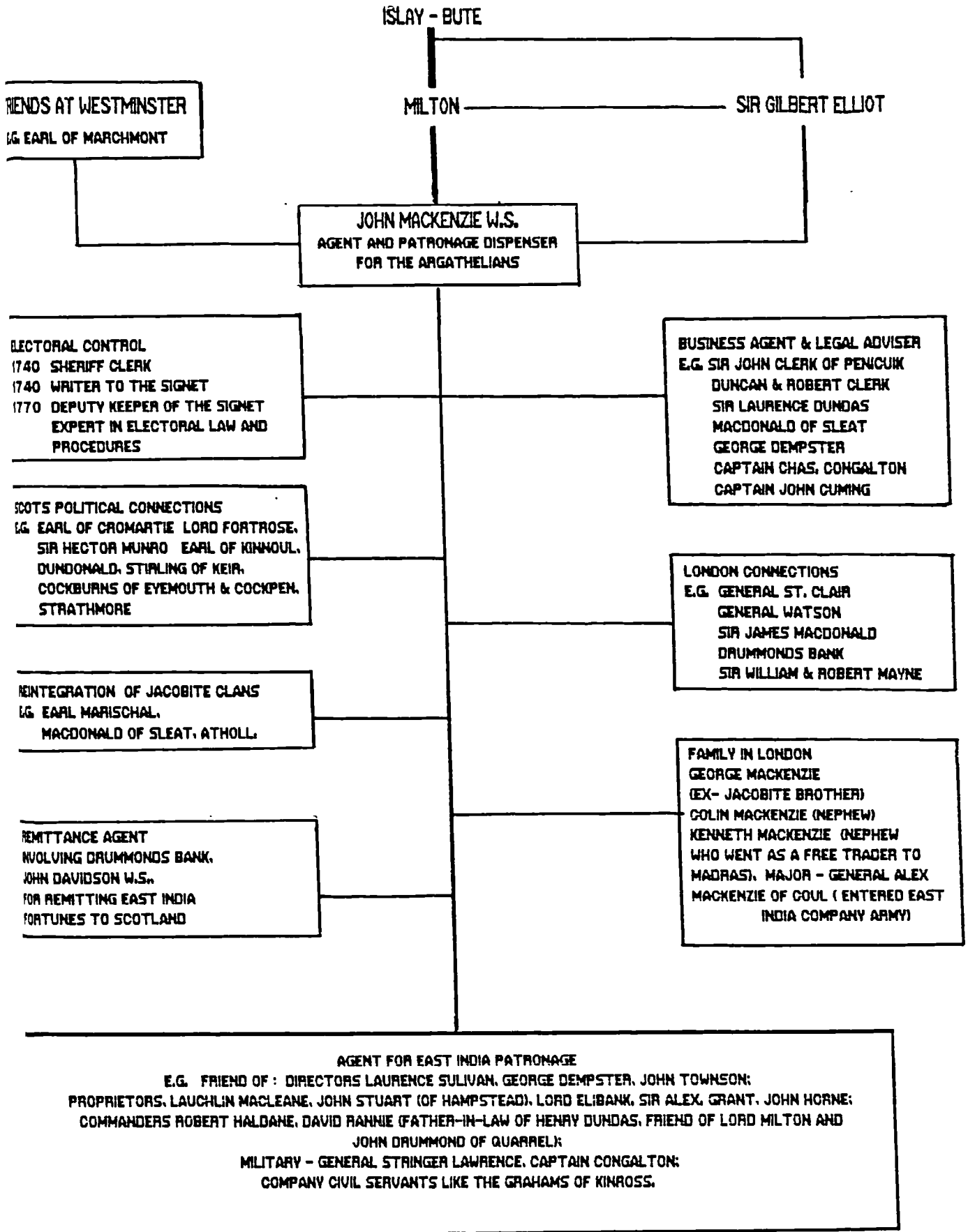


CHART 3

JOHN MACKENZIE OF DELVINE'S WEB OF INFLUENCE AND INDIA PATRONAGE 1740 - 1744

(A REQUEST FOR PATRONAGE COULD ORIGINATE AT ANY POINT. THE LINES INDICATE A TWO WAY FLOW OF ACTIVITY)



TRANSMISSION OF INDIA PATRONAGE THROUGH ARGATHELIAN CHANNELS FOR ELECTORAL USE AND POLITICAL MANAGEMENT OF SCOTLAND
(MINISTRY PERSONNEL WITHIN DOTTED LINES) (LINES INDICATE A TWO WAY FLOW OF ACTIVITY)

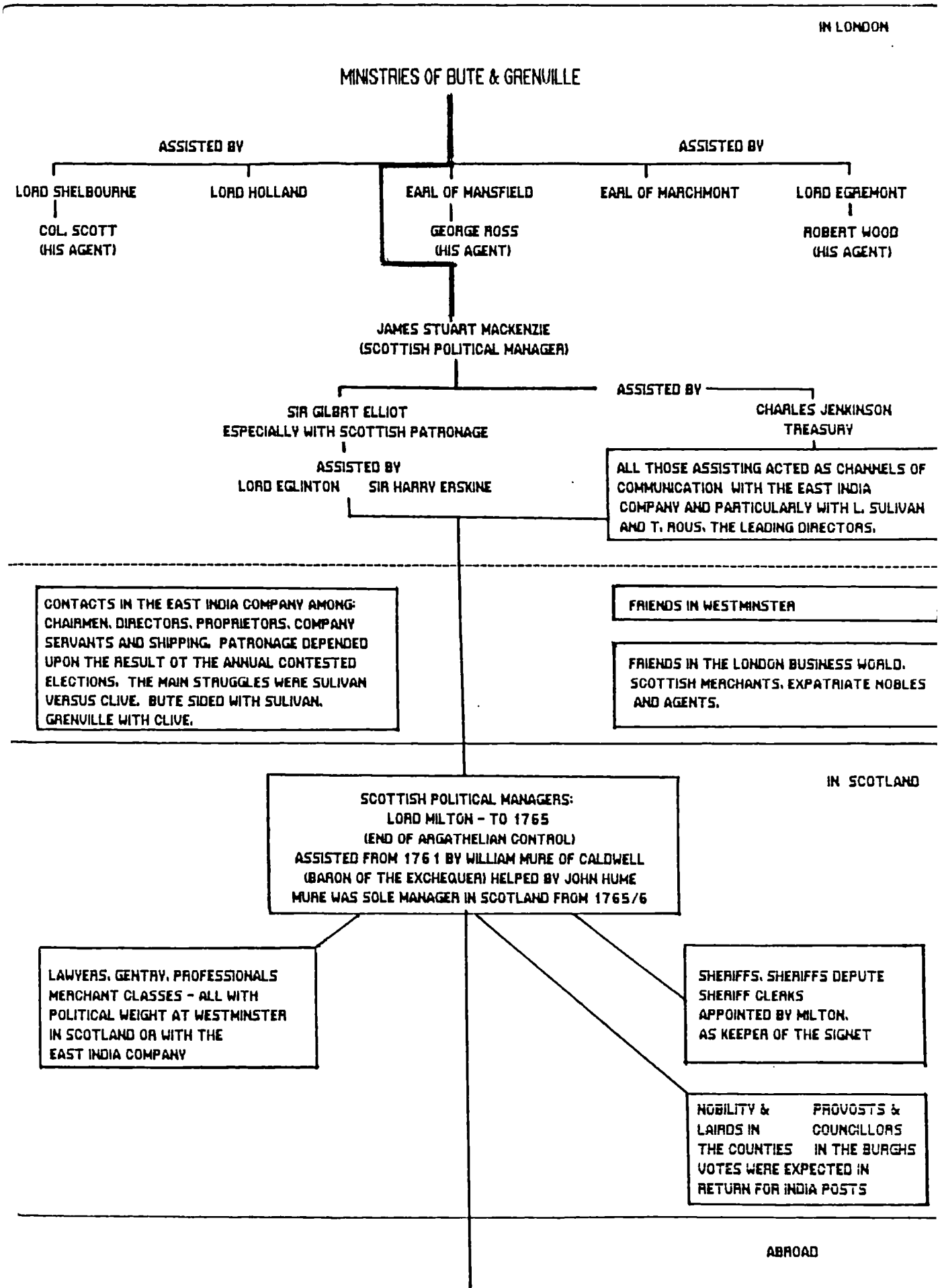


CHART 5

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION & PATRONAGE BETWEEN MINISTRIES IN WESTMINSTER, THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, SCOTS IN LONDON & SCOTLAND

1 DATES	2 MINISTRY AT WESTMINSTER	3 WESTMINSTER RESPONSIBILITY FOR SCOTLAND	4 SCOTS IN LONDON WITH POWER	5 SCOTTISH POLITICAL MANAGERS	6 MINISTRY - COMPANY CONTACTS	
1725 - 42	WALPOLE	ARGYLL - ISLAY -	ARGYLL - ISLAY	MILTON	WALPOLE, ARGYLL ISLAY,	JOHN DRUMMOND, CHANDOS, DECKE GOVS, HARRISON, CARNEGIE
1742 - 44	CARTERET	SECRETARY OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND TWEEDDALE	TWEEDDALE (ISLAY) (ARGYLL)	(MILTON)	ARGYLL, ISLAY SCROPE, ELLIOT NEWCASTLE	J.CUMING, HARRISON, C.FOULIS, W. BAKER, ALEX. & ABRAHAM HUME C.RUSSELL
1744 - 54	H. PELHAM	SECRETARIES OF STATE FOR SCOTLAND MAR. MONTROSE ROXBURGH - UNTIL 1745 - THEN SEC. OF STATE FOR THE NORTH, NEWCASTLE, TREASURY	ISLAY	MILTON	PELHAM, ISLAY, NEWCASTLE, ELLIOT, SCROPE GEORGE GRENVILLE	J.CUMING, C.FOULIS, C.RUSSELL J.BOYD, C.COUTTS, W.BAKER, CHANCERIE, DRAKE, WATTS, J.HOPE, HUMES, MOFFATS.
1754 - 57	CAVENDISH	NEWCASTLE TREASURY LORD CHANCELLOR HARDWICKE (FROM 1755 NOMINALLY NEWCASTLE BUT REALLY ISLAY)	ISLAY	MILTON	NEWCASTLE DEVONSHIRE ISLAY ELLIOT	SIR W. & R. MAYNE, CHEAPE, J.HOPI J.PAYNE, J.BOYD, C.COUTTS, W.BAK A.GRANT, A.GILMOUR, J.RAYMOND CHAS. FOULIS
1757 - 61	W. PITT	NOMINALLY NEWCASTLE BUT REALLY ISLAY, TREASURY, LORD HARDWICKE	ISLAY	MILTON	W.PITT, SHELBURNE NEWCASTLE, ELLIOT CAVENDISH, HOLLAND, ISLAY,	L.SULLIVAN, W.BAKER, BOULTON DORRIEN, SAVAGE, C.COUTTS COCKBURN, G.DEMPSTER J.HOPE J.BOYD
1761 - 63	BUTE	J. STUART MACKENZIE SIR G. ELLIOT	J.S.MACKENZIE SIR G. ELLIOT	MILTON & W. MURE OF CALDWELL	BUTE, SHELBURNE HOLLAND, EGLINTON ELLIOT, NEWCASTLE	L.SULLIVAN, S.LAW, T.ROUS G.COLEBROOK, BOULTON, SAVAGE C.COUTTS, FIGOU, DORRIEN,
1763 - 65	GRENVILLE	J.STUART MACKENZIE SIR G. ELLIOT (THEN BEDFORD SIR LAURENCE DUNDAS, EARL OF PANMURE)	J.S. MACKENZIE SIR G. ELLIOT ESPECIALLY WITH THE CLIVITES	MILTON & W. MURE OF CALDWELL	GRENVILLE, ELLIOT SANDWICH, SHELBURNE CHAS, JENKINSON	(CLIVITES E.G. T. ROUS, J. WALSH, L. SCRAFTON)
1765 - 66	ROCKINGHAM	NEWCASTLE	NONE (REFUSAL OF ROBT. DUNDAS THE LORD PRES.) ADVICE ONLY FROM SCOTTISH PEERS.	NONE - BUT UNOFFICIALLY J. MACKENZIE OF DELVINE	NEWCASTLE, SANDWICH SHELBURNE, SIR LAURENCE DUNDAS	L.SULLIVAN, G.DEMPSTER, JOHNSTONES, J.STEWART BOULTON, DORRIEN, SAVAGE (CLIVITES: J.WALSH T.ROUS, L.SCRAFTON)
1766 - 74	CHATHAM - GRAFTON - NORTH	SECRETARIES FOR THE NORTH	LORD MANSFIELD (ADVICE ONLY)	NONE - BUT UNOFFICIALLY J. MACKENZIE OF DELVINE	1766-68 SHELBURNE CHARLES TOWNSHEND 1768-70 SANDWICH 1770-74 CHAS, JENKINSON, JOHN ROBINSON, LORDS WEDDERBURN, MANSFIELD	SULIVANITES & CLIVITES COLEBROOKE, WOMBWELL, CHEAPE, MOFFATS,

ILLUSTRATION OF HOW CERTAIN SCOTTISH PROPRIETORS AND OTHER SCOTTISH INTERESTS WERE GROUPED AND HOW THEY CHANGED SIDES IN THE CONTESTED ELECTIONS FOR CONTROL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY DIRECTION - WHICH IN TURN COVERED ALL INDIA PATRONAGE.

<u>PRO -SULIVAN</u> <u>1761 - 1764</u>	<u>PRO -CLIVE</u> <u>1761 - 1764</u>	<u>PRO -SULIVAN</u> <u>1765 - 1774</u>	<u>PRO -CLIVE</u> <u>1765 - 1774</u>	<u>PRO -MINISTRY</u> <u>1761 - 1774</u>
A. MOFFAT J. MOFFAT	THE JOHNSTONES	COL. JOHN STUART	WILLIAM MCINTOSH	JAMES MACPHERSON
COMMANDER C. FOULIS	LORD ELIBANK	THE JOHNSTONES	CLAUD RUSSELL	JOHN MACPHERSON
DRUMMOND'S BANK	ANDREW STUART	CHARLES BODDAM	SIR HUGH INGLIS	ANDREW MOFFAT
FISHER'S BANK		GEORGE DEMPSTER	SIR JAMES COCKBURN	JAMES MOFFAT
SIR ALEX GRANT		LAUCLIN MACLEANE	COMMANDER GEORGE CUMING	JOHN PRINGLE
SIR HECTOR MUNRO		ANDREW STUART		COMMANDER DEWAR
		LORD ELIBANK		THOMAS CHEAP
		SIR WILLIAM MAYNE		LORD LOUGHBOROUGH
		ROBERT MAYNE		SIR LAURENCE DUNDAS

JOHN STUART (OF HAMPSTEAD) , DR.CHARLES STUART (COUSINS); SIR JAMES COCKBURN, JAMES STUART (COUSINS); DRUMMOND'S, HOPE'S, FISHER'S, YOUNG'S, FORDVCE'S, COUTTS' AND GRANT'S BANKS; SIR GILBERT ELLIOT, JOHN STEWART (OF BUCKINGHAM STREET), JOHN SCOTT, ROBERT CLERK, DUNCAN CLERK (BROTHERS), SIR ROBERT FLETCHER, COL.CHARLES CAMPBELL, CAPT.KILPATRICK, A.PRESTON, MR.LIND, JOHN RUSSELL, COMMANDER CHARLES FOULIS, ROBERT SCOTT, SIR ALEX.GILMOUR, SIR ADAM FERGUSON, IN ADDITION HE WAS SOMETIMES JOINED BY: COMMANDER GEORGE CUMING, COMMANDER WILLIAM MCINTOSH, JAMES MACPHERSON, LORD LOUGHBOROUGH, SIR LAURENCE DUNDAS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS

British Library, London.

B.L. Add.MSS. 5143, 5147, 29133 to 29137, 29139, 29141, 29143, 29147, 29149 to 29151, 29153, 29156, 29166, 29194, 51398, 51431, 51434.

Bury St. Edmunds & West Suffolk Record Office.
423/447.

Bute Papers, Mountstuart, Rothesay.
ff.276-7; 642; 643.

De Bertodano MSS. Papers belonging to Mr. Martin De Bertodano (copies held by G. K. McGilvary).
The Papers of Laurence Sullivan. No pagination.

Edinburgh Public Libraries.
R.Br.(Roll) XDA, 758.3.F.76.

Edinburgh University Library.
Laing MSS. 11, 73, 77, 477.
Laing MSS. 111, 364.
Laing MSS. No.77 Div.2.
Strachey MSS.

Exeter Record Office.
Kennoway Documents. Palk Family/Haldon Trust. 58/9, Box 104.

India Office Library, London

Manuscripts.

Eng MSS.No.162; Eur.MSS. Photo No.63 - Johnstone letters;
Eur.302/1 - Letterbook of John Spencer; Eur.319/4 - Letterbook of George Paterson; Eur.D.100 - The Correspondence of Charles Forbes; Eur.D.535 - Letterbook of Robert Barwell; Eur.D.691 - Letterbook of George Gray; Eur.E.25 - A. Mackrabie's Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies, 1774; Eur.E.276 - Madras Letterbook of Claud Russell; Eur.E.379/4 Eur.E.379/8; Philip Francis Papers; Orme MSS. O.V.J.
Records.

0/6/21 to 0/6/29 - Bengal Civilians
0/6/32 to 0/6/35 - Bombay Civilians
0/6/36 to 0/6/37 - Bombay Civil Servants
Bombay Public Consultations, vol.1?
Court Books, vols. 76, 93.
0/5/31 - European Inhabitants Bombay 1719-92.
0/5/29 - European Inhabitants Madras 1702-1780.
General Court Minutes, vols. 3, 5.
Home Miscellaneous Series, vol.82.
0/6/30 to 0/6/31 - Madras Civilians.
Madras Civil Servants, 1702-1775.

Marine Records L/Mar/B; L/Mar./C/644; L/Mar./C/651 - Register of Commands 1737-1832.
O/6/14 - Personal Records.
Records of Fort St. George, Madras. Diary and Consultation Books.
L/AG/14/5/3-12. Stock holders and Stock purchased 1718 to 1761.
J/1/1-15. Writers Petitions.

Hotson MSS. Papers belonging to Mr. Jack Hotson, Edinburgh.

Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

593220/SR.177 - Sir James Grant's Memorial to Henry Pelham, 30 Oct. 1745. On raising a Highland Regiment for the King's service.

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Small Collections - MSS. 1006,1026.

Melville Papers - MSS. 1054,1055,1060,1062,1069,1072 to 1074,1078.

Lauriston Castle Collection: Delvine Papers - MSS.1131,1136,1137, 1140,1145,1147,1150,1165,1167,1174,1240,1247,1249,1252 to 1256,1262,1273,1290,1294,1297,1306,1310,1328,1329,1337,1364,1368, 1423,1481.

Jacobite Papers - MSS. 1694.

Forbes of Culloden Papers - MSS. 2967.

Drummond of Balhaldie Papers - MSS. 3186 to 3189.

Mure of Caldwell Correspondence - MSS. 4944.

Erskine Murray Correspondence - MSS. 5073,5080,5082.

Stuart Stevenson Papers: Castlemilk and Torrance Muniments - MSS. 5321,5330.

Andrew Stuart Papers - MSS. 5346,5388,5391,5400,8250,8251,8256,8278, 8280,8352.

Haldane Papers - MSS. 6044,6102,6104.

Yester Papers - MSS. 7044,7046,7059,7097.

John Maule's Letterbook, 1743-61 - MSS.10781.

John Davidson of Stewartfield's Letterbook - MSS.10787.

Letters of James Begbie to Thomas Graham - MSS.10872.

Graham of Airth Papers - MSS. 10876,10878,10919,10922,10942, 10944,10953.

Minto Papers - MSS. 11001 to 11005, 11018,11027,11041.

Saltoun Papers - 16513 to 16524,16535,16536,16538,16543,16544,16545, 16549,16553,16556,16560,16565,16604,16625,16628,16647,16648,16653 16659,16660,16662 to 16664,16666 to 16673,16713 to 16717,16746 to 16753,16747,17532.

National Register of Archives.

N.R.A.(S) 1209 - Argyll Muniments. Survey 1, bundles 45,193.

N.R.A.(S) 631 - The Loudon Papers, bundle 3 for 1754, 2 for 1759, 2,5 for 1768-71; The Bute Papers, Nos. 29,64,65; The Shelburne/Henry Fox Correspondence, Nos. 56,57. Held in West Register House, Edinburgh.

N.R.A.(S) 1256 - John Murray (MacGregor). Bundle 797. Held in Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwith.

Powis MSS. Clive Papers.

North Riding Record Office.

Affidavit by Robert and Duncan Clerk in 1769.

The Public Record Office, London.

30/8/56 - Chatham MSS.

The Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

GD1/453/Boxes 1-3. - J. & F. Anderson, W.S., Edinburgh. Robert Preston of Woodford Papers.
GD1/808/1/3-4. - Murison (Morrison) Family Papers, Banffshire, At Troup.
GD1/825. - Diary of Alex Pringle of Whitebank, 1754.
GD2/39; GD2/412. - Articles of Agreement. Sir W. Johnstone - S. Sea Stock.
GD18/3219; GD18/5218; GD18/5408. - Clerk of Penicuik Muniments.
GD23/ - Bught Collections.
GD24/1/23; GD24/Sect.1/464C; GD24/Sect.1/464 E; GD24/Sect.1/464 N-O; GD24/Sect.1/482-484; GD24/Sect.1/487-487A; GD24/Sect.1/488-495; GD24/Sect.1/496-503A; GD24/Sect.2/464C. - Abercainey Muniments.
GD29/32; GD29/1865 to 1871; GD29/2053; GD29/2055 to 2058; GD29/2061; GD29/2069; GD29/2071; GD29/2121 to 2135; GD29/2171, GD29/2174. - Kinross House - Graham Papers.
GD30/1582; GD30/1597; GD30/1707; GD30/1901; GD30/1906. - Shairp of Houston Papers.
GD32/24/11/25-27, 31, 34-57. - Elibank Papers.
GD51/11/4. - Melville Castle Muniments.
GD87/33-34. - Mackay of Bighouse Papers.
GD93/365; GD93/388. - Munro of Foulis Papers.
GD98/391. - Douglas Collection.
GD110/947/6; GD110/963; GD110/975; GD110/980; GD110/987; GD110/1007; GD110/1021/1-17; GD110/1026; GD110/1134; GD110/1149; GD110/1189; GD110/1303. - Hamilton-Dalrymple of North Berwick Papers.
GD128/1/1/1-26; GD128/1/2; GD128/1/3/1-6; GD128/1/4; GD128/4/3/2/1-59; GD128/4/3/4; GD128/4/3/13, 19, 22, 23. - Fraser-Mackintosh Collection.
GD130/Box 11. - North Esk Papers.
GD150/2639; GD150/3466/1-14; GD150/3470/1-9; GD150/3474/1-60; GD150/3475/1-26; GD150/3477/1-19; GD150/3478/1-45; GD150/3479/1-29; GD150/3483/1-30; GD150/3484/1-21; GD150/3485/1-76; GD150/3490/1-62. - Norton Papers.
GD151/8/26; GD151/12/2, 8-10; GD151/13/36-37. - Graham of Fintry Muniments.
GD156/49/1-95; GD156/49/Bundle 2/1-123; GD156/49/Bundle 3. - Elphinstone Muniments.
GD224/43; GD224/45; GD224/46; GD224/295/1-43; GD224/296/4; GD224/297/3; GD224/925/2; GD224/925/4. - Buccleuch Papers.
GD240/Box 26/Bundle 5; GD240/30/Bundle 6/1-61; GD240/41/5/1-2. - Bruce & Kerr, W.S. Haldane Papers.
GD242/Box 40/2/14-19. - Shepherd & Wedderburn, W.S.
GD246/25/1; GD246/46/1; GD246/89. - Hope, Todd & Kirk, W.S.

GD248/49/2/12-13; GD248/49/3; GD248/49/3/7; GD248/50/1/1,10;
GD248/50/1/19; GD248/50/2/65; GD248/50/3; GD248/50/5/3;
GD248.50.10; GD248/51/2; GD248/61/1/55; GD248/63/1/8;
GD248/63/1/29; GD248/229/5/1; GD248/783; GD248/784. - Seafield
Muniments.

Microfilm - West Register House, Edinburgh.

R.H. 4, Reel 14.
R.H. 4/70. Reel 1. Bundle 55.
R.H. 4/98. Reel 1. Appendix 25.
R.H. 4/98. Reel 8.
R.H. 4/98. Reel 10.
R.H. 4/151.

Sheffield City Library.

Wentworth-Woodhouse MSS. The Correspondence of Charles 2nd Marquis
of Rockingham. R.1-1443.

Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow.

TD 40 - Argyll Papers.
TD 368/3 - Stirling of Keir Papers.
TD 574,575,589,600 - Argyll Correspondence.

PRIMARY PRINTED SOURCES

Contemporary Publications

Acts of Parliament. Geo.III, c.9.
Gentleman's Magazine, vol.34 of 1764.
(Eds.) T.C. Hansard, W. Cobbett, The Parliamentary History of England
from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803. (London 1813/14).
J.Z. Holwell, Important Facts Regarding the East India Company's
Affairs in Bengal. (London 1764).
Public Advertiser for: 9 Apr. 1763; 14 Jan. 1772; 5 Jun. 1772;
19 Aug. 1772; 14 Sep. 1772; 19 Oct. 1772.
Royal Society of Arts, Guard Book, vol.1. (The Strand, London).
Royal Society of Arts, Minutes, vol.15 (1769-70). (The Strand,
London).
The St. James' Register for 1762 and 1765. (Guildhall Library,
London).
Scots Magazine for 1764 and 1767.
Scottish Modesty Displayed, In a Series of Conversations between an
Englishman and a Scotsman. London 1776. (Edinburgh Public Library
Tract XDA 753).

Memoirs and Collections of Correspondence.

(Boswell) F. Brady, Boswell's Political Career (London 1965).
(Boswell) F.A. Pottle, Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763
(London 1951).
(Burke) (Ed.) T.W. Copeland, The Correspondence of Edmund
Burke, vols.1,2,4,5.
(Cambridge 1958)
(Clive) G.R. Gleig, The Life of Robert 1st Lord Clive,
(London 1948).

- (Clive) Sir John Malcolm, The Life of Robert Lord Clive,
3 vols. (London 1836).
- (Colebrooke) Sir George Colebrooke, 'Retrospection' or
Reminiscences Addressed to my
son Henry Thomas Colebrooke,
Esquire, 2 vols (London 1898).
- (Datta) (Eds.) K.K. Datta, H.N. Sinha. R.R. Sethi, C.S.
Srinivasachari, K.D. Bhargava. Fort William - India
House Correspondence, vols. 1-6 (Delhi 1957 to 1960).
- (George III) (Ed.) Romney Sedgwick, Letters from George III to
Lord Bute, 1756-1776. (London 1939).
- (Hastings) G.R. Gleig, Memoirs of the Life of the Rt. Hon.
Warren Hastings, 3 vols. (London 1341).
- (Hastings) S.C. Grier, The Letters of Warren Hastings to his
Wife. (London 1905).
- (Hickey) (Ed.) A. Spencer, Memoirs of William Hickey, 3 vols.
(London 1913)
- (Oswald) Memorials of the Public Life and Character of the
Rt. Hon. James Oswald of Dunniker. (Edinburgh 1825).
- (Pelham) William Coxe, Memoirs of the Administration of the
Rt. Hon. H. Pelham. (London 1829) 2 vols.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION REPORTS

Laing MSS.
Macaulay MSS.
Palk MSS.
Portland MSS.
Charles Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray MSS.
Sir James Stirling-Maxwell of Keir MSS.

Biographical Works

- (Ed.) A. Allardyce, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth
Century, from the Manuscripts of John
Ramsay Esquire, of Ochtertyre. 2 vols.
(Edinburgh 1888).
- W. Anderson, The Scottish Nation : Biographical
History of the People of Scotland.
3 vols. (Edinburgh 1861).
- Sir J. Aylmer Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles.
(Edinburgh 1929).
- J. Berg & Bo. Lagercrantz Scots in Sweden, (Stockholm 1962).
- H. Bolitho & D. Peel, The Drummonds of Charing Cross.
(London 1903).
- N.G. Buist, At Soes Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770-
1815. (Bank Mees & Hope, N.V. 1974).
- Sir B. Burke, Landed Gentry, 1848,1858,1875,1925,1939
editions.
- Sir B. Burke, Peerage and Baronetage, 1959 edition.
- Major Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, Records of Clan Campbell
in the Military Service of the
Honourable East India Company, 1600-
1858. (London 1925).

- Alexander Carlyle, Anecdotes and Characters of the Times.
(London 1973) (Edited by James
Kinsley).
- Alexander Carlyle, The Autobiography of Dr. Alexander
Carlyle of Inveresk, 1722-1805.
(Edinburgh 1910).
- E.H. Coleridge, The Life of Thomas Coutts, Banker,
(London 1920), 2 vols.
- Dr. A.A. Cormack, An Historic Outline of the George Smith
Bounty, (Fordyce Academy).
(Banff 1952).
- Dr. A.A. Cormack, The Carnegie Family in Gothenburgh.
(Montrose 1942)
- (The) Dictionary of National Biography (London 1885-1901). 26 vols.
with supplements.
- E. Dodwell & J.S. Miles, Alphabetical List of Officers of the
Indian Army, 1760-1837. (London 1838).
- Lady Elliot of Stobs & Sir Arthur Elliot, 11th Bart. of Stobs,
The Elliots. (London 1974).
- (Ed.) James Fergusson, Letters of George Dempster to Sir Adam
Fergusson 1756-1811. (London 1934).
- J. Foster, Members of Parliament, Scotland, 1357-
1882. (London 1882).
- Sir W. Fraser, The Annandale Family Book of the
Johnstones, Earls and Marquises of
Annandale. 2 vols. (Edinburgh 1894)
- Sir W. Fraser, The Elphinstone Family Book of the
Elphinstones, Balmerino and Coupar.
2 vols. (Edinburgh 1897).
- Sir W. Fraser, Chiefs of Grant. (Edinburgh 1883)
- Sir W. Fraser, The Stirlings of Keir and Cawdor.
(Edinburgh 1858).
- H. Furber, Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville,
1742-1811. (London 1931).
- J.G. Fyfe, Selected Diaries and Memoirs, 1550-
1746. (Stirling 1928).
- J.G. Fyfe, Selected Diaries and Memoirs, 1746-
1843. (Stirling 1942)
- G.E.C. Complete Baronetage, Cockayne (Ed.). Complete Baronetage
(Exeter 1900-1909) 6 vols.
- L.G. Graeme, 'Or and Sable'. A Book of the Graemes
and Grahams. (Edinburgh 1903).
- E. Maxtone Graham, The Oliphants of Gask. (London 1910).
- I.F. Grant, The Macleods, The History of a Clan,
1200-1956. (London 1959).
- (Ed.) J. M. Gray, Memoirs of the Life of Sir John Clerk
of Penicuik, Baronet, Baron of the
Exchequer, extracted by Himself from
his own Journals, 1676-1755.
(Edinburgh 1892).
- Sir J.A. Haldane, The Haldanes of Gleneagles. 2 vols.
(Edinburgh 1929)
- Major V.C.P. Hodson, List of the Officers of the Bengal
Army, 1758-1834. (London 1927).

- M. Hook, Lord Provost George Drummond, 1687-1766. (Edinburgh University) (1987).
- H. Montgomery Hyde, John Law: The History of an Honest Adventurer. (Netherlands 1948).
- C.L. Johnstone, History of the Johnstones, 1191-1909. (Edinburgh 1909).
- A. Lang, The Companions of Pickle. (London 1898).
- A. Mackay, The Book of Mackay. (Edinburgh 1906).
- Sir Alex Muir Mackenzie, Memoirs of Delvine. (Perth 1901)
- A. Mackenzie, History of the Mackenzies. (Inverness 1894).
- A. Mackenzie, History of the Munros of Foulis. (Inverness 1898).
- Rev. A. Macrae, History of the Clan Macrae. (Dingwall 1899).
- C. Matheson, The Life of Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742-1811. (London 1933).
- G. Menery, The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden. (London 1936).
- William Mure of Caldwell, Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell. 3 vols. (Glasgow 1854).
- Col. Hon. A.C. Murray, The Five Sons of Bare Betty. (London 1936).
- C.de B. Murray, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, (London 1936).
- (Ed.) G. W. Omond, The Arniston Memoirs: Three Centuries of a Scottish House, 1751-1838. (Edinburgh 1887).
- Sir James Balfour Park, The Scots Peerage. 10 vols. (Edinburgh 1909).
- A. Pringle, The Records of the Pringles of the Scottish Borders. (Edinburgh 1933).
- (Eds.) Sir E. Davidson Ross & E. Power, Memoirs of an Eighteenth Century Footman, John Macdonald's Travels, 1745-1779. (London 1927).
- Thomas Bailey Saunders, The Life and Letters of James MacPherson. (London 1895).
- K.S.M. Scott, Scott 1118-1923. (London 1910).
- T.C. Smout, Provost Drummond. (Edinburgh University Extra-Mural Department, 1978).
- T.G. Snoddy, Sir John Scott, Lord Scotstarvit. (Edinburgh 1963).
- Margaret Stuart, Scottish Family History. (Edinburgh 1930).
- Rev. Thomas Thomson, A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. 2 vols. (London 1875).

SELECTED SECONDARY WORKS

- (Ed.) Sir C.E. Adan, View of the Political State of Scotland in the Last Century. (Edinburgh 1887).
- D. Bremner, The Industries of Scotland. (London 1969).
- J. Brooke, The Chatham Administration. (London 1956).
- J. M. Bullock, Territorial Soldiering in North-East Scotland, 1759-1814. (London 1914).
- (Ed.) R.A. Cage, The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914. (London 1984).
- A.M. Cain, The Cornchest for Scotland, Scots in India. (National Library of Scotland) (Edinburgh 1986).
- A. Calder, Revolutionary Empire, The Rise of the English-Speaking Empires from the Fifteenth Century to the 1780s. (London 1981).
- R.H. Campbell, Scotland Since 1707, The Rise of an Industrial Society. (Oxford 1971).
- J. Cannon, The Whig Ascendancy. (London 1981)
- J. Carswell, The South Sea Bubble. (London 1960).
- S.G. Checkland, Scottish Banking: A History 1695-1973. (Glasgow 1925)
- J.L. Cranmer-Bying, An Embassy to China. (London 1962)
- G. Crawford, Shire of Renfrew. (London 1818).
- D. Daiches, Scotland and the Union. (Edinburgh 1977).
- D. Daiches, The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth Century Experience. (London 1964).
- A.M. Davies, Clive of Plassey. (London 1939).
- T.M. Devine, The Tobacco Lords. (Edinburgh 1975).
- (Ed.) T. Dickson, Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to the Present. (London 1980).
- H. Dickinson, Walpole and the Whig Supremacy. (London 1973).
- H.H. Dodwell, The Nabobs of Madras. (London 1926).
- G. Donaldson, The Scots Overseas. (London 1966).
- G. Donaldson, Scotland: The Shaping of a Nation. (London 1980).
- G. Donaldson & R. Morpeth, Who's Who in Scottish History. (Oxford 1973).
- (Eds.) J. Dwyer, R.A. Mason, A. Murdoch, New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland. (Edinburgh 1982).
- N. Edwardes, Warren Hastings: King of the Nabobs. (London 1976).

- (Ed.) Sir Charles Fawcett, East Indiamen: The East India Company's Maritime Service, by Sir Evan Cotton. (London 1949).
- K. Feiling, Warren Hastings. (London 1954).
- J.P.S. Ferguson, Scottish Family Histories Held in Scottish Libraries. (Edinburgh 1960).
- W. Ferguson, Scotland 1689 to the Present. (Edinburgh 1968).
- J. Foster, Members of Parliament, Scotland 1757-1882. (London 1882).
- H.J. Fry, Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and the Expansion of British Trade. (London 1970).
- M. Fry, Patronage and Principle. (Aberdeen 1987).
- H. Furber, John Company at Work. (Cambridge 1948).
- B. Gardner, The East India Company. (London 1971).
- A.D. Gibb, Scottish Empire. (London 1937).
- C. Gill, Merchants and Mariners of the Eighteenth Century. (London 1961).
- I.C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland. (Washington, N.Y. 1972).
- I.F. Grant, The Economic History of Scotland. (London 1934).
- (Ed.) W. Hadley, Horace Walpole's Selected Letters. (London 1963).
- C. Hardy, Register of the East India Company's Shipping. (London 1799).
- R. Hatton & M.S. Anderson, Studies in Diplomatic History: Essays in Memory of David Bayne Horn. (Archon U.S.A. 1970).
- M. Hechter, Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1530-1966. (London 1975).
- G.P. Insh, The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. (London 1932).
- G.H. Jones, The Main Stream of Jacobitism. (Harvard 1954).
- G.P. Judd, Members of Parliament 1734-1832. (London 1955).
- B. Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746. (London 1980).
- B. Lenman, Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation, Scotland, 1746-1832. (London 1981).
- H.D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800. 4 vols. (London 1913).
- S.G.E. Lythe & J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939. (Glasgow 1975).
- (Ed.) Agnes Mure Mackenzie, Scottish Pageant 1707-1802. (Edinburgh 1950).

- W.C. Mackenzie, The Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
(Edinburgh 1969)
- J.D. Mackie, A History of Scotland. (London 1966).
- J.N.M. Maclean, Reward is Secondary: The Life of a
Political Adventurer and an Inquiry
into the Mystery of "Junius".
(London 1963).
- Virginia Maclean, "Much Entertainment". A Visual and
Culinary Record of Johnson and
Boswell's Tour of Scotland in 1773.
(London 1973).
- W.C. MacPherson, Soldiering in India 1764-1787.
(London 1928).
- P.J. Marshall, Problems of Empire: Britain and India
1757-1813. (London 1968).
- P.J. Marshall, East India Fortunes - The British in
Bengal in the Eighteenth Century.
(Oxford 1976).
- W.L. Mathieson, The Awakening of Scotland. A History
from 1747-1797. (Glasgow 1910).
- A.H. Millar, Historical and Descriptive Accounts of
the Castles and Mansions of Ayrshire.
(Edinburgh 1885).
- R. Mitchison, A History of Scotland, (London 1970).
- R. Mitchison, Lordship and Patronage. Scotland 1603-
1745. (London 1980).
- R. Mitchison, Life in Scotland. (London 1978).
- D. Murray, The York Buildings Company.
(Glasgow 1883).
- A. Murdoch, The People Above. (Edinburgh 1980).
- Sir Lewis Namier, Crossroads of Power. (London 1962).
- Sir Lewis Namier, The Structure of Politics at the
Accession of George III. 2nd edition.
(London 1965).
- Sir Lewis Namier, England in the Age of the American
Revolution. (London 1966).
- Sir Lewis Namier & John Brooke, The History of Parliament.
1754-1790. 3 vols. (London 1964).
- Sir Lewis Namier & John Brooke, Charles Townshend. (London 1964).
- P. Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India 1734-
1806. (Cambridge 1970).
- John Norris, Shelburne and Reform. (London 1963).
- C. Northcote Parkinson, Trade in the Eastern Seas,
1793-1813 (Cambridge 1937).
- J.H. Parry, Trade and Dominion. The European
Overseas Empires in the Eighteenth
Century. (London 1971).
- J. Paterson, History of Ayrshire. 2 vols.
(Edinburgh 1847).
- J. Paterson, History and Regality of Musselburgh.
(Musselburgh 1857).
- C.H. Philips, The East India Company 1784-1834.
(Manchester University Press 1961).
- C.H. Philips, Handbook of Oriental History.

- (London 1963).
- (Eds.) N.T. Phillipson & R. Mitchison, Scotland in the Age of Improvement. (Edinburgh 1970).
- J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole: The Making of the Statesman. (London 1956).
- J.H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole: The King's Minister. (London 1960).
- C.C. Prinsep, Record of the Services of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants 1741-1858. (London 1885).
- C.B. Realey, The Early Opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, 1720-1727. (Philadelphia 1931).
- J. M. Reid, Scotland Past and Present. (London 1959).
- P.W.J. Riley, The Union of England and Scotland. (Manchester 1978).
- P.W.J. Riley, King William and the Scottish Politicians. (Edinburgh 1979).
- P.W.J. Riley, The English Ministers and Scotland, 1707-1727. (London 1964).
- R. Sedgwick, The House of Commons 1715-1754. 2 vols. (London 1970).
- J.S. Shaw, The Management of Scottish Society 1707-1764: Power, Nobles, Lawyers, Edinburgh Agents and English Influences. (Edinburgh 1983).
- H. Smailes, Scottish Empire: Scots in Pursuit of Hope and Glory. (Edinburgh 1981).
- V.A. Smith, Oxford History of India. (Oxford 1967).
- T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830. (London 1973).
- P. Spear, The Nabobs. (London 1932).
- P. Spear, A History of India. (London 1965).
- Col. D. Stewart, Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments. 2 vols. (Edinburgh 1917).
- (Ed.) E. Stuart-Wortley, A Prime Minister and His Son. From the Correspondence of the 3rd Earl of Bute and of Lt. Gen. The Hon. Sir Charles Stuart, K.B. (London 1925)
- R. M. Sunter, Patronage and Politics in Scotland 1707-1832. (Edinburgh 1986).
- L.S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics. (Oxford 1962)
- L.S. Sutherland, A London Merchant 1695-1774. (Oxford 1933).
- (The) Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry. (Glasgow 1878).
- (The) Regality Club. 1st Series. (Glasgow 1889).
- (The) Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet. (Edinburgh 1936).

- (Ed.) Loretta R. Timperley, A Directory of Landownership in Scotland, c.1770. (Edinburgh 1976).
- J. Watson, The Scot of the Eighteenth Century (His Religion and his Life). (London - undated).
- S. Watson, The Reign of George III 1760-1815. (Oxford 1960).
- W.H. Warren & N. Barlow, St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, Madras. (Madras 1967).
- S. Weitzman, Warren Hastings and Philip Francis. (Manchester 1929).
- A.E. Whetstone, Scottish County Government in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. (Edinburgh 1981).
- B. Williams, The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. 2 vols. (London 1913).
- B. Williams, The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760. (Oxford 1952).
- A.J. Youngson, After the Forty-Five. (Edinburgh 1973).

ARTICLES

- D.C.C. Allan, The Contest for the Secretaryship 1769-70, (Studies in the Society's Archives XXXVI-XXXVIX) in Journal of the Royal Society of Arts. (for August-December 1964), vols. 112-113.
- F. Brady, So Fast to Ruin. The Personal Element in the Collapse of Douglas, Heron and Co., in Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society for 1973, Ayrshire Collections, vol. 11, no.2.
- M.S. Bricke, The Pelhams V Argyll 1747-1748, in Scottish Historical Review, no.61, pp.157-165.
- G.J. Bryant, Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. LXIV, 1, no.177, April 1985, pp.22-41.
- E.K. Carmichael, Jacobitism in the Scottish Commission of the Peace, 1707-1760, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. LVIII, 1: no.165, Apr. 1979, pp.58-69.
- J.J. Carter, The Making of Principal Robertson in 1762: Politics and the University of Edinburgh in the Second half of the Eighteenth Century, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. 49, for 1970, pp.60-84.
- T.M. Devine, The Union of 1707 and Scottish Development, in Scottish Economic and Social History, vol.5, for 1985, pp.23-40.

- (Ed.) W.K. Dickson, Letters to John Mackenzie of Delvine, Advocate, one of the Principal Clerks of Session, From the Rev. Alex. Monro, D.D., Principal of Edinburgh University, 1690-1698, in Miscellany of the Scottish History Society. (5th vol.), Edinburgh, 1933, pp.197-290.
- T. Donnelly, The Economic Activities of the Aberdeen Merchant Guild, 1750-1790, in Scottish Economic and Social History, vol. 1, 1981, pp.25-41.
- J. Dwyer & A. Murdoch, Paradigms and Politics: Morals, Manners and the Rise of Henry Dundas, 1770-1784, in New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland, edited by J. Dwyer, R. A. Mason, A. Murdoch. (Edinburgh 1982).
- J. Fergusson, Making Interest in Scottish County Elections, in Scottish Historical Review, XXVI, 1947, pp.119-133.
- W. Ferguson, The Electoral System in the Scottish Counties before 1832, in Miscellany Two, of the Stair Society, (Edinburgh 1984), pp.261-294.
- W. Ferguson, Dingwall Burgh Politics and the Parliamentary Franchise in the Eighteenth Century, in Scottish Historical Review, vol.38 (Oct. 1959), no.126, pp.89-108.
- H. Furber, The East India Directors in 1784, in Journal of Modern History, vol.5, (1933), pp.479-495.
- R.M. Hatton, John Drummond of Quarrel, in The Scottish Genealogist, vol. XVII, no.3, (1970), pp.65-80.
- R.M. Hatton, John Drummond in the War of the Spanish Succession: A Merchant turned Diplomatic Agent, in Studies in Diplomatic History, edited by R.M.Hatton and M.S. Anderson, (London 1970), pp.69-96.
- C. Jones, Godolphin: the Whig Junto and the Scots: a new Lords Division List for 1709, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. 58 (1979), pp.158-174.
- D.M. Joslin, London Private Bankers: 1720-1785, in Essays in Economic History, vol.2, (London 1966), edited by E.M. Carus-Wilson. (Also in Economic History Review, 2nd Series, vol. 7 (1954-55), p.167-186).

- T. Keith, Municipal Elections in the Royal Burghs of Scotland. From the Union to the Passing of the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill in 1833, in Scottish Historical Review, XIII (1916), pp.266-278.
- G. McElroy, Col. James Stuart and the Coup against Lord Pigot. (Unpublished article).
- A.M. Mackenzie, Scotland and the Empire: India, in S.M.T. Magazine and Scottish Country Life, vol. XXXI, no.6, (June 1943), pp.22-24.
- P.J. Marshall, British Expansion in India in the Eighteenth Century, in History, vol.60, (1975), no.198, pp.23-43.
- P.J. Marshall, The Bengal Commercial Society of 1775: Private British Trade in the Warren Hastings Period, in Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, vol. XLII (1969), pp.173-187.
- J. Mason, Conditions in the Highlands after the 'Forty-Five' in Scottish Historical Review, XXVI (1947), pp.134-146.
- A. Murdoch, The Importance of Being Edinburgh. Management and Opposition in Edinburgh Politics 1746-1784, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. LXII, no.173, (1983), pp.1-16.
- J.G. Parker, Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750-1914, in The Scots Abroad, edited by R. Cage, (London 1984), pp.191-219.
- N.T. Phillipson, Lawyers, Landowners and the Civil Leadership of Post-Union Scotland, in The Juridical Review, (1976), part 2, pp.97-120.
- J.C.P. Riddy, 'Shaking the Pagoda Tree'. How the Scots came to Amazing Riches - The Union, John Company and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. (Unpublished article).
- J. Roach, The 39th Regiment of Foot and the East India Company, 1754-1757, in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol.41, no.1, (September 1953), pp.102-138).
- I.A. Robertson, The Earl of Kinnoul's Bridge, The Construction of the Bridge of Tay at Perth, 1763-1772, in Scottish Economic and Social History, vol.6 (1986), pp.18-32.
- J.M. Simpson, Who Steered the Gravy Train, in Scotland in the Age of Improvement, Essays in Scottish History in the Eighteenth Century, edited by N.J. Phillipson and R. Mitchison, p.46-66. (Edinburgh,1970).

- T.C. Smout, Scottish Landowners and Economic Growth, 1650-1850, in Scottish Journal of Political Economy, vol. XI, (1964) pp.218-34.
- M. Steele, Anti-Jacobite Pamphleteering 1701-1720, in Scottish Historical Review, vol. LX, no.170, (1981), pp.140-155.
- M.M. Stuart, Lying Under the Company's Displeasure, in South Asian Review, vol.8, no.1, (1974), pp.43-52.
- M.M. Stuart, In Djudgement of Djanson. (Unpublished article).
- M.M. Stuart, With the Brittania and the Hindostan, in South East Asian Review, vol.7, no.4 (July 1974), pp.315-320.
- L.S.Sutherland, The East India Company and the Peace of Paris, in English Historical Review, vol.62, (1947), pp.179-190.
- L.S. Sutherland, Lord Shelburne and East India Company Politics, 1766-69, in English Historical Review, vol.49, (1934), pp.450-486.
- L.S. Sutherland & J. Binney, Henry Fox as Paymaster General of the Forces, in English Historical Review, vol.70, (1955), pp.229-257.
- H. Taylor, John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, in Scottish Historical Review, XXVI, (1947), pp.64-74.
- H. Trevor-Roper, The Ossian Forgeries, in the Spectator, for 16 March, 1985.

THESES

- Barun Dé, Henry Dundas and the Government of India (1773-1801). A Study in Constitutional Ideas. (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1961).
- A.L. Foley, P. Hayton, P.J. Maddock, The Forth-Clyde Canal From Its Inception to its Completion, 1762-1794. (Edinburgh University Undergraduate thesis, 1971).
- J.D. Gurney, The Debts of the Nawab of Arcot, 1763-1776. (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis 1963).
- A.M. Khan, Muhammed Reza Khan, Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan of Bengal, 1756-1775. (London University Ph.D. thesis 1966).
- G.K. McGilvary, The Early Life and Career of Laurence Sullivan, 1713-1765. (Edinburgh University M.Litt. thesis, 1978).

- J.N.M. Maclean, The Early Political Careers of James 'Fingal' MacPherson (1736-1796) and Sir John MacPherson, Bart. (1744-1821). (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1967).
- A.J. Murdoch, 'The People Above'. Politics and Administration in Mid-Eighteenth Century Scotland. (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1978).
- J.G. Parker, The Directors of the East India Company 1754-1790. (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1977).
- R.H. Scott, The Politics and Administration of Scotland 1725-1748. (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1982).
- T. Shearer, Crisis and Change in the Development of the East India Company's Affairs, 1760-1773. (Oxford University D.Phil. thesis, 1976).
- R.M. Sunter, Stirlingshire Politics 1707-1832. (Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1971).