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# Making Britain in Empire: John Shore, Nation and Race in the Eighteenth-Century East India Company World

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Sarah Pearson

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for  
the award of the degree of PhD in History in the Faculty of Arts, School of Humanities

September 2020

Word count: 66, 468



# Abstract

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This thesis argues that a sense of nation and race emerged within a global, eighteenth century East India Company world. Taking as its starting point the premise that identity matrices formed and reacted in concert with each other across the globe, the thesis contends that the eighteenth-century Indo-Persian culture of Bengal acted upon the Company elite. With their multicultural lifestyles these Company men transgressed the norms of their homeland. At the same time, a belief in the moral superiority of British sovereignty as it manifested through Company rule, helped these Britons to distinguish themselves from both Europeans and Bengalis in South Asia. Using imperial biography as the vehicle, the thesis interrogates these global forces through the cultural symbols that one man, the East India Company servant and Governor General, John Shore, adopted and the codes of conduct that he followed. The thesis examines his public papers, Company minutes and private letters to triangulate the historical forces that made this Briton in empire. After 1785, with an evangelical conversion, marriage to an English wife, and the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Shore began to reacquaint himself with his nation of origin. At the same time, he started to reframe his Bengali identity, as something to condemn and expunge. When he rose to the Supreme Council in 1786 and then to Governor General in 1793, as a man of influence Shore returned his representations of nation and race back to Britain through his public writings and acts. This thesis contributes a person-centred methodology to the analysis of the global forces of history. It shows that by unravelling the meanings of the cultural signs that elite, imperial men seeded into their public and private writings, historians can dissect the mechanisms of colonial power.



# Dedication and Acknowledgements

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Dedicated to the memory of my parents

Firstly, I want to thank my two supervisors, Robert Bickers at the University of Bristol, and Jonathan Saha at the University of Durham. I have been through several stops and starts, when researching and authoring this thesis, including an unprecedented pandemic lockdown. My supervisors have supported me throughout. I would also like to thank Margot Finn from UCL and Simeon Koole from the University of Bristol for agreeing to examine this work.

Secondly, I want to acknowledge the help and advice I received from the archivists and specialists I have consulted while researching this thesis. In particular, the staff at the Asian and African Studies Reading Room and Somerset Heritage Centre have always been helpful, whatever peculiar requests I might make. I also want to thank those who helped me track down and translate elusive primary sources: Nancey Charley, archivist at the Royal Asiatic Society in London and the followers of the Asiatic Society's twitter feed who translated an eighteenth-century Persian *arzdasht* for me. Also, the chain of people who helped me to view Shore's manuscript translation of the *Yoga Vasistha*, once held at the archive of the Bristol Baptist College: Mike Brealey archivist at Bristol Baptist College, Glenn Horowitz, bookseller in New York, Michael Dodson historian at Indiana University and James Canary, senior archivist at the Lilley Library at Indiana University.

And finally, my Shore forebears from the same clan in the Derwent valley of Derbyshire, without whom I would never have authored this thesis. From family historian to doctoral historian has been a long, rewarding and enlightening journey.



# Author's Declaration

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I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: ..... DATE:.....





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# Note on Rendering Quotes and Spellings from Eighteenth Century Texts

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To gain a more immediate sense of Shore's meaning, I have reproduced quotes from Shore's texts using modern day spelling and punctuation. This includes transcribing eighteenth century transliterations of Bengali, Hindi and Persian into their modern equivalent. The exceptions are the names of cities that occur in treaties, titles, and Company presidencies. I use Shore's contemporary names for the cities now known as Kolkata, Chennai and Mumbai. I also use Benares, Burdwan, Seringapatam and Tanjore rather than their modern anglicisations. For clarification sometimes I place the eighteenth-century version of a word in brackets after the modern transliteration.



# Introduction

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How can we understand the following poem, written by an Englishman using the symbolism of two countries? Answering this question is, in essence, the subject of this thesis.

In Bliss, where rapt devotion never stray'd —  
In Light, impervious as the midnight shade —  
Eternal, Infinite, All-wise, alone,  
From man conceal'd, and e'en by gods unknown,  
Bremh, purest Essence, to no form confin'd,  
Dwells, and contemplates his exhaustless mind.  
He will'd—Creation rose by measur'd laws;  
Himself, the Maker, work effect and cause;  
Though varied, one; though single, all; reveal'd  
In endless modes, in every mode conceal'd.  
Sole Source of Being! Whence, in constant tide,  
Perception's living emanations glide;  
Of Nature organiz'd, the immortal soul,  
That warms, inspires, dilates, impels the whole.  
In matter veil'd, not mix'd, this vital fire.  
Amidst the gloom of passion, sense, desire.  
Unconscious burns; till, freed from carnal ties.  
Elastic, glowing to its source it flies.  
(John Shore, Bengal, 1789)<sup>1</sup>

The author, John Shore, Lord Teignmouth was an evangelical Christian and Governor General of India from 1793 to 1798. As a member of Wilberforce's Clapham Sect and from 1804 the first President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he was also a campaigner for the abolition of the slave trade and for the promotion of Christianity in India. By 1807, the same year that an Act of Parliament abolished the British slave trade, and he joined the Board of Control of India, the author penned the finishing flourish to the poem he had begun in Bengal:

One Western Bard alone, with hardier course.  
Soars with the Hindu Sage to Nature's source:  
Vers'd in His lore, the mystic fount he drains.  
And all Vashesti fires his lyric strains.  
(John Shore, England, 1807)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lord Teignmouth, *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of John, Lord Teignmouth*. 2 vols (London: Hatchard, 1843), I, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 200.



As a close friend of the poem's lone bard, Sir William Jones, its author, the evangelical activist John Shore, blended metaphors from three religious traditions. Through the lines 'Sole Source of Being! Whence, in constant tide, / Perception's living emanations glide' and through the words Essence and fount, Shore revealed that the Sufi branch of Islam mediated his knowledge of the Sanskrit texts of South Asia. The translation Shore used was the *Muntakhab-i Jug Basisht (Selections from the Yoga Vasistha)* written in 1611 by the Persian scholar Findiriski. The translation included lines from the Sufi poet Attar and elaborations of the Sanskrit original through the grammar of Sufi metaphysics.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, because the divine willed Nature into being and operated according to a mechanistic natural law of cause and effect, Shore's concept of the Hindu Brahman and the Sufi Source is based upon the Providence that suffused the British worldview in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike the individual soul of the *Yoga Vasistha* that emerged and rose to unite with Brahman, in Shore's poem the pleasures of the body were caught downwards in elastic tension until released to spring back to the Source.<sup>4</sup> Even so, despite these spiritual symbols of Sufi and Christian origin, in the sensual and dynamic metaphors of vision, orientation, temperature and upward motion portrayed through the words warm, glowing, dilates, burns, fires, flies and soars Shore related an internal, embodied and dynamic understanding of himself, that was of South Asian rather than European origin.<sup>5</sup> In this poem, Shore showed that after 24

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<sup>3</sup> S. Nair, 'Sufism as Medium and Method of Translation: Mughal Translations of Hindu Texts Reconsidered', *Studies in Religion-Sciences Religieuses*, 43 (2014), pp. 390-410, (pp. 398-402).

<sup>4</sup> In Britain in the late eighteenth century 'elastic' could be a metaphor for a pleasurable, expansive feeling, similar in meaning to our contemporary use of 'buoyant' when applied to mood. John Wesley's early experiments with Christian mysticism are described in 1772 in terms recognisable in Shore's poem. 'His elastic mind gathered strength by compression: thence bursting glorious ... he passed, up-born on eagle's wings ... the immense chasm between Nature and Grace; the old man and the new; God and the devil.' *The Hibernian Magazine* (Dublin: Gibson, 1772), p. 280.

<sup>5</sup> The eighteenth century sensibility was suspicious of internalisation, solitude and silence. As a result, understanding of the person came through external performances, such as masquerade, polite conversation and literature, while strong feelings were represented as external forces that swept over the individual. Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 166-197; John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 1-17; Adela Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 1-16; Julie K. Ellison, *Cato's Tears*

years lived in Bengal he deployed South Asian metaphors to decipher his experiences. In this respect, Shore's sense of self can only be understood when analysed through a global framework that includes British and Bengali traditions.

In 1989 Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler called for a re-ordering of imperial history. Rather than investigating nation and empire within separate domains they called for histories that scrutinised both colonised and coloniser within the same analytical frame.<sup>6</sup> Since that time a vast body of work has examined the multifaceted interactions between colony and metropole. Influenced by postcolonial studies, historians have used the methods of literary scholars to analyse texts. They have also been influenced by the techniques of anthropologists who analyse ritual and practice. These approaches emphasise the ways that Europe acted upon its Other in Empire, but they also emphasise the ways in which a cross-disciplinary approach can enrich understanding within a complex and controversial field.

In this thesis my intention is to use the individual as an object for analysis using techniques of psychological enquiry. I will use a cross-disciplinary approach to interpret one historical actor through the medium of imperial biography. This approach is itself not without controversy. In the mid twentieth century psychohistory was a much-criticised attempt to analyse the person through a Freudian model of personality. The movement foundered mainly on the attempt to fit historical personalities into a modern model of psychology. Psychohistory produced imperial biographies such as Erik Erikson's *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence*.<sup>7</sup> Erikson's purpose was to illustrate ways in which psychoanalytical theory could be used to analyse personality, rather than to produce an accurate historical record. But many historians argued convincingly that the evidence to support these psychoanalytical interpretations was missing. In *Shrinking History* David Stannard wrote one of the most comprehensive critiques of the genre. In his argument, much of the genre depended upon 'imaginative wizardry' and 'mechanistic determinism'. Because

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*and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 1-22.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler, 'Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule', *American Ethnologist*, 16 (1989), pp. 609-621.

<sup>7</sup> Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (London: Faber, 1970).

historical actors constructed their worlds differently to the contemporaries of Freud and Erikson, David Stannard argued that biographers cannot explain personality or character through a model constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>8</sup>

Instead of using the psychoanalytic model as a frame this thesis will investigate Empire and its Other from within the historical networks of power and discourse in which they formed. Historians like Ann Stoler, Catherine Hall, Mrinalini Sinha and Ann McLintock have shown that in the nineteenth century identities of nation, class, gender and race were mutually constituted between coloniser and colonised and in constant flux in relation to each other.<sup>9</sup> These historians emphasise the reactivity and responsiveness of identity to wider social and cultural movements in empire. Taking this approach, I start from the assumption that if the empires of the British world were complex and multicultural, then the identities that shaped each imperial actor were complex and multicultural as well. By examining the ways that such an actor interpreted himself and found meaning within this fluctuating field I will examine how far living in empire disordered and reconstituted the identity complex of one elite imperial man. In so doing I hope to add depth and understanding to the dynamics of the shifting two-way flow of communication between, Britain, her Empire and her Others.

### Biography, Empire and the Person

In this section I shall consider how imperial history has analysed the person. Looking first at the ways that the person is constructed within the literature I then consider the person in Imperial Biography. Starting with the British World I then look at ways that the historical actor has been portrayed as mutually constituted between South Asia and Britain.

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<sup>8</sup> David E. Stannard, *Shrinking History: On Freud and the Failure of Psychohistory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. xiii, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Some works that cover the shifting interlocking matrices of identity and power are Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2010); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Oxford: Polity Press, 2002); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

## The Person in South Asian Imperial Historiography

In 1841, Thomas Carlyle declared that ‘the History of the World...was the Biography of Great Men.’<sup>10</sup> Before the Second World War, imperial history followed this ‘Great Man’ theory by promoting the spread of British imperialism as a civilising influence. In this period, historians represented individuals as intentionally creating or opposing Empire through heroic or villainous ‘characters’. For example in Volume V of the *Cambridge History of India* published in 1929, the word ‘character’ appears six times in the contents page, as a frame of analysis for Clive, Impey, Hastings, Tipu Sultan, of Mysore, Nawab Walajah of the Carnatic and Cornwallis.<sup>11</sup> This volume portrayed individuals as either helping or hindering a British imperial project, with failures the result of overwhelming flaws in character.<sup>12</sup> In this approach ‘character’ is an object of analysis that valued ‘moral vigour’, ‘dauntless courage’ and a grand vision. The framework derided the small and petty and ‘upheld national and not private traditions’. As a result, the term ‘character’ was fixed and essentialising.<sup>13</sup> As well as the works of James Mill and William Wilson Hunter in the nineteenth century, Company servants H. E. Busteed and Dennis Kincaid took this approach when they imaginatively reconstructed the British community in India. For example, Busteed’s *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, first written in 1882, structured the social life and group dynamics of late

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<sup>10</sup> Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History: Six Lectures* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1840), p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> H. H. Dodwell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*. 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), V, pp. vii-xxii.

<sup>12</sup> H. H. Dodwell, ‘The Seven Years’ War’, in *Cambridge History of India*. ed. by H. H. Dodwell. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), V, pp. 157-65, (p. 165); Very Rev W. H. Hutton, Dean of Winchester, ‘Tipu Sultan 1785-1802’, in *Cambridge History of India*. ed. by H. H. Dodwell. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), V, pp. 343-66, (p. 342).

<sup>13</sup> Dodwell, ‘Bengal 1760-72’, V, pp. 166-80, (p. 166); P. E. Roberts, ‘The Impeachment of Warren Hastings’, in *Cambridge History of India*. ed. by H. H. Dodwell. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), V, pp. 307-12, (p. 312); Lilian M Penson, ‘The Bengal Administrative System 1786-1818’, in *Cambridge History of India*. ed. by H. H. Dodwell. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), V, pp. 433-61, (p. 437); Roberts, ‘External Relations and the Rohilla War’, V, pp. 215-44, (p. 221).

eighteenth-century Bengal around the life and character of Philip Francis, a senior Company servant.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to this personality-based approach, after Independence in 1947 South Asian area studies took a modernist approach. Both Cambridge and nationalist historians worked with the assumption that the individual life was insignificant compared to an institution, its internal tensions and changing public perceptions towards it. With the ‘death of the subject’ these modernist approaches assumed that the population could be divided into impermeable social classes with an overarching ‘mentality’ that moved individuals to function as one unit. In this period, the individual was either submerged within the flow of social, economic and political forces, or used as an exemplar to illustrate the direction of such flows.<sup>15</sup> Alongside this ‘death of the subject’ came the person as mind. In these intellectual histories of empire historians analysed economic, social and political theories to discover how an imperial ‘mind’ shaped policy in the colonies.<sup>16</sup>

With the advent of postmodern and postcolonial approaches to the history of empire in the 1980s and 1990s a critique of the progressive narrative saw a renewed emphasis upon the local and personal. While postcolonial histories explored multiculturalism and agency in the marginal and indigenous, the approach also polarised populations into impermeable groups of imperial Self and colonised Other. Using cultural themes such as medicine, science, law, clothing, ethnology or history, postcolonial historians reconstructed a group representation of

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<sup>14</sup> H. E. Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*. 4th edn (London: Thacker, 1908); Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937*. 2nd edn (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); James Mill, *The History of British India*. 5 vols (London: Varty, 1817); Sir William Wilson Hunter, *History of British India* (London: Longmans, 1900).

<sup>15</sup> Examples of individual subsumed within historical process include A. R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1966); C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Examples of individual as exemplar include P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Suresh Chandra Ghosh, *The Social Condition of the British Community in Bengal 1757-1800* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); Percival Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Oxford Paperbacks, 1963).

<sup>16</sup> Examples include Ronald Edward Robinson, John Gallagher, and Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1961); Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*. repr edn (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1959).

the Other through the symbols contained within texts, codes of practice and cultural productions of the coloniser.<sup>17</sup> These productions often followed in the tradition of the intellectual historians by analysing texts. But many historians, particularly in areas such as population, sport, sexuality and medicine, also chose to approach the person as a body to be shaped, displayed, ordered, categorized, policed and controlled.<sup>18</sup> In these works the body is a site upon which discourses and practices of gender and race organize and categorize populations.

New Imperial History builds upon the cultural and postmodern focus of the postcolonial approach but within a global frame. In this approach people constantly remade each other in response to a web of diverse, interwoven contacts across the globe. New Imperial History approaches the person as a matrix of identities formed in an imperial world. The person was emergent from a culture, discursive, multi-faceted, relational and in constant flux.<sup>19</sup> The approach usually focuses upon the relationship of racial identities to gender, class or nation. As a result, a reading of the person within the frame of New Imperial History indicates that the British imperial man can only be examined from within the cultures that he colonised.

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<sup>17</sup> Examples include Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Mark Harrison, *Climates & Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India. Oxford India Paperbacks* (London: Oxford University Press, 1999); A. N. Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, C.1800-1947* (Cambridge Polity Press, 2007); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette M. Burton (eds.), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette M. Burton (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*; Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*; Antoinette M. Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina, 1994); Alan Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), pp. 124-141.

## Biography and Imperial History

Nevertheless biography remains controversial for many historians, mainly because traditional, literary forms seldom explore the social, political and cultural context that shapes the biographical subject.<sup>20</sup> Literary biographers are concerned with conveying the sense of a person. They access memoirs, diaries, letters and witness accounts to try to draw out a rounded picture of the personality of a biographical subject in empire. Because of the nature of literary biography, the elite are the most usual subjects. Ordinary lives are little explored, because the marginal and lowly do not make an impact in the archives and are not of much interest to the general reading public. In its form the literary biography borrows techniques from fiction writing, including structuring a page-turning story, building character and writing powerful descriptions. Reflections on literary biography revolve around the paradox of writing a true and accurate account of the inner life of self-fashioning subjects whose purpose is to construct a favourable impression for their readers.<sup>21</sup>

Despite these concerns, New Biography has arisen once again as a response to the postmodern emphasis upon the fragment. Historians have started to explore life writing to seek evidence for wider themes in imperial history. Judith M Brown argued that the subtle techniques of life writing allow the historian to move between the general movements of a

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<sup>20</sup> Scholars have discussed whether the social and political context can be incorporated into biography. See for example A. Kessler-Harris, 'Why Biography?', *American Historical Review*, 114 (2009), pp. 625-30; J. M. Brown, 'Life Histories and the History of Modern South Asia', *American Historical Review*, 114 (2009), pp. 587-95; D. Nasaw, 'Historians and Biography Introduction', *American Historical Review*, 114 (2009), pp. 573-8; R. I. Rotberg, 'Biography and Historiography: Mutual Evidentiary and Interdisciplinary Considerations', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 40 (2010), pp. 305-24; Jo Burr Margadant, 'The New Biography in Historical Practice', *French Historical Studies*, 19 (1996), pp. 1045-58; Derek Beales, 'History and Biography: An Inaugural Lecture', in *History and Biography: Essays in Honour of Derek Beales*. ed. by T. C. W. Blanning and David Cannadine. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 266-83; Judith M. Brown, *Windows into the Past: Life Histories and the Historian of South Asia* (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009); D. Cannadine, 'From Biography to History: Writing the Modern British Monarchy', *Historical Research*, 77 (2004), pp. 289-312.

<sup>21</sup> For reflections upon the genre of literary biography see Eric Homberger and John Charmley, 'Introduction', in *The Troubled Face of Biography*. ed. by Eric Homberger and John Charmley. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp. ix-xv; Hermione Lee, *Body Parts: Essays on Life-Writing* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005); John Batchelor, *The Art of Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

social and cultural context to the particulars of individual experience, using each as a lens to scrutinise the other. For this reason, New Biography complicates the themes that concern imperial historians. Works such as Catherine Hall's examination of Zachary and Thomas Macaulay highlight the mechanisms by which complex boundaries were negotiated and reformed.<sup>22</sup> Such deep dives provide an inward-facing perspective into the debates and issues of the day. They enrich understanding of the ways that identifications developed across time and distance and highlight the agency individuals could muster within overarching global forces. Biographies are also key to uncovering the networks and systems individuals inhabited and the changing social movements, political systems and public institutions they negotiated.<sup>23</sup> In the sections that follow I will use the terms life-writing to refer to the biographies of historians.

### Imperial Life-Writing and the British World

Imperial life-writing covers many forms. It covers the elite and the marginal, the European and the colonised. The length also varies, from academic papers, to full-length monographs and collections of case studies. Since 2000 collective biographies, prosopography and micro histories in the tradition of Laurence Stone and Carlo Ginzburg, have addressed individual experience and social context as parallel domains through which to explore wider historical themes.<sup>24</sup> Collective biographies of the imperial elite explore networks and patterns of

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<sup>22</sup> Catherine Hall, *Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Brown, 'Life Histories', pp. 587-95, For a critique and analysis of imperial biography as historical technique also see Brown, *Windows into the Past*; D. Lambert, 'Reflections on the Concept of Imperial Biographies the British Case', *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft*, 40 (2014), pp. 22-41; David Lambert and Alan Lester, *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 16-21; Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550--1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 8-14; Clare Anderson, *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 12-15; David Arnold and Stuart H. Blackburn, 'Introduction: Life Histories in India', in *Telling Lives in India: Biography, Autobiography, and Life History*. ed. by David Arnold and Stuart H. Blackburn. (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), pp. 1-28.

<sup>24</sup> L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, 100 (1971), pp. 46-79; C. Ginzburg, 'Microhistory - 2 or 3 Things That I Know About It', *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), pp. 10-35.



connectivity within a colonial complex such as a family.<sup>25</sup> One example is Emma Rothschild's 'new kind of microhistory'. In *The Inner Life of Empires* Emma Rothschild selected a rich variety of text, objects, spaces and actions to explore the Johnstone family's imperial network.<sup>26</sup> Instead of using chronological case studies, she structured her book according to intellectual and experiential domains such as Enlightenment, economy, loss and sentiment. As a result, a view of a family identity emerged, with the inner life displaced among historical themes and feeling explored through Scottish Enlightenment philosophers. As Emma Rothschild's book shows collective biographies can explore 'new ways of connecting the micro histories of individuals and families to the larger scenes of which they were part'.<sup>27</sup>

Other life writing has explored the individual rather than a collective to understand imperial forces. Catherine Hall used a British World biography as a vehicle for understanding some of the mechanisms which constructed Imperial Britain. For Catherine Hall childhood influences, an evangelical upbringing and living in India, determined Thomas Babington Macaulay's representation of nation in his *History of England*. In *Macaulay and Son*, her analysis used the Macaulay family's personal letters and Thomas Macaulay's own political writing to pull together the connections between upbringing, experiences of empire and political thought. The book used life writing to examine the forces which underpinned a representation of history that helped to define English nationhood in the Victorian era.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> In a chapter entitled 'Colleges, Cohorts and Dynasties', Judith M Brown wrote about the imperial networks disseminating from Balliol College, Oxford. See Brown, *Windows into the Past*, pp. 7-29. George McGilvray traced patterns of patronage in the East India Company within the Scottish elite. See George K. McGilvray, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008); For the nineteenth century David Lambert and Alan Lester wrote of the communication networks that held the British World together. See Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives*.

<sup>26</sup> Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 6.

<sup>27</sup> Rothschild, *Inner Life of Empires*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Hall, *Macaulay and Son*; Other recent examples of biographies of influential imperialists include Roger Owen, *Lord Cromer: Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); C. Brad Faught, *Clive: Founder of British India* (Dulles VA: Potomac Books, 2013); J. Lee Thompson, *A Wider Patriotism: Alfred Milner and the British Empire* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007).

With a postmodern approach, imperial biographies can also analyse the person as a symbol for imperial power and a site of contested meaning. For example, James Epstein explored the violence inherent in imperial regimes from multiple, contested perspectives of Governor Picton in the *Scandal of Colonial Rule*. In structuring his work in overlapping themes, the person of the first governor of Trinidad and his style of brutal governance between 1801 and 1803 became the pivot around which to explore how the metropole denied, condemned and justified the troubling question of colonial violence.<sup>29</sup> The biography demonstrated that multiple codes of elite British masculinity operated in an imperial setting. In the debates about the appropriate codes to follow in empire transgressions of race and gender entered the argument. James Epstein's approach indicates individuals were the pivot around which a matrix of multiple identities shifted and contested the meaning of empire.

Other life writing examines the movements of empire from below, where ruptures, silences and untruths reveal the ways in which the lower classes made and remade themselves within the reaches of the British World. In *Empire Made Me* Robert Bickers followed Richard Maurice Tinkler, a Shanghai policeman of the early twentieth century who lived and worked on the margins of British and Chinese society. The book emphasised Tinkler's empire as one of normality, violence and entrapment. His empire was also one in which he could disappear from the records for significant periods of time. Like the swindler of Kirsten McKenzie's *Swindler's Progress* one hundred years earlier and 5000 miles distant in Australia, from below Tinkler's story leads into the elisions, subversions and manipulations that also constructed empires.<sup>30</sup> While subaltern studies have given voice to the colonised, biographies

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<sup>29</sup> James Epstein, *Scandal of Colonial Rule: Power and Subversion in the British Atlantic During the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Because of his impeachment, some have explored Warren Hastings as a sign of imperial power. See for example Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 87-132; Tillman W. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 92-139; P. J. Marshall, 'The Making of an Imperial Icon: The Case of Warren Hastings', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 27 (1999), pp. 1-16. Kathleen Wilson explored Captain James Cook as an icon of English masculinity. See Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire, and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 54-91.

<sup>30</sup> Kirsten McKenzie, *A Swindler's Progress: Nobles and Convicts in the Age of Liberty* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Robert A. Bickers, *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai* (London: Allen Lane, 2003).

of marginal Britons also highlight silences within the imperial story. Works such as *Swindler's Progress* and *Empire Made Me* suggest that such elite silence buttresses the colonial scheme. By suppressing and eliding inconvenient lives, such silences contest the heroic and civilising narrative of the British World.

### The Mutually Constituted Historical Subject in South Asia

In contrast, many biographies of the elites of the British World assume that their subjects acted upon empire without being acted upon by local customs and peoples in their turn. This approach contrasts with the adaptability and fluidity that historians assume for marginal and colonised figures. For these non-elites, where sources are scarce collective biographies have opened up insights into the motivations and lifestyles of subalterns through a kaleidoscopic juxtaposition of short life histories that highlight mutually constituted life patterns and themes.<sup>31</sup> Where sources are fuller, historians have examined the multiculturalism of men and women on the margins of imperial society. One is Dane Kennedy's '*Highly Civilized Man*', in which he located the explorer Richard Burton within the cultural and political forces of the Victorian World. Asserting that people as well as societies are mutually constituted, Dane Kennedy argued that an examination of the life of Richard Burton gives historians an insight into the ways that the Victorians managed categories of difference. For Dane Kennedy Victorian concerns about difference were mirrored in the trajectory of Burton's life and interests.<sup>32</sup> Burton was a subversive, liminal figure who travelled along the edges of imperial power. Even though he was feted as a hero of empire after his death, Richard Burton's

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<sup>31</sup> Anderson, *Subaltern Lives*; Arnold and Blackburn, 'Telling Lives in India', pp. 1-28.

<sup>32</sup> Dane Keith Kennedy, *The Highly Civilized Man: Richard Burton and the Victorian World* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); For other biographies of the marginal caught up in global forces, see Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (New York NY: Anchor Books, 2008); Peter Robb wrote of the circumscribed agency of Richard Blechynden's concubines, servants and workforce in Calcutta. See Peter Robb, *Sentiment and Self: Richard Blechynden's Calcutta Diaries, 1791-1822* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011); Peter Robb, *Sex and Sensibility: Richard Blechynden's Calcutta Diaries, 1791-1822* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011). Musaffer Alam and Seema Alavi examined the Mughal identity of Colonel Antoine Polier in Lucknow who they argued was a marginal figure. Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The Ijaz-I-Arsalani (Persian Letters 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

protean, multicultural ways came at the expense of his career in the Indian Army and as a British diplomat.

This representation of a distanced, separated and unaffected elite contrasts with that of literary biographers. In this genre a more complex story emerges from South Asia in the eighteenth century. At this time elite, multicultural colonisers adapted to and connected with the territories that they colonised.<sup>33</sup> William Dalrymple for example explored mixed marriage in eighteenth century Hyderabad, arguing that the British in South Asia adapted to the culture and formed emotional bonds within indigenous networks.<sup>34</sup> Equally, Kate Teltscher portrayed the East India Company diplomat and revenue officer George Bogle as a man caught between cultures.<sup>35</sup> As the examples of James Kirkpatrick and George Bogle indicate, the subjects in literary imperial biography ally themselves to a local culture through the emotional, sensual and kinaesthetic domains of human experience. This person is constantly in making, depends upon many physical and cultural environments and is a process rather than a static pattern of characteristics.

It is my contention that the field of imperial history has neglected the multicultural identities of elite imperial men. Instead, within imperial life writing the representation of the elite man tends towards the timeless and unacted upon characters of Victorian histories and the mindsets of modernist histories. Imperial biography has not thoroughly explored the body of the elite, imperial man of authority. In this thesis I will take the methodologies and sources of both literary biographers and postmodern historians to examine the ways in which one elite

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<sup>33</sup> Historical geographers and anthropologists also explore the person as multicultural and global. See Lambert, 'Imperial Biographies', pp. 22-41, Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives*, Ogborn, *Global Lives*. Anthropologists Nicholas Thomas and Richard Eves examined 'colonial degeneration' through the private letters of two marginal figures. Nicholas Thomas and Richard Eves, *Bad Colonists: The South Seas Letters of Vernon Lee Walker and Louis Becke* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

<sup>34</sup> See William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004); Michael J. Franklin, *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>35</sup> Kate Teltscher, *The High Road to China: George Bogle, the Panchen Lama and the First British Expedition to Tibet* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006); Kate Teltscher, 'Writing Home and Crossing Cultures: George Bogle in Bengal and Tibet, 1770 - 1775', in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660 - 1840*. ed. by Kathleen Wilson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 281-96.

actor made and remade himself in the complex, multicultural world of Company India in the late eighteenth century. In the process I will merge the concern of the literary biographer with the private, domestic and emotional with the preoccupation of the historian with a wider political, social and economic context. I shall look at how one such man recognised and enacted the signs of these elite identities not only through public institutions such as the East India Company but through his body and his multicultural domestic and private circles as well.

### John Shore as Imperial Actor

In this thesis I use the life of John Shore (1751-1834) as a vehicle for analysing a shifting configuration of identities in empire. Shore was an East India Company servant between 1769 and 1798. During his career in Bengal Shore experienced the loss of the Atlantic Colonies and the financial and existential crisis of the East India Company. He also lived through the ramifications of the fall of the Ancien Regime in France and the French Revolutionary Wars that resulted. For good reason Eric Hobsbawm called the period he lived through the *Age of Revolution*.<sup>36</sup> Christopher Bayly identified the 1770s and 1780s as a 'British recession', while Jon E. Wilson saw the 1770s up to the mid-1780s as a time of 'geopolitical uncertainty' in South Asia. The period culminated in a fiscal crisis within the East India Company between 1783 and 1785. Jon Wilson argued that the emerging imperial state was a result of tensions experienced by East India Company officials at this time. Anxious because of their lack of understanding of Indian systems, the crisis stimulated a desire for reform to strengthen and stabilise the imperial state.<sup>37</sup>

This period is often viewed as crucial for the development of modern identities of nation, race, gender and class. At this time early modern identities such as religion and breeding began to reconfigure into new definitions of nation, race and class.<sup>38</sup> From the outset in

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<sup>36</sup> E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789-1848* (London: Abacus, 1977).

<sup>37</sup> C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 2; Jon E. Wilson, *The Domination of Strangers: Modern Governance in Eastern India, 1780-1835* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 47-54.

<sup>38</sup> For the redefinition of nation, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Wilson, *Island Race*; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983). For the redefinition of race, see Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*;

Bengal, the East India Company worked for British interests. The corporation might employ South Asians and Europeans locally and adapt Indo-Persian habits, but the goods and profits of trade were sent home for the benefit of Britain.<sup>39</sup> In Shore's time the elite of the Company territories in South Asia were the officers employed from Britain through patronage networks. This distinction marked out the British trading company from their trading rivals in the French, Danish and Dutch East India Companies. Even at the lower levels Europeans employed locally functioned as Britons, at least in public, with the Company employing tactics such as oaths of allegiance to gain their loyalty.<sup>40</sup>

In this thesis I will argue that at this time Shore's sense of nation began to emerge in South Asia alongside his public representations of racial difference. For the nineteenth century, historians like Ann Stoler, Mrinalini Sinha and Joseph Sramek have argued that race interwove with gender and class in empire. In their view colonial authority built itself upon a logic in which multiracial children, poor whites and colonised peoples complicated categories of gender, race and class.<sup>41</sup> Others, like Catherine Hall and Linda Colley, consider ways in which a sense of nation coexisted with other identities in the metropole. For Catherine Hall empire united Britons at home in their perception of the nation's dominion and superiority over colonised peoples across the seas. The Other of empire formed a counterpart for nation while nation in its turn imposed its cultural forms upon the colonies.<sup>42</sup> For Linda Colley this

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Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture. New Cultural Studies* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). For the consolidation of a middle class, see Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?: England, 1783-1846* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), pp. 124-74; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes*. Rev. edn (London: Routledge, 1987).

<sup>39</sup> Stephen Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries: Continental Europeans and the British Empire, 1740-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 162-3.

<sup>40</sup> Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, 214-5. Alam and Alavi, *European Experience*, pp. 1-32.

<sup>41</sup> Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*; Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, Mrinalini Sinha, 'Giving Masculinity a History: Some Contributions from the Historiography of Colonial India', *Gender and History*, 11 (1999), pp. 445-460; Joseph Sramek, *Gender, Morality, and Race in Company India, 1765-1858* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

<sup>42</sup> Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, pp. 8-22; Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 'Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire', in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1-31.

sense of nation formed in the eighteenth century through a shared Protestant culture, and by defining itself against Europe, in particular Catholic France.<sup>43</sup>

In 1992 Linda Colley called for an extension to her thesis, arguing that nation was created in empire as well as in Europe.<sup>44</sup> In this study I take up this challenge, and contend that for Shore a co-constitution of nation took place between London and Calcutta. For Shore's generation modern identities were still evolving. Early modern differences were expressed through the frameworks of climate, religion, and bloodline. These differentiators suffused their understanding of their political, social and religious lives.<sup>45</sup> At this time, Englishmen seated their identity in hard-won political freedoms, with liberty a much-vaunted marker. At least until mid-century the English could still define themselves against the other ethnicities of the British Isles. In particular, many believed the Scots were invading English society as the supporters of arbitrary Stuart power. To be English at this time was also to carry allegiance to the Hanoverian monarchy, and to be Protestant.<sup>46</sup>

These truths were so fundamental to eighteenth-century British belief that they formed a background framework that influenced every area of life, including the sense of self. Theories of climate and the humours of the body were means of defining difference. They encompassed health, skin colour, disposition and cast of mind. Most people in the eighteenth century believed that cultural, educational, or environmental change altered the humoral mix

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<sup>43</sup> Colley, *Britons*.

<sup>44</sup> L. Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness and National Identity: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992), pp. 309-329.

<sup>45</sup> Brian K. Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented?: Britons, Indians, and the Colonial Construction of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 16-18. Brian Pennington argued for 'the irreducibility of religious consciousness as stimulus to human activity and source of cosmological and social concepts'. For a description of the influence of evangelical belief on the political, social and economic life of Britain in the nineteenth century, see Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); For the influence of Providential thinking in the eighteenth century, see J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics During the Ancien Regime*. 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Jacob Viner, *The Role of Providence in the Social Order: An Essay in Intellectual History. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia PA: American Philosophical Society, 1972).

<sup>46</sup> Colley, *Britons*, pp. 105-17, Kidd, 'Ethnicity', p. 277.

and changed appearance and behaviour. Ideas of the climate affecting difference were persistent even when rational evidence suggested otherwise. But skin colour began to emerge as an important component of racial identity in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, especially in natural history and scientific texts.<sup>47</sup>

A key influence was also the belief in Providence as the hand of God that operated through the mechanistic, cause and effect laws of nature. Providence determined the family an individual was born into and their station in life. Providence placed William III and George I on the British throne when the rule of primogeniture would suggest The Old and Young Pretenders were the rightful heirs. Because Providence dispersed goods around the world to foster universal brotherhood, the search for global markets was also divinely ordained.<sup>48</sup> In the *Wealth of Nations* through the metaphor of the invisible hand Adam Smith implied that Providence inspired the seemingly self-interested actions of individuals, creating balance and equilibrium in the market place.<sup>49</sup>

Alongside climate and Providence, blood contained a discourse of hierarchy through privilege and family entitlement. The symbol of the pure bloodline and a tie to a landed estate across generations identified a family with a noble or gentry rank. As a medium that bound individuals together, the bloodline was associated with wider notions of the nation as a

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<sup>47</sup> Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, pp. 21-33.

<sup>48</sup> Viner, *Role of Providence*, pp. 27-54, 86-113; Clark, *English Society*, pp. 53-4, 107-12, 154-6, 166, 171-4, 282-4; Boyd Hilton, 'The Role of Providence in Evangelical Social Thought', in *History, Society and the Churches: Essays in Honour of Owen Chadwick*. ed. by Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 215-34.

<sup>49</sup> 'The rich...are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life, which would have been made, had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants, and thus without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interest of the society' Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: Millar, 1761), pp. 273-4; 'By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, he intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.' Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), II, p. 28. Jacob Viner also argued that natural theology and providential beliefs underpinned Adam Smith's theories. See Viner, *Role of Providence*, pp. 77-85 and the essays in Paul Oslington (ed.), *Adam Smith as Theologian* (New York NY: Routledge, 2011).



bloodstock, breed or people that sprung from the soil. The idea of blood as stock or breed meant that a family's race was a category that explained their rank in a civil order. In the early modern period then, race was a marker of superiority for European royal, noble and gentry houses who were distinguished from those with no breeding by the purity of their bloodline.<sup>50</sup>

In this thesis I will build upon the proposition that identities in empire were fluid and shifting in relation to each other by arguing that an elite Indo-Persian identity also contributed to a sense of nation. Prior to the British taking control in the 1770s and 1780s the households of the Indo-Persian elite were a constituent of the Mughal state. In the early stages of empire in India, domestic servants, craftsmen, administrators, workforces and the military asserted their South Asian customs and practices to Britons they encountered. Even with the Mughal elite displaced from power, the British had to adapt to a South Asian mode of being.<sup>51</sup> As well as determining the customs of domestic service, this Mughal state asserted social power through patronage, kinship and network. With this Indo-Persian identity added to the mix, I will argue that Shore's emerging and modern sense of himself as Briton continued to relate to Bengal, but through an affiliation he reviled and rejected: as Other.

Into this maelstrom of global identities John Shore was born to a family of East India Company merchants in 1751. Since his son wrote a biography in 1843, analyses of Shore's life and work have fragmented around his tenure as Governor General, his plan for a

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<sup>50</sup> Jean E. Feerick, *Strangers in Blood: Relocating Race in the Renaissance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), pp. 3-24; Wilson, *Island Race*, p. 7; Jenny Davidson, *Breeding: A Partial History of the Eighteenth Century* (New York NY: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 33, 58, 77-8, 134-7, Timothy McInerney, 'The Better Sort: Nobility and Human Variety in Eighteenth-Century Great Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38 (2015), pp. 47-63.

<sup>51</sup> Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, pp. 1-49; S. Chattopadhyay, 'Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59 (2000), pp. 154-79; Andrea Hintze discussed the decentralised nature of the Mughal State up to 1750. See Andrea Hintze, *The Mughal Empire and Its Decline: An Interpretation of the Sources of Social Power* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997). Christopher Bayly describes networks of influence in C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). See also Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. trans. Robert Hurley. 3 vols (London: Penguin Books, 1990-1998), I (1998), pp. 94-5. For a discussion of processes of power operating beyond formal institutions to reorganise and re-align networks of influence.

permanent settlement of the revenue returns in Bengal, and his association with William Wilberforce and the evangelical Clapham Sect.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps because of a declining reputation as Governor General, few imperial histories and biographies have dedicated much space to analysis of Shore's life and work.<sup>53</sup> One exception is Srivastava in 1981, who in *Sir John Shore's Policy towards the Indian States* reviewed the diplomatic intelligence that informed Shore's policy of nonaggression in India.<sup>54</sup> In 1933 in *The Private Record of an Indian Governor Generalship*, Holden Furber gave a briefer, eighteen page analysis of Shore's career as Governor General, where he summed Shore up as 'hold[ing] the rudder true amidst great dangers'.<sup>55</sup> Raymond Callahan devoted 47 pages to the Governor General in his monograph of 1972, *The East India Company and Army Reform 1783-1798*. Callahan called for a review of the 'rather biased verdict' upon Shore's handling of dissatisfaction in the Bengal Army between 1794 and 1796.<sup>56</sup> Another analysis of Shore is found in the final chapter of Guha's *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, originally written in 1963.<sup>57</sup> In this work Guha devoted fourteen pages to Shore's influence on Bengal revenue policy in the early years of British rule. In *The Men Who Ruled India* of 1953 Phillip Woodruff wrote of Shore. as a founder of empire through his capacity as a revenue reformer in the 1780s and as a Governor General in the 1790s. For Woodruff Shore was honest, plodding and dull, but essentially a Victorian, a man before his time.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*.

<sup>53</sup> To trace the declining trajectory compare Mill, *History of British India*, III, pp. 378-9; Hutton, 'Oude and the Carnatic, 1785-1801', V, pp. 347-62, (p. 349); S. M. Edwardes, 'The Final Struggle with the Marathas, 1784-1818', in *Cambridge History of India*. ed. by H. H. Dodwell. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), V, pp. 363-83, (p. 370); Stanley A. Wolpert, *A New History of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 200.

<sup>54</sup> B. B. Srivastava, *Sir John Shore's Policy Towards the Indian States* (Allahabad: Chugh Publications, 1981), pp. 228-49.

<sup>55</sup> Holden Furber (ed.), *The Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship: The Correspondence of Sir John Shore, Governor-General with Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, 1793-1798* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1933).

<sup>56</sup> Raymond Callahan, *The East India Company and Army Reform, 1783-1798* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 152-98.

<sup>57</sup> Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal: An Essay on the Idea of Permanent Settlement* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

<sup>58</sup> Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders*. 2 vols (London: Cape, 1953), I, pp. 133-50.

Other treatments of Shore mix his narrative into the story of other figures. In 2002 Dalrymple included Shore's handling of the conflict between Hyderabad and the Mahrattas within the story of the Kirkpatrick brothers in *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India*.<sup>59</sup> Embree's *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* in 1962, Howse's *Saints in Politics: the 'Clapham Sect' and the Growth of Freedom* in 1953 and Stott *Wilberforce: Family and Friends* in 2012 also mix the narrative of Shore into the story of other figures, this time in the context of his friendship with Wilberforce and membership of the evangelical Clapham Sect.<sup>60</sup>

In contrast to his current status as minor historical figure, contemporary evidence shows that Shore commanded considerable respect during his lifetime. As an influential figure in the late eighteenth century revenue reform of Bengal, Guha described Shore's 'firmness in adherence to decisions taken'.<sup>61</sup> Similarly Travers notes how from 1788 under Shore's influence debates about revenue reform switched to Shore's concerns of practical application, after twenty four years of discussion about historical constitution.<sup>62</sup> Both Francis, a member of the Supreme Council from 1774 to 1780, and Cornwallis, Governor General from 1786 to 1793, respected and drew heavily on Shore's expertise on revenue, in an era that Mann believed was the initial phase of the 'civilizing mission'.<sup>63</sup>

As a man before his time and a pioneer of the civilizing mission this thesis will examine Shore as a reactive agent within the maelstrom of political, social and imperial upheavals of the late eighteenth century. It will concentrate upon his imperial career and the identities he adopted and rejected prior to his return to Britain in 1798. These identities are the foundation

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<sup>59</sup> Dalrymple, *White Mughals*.

<sup>60</sup> See Ernest Marshall Howse, *Saints in Politics: The "Clapham Sect" and the Growth of Freedom*. repr edn (London: Unwin, 1971); Ainslie T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962); Anne Stott, *Wilberforce: Family and Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>61</sup> Guha, *Rule of Property*, p. 205.

<sup>62</sup> Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth Century India: The British in Bengal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 239-42.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Mann, "Torchbearers Upon the Path of Progress': Britain's Ideology of a 'Moral and Material Progress' in India. An Introductory Essay', in *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*. ed. by Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann. (London: Anthem Press, 2004), pp. 1-26, (pp. 4-10).

from which Shore remade himself in the nineteenth century as an imperial statesman. Sitting on the Board of Control of India, hearing appeals from the Supreme Court in Calcutta, and as the founding President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Shore was a respected figure in the early nineteenth century. He was also the product of the global upheavals he had negotiated while scaling the East India Company hierarchy in Bengal.

### John Shore's Imperial Career

Born in 1751, Shore arrived in Bengal in 1769 and rose from a junior writer in the Secretariat of the Select Committee in Calcutta to Assistant to the Murshidabad Council of Revenue in September 1770. By early 1772 he was Persian translator at the Nazim's *Durbar* (Court) and assistant to the Company Resident at the *Durbar* from October 1772. He remained in this position, judging civil disputes until appointed Acting Secretary of the Murshidabad Revenue Council in January 1774. He returned to Calcutta in January 1775 where he joined the Provincial Revenue Committee. In February 1775, he retired to Madras because hard work and lack of holidays had rendered him 'incapacitated by sickness'.<sup>64</sup> Shore's policies of reform and his desire to spread Christianity in India indicate he distanced himself from the concerns of the Bengali population, yet at this time of his life he lived in a multicultural family. He continued to support the four children from this family throughout his lifetime. In the eighteenth century, when Shore lived in Bengal elite figures appropriated and adapted Asian objects and practices, took South Asian partners and raised British-Bengali children. Shore had at least two South Asian partners during this time.<sup>65</sup>

Shore steadily made his way up the revenue committee hierarchy, took a further break for ill health in 1777 and then became Acting Chief in 1781. In a comprehensive set of private letters to David Anderson his superior in the East India Company, Shore made passing references to ill health from May 1781. 'I do not think myself fit for the station I hold,' he confided in October 1781 'as I have not the strength of constitution...to go through the

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<sup>64</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 54.

<sup>65</sup> Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*. Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Christopher J. Hawes, *Poor Relations: The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India, 1773-1833* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1996).

fatigues of this office: where the body is weak the mind wants vigour.’<sup>66</sup> It was in this role as Acting Chief alongside an additional responsibility as Famine Commissioner, that Shore had an emotional crisis in Patna in early 1784. He resigned and departed for England with Warren Hastings and David Anderson in March 1785.

During his sojourn in England Shore married Charlotte Cornish in 1786 before setting sail for Calcutta without her a few weeks later to take a seat on the Supreme Council. During his period in Britain he was converted to evangelicalism. At the same time, he witnessed the first moves in Parliament for the impeachment of his former Governor General Warren Hastings. As a Supreme Councillor, he was Lord Cornwallis’ chief advisor on revenue. In the late 1780s he drew up a plan for the permanent settlement of revenues of Bengal. After Cornwallis implemented much of the plan in 1793, the effects caused far-reaching social as well as economic consequences for the people of Bengal.<sup>67</sup> Shore went back to England in 1790 and then returned as Governor General of British India between 1793 and 1798. As Governor General Shore governed while quelling ferment in the Bengal Army. He also ruled at the start of the global War with France. He and Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, came into conflict regarding the Company’s military strategy during the War. They also disagreed upon the appropriate form of diplomacy with South Asian rulers during this period. So fundamental a rift came between them that from 1796 private correspondence ceased between them and they communicated only through official East India Company channels. While Shore disagreed with Hobart’s more warlike methods, he still quietly extended British influence by setting in motion a bloodless coup in Awadh. He placed a Prince friendly to the Company in charge of the territory and entangled the region in further debt to the Company.

From 1794 after the death of Sir William Jones, as Governor General Shore became the second President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Society’s minutes list him as a founder member in 1784 and as Supreme Counsellor he had submitted two papers to the

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<sup>66</sup> To Anderson 15 October 1781, BL, Add MS 45428, fols 109-12.

<sup>67</sup> See for example, Sirajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement in Bengal: A Study of Its Operation 1790- 1819* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy, 1979); Wilson, *Domination of Strangers*, pp. 104-32; Sugata Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital: Rural Bengal since 1770. New Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 66-111.

Society's journal for publication. As President he submitted two more.<sup>68</sup> Shore strengthened and formalised the Society. While Jones copied some of the procedures such as writing up minutes from the Royal Society in London, Shore institutionalised the Society, brought it to order with regularity and rules.<sup>69</sup> On 19 August 1796 he proposed applying for a charter of incorporation for the Society, to obtain a permanent building for the Society and to appoint a committee to formulate a set of formal rules and regulations. This elected committee appointed a treasurer and introduced membership fees to fund a permanent building. It also created two vice-presidents and a secretary to sit with the President on the Committee. Among other duties the Committee would advertise the Society's intention to form a library and museum and would ask for donations. Under Shore's leadership regular monthly meetings started, and notices began to be placed in the *Calcutta Gazette*.<sup>70</sup>

Shore's tenure as Governor General was always in doubt with him mooting resignation due to ill health throughout his time there. On his final return to Britain in 1798 Shore became an abolitionist, a member of Wilberforce's Clapham Sect and first President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Respected as an authority on India in the early nineteenth century, he sat on the East India Company's Board of Control from 1808 to 1820 and, as Privy Councillor, heard Indian appeals. Both British and South Asian intellectuals appreciated Shore's skills as a Persian scholar.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Minutes of Inaugural Meeting, 15 January 1784, Sibadas Chaudhuri, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society*. 4 vols (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1980), I, p. 1; John Shore Esq, 'An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, by Father Giuseppe, Prefect of the Roman Mission', *Asiatick Researches*, 2 (1790), pp. 307–22; John Shore Esq, 'The Translation of an Inscription in the Maga Language Engraved on a Silver Plate Found in a Cave near Islamabad', *Asiatick Researches*, 2 (1790), pp. 383–7; Sir John Shore, 'A Discourse Delivered at a Meeting of the Asiatic Society on the 22nd of May 1794', *Asiatick Researches*, 4 (1795), pp. 181–94; Sir John Shore, 'On Some Extraordinary Facts, Customs and Practices of the Hindus', *Asiatick Researches*, 4 (1795), pp. 331–350.

<sup>69</sup> Chaudhuri, *Asiatic Society Proceedings*, I, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> Chaudhuri, *Asiatic Society Proceedings*, I, p. 33.

<sup>71</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, pp. 291–5; Gulfishan Khan, 'Indian Muslim Perceptions of the West During the Eighteenth Century' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1993), pp. 262, 292; Abul Mirza Hassan Khan, *A Persian at the Court of King George 1809–10: The Journal of Mirza Abul Hassan Khan*, edited and translated by (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988), p. 44.

He was called before Parliament in two great debates about the role of Britain in Indian affairs, firstly as a defence witness at Warren Hastings' impeachment in 1790 and secondly to advocate opening India for missionaries at the renewal of the East India Company charter in 1813. While public debates around Hastings' impeachment resulted in the normalization of the imperial project, the Clapham Sect mobilized public opinion in favour of opening the British territories in the East Indies to missionaries.<sup>72</sup> Similarly, the British and Foreign Bible Society network in England, Scotland and Wales provided a channel of communication for rallying support for this cause.<sup>73</sup> Shore's policies of reform and his desire to spread Christianity in India indicate he distanced himself from the concerns of the Bengali population, but this thesis will argue that living in Bengal changed him. Unable to discard the Indo-Persian identity of his first sojourn he instead changed his relationship with himself, ambivalently denying and expressing his Bengali affiliations in multifarious ways.

### A Person-Centred Methodology

Unlike the approach of psychohistory which interprets the meaning of an individual's actions from a twentieth century model, some argue that historical actors adapted their relationships with themselves in response to their contemporary social context. Most famously in *The Civilizing Process* Norbert Elias argued that in Europe early modern codes of manners adapted from medieval courtesy through a gradual inhibition of the body and bodily functions, to shape the mentality of each individual. With civilization came shaming to correct uncivil behaviour so that subjects conformed to an emerging centralised state. At the same time violence devolved into state hands to punish serious offenders.<sup>74</sup> Others have also observed a change between early modern and modern. Haskell for example, linked the shaping of a modern mind to the emerging global markets of the eighteenth century. Because contacts between people could be made across distance and rewards were no longer

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<sup>72</sup> Dirks, *Scandal of Empire*, p. 126 and Howse, *Saints in Politics*, pp. 65-94.

<sup>73</sup> Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion, 1698-1858* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 110-29.

<sup>74</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*. trans. Edmund Jephcott. 2 vols (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978-1981).

immediate, Haskell argued that a modern code of morality centred around trust, honesty and integrity developed in the nineteenth century.<sup>75</sup>

In this thesis I will adopt this strategy of examining the late eighteenth-century actor as a product of his colonial environments. My approach is to take a coloniser's own view of his evolving imperial world. To stand alongside Shore in this way I will interrogate the meaning of his thoughts and actions by interpreting them through his contemporary cultural frameworks. At the same time, to ensure I retain a historian's objectivity towards the material Shore presents me with, I will critically appraise his actions, feelings and thoughts against the codes of morality in which he was embedded. Michel Foucault argued that historical investigation needs to contain a critical examination of codes of conduct as the ethical frameworks within which historical actors operated. According to Foucault a biography would be a history of moral behaviour when it compared the actions of individuals to their contemporary social codes and models of self-formation.<sup>76</sup> In this way Foucault emphasised that the meaning individuals placed upon their actions and thoughts could inform historians about the social context in which they lived.

As well as assuming Foucault's sense of the person as the fundamental unit of historical investigation, I will adopt the ways that embodied cognition connects the body and the mind. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue that symbolic language and metaphors are cultural shorthand for shared experiences. Metaphors construct a shared understanding of feelings by alluding to wider cultural meanings. In a system of morality Lakoff and Johnson estimate the number of metaphors available is two dozen at the most. These metaphors are grounded in the body through feelings of comfort, strength, and security. Metaphors of immorality are based upon their opposite: discomfort, vulnerability, and danger.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> T. L. Haskell, 'Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility 1', *American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), pp. 339-61; T. L. Haskell, 'Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility 2', *American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), pp. 547-66.

<sup>76</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, II (1992), pp. 28-9.

<sup>77</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York NY: Basic Books, 1999), pp. 290-334; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003).



With these models as my baseline, to interpret the meaning Shore placed upon his cultural surroundings I will use the techniques of literary scholars who interpret narrative and cultural historians who interpret objects and spaces. These disciplines prioritise the meanings an individual placed upon their relationships with people, places and things. My intention is to interrogate Shore's evolving systems of meaning using these techniques to trace the ways that his imperial context impacted him over time. To aid my analysis I will open out the cultural meanings of the imagery and symbolism he deployed by consulting his contemporary discourses. My aim is to analyse themes that are not usually placed together and add richness and depth to the existing literature of mutual constitution in empire.

### Sources

The research required for this thesis focused upon three main types of source, private letters, public papers and official documents. In the first chapter wills and legal documents are also used to reconstruct Shore's ancestral past. I utilise the sources for this project in three ways. Firstly, I analyse Shore's sequential narrative. Secondly, I analyse the engagement of Shore, and his wider family with the multicultural interfaces of South Asia and Britain. Finally, I extract facts, representations and events concerning Shore from third party sources and official documents. To enquire into the mutual influence of British and South Asian culture upon his sense of self, I look for conflict and congruence between identity, metaphor and third party representations, through the objects he used, the spaces he inhabited and the relationships he sustained.

Because a major concern of my research is to capture the fluid and protean nature of Shore's identity complex, concentrating upon the changing use of metaphor in his writing indicates how he appropriated and adapted elements of British and South Asian cultures. By unravelling the meanings of the metaphors in Shore's writing, I embed this narrative in his wider cultural contexts. Shore requested that his family destroy his personal papers after his death. As a result, a major source of his personal correspondence is his son's biography of 1843, which contains copies of personal letters and diary extracts. Mindful that his son shaped the biography to present an elite mid-nineteenth century character and remove Shore's illegitimate family from the narrative, I cross-examine the personal correspondence reproduced in the printed memoir with biographies of his contemporaries and official documents. To widen the field of analysis from the original biography I also use personal

correspondence unavailable to or unused by the biographer of 1843, including letters preserved in archives to colleagues and superiors in the East India Company administration, as well as correspondence between family members.

Secondly, I analyse Shore and his wider family as participants in an East India Company world in South Asia and in Britain to understand the processes by which they performed their position in life. I extract their rituals of engagement with imperial objects, spaces and people from the sources mentioned above. For Shore in South Asia, these spaces include his duties as a member of the Calcutta Revenue Committee, the Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Supreme Council. As a result, rather than an intellectual and political analysis of the reforms made to the revenue system or his strategic policy-making, this part of the research will be a cultural analysis of the rituals and codes that mediated interactions between Shore, his family and South Asia.

Finally, I have consulted official documents and third-party correspondence for facts about, representations of and events concerning Shore. For this, I use correspondence between members of the elite networks to which he belonged, family correspondence and diaries, third-party representations in pamphlets, newspapers and historiography and his biography for his son's representation of him and his family identity. I also consulted third-party and official documents to reconstruct timelines of events.

### Structure of the Thesis

To trace the processes that encouraged and discouraged Shore's hybridity, I have split my thesis into five chapters that follow Shore from his roots in an East India Company merchant family until he left Bengal for good in 1798. The first two chapters analyse Shore's family and body as they evolve across the eighteenth century. I start with the family patterns he inherited from his forefathers to the family circles he created in Bengal and Britain.

In Chapter 1 I take as my starting point Shore and his family. As the framework that formed him, his family background organised Shore's sense of self prior to leaving for Bengal. The family were gentry merchants from Derbyshire who moved to London in the late seventeenth century to enter the East India Company service and pursue global trading interests. As well as looking outwards, the family were agents of change for Britain, importing goods from

China and South Asia for the elites and displaying these status goods in their homes. The Shore who left Britain in 1769 was already part of a global movement in which Britain and the East Indies had changed and responded to each other. Empire affected Shore's upbringing not only in the goods he was surrounded with, but in the wealth it brought his family and in the absence of close relatives in his early life. His mother was to remain a figure of loss and longing during his first sojourn in Bengal. I argue that his Bengali concubines and an English wife he married 1786 became markers of race and nation as the century progressed and as Shore rose in status in the Company. For Shore by the 1790s the result was a problematic and fragmented family circle that sat uneasily within and beyond the edges of Britishness in Bengal, divided upon racial grounds.

In the second chapter, I analyse Shore's relationship with his body through medical and religious discourses. Shore referred to his symptoms of illness and his religiously motivated actions, but he did not expand upon the wealth of meaning that sat behind them in the eighteenth century. In this chapter I expand upon these early modern truths that Shore symbolised through the climate and the cross. I examine the trope of purity and impurity in Shore's life as it manifested in his medical and religious imaginings of body and blood. Upon arrival in Bengal, both European physicians and Bengali *hakims* diagnosed illness as caused by the tropical climate. The heat thinned the blood, weakened emotions and changed regional identity. Through this multicultural construction of the body I argue that rather than being detached from Bengali society, Shore found a place within the culture. Nevertheless, even though outwardly he effortlessly blended signs of both Bengali and British power, his symbolic rituals of cleansing and hygiene indicate that he transgressed cultural boundaries. The tropes of blood and purity remained as a link between his medical and religious representations of himself, even when he remade his body into an evangelical frame from the mid-1780s.

Chapter 3 takes Shore's public life as a revenue administrator in Bengal as the frame of analysis. As an architect of revenue reform, I argue that Shore was caught between his confusion at the front line of revenue collections and the imperatives of reform in the legislation set out in the East India Acts of 1773, 1781 and 1784. Shore worked his way from junior writer to a member of the Supreme Council in a remarkably short space of time. This chapter argues that as a skilful practitioner of the code of civility, his performance allowed him to work his way up the Company hierarchy. While the Company bureaucracy was

British and mercantile in origin though, the revenue committee also worked within Bengali forms. Without a written order and relying upon complexes of living knowledge, Shore found this Indo-Persian system confusing and complicated. After 1781, with Shore now as Acting Chief, the work increased massively when Hastings centralised the revenue administration in Calcutta. At this time, the revenue collections became stricter and more punitive with the rural elites dispossessed and imprisoned for non-payment, where previously they might have been given remissions. With this background, in 1782 Shore wrote a proposal for reform. His reputation as an expert in the Indo-Persian revenue system meant that in 1786 he was tasked with investigating revenue reform. The resulting minute dated 18th June 1789 'Respecting the Permanent Settlement of the Lands in the Bengal Provinces' (hereafter called the 'Permanent Settlement Plan') combined imperatives from both the government in Britain and the Company revenue officers in Bengal. It also incorporated many of his proposals of 1782. In both his proposal and his plan Shore combined perspectives into a way forward that satisfied both London and Calcutta. The result was that Shore sketched out a modern framework that divided imperial Bengal into binaries of race, three tiers of social class, and a Company of elite Britons who distinguished themselves from Europeans and Bengalis. In this respect I argue that far from being separate and distant from the community in Bengal, as historians have argued, Shore was caught within contesting forces emanating from Bengal and Britain. His 'Permanent Settlement Plan' was his attempt to knit the conflicts into a coherent way forward and serve the interests of the Company.

In Chapter 4 I argue that to his homeland, the multicultural habits of Company men like Shore transgressed codes of civility in a scandalous and shocking fashion. The chapter argues that while there undoubtedly was greed and violence among the Company merchants in South Asia, during Hastings' impeachment trial Company men were also viewed as troubling agents of oriental despotism. In his early years Shore's Other was as much in-fighting between political interest groups within the Company hierarchy as with the Bengalis he encountered in the revenue administration. But he transgressed both British and South Asian bounds in his attempts to protect his friends. With Hastings' impeachment and codes of morality in South Asia under intense scrutiny, Shore began to advocate reform. He wrote his 'Permanent Settlement Plan' as the debates about morality and conduct in South Asia raged in London. I argue that this influential document should be analysed as a response to the impeachment. Ultimately Shore's 'Permanent Settlement Plan' and his veiled moves in

Bengal to bolster Hastings' case, contributed to representations of race in London. My contention in this chapter is that as well as normalising Empire and turning the emphasis of imperial debate towards the moral conduct of Britons overseas, impeachment began to find a shape for Britishness through the intense scrutiny of the multicultural habits of Company men during the trial.

In the final chapter I argue that Shore's evangelical beliefs suffused his policies and leadership style during his tenure as Governor General between 1793 and 1798. In the 1790s the overthrow of the aristocracy in France, a successful rebellion of the enslaved in St Domingo and then the War with France meant that Shore took up his post at a time of upheaval around the World. Not only did he encourage church-going and religious observance in Calcutta, he also allowed missionaries to practice illegally and published one of the first evangelical pieces to denigrate the practice of Hinduism. His administration was the first to attempt a ban of a Hindu custom, that of dharna. More than these policies though, Shore was intent upon reforming the manners of British subjects in Bengal. His emphasis upon conduct meant that he instructed the Nazim of Bengal and the Wazir of Awadh in the conduct expected of a ruler friendly to the Company. He also unsuccessfully attempted to reform the manners of Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras. But even though he promoted these British manners Shore was not above adopting Indo-Persian rituals when it came to promoting British influence within South Asia. The chapter argues that evangelicalism came with both a change of mindset and a set of political beliefs that from his conversion in the 1780s profoundly changed Shore's conduct in Bengal.

Through the life of John Shore in the eighteenth century, my thesis will demonstrate two approaches. I will apply the techniques of literary analysis to explore his identifications as they flow through his narrative. I will also research politics and economics as emotional and cultural performances, rather than assume Shore's writings are a product of logic and rationality alone. Shore's story connects themes such as religion and evangelicalism with imperial policymaking, leadership and revenue administration. He pursued both scholarly and political forms of orientalism and as an evangelical campaigner in the nineteenth century engaged with both South Asian and Caribbean empires. As a person with a fluid and changing sense of self, his interactions with these diverse forms of imperialism, alongside a multicultural personal life, reveal a global and wide-ranging man. To start this exploration, we must first investigate the family origins and upbringing of the man.

# Chapter 1: Family, Home and Belonging

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## Introduction

At a party to celebrate St Andrew's Day on 30 November 1795, the men drank toasts to things national, through the institutions and persons who embodied the British state across the globe. As well as Scotland, St Andrew, the other saints of the 'Noble Pillars of the British Empire', the British constitution (*et esto perpetua*) and the British Empire, the men toasted the East India Company and the army and navy (and success to our arms by sea and land). The King, the Queen, the Prince of Wales and the royal family, the commander-in-chief in India and Shore as Governor General, were all celebrated as persons of state. Finally, after Shore had left, came a toast to his wife, Lady Shore.<sup>1</sup> Each official toast was accompanied by a jingoistic piece of music played by the Artillery Band. The men entered the room to 'The National Air' 'of Rule Britannia. Other pieces of music played were the Highland March, 'God Save the King', 'Britons Strike Home', the Duke of York's March, 'Roast Beef' and the Grenadier's March. By 1795 this group of men identified with Scottish, English and British cultures through food, music and social ritual. They also imagined a British empire of naval and military might. These practices united men from across the British Isles in a drinking ritual that incorporated Shore and his wife as markers for British and imperial forces in empire. In showing their respect for the wife of the Governor General and the consort of their King the men toasted the civilizing influence of two women named Charlotte, who were markers of British belonging.

This detailed description of national celebration had begun with the start of the Revolutionary Wars with France in Europe and was a new phenomenon in the *Calcutta Gazette*. While toasts to the birthdays of the King and Queen and Public Balls to mark the New Year had been noted in the paper since it began in the 1780s, a celebration in 1793 of the victory of British arms over Tipu Sultan of Mysore was the first lavish spectacle of military success reported in the paper.<sup>2</sup> What is remarkable is the symbolism that the British heads of state

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<sup>1</sup> 30 November 1795 in W. S. Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*. 4 vols (Calcutta: Cutter, 1864-1868), II (1865), pp. 435-7.

<sup>2</sup> 7 February 1793 in Seton-Karr, *Calcutta Gazettes*, II (1865), pp. 361-3.

wielded within the St Andrews Day celebrations. Alongside men as sovereigns, governors and commanders, the Queen and her children and the Governor General's wife were public symbols that united the men behind British national and imperial causes.

Ann McClintock, Ann Stoler and others have argued that women marked the ambiguous nature of contact between coloniser and colonised. The attempt to control the domains in which women could operate with virtue, allowed colonial men to organise themselves as agents of imperial authority. Such gender relations were fundamental to establishing and perpetuating the civilizing nature of empire. These relations operated alongside intersecting axes of race and class, to produce gendered responsibilities and duties that upheld imperial authority.<sup>3</sup> It is my argument that during Shore's career through their race and class, the women closest to him became public markers of a virtuous British nation and empire. Shore took an unknown number of concubines during his career in Bengal and fathered four children outside Christian wedlock. With these relationships he placed himself in an ambivalent position in the civil order of his homeland because this irregular, unmarried condition was transgressive in the British Isles. While middling men might have private, sexual relationships prior to marriage, only through Christian wedlock was a man's sexual fulfilment made public and legitimated.<sup>4</sup> In England the relationship between a father and a child born outside of marriage was ambiguous. Under English common law these children were illegitimate and fatherless, but under Anglican doctrine sexual relations between legitimate and illegitimate kin were considered incestuous. Even though illegitimacy rose in the eighteenth century, siring an illegitimate child was a dishonourable act that must be kept private.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 6-9; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 41-78.

<sup>4</sup> Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 49-82.

<sup>5</sup> Patricia Crawford, *Blood, Bodies and Families in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Longman, 2004), pp. 124-30; By 1750 most forms of consenting sex outside of marriage were legitimised in England as the jurisdiction of church courts declined from the late seventeenth century. With a discourse of sexual liberty on the rise, for the wealthy, the emphasis turned towards protecting female victims of seduction by prosecuting for breach of promise in the civil courts. The Marriage Act of 1753 made marriage harder for those under 21 who did not have their parents' consent. In Scotland the mediating of sexual conduct through kirk sessions continued, with additional legislation between 1690 and 1701 against adultery and sexual 'abominations'. See Faramerz Dabhoiwala, *The*

As well as the troubling nature of unmarried paternity, the concubines that the men took were often of a lower social status to themselves. Durba Ghosh found that about a third of the companions the men recognised in their wills were servants or slave girls within their households. In analysing the men's writing Durba Ghosh identified a sense of illegitimacy, inequality and transgression of the boundaries of middling patriarchy that the men sought to legitimate and explain by representing these ties as being of mutual affection and love.<sup>6</sup> Rather than making their way in a mixed public world as moral paragons, concubines did not appear in public with their partners if European ladies would be present.<sup>7</sup> Unlike their European counterparts, because they were unmarried and of a lower social rank, South Asian ladies could not embody the civil virtues of European men.

By the 1790s, Shore had established a boundary between the feminine of Britain and Bengal at the highest level of government in Calcutta. In contrast to the spectacle of a British-born wife in public, as Governor General and highest exemplar of British paternalistic authority in Bengal, Shore had relegated his other, Bengali, women to the shadows. Up to 1785 he wrote of 'my Family', 'my Lady', 'me and mine' and of being 'wanted...in a private capacity', but he never mentioned a home located in Bengal.<sup>8</sup> Instead, Shore wrote of a longing for a home located across the seas, for his family, friends and 'my native country'.

This chapter explores a civility in empire that used sociability, gender relations and family as markers of inclusion within the British state. In the chapter Shore is the bridge between his birth family in the early eighteenth century and the families that he raised in the late eighteenth century. I argue that Shore's family background was one that began to change ideas of nation and state through the homosocial mercantile activities of his male forebears in the East India Company. In the first part I examine the patterns of public, male communality that as East India Company merchants Shore's forebears adopted. Shore's family were gentry

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*Origins of Sex: A History of the First Sexual Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), pp. 53-5, 77-8, 206-7, 212-5.

<sup>6</sup> Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, pp. 117-19.

<sup>7</sup> Betty Joseph, *Reading the East India Company, 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 105; Robb, *Sex and Sensibility*, p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> To his mother from Madras 17 February 1775, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 54-7; To Anderson between 26 October and 9 December 1772, from near Chilmoray 10 December 1772 and from Murshidabad March 1784 in Add MS 45428, fols 6, 7, 119.



who gained wealth through a mixture of mercantile and professional occupations. An awareness of a family line passed between the Shore generations through a share in a Derbyshire manor, London property, personal effects, forenames such as John, Thomas and Sarah and a family crest bestowed in 1667.<sup>9</sup> Primogeniture of their freehold property meant that the eldest surviving son of each generation assumed the bulk of the family wealth. In the early eighteenth century the family moved to London where they mingled with merchants from across the British Isles. From this protean state Shore's family became agents of change, importing luxury goods from the East Indies into the fashionable homes of the British elites. It is from this background of wealthy global merchants that Shore set sail for Bengal in 1769.

For the rest of the chapter I follow the progress of Shore who was made in this hybrid world in Britain. Using gender as an axis along which an evolving sense of national belonging may be marked, I explore Shore's intimate and domestic life of privilege through the homes and families he inhabited with mother, concubine and wife. In the second section I examine Shore's upbringing and the models of manliness and femininity that he experienced as he grew up. I also consider the way in which his education as a boarder separated from his mother helped to form his notion of manliness and authority. I ask in what ways the absences of Shore's father from his early life might also have affected Shore's notions of manly belonging.

The next sections consider Shore as a family man absent from his 'native soil'. Separated from his birth family, Shore was to interleave the offspring of an unknown number of concubines through the voyages he made between Calcutta and London in his three assignments to Bengal. The third section argues that legislation brought in when Cornwallis was Governor General transferred the marker of nation from Shore to the mothers of his children who carried the 'blood of the natives of India'. The final section examines the symbolism of nation that attached to Shore's wife when she arrived in Calcutta in 1795 as the Lady Governess. Shore's confusion about his place in the world is reflected in the birthplaces and journeys of his children. He was to have ten children spread between two

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<sup>9</sup> John Debrett, *Debrett's Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. 19th edn (London: Rivington, 1831), p. 936; Sir William Dugdale, *The Visitation of Derbyshire, Taken in 1662, and Reviewed in 1663* (London: Golding and Lawrence, 1879), p. 8; Will of John Shore, 1741, TNA, PROB 11/713/122; Will of Thomas Shore, 1759, PROB 11/848/144.

continents and two nations. In England from 1790 to 1792 Shore's restless pattern of house occupancy reveals a disoriented man, in search of somewhere to settle and call home.

### Gentry Merchant Roots

I start this chapter by considering Shore's forebears as the ground of his being. His birth family shaped him and his attitudes when he set sail for Bengal in 1769. Through their pre-capitalist connections in Derbyshire and the Midlands, as the head of a family of minor gentry and lead merchants, Shore's grandfather entered the East India Company. When he gained employment in the East India Company Shore's grandfather moved his base from the East Midlands to London and the South East. He moved among a circle of merchants of assorted backgrounds with links to the Atlantic colonies, the Caribbean and the East Indies. His career displaced his family from the provinces and repositioned them at the centre of global trading within a network of merchants from all corners of the British Isles.

Shore's forefathers had been identified with the East India Company since the seventeenth century. Shore's biographer claimed that the fortunes of the Shores were first bound to the East India Company when Sir John Shore, civil war soldier, doctor and widower married Sarah Chambers in the late seventeenth century. Records first describe an East Indies Chambers family in India as merchants in the mid seventeenth century when a Thomas Chambers, later Sir Thomas Chambers, became the first chief agent of Madras in 1661, having lived in the area since at least 1647.<sup>10</sup> In 1655, a John Chambers voyaged to the Coromandel Coast in search of a cargo of ginger jars stored in 'well-seasoned, iron-bound casks', and 'long cloth, sallampores, betelles, paintings'.<sup>11</sup> This John Chambers may be the same John Chambers recorded as Dame Sarah Shore's father. Their son the Elder John was the Company Surveyor and Warehouse Keeper at the East India Company export warehouse at Botolph Wharf near London Bridge. The Elder John Shore worked with Abraham Wilmer, the Company's Husband, who from his warehouses in Lime House Street was responsible for monitoring the goods sent and received as private trade on the Company's

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<sup>10</sup> Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 77-81. In 1647, Thomas Chambers is recorded as a factor in Masulipatam and Vereshroone. See Henry Davison Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800* (London: Murray, 1913), p. 80.

<sup>11</sup>, BL, IOR/E/3/84, fols 157-8.

ships.<sup>12</sup> Records first show the Elder John Shore in London in 1700 at his marriage at the age of 27 to Wilmer's daughter Sarah.<sup>13</sup>

Shore's forebears had been officers of the state and early pre-capitalists. Despite the representation of Shore's biographer that the family was ancient, landed gentry, records first show a John Shore in Snitterton, in the Derwent valley of Derbyshire as a migrant of unknown origin, having bought the manor between 1596 and 1603.<sup>14</sup> From the mid sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, the lead mining areas of Derbyshire saw an influx of speculators. The parish of Darley in which the mining township of Snitterton resides had an 80% surge in the number of households between 1563 and 1664 as migrants flooded to the area. In Derbyshire in the seventeenth century investors required capital to purchase shares in lucrative lead mines, which relied upon wage labour for extracting the ore.<sup>15</sup> Aristocrats like the Earls of Devonshire and Rutland controlled the mines upon their own estates. Outside of these large estates, most gentry and wealthy yeoman families in the area invested in speculative lead mines.<sup>16</sup> As in Yorkshire for the wool trade in the eighteenth century, in Derbyshire capital was required for investment in mining. To service this need a

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<sup>12</sup> Margaret Makepeace, *The East India Company's London Workers: Management of the Warehouse Labourers, 1800-1858* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 17; For the elder John Shore as Warehouse Keeper at Botolph Wharf and Surveyor see *London Evening Post* 24 October 1741. He worked from Botolph Wharf since at least 1728, see letter from J Shore 8 May 1728 from St Botolph Wharf, BL, IOR/E/1/19, fol. 138. Abraham Wilmer's warehouses in Lime Street are cited in an advertisement for a sale of private trade. See *Post Boy* 16 August 1699. For descriptions of the roles of Company's Surveyor and Company's Husband, see *East India Company Mercantile Marine, Instructions from the Commanders of the East India Company's Own Ships to Their Officers* (London: Cox & Son, 1819), pp. 17, 19, 20, 30, 40, 48-9.

<sup>13</sup> For the elder John Shore's birth date in 1673 see Derbyshire Record Office Matlock, D3372 1/1; For his marriage, see London Metropolitan Archives London, P69/TRI12/A/008/MS09243.

<sup>14</sup> In 1596 Henry Sacheverell owned Snitterton Manor, Derbyshire Record Office Matlock, D779/T/617; The estate of the late John Shore was the subject of an inquisition in 1603, see Shore, John, of Derby, 1603-4, TNA, WARD 7/38/23; Shore, John: Derby, 1603-4, TNA, C 142/281/8; Leases of John Shore of Snitterton, deceased, 1605-6, TNA, DL 44/709.

<sup>15</sup> Andy Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520-1770. Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 57-66.

<sup>16</sup> Wood, *Politics of Social Conflict*, 98-102 Wood, *Politics of Social Conflict*, pp. 98-102.

mercantile gentry developed an early pre-capitalist culture. They invested capital in mortgages and moneylending to finance the speculation in lead.<sup>17</sup> In the seventeenth century, as Bailiff of the High Peak for the Duchy of Lancaster, the role of the original John Shore, included keeping the revenue accounts for the High Peak lead mining field.<sup>18</sup> His son, also John, paid tax from Snitterton in 1627 in support of King Charles I against Parliament.<sup>19</sup>

By 1631 the manor of Snitterton had once more moved out of the Shore family's ownership.<sup>20</sup> While his brothers remained in the area, Sir John Shore, the grandson of the original John Shore graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1638 and Christ's College Cambridge in 1648 and 1656 before shifting his regional focus away from the Derwent Valley to an eighteen-hearth house in the All Saints Parish of Derby by the 1670s.<sup>21</sup> Along with this move, Sir John Shore consolidated the family identity. He recorded a coat of arms in Dugdale's visitation to Derbyshire in 1663. Then in 1667 he received a knighthood for his loyalty to the King during the Civil War.<sup>22</sup>

After Sir John's death in 1680 his widow Dame Sarah continued a Shore family partnership of land speculation with Sir Edward Littleton, becoming joint mortgagee of the manor of Heathcote sixteen miles south of Derby. She also continued the arrangement between

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<sup>17</sup> John Smail, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660 - 1780* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 87-92.

<sup>18</sup> DL 44/709; For the duties of the Bailiff of the High Peak at the start of the early modern period, Ian Blanchard, *International Lead Production and Trade in the "Age of the Saigerprozess", 1460-1560* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), p. 248.

<sup>19</sup> Rev R Jowett Burton, 'Hundred of Appletree and Wapentake of Wirksworth, Ayd to His Majesty King Charles I, 1627', *Journal of the Derbyshire Archeological and Natural History Society*, 21 (1899), pp. 69-83, (p.81).

<sup>20</sup> In 1631 Thomas Smith sold a half share of Snitterton manor to John Milward. See Derbyshire Record Office Matlock, D3330/1.

<sup>21</sup> J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 68. Sir John Shore's record from Christ's College, Cambridge reads 'SHORE, JOHN. M.A. from Christ's, 1648. S. of John, of Snitterton, Derbs. B. c.1616. B.A. (Dublin) 1638. Licensed to practise medicine, 1648. M.D. 1656. Probably knighted, Jan. 16, 1667. Of Derby, physician. Married Dorothy, dau.of John Harper, of Birdsall, Derbs. Died 1680.' Dorothy Harpur was his first wife, Sarah Chambers his second; David G. Edwards, *Derbyshire Hearth Tax Assessments 1662-70* (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, 1982), pp. 1, 89.

<sup>22</sup> Dugdale, *Visitation of Derbyshire*, p. 8.

Littleton and her husband as mortgagees of the manor of Snareston eight miles further away in Leicestershire.<sup>23</sup> It is hard to know the extent of lands passed through generations of the Shore family. Because of the practice of primogeniture, real estate passed by custom to the eldest surviving son in the elite landed sector. In their lifetimes though, parents drew up settlements and entailments of parcels of land and property to younger sons and daughters. As a result landholdings may not be detailed in wills at this time.<sup>24</sup> Because of deeds of sale we do know that Dame Sarah held another small property in the Derwent Valley and a corn mill in Sheen, Staffordshire, which along with Snareston and the house in Derby she relinquished in the early eighteenth century when she moved to live with her daughter Sarah Hunt in Worcestershire.<sup>25</sup> We can guess that the family also held other property or business interests in Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire as the Elder John Shore requested leave of absence from the East India Company in London to attend to business there in the early eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup> When Heathcote passed into the hands of the Little and Shore mortgagers in 1729, the manor divided into two moieties. In 1733 John Shore the Elder conveyed half of the Shore family share to his sister and her heirs.<sup>27</sup> What we can say is that by the mid-eighteenth century the documented identity of the direct Shore line cohered around inherited property, their quarter share in the manor of Heathcote in south east Derbyshire and ownership of 22 Alie Street in Goodman's Fields in London.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> For Heathcote mortgages, see SHC, A\AOV/18. For Snareston mortgages, see A\AOV/24, A\AOV/28; Staffordshire Record Office Stafford, D948/2/1/1/17.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of wills, inheritance and the custom of primogeniture, see Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580-1720. Woodrow Wilson Center Series* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 342 – 345; Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 66-69, 71-2, 102-3.

<sup>25</sup> A\AOV/27, A\AOV/28.

<sup>26</sup> The Elder John Shore to the Court of Directors 5 June 1717, 17 March 1724 and 8 May 1728, IOR/E/1/8, fol. f163; IOR/E/1/16, fol. 110; IOR/E/1/19, fol. 138.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from Bury Hutchinson to Shore dated 1812, A\AOV/33.

<sup>28</sup> The property on Alie Street had been in the possession of the family since 1686. By 1787 Shore and his brother were letting out the property. See Deeds of a message in Alie/Aylie/Alice Street, Goodmans Fields, Whitechapel, 1686-1759, A\AOV/28; Deeds of 22 Aylie Street, Goodmans Fields, St Mary Whitechapel, Middlesex, 1721/2, 1787, A\AOV/27.

By 1691, the brother of Dame Sarah Shore, Thomas Chambers, was in London where he was appointed Deputy-Governor at the inception of the Company of Copper Miners of England, an early joint stock company incorporated by Royal Charter. When he was Governor his two nephews Thomas Chambers Jr and the Elder John Shore were elected onto the Company's Committee of Correspondence and Warehouses.<sup>29</sup> As well as having positions in the Company of Copper Miners of England, the cousins entered the service of the East India Company. While Shore's biographer believed the Shore connection began with an introduction from the Chambers family, another link to the East India Company comes from the Shore family's business ties to the Littletons of Staffordshire, which began in 1618.<sup>30</sup> Eighty years later in 1699, the son of Dame Sarah's Littleton business partner was a founding director of the New East India Company, and the first President of the New Company in Bengal from 1699 to his death in 1705.<sup>31</sup> It seems likely that from their East Midlands associations this Sir Edward Littleton also sponsored the Elder John Shore and Dame Sarah's nephew Thomas Chambers into their posts.

While Thomas Chambers Jr worked in the Transfer Office, the Elder John Shore became Company Surveyor and warehouse keeper for the company's export warehouse on Botolph Wharf, organising storage for the metals and textiles traded to Asia.<sup>32</sup> By the 1730s copper and lead were among the East India Company's most important exports, traded for textiles in

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<sup>29</sup> 'The King against the Governor and Company of Copper-Miners in England', in *Modern Entries*. ed. by John Lilly. 2nd edn. (London: Lintot, 1741), pp. 411-419. For a short history of the Company of Copper Miners of England, see William Robert Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*. 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), II, pp. 430-5. For a description of Thomas Shore's appointment as Deputy-Governor at the inception of the Company of Copper Miners of England, see 'Modern Entries', pp. 411-419, p. 417. Also see Arthur K. Kuhn, *A Comparative Study of the Law of Corporations* (New York NY: Columbia University, 1912), pp. 314-5.

<sup>30</sup> A\AOV/28; D948/2/1/4.

<sup>31</sup> BL, IOR/B/42, p. 343; Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 164-5.

<sup>32</sup> For the positions of Thomas Chambers jnr and John Shore in the Company of Copper Miners, see *Daily Courant* 17 August 1720 and *Daily Journal*, 16 April 1724. For Thomas Chambers Jnr's position in the East India Company Transfer office, see 'Sikes of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire with Notices of the Families of Burton, Chambers, Leeke and Foster', *Archeologist and Genealogist*, 7 (1873), pp. 481-502, pp. 488-9.

India and for tea in China.<sup>33</sup> From 1700 to 1708 the Elder John Shore's private ledger shows him dealing in chinaware, lacquerware, screens, fans, seed pearls and churram. In 1733 and 1734, the Elder John Shore paid customs on lead, when his son Thomas was a China supercargo and when private trade in Asia was tolerated as long as the British trader paid customs duties on the goods exported.<sup>34</sup>

The men of the Chambers, Shore and Wilmer families displaced their family alliances from Derbyshire and Essex to London and then into the global markets. In *Citizens of the World*, Hancock argued that later in the eighteenth century, the network of John Shore's relative Christopher Chambers comprised marginal hybrid figures 'restless, adaptive, protean characters who struggled to overcome the marginal and dependent station they inherited and encountered.'<sup>35</sup> In the commercial dealings and migrations of his parents and forebears, the Elder John Shore had a family history of restless investment in Midlands property, and displacement from the parish of birth. His Uncle, Thomas Chambers, first applied for a Coat of Arms in 1723 that celebrated the family's mercantile background in copper mining.<sup>36</sup> Equally, in the Elder John Shore's London network, the Lethieulliers were exiled from France because of their religious beliefs.<sup>37</sup> The Irish men Tobin and Arlond saw anti-Catholic

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<sup>33</sup> K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 231, 237-312, 343-58, 385-405.

<sup>34</sup> Søren Mentz, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2005), p. 74; Shore, John: Personal Account, BL, IOR/L/AG/1/1/10, fol. 435; Shore, John: Personal Account, IOR/L/AG/1/1/11, fol. 61; Lead: Commodity & Miscellaneous Account, also customs on velvets in 1731, IOR/L/AG/1/1/16, fols 175, 184; In 1700 the Chambers Frigate carried private bullion to Bengal and in 1704/5 the ship carried private trade from Madras. See Mentz, *English Gentleman Merchant*, pp. 92, 143-4. The system operated as a private arrangement between agents in London and in Asia. For example, James Tobin operated from the Jerusalem Coffee House as an agent for Major Roach in Madras. Mentz, *English Gentleman Merchant*, pp. 83, 122, 135, 147, 220.

<sup>35</sup> David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 77-8. Christopher Chambers was the son of the Elder John Shore's cousin, William Chambers.

<sup>36</sup> 'Sikes of Derbyshire', pp. 481-502, p. 488.

<sup>37</sup> Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*. 2nd edn (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), pp. 195-6.

measures imposed upon their countrymen after William of Orange triumphed at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.<sup>38</sup> For Grassby, the most common pattern of dynastic advancement was for one or two generations of businessmen to build up an estate before the family moved out of commerce into the landed gentry or professions.<sup>39</sup> Like Grassby's middling families and the associates of Hancock's study, the Shores moved out of London.<sup>40</sup> In 1722, the Elder John Shore became a mortgager of Gayshams manor in Ilford, Essex.<sup>41</sup> By 1737 he and his wife had moved to Ilford, an area closely linked to the Wilmer family, where Abraham Wilmer owned a mansion house in nearby Barking.<sup>42</sup> The area was dominated by the estates of the Child and Lethieullier families, who had made fortunes in the East India Company.<sup>43</sup>

Despite their wealth, neither the Shores nor the Wilmers are listed as owners of manors, suggesting either that they rented their villas, or, as in Wilmer's case that the house was not built upon an extensive landed estate.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the model that both Grassby and Hancock observed then, the Shore family pattern in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was not one of progression from mercantile finance to landed proprietor or professional. According to Nicholas Rogers wealthy mercantile families of the City at this time were of high social status, accepted into London society. Like the daughter of Thomas Chambers

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<sup>38</sup> In his will Tobin declared his adherence to Catholicism, but the faith of Arlond is unknown, although he married in a Protestant church. See Will of Sir James Tobin, 1735, PROB 11/672/100; Will of Captain Edward Arlond, 1729, PROB 11/630/399; London Metropolitan Archives London, P69/ETH/A/001/MS04236.

<sup>39</sup> Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism*, pp. 356-66.

<sup>40</sup> Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p. 287.

<sup>41</sup> Assignment of a mortgage of Gayshams Hall alias Geshams Hall, Barking, A\AOV/27.

<sup>42</sup> C. W. Foster, *History of the Wilmer Family Together with Some Account of Its Descendants* (Leeds: Goodall and Suddick, 1888), p. 163. For the Shores residing in Ilford, *London Evening Post*, 2 July 1737.

<sup>43</sup> For a description of the material culture and networks of an East India Company household in Ilford, see Georgina Green, 'Valentines, the Raymonds and Company Material Culture', in *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*. ed. by Margot Finn and Kate Smith. (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 231-50, (pp. 231-9).

<sup>44</sup> Sir Josiah Child had been on the East India Company board of directors from 1674 until his death in 1699, and either governor or deputy-governor in the 1680s. At his death, the house passed to his son Sir Richard, later Lord Tylney. John Lethieullier, an executor of Wilmer's will, was a major financier of East India company ships who in 1737 passed his estate on to his son Smart Lethieullier, a renowned antiquarian. See Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London* (London: Cadell and Davis, 1792), pp. 55-110, 150-7.



senior who married the Earl of Exeter, they sometimes intermarried with the aristocracy. As many as 4% of aristocratic marriages of the mid eighteenth century were with wealthy merchant families. Although an aristocratic birth gave men inherited political power, many wealthy merchant families did not feel the need to earn their status in society by buying estates to pass through the generations. John Shore the Elder's brothers-in-law declared their ambitions for their dynasty not through land but through the epitaph emblazoned upon Abraham Wilmer's gravestone by the chancel arch of All Hallows in Barking: 'ASPIRE, RESPIRE, PROSPIRE'.<sup>45</sup> The wealthy sons of the Southern and Midlands gentry who moved to London in the seventeenth century, tended to continue their trade into the mid eighteenth century, forming financial dynasties in the City.<sup>46</sup>

At this time the landed classes, like the Shores, became increasingly absent from their lands, spending more time in London and fashionable resorts such as Bath. This period saw a consolidation of scattered land holdings into large estates. Where the landed magnates went into commerce, they mainly concentrated upon financial speculation and trading the products from their estates, including mineral holdings. A minority joined new joint stock companies such as the Company of Copper Miners and the East India Company.<sup>47</sup> Between 1650 and 1800 the families comprising the elite remained relatively stable, with the landed gentry soaking up most of the families who aspired to social status. An increasing trend of the eighteenth century was for wealthy merchants to gain status through marriage to daughters of the gentry without changing their urban lifestyles.<sup>48</sup> While merchants gentrified by mixing their blood with ancient families, the aristocracy continued to wield political, economic and ideological authority.<sup>49</sup> Although 229 peerages were created in the eighteenth century, 90% of these new peers had aristocratic relations or a noble birth.<sup>50</sup> Despite the daughters of

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<sup>45</sup> Foster, *History of Wilmer Family*, p. 163. Abraham Wilmer died in 1710.

<sup>46</sup> N. Rogers, 'Money, Marriage, Mobility: The Big Bourgeoisie of Hanoverian London', *Journal of Family History*, 24 (1999), pp. 437-54.

<sup>47</sup> James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650-1750. Studies in Modern History* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 62-78.

<sup>48</sup> Rogers, 'Big Bourgeoisie', pp. 437-54, (p. 446).

<sup>49</sup> Clark, *English Society*, pp. 34-8; John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 126-132.

<sup>50</sup> Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, pp. 20-25.

wealthy merchants like Hannah Sophia Chambers marrying into these ranks, at the top of the civil order the same patrilineal lines remained.

Adhering to their mercantile occupations despite their gentry origin put the Elder Shore at odds with a civil order where land and blood tie were markers of moral authority. From the 1660s until the 1770s theologians, philosophers, economists, and intellectuals defended social inequalities with remarkable coherence. In this ideological hegemony Providence designed and controlled the civil order and the social ranking a person was born into reflected their position in a hierarchy of moral virtue.<sup>51</sup> Unlike their landed counterparts the Shores participated in a self-organising, urban, commercial culture, where wealth could be gained through enterprise and speculation divorced from land holding. The coffee houses around the Royal Exchange in London were meeting places for City merchants where they could gain access to information through newspapers, circulars, letters and through face to face communication. They frequented coffeehouses to meet, swap information and make deals. A ten-minute walk away from Goodman's Fields was the Leaden Hall Coffee House, where in 1700 the Elder John Shore's uncle Thomas Chambers attended meetings of the Company of Copper Miners of England. Five minutes further on the Elder John Shore arrived at the Jerusalem Coffee House, the East India Company house at Cowper's Court between Cornhill and Birchin Lane. Here in 1730 his friend Sir James Tobin transacted trade as agent for Major Roach in Bengal. Close by were the Marine Coffee House in Birchin Lane where in 1699 his friend and future son-in-law Captain Edward Arlond held a sale of Japan and China goods. Also nearby was Lloyd's Coffeehouse on Lombard Street where in 1712 Captain Arlond's ship, the Concord was put up 'for sale by the candle'.<sup>52</sup> Increasingly, men of a mobile mercantile and professional middling sector without landed connections could remake themselves into gentlemen by modelling the codes of civility and the fashions of the upper ranks. The code reoriented aristocratic ideals of refinement to operate as a system of manners

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<sup>51</sup> Viner, *Role of Providence*, pp. 95-7.

<sup>52</sup> For the Company of Copper miners of England meeting at the Leaden Hall Coffee House see *London Gazette*, 2 December 1700. For James Tobin working from the Jerusalem Coffee House, see Mentz, *English Gentleman Merchant*, p. 83; For the Marine Coffee House see *Post Boy*, 17 August 1699 and for Lloyds Coffee House, *Daily Courant*, 18 August 1712.

within the public sphere.<sup>53</sup> Drinking coffee was associated with male sociability and was a marker of polite gentility. Coffee was believed to be civil and healthful, and thought to promote rational debate. The coffee houses facilitated the business the men conducted.<sup>54</sup> They were therefore key to the cementing of a masculine community that united merchants from a variety of regional and social backgrounds who adopted the same polite, commercial practices.

The Elder John Shore's network of restive men spread connections worldwide from this hub of coffeehouse mercantilism in London. Their influence reached out to the Midlands, Ireland, France, and through the interests of the Company of Copper Miners into Cornwall, Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, South Wales and New England.<sup>55</sup> Their association with the East India Company spread this influence further to South Asia and China. At the same time, rivalry, competition and danger were co-constituents of the Shore men's mercantile experience. At 250 tons and armed with 16 guns, Arlond's first known ship, the *Trumball Galley* was one of the late seventeenth century ships attempting to open trade routes in the Far East. The *Trumball Galley* travelled to Company factories in Xiamen (Amoy) in 1698 and Zhousan (Chusan) in 1701, while the Elder John Shore's brothers-in-law Jacob and Abraham Wilmer travelled to Xiamen as supercargoes on the *Fleet* in 1699 and the *Loyal Bliss* in 1705 and the *Dashwood* in 1701 respectively.<sup>56</sup> Piracy meant that ship's officers had

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<sup>53</sup> Erin Skye Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen, and Pirates: The Making of the Modern Gentleman in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore MA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), pp. 9-10.

<sup>54</sup> For a description of the City of London's Coffee House culture, see Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), pp. 319-23. For the commercial life of the City of London including the importance of the coffee house, see Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century: A Great and Monstrous Thing* (London: The Bodley Head, 2012), pp. 165-205. For a description of the major role the East India Company played in the import of coffee in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Chaudhuri, *Trading World of Asia*, pp. 259-384.

<sup>55</sup> Joan Day, 'The Costers: Copper Smelters and Manufacturers', *Excerpt Transactions of the Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology*, 47 (1974-6), pp. 47-58; R. O. Roberts, 'Enterprise and Capital for Non-Ferrous Metal Smelting in Glamorgan 1694-1924', *Morgannwg Transactions of the Glamorgan Local History Society*, 23 (1979), pp. 48-82; 'Modern Entries', pp. 411-419.

<sup>56</sup> IOR/E/3/93, fols 177, 256-8; IOR/E/3/95, fols 173-4, 160-2. Jacob Wilmer's subsequent known trips on the *Loyal Bliss* in 1713 and the *Lyell* in 1722 and 1730 were to Guangzhou (Canton). See Hosea Ballou Morse and Patrick J. N. Tuck, *The Chronicles of*

to be naval tacticians and fighters, as well as explorers, diplomats, and leaders of a ship's crew. Privateers attacked the *Trumball Galley* in European waters in 1706 and 1707. Although victorious in 1706, in 1707 the *Trumball Galley* was taken off Dungeness at the start of another voyage to Asia. Equally, on her return from Xiamen in 1704, the *Chambers Frigate* survived an attack in the Malacca Straits in which French ships took her companion, the *Canterbury*. Because questions in Parliament had been raised about the loss of ships such as the *Trumball Galley*, within European waters in 1709 a naval convoy protected the East India Company exports of Arlond's next command, the *Concorde*.<sup>57</sup> In this way, the individual battles of East India Company mariners like Captain Arlond to protect their cargoes contributed to the involvement of the state in protecting Company trade.

On the one hand with their naval and military support the state recognized the economic expansionism of the Elder John Shore and his associates around the globe. At the same time the wealthy family sat uncomfortably within a civil order where political and economic authority was vested in the landed interest. From this ambiguous position the Shore family moved between the options available to them. Sir John Shore intermingled a title with his profession as a doctor and with mercantile speculation in London and the Midlands. Similarly, the Elder John Shore combined business interests in the Midlands and the South East with his involvement with the Copper Company of England and the East India Company. The Shore dynastic ties at this time expressed a public identity of mercantile ambition, alongside regional identities that incorporated the family's past, its current location for commerce in London and the Wilmer matrilineal line from Barking, Essex. In their occupational interests the Shore family were global and protean. They were in the vanguard of the rise of the commercial classes of the eighteenth century. They challenged an old order

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*the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834*. 2 vols (London: Routledge, 2000), I, pp. 307-13.

<sup>57</sup> For the *Trumball Galley* seizing the *Dragon* of Bordeaux, see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* (London: Boydell Press, 2006), IV, p. 108; For a report of seizures of ships, including the *Trumball Galley*, see William Cobbett, *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* (London: Longman & Co., 1810), p. 630; For a report of the attack on the *Chambers Frigate*, see James Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time Being a History of the Presidency Compiled from Official Records* (New Delhi Asian Educational Services, 1993), pp. 237-8; For the Concord being escorted through the English Channel, see *London Gazette*, 24 March 1709.

hierarchy based upon noble and gentry families who were connected over the generations to their landed estates.

### Absent Patriarchs and Active Matriarchs

In this section I look at the absence of men in Shore family life. As wealthy widows and with powers of attorney during their husbands' departures overseas, the women of Shore's family networks troubled a civil order in which husbands performed the financial and legal tasks of the household, and in which fashion and luxury were confined to the landed elites. In her husband's absence his mother could contract deals, own property, make investments and be sued. Because of her East India Company connections, she and her family lived in a multicultural world that extended beyond the shores of Britain. Shore's family story indicates that ideologies of patriarchy and rank in Britain were made complex by the lifestyles of merchant families whose men traded around the world.

In the early eighteenth century, the Elder John Shore dealt in Asian goods for the luxury market, with the intention of gaining profit and ultimately improving his family's economic status. His relationship with China and India involved the risk of investing in vulnerable sea-borne cargoes, but he had no personal contact with indigenous merchants, and he experienced no long absences from British shores. Yet despite staying in Britain, working as an East India merchant decimated his patrilineal line. The Elder John Shore had seven documented children. Of these he buried three of his sons and one of his daughters, so that the youngest boy, Thomas, was the only son who survived his father. Records do not show how any of Thomas' siblings died but the high death rate suggests that the living conditions of London in this period took their toll. East India Company merchants and families like the Shores who migrated to areas around the City were susceptible to the epidemics that swept through eighteenth century London.<sup>58</sup> In this period death rates were higher in London than in the surrounding countryside. Life expectancy at birth fell from about thirty at the end of the seventeenth century to just over twenty in the early eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup> John Shore the

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<sup>58</sup> Ackroyd, *London*, pp. 201-7.

<sup>59</sup> Burials continued to outstrip baptisms in London until the 1790s. Much blame for the high levels of mortality in London has been attributed to crowded housing and unhygienic living conditions. Deaths from smallpox epidemics fuelled by the close living quarters rose until the middle of the eighteenth century. For mortality rates in London, see J.

Elder himself may have fallen victim to an epidemic of typhoid fever that swept the capital in 1741, the year of his death.

As well as the unhealthy living conditions in London, men of mercantile families came into contact overseas with unfamiliar strains of disease and died in huge numbers. According to Shore family myth the oldest son, another John, died in India.<sup>60</sup> In 1726 this John Shore sailed for Bengal as third mate on the *Hertford*. He discharged himself from the ship in September 1727 at an unrecorded location.<sup>61</sup> 64% of civil servants appointed to Bengal between 1707 and 1730 died there. In fact, the figure is probably higher than this. Like John Shore the Elder's oldest son, some men were unaccounted for in the records, or left the service, remained in Bengal and probably died there.<sup>62</sup>

Whatever the cause of the death of his three older brothers, in 1729 the remaining son and heir, Thomas Shore, followed his brother, his father, grandfathers, uncles and cousins into East India Company service. He sailed for China at the age of 18 as fifth mate on the *Prince Augustus*.<sup>63</sup> In comparison with his father Thomas Shore's deepened engagement with empire meant that he was absent from home for long periods of time. A voyage to China would take about eighteen months, six months sailing each way and then six months in port trading at Guangzhou (Canton). His next voyage to China was in 1731 when he became a writer for the China supercargoes of the season.<sup>64</sup> Thomas advanced to supercargo himself in 1735 and after several more voyages became head of a council of China by 1756.<sup>65</sup>

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Landers, 'London's Mortality in the "Long Eighteenth Century": A Family Reconstitution Study', *Medical History. Supplement*, (1991), pp. 1-28.

<sup>60</sup> For a description of the Elder John Shore's three oldest sons dying young, see Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Anthony Farrington, *A Biographical Index of East India Company Maritime Service Officers: 1600-1834* (London: British Library, 1999), p. 715, Hertford: Pay Book, BL, IOR/L/MAR/B/656J, p.2.

<sup>62</sup> Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 218-19.

<sup>63</sup> Farrington, *Officers*, p. 715.

<sup>64</sup> *Daily Journal*, 28 August 1731. A writer was a junior in the Company service, a copy clerk, who prepared duplicates of letters and documentation for filing within the East India Company bureaucracies in Asia and London.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Shore was appointed Chief of a Council of China for the *Stormont* and *Godolphin* in 1755. See BL, IOR/E/4/616, fol. 319; His other appointments were in 1735 on the

When seen from England Thomas Shore's life is a series of gaps that interrupted his time within family and home. Thomas Shore married Dorothy Shephard in September 1750.<sup>66</sup> Their eldest son was born in St James's Street, London on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 1751. From at least 1755, the Shores lived in Melton near Woodbridge in Suffolk. Shore's first memory was of 'being sent daily to a neighbouring school, mounted on one of the carriage horses, in front of the coachman'.<sup>67</sup> In his mother's care up to the age of seven, his parents sent John away to school in Tottenham to adopt the learning of the gentleman. He left behind a brother, also Thomas, born in 1756. After his first wife's death and upon his second marriage Shore's father reduced the number of his trips abroad so that for the first four years of his life Shore grew up in a family with both mother and father at home. Nevertheless, Thomas would be absent for most of Shore's life.

As a supercargo in Guangzhou, Thomas tasted and selected teas, then weighed, marked and dispatched the tea chests to lighters waiting on the river. Part of an elite group of 30 or so men, Thomas ensured the lead and silver he traded with arrived safely in Guangzhou, and the tea and porcelain he brought back arrived intact into the warehouses of the East India Company. Thomas had to develop a personal relationship with the Hong merchant of Guangzhou appointed for his ship. This man mediated trading regulations with the port authorities and sold Thomas a proportion of the goods he exported. This restricted trading system put Thomas in competition with the supercargoes of other European East India Companies when he needed to secure a competent merchant and a lucrative deal. In addition, despite restrictions on contact with other Chinese traders, for his private trade Thomas Shore was likely to have interacted with skilled craftsmen and retailers known as 'outside

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*Princess Mary*, IOR/E/3/106, fols 273-8; 1737 on the *Prince of Orange* and *Princess Royal*, IOR/E/3/107, fols 162-7; 1741 on the *Princess Mary*, IOR/E/3/108, fols 116, 229; 1745 on the *London*, see IOR/E/3/109, fols 116-21 and 1748 on the *Scarborough* and *Wager*, IOR/E/3/110, fols 16-21. Apart from his voyage in 1735, Frederick Pigou remained his Chief.

<sup>66</sup> City of Westminster Archives Centre London, HTK/PR, 6 September 1750.

<sup>67</sup> Lord Teignmouth's Reminiscences, A\AOV/97; City of Westminster Archives Centre London, STJ/0494. The date is different to the one given by his son. See Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 5.

merchants' for goods such as porcelain, silk or lacquerware.<sup>68</sup> Thomas had to operate temporarily within another culture in order to secure his deals, while assessing the tastes and requirements of his home market. If temporarily, he had a hybrid and marginal existence as a foreign trader on Chinese soil. Upon his return he imported a foreign culture back to his family in England in the items he bought, the habits he formed and the stories he told. The Shores lived in rental properties in Lambourne, Essex and in Woodbourne, Suffolk, but owned property in London.<sup>69</sup> In the home Shore stayed at in London, his parents' possessions included Indian textiles and porcelain from China. There was a 'Chinese gown' stowed in a red leather chest in the 'Men's Garret Forwards'. The family also owned a punch bowl, 'Chinese snuff boxes, musical instruments, and ornaments; Indian textiles and tea kettles; dressing boxes and a bathing bowl from Japan'. Thomas Shore filled his house with the '[f]urniture, useful and ornamental china, and curious carvings in ivory' that he brought to England.<sup>70</sup> In Shore's childhood world such products from empire spawned public rituals for enacting gender, family and status. For example, for men punch was a sociable drink which Addison associated with the imperial and exotic. Ingredients for the drink, including rum, sugar and nutmeg were imports from Empire. Even the name is believed to derive from the Hindi for five.<sup>71</sup> For women too, tea from China spawned female domestic displays of polite conversation within ritualised tea ceremonies.<sup>72</sup> The superior textiles of south Asia and the

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<sup>68</sup> Paul Arthur Van Dyke, *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Politics and Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), pp. 8-13.

<sup>69</sup> There are no records to suggest that Thomas Shore owned the houses in Suffolk and Essex. Until his death in 1749 Thomas Walker owned Bishop's Hall in Lambourne and then Walker's nephew, Stephen Skinner inherited the estate. 'Lambourne Manors', in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 4, Ongar Hundred*, ed. by W. R. Powell (London: 1956), pp. 76-81. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol4/pp76-81> [accessed 25 March 2015].

<sup>70</sup> BL, MSS Eur F702. See also Margaret Makepeace, 'The Personal Possessions of Thomas and Dorothy Shore', <[blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2017/03/the-personal-possessions-of-thomas-and-dorothy-shore.html](http://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2017/03/the-personal-possessions-of-thomas-and-dorothy-shore.html)> [accessed 24/04/2018].

<sup>71</sup> Karen Harvey, 'Ritual Encounters: Punch Parties and Masculinity in the Eighteenth Century', *Past & Present*, (2012), pp. 165-203.

<sup>72</sup> Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 169.



fine tableware of East Asia invaded the home and the public sphere of balls, pleasure gardens, theatres and subscription rooms 'altering forever western decor and Western dress'.<sup>73</sup>

Despite absences on voyages to China, Thomas also retained ties of family and region. He owned 'a half-pint silver mug' emblazoned with the deer emblem of Derby and Derbyshire and cutlery with 'a stork with a stone in his foot', the Shore family crest.<sup>74</sup> Taken with his oriental status goods Thomas Shore's family ware shows an increasingly hybrid identity in an England in which the fashionable elites were adapting their rituals around imported luxury goods from the East.<sup>75</sup> As a result, Shore grew up in an England in which his old family ties to the Midlands were intermingled with signs of empire. If the home was a public forum for ladies to enact the virtue and civilization of their kin, East India Company families like the Shores performed their politeness amongst the oriental trappings of the landed, wealthy and aristocratic. The large country houses of the aristocrat and the landed gentry displayed oriental textiles, porcelains and decoration. Without a permanent family pile too, the Shores as gentry merchants of the East India Company, became advocates for multicultural manners in Britain.

Thomas made one more trip to China in 1756 as Chief of the Council for the *Stormont* and *Godolphin*. When he returned to England at the end of 1757, he was suffering from a 'paralytic affection' from which he died in July 1759. Shore barely remembered his father. His one memory of him was 'infirm, exhausted with sickness, and borne down with fatigue'.<sup>76</sup> Dorothy Shephard had now lost both her father and her husband on East India Company service. Both died of diseases contracted on board ship. At nine she was an

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<sup>73</sup> Beverly Lemire, 'Fashioning Cottons: Asian Trade, Domestic Industry and Consumer Demand 1660-1780', in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*. ed. by D. T. Jenkins. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 493-512, p. 512.

<sup>74</sup> *Daily Advertiser*, 21 February 1745.

<sup>75</sup> Margot Finn and Kate Smith, 'Introduction', in *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*. ed. by Margot Finn and Kate Smith. (London: UCL Press, 2018), pp. 1-20, pp. 12-16.

<sup>76</sup> Letter to his wife 12 May 1789, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 189. For Shore's memories of his father, see Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 5.

orphaned heiress, the sole beneficiary of her father's will. Now at 34 she was a widow in 'comfortable circumstances' who never recovered from 'the shock of her bereavement.'<sup>77</sup>

After Thomas' death Dorothy became the caretaker of the Shore family's wealth and status. She managed the Shore estate and was responsible for the education of her children.<sup>78</sup>

Dorothy was not unusual in this respect. Until they remarried widows of merchants often took on the business interests and household management of their dead husbands. Elite women of the East India Company like Dorothy had an unusual amount of legal and financial authority when their menfolk were absent. Her father, Captain Shepheard, had given Dorothy's mother his power of attorney. She had petitioned the East India Company for backpay in March 1722.<sup>79</sup> As his attorney, Dorothy's mother had the power to buy and sell property, to make contracts and to take legal action on her husband's behalf, rights usually denied her as a married woman under English common law.<sup>80</sup> While they were never employed as merchants in overseas trade, as widows and with a power of attorney elite women could vote in the East India Company elections for membership of the Court of Directors and invest in Company stock. Like Dorothy Shepheard, many women also participated in the trade and business of their absent Company relatives and husbands.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> For Captain John Shepheard's death in June 1734, see IOR/E/1/25, fols, 111, 120. For her grandson's understanding of the effect of Thomas Shore's death upon Dorothy, see Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 6. Thomas Shore's death at Bishop's Hall in Lambourne, Essex is listed in the *London Chronicle*, 19 July 1759.

<sup>78</sup> 'The Measure and Estimate of Harcourt Farm' taken 4 January 1760 in A\AOV/33.

<sup>79</sup> Letter from Dorothy Shepheard to the Court of Directors, 16 March 1722, IOR/E/1/13, fol. 158.

<sup>80</sup> A. L. Erickson, 'Common-Law Versus Common Practice: The Use of Marriage Settlements in Early Modern England', *Economic History Review*, 43 (1990), pp. 21-39, pp. 24.

<sup>81</sup> In the 1760s and 1770s the sister of Richard Barwell, a senior merchant in Calcutta, managed his financial and political affairs in Britain. Mary Barwell negotiated appointments for her brother, distributed gifts of Indian muslins to secure him preferment amongst influential families, invested his money and acted as executor when another brother died. See P. Sharpe, 'Gender in the Economy: Female Merchants and Family Businesses in the British Isles, 1600-1850', *Histoire Sociale-Social History*, 34 (2001), pp. 283-306, pp. 294-5, 302; Margaret Hunt found a similar pattern of empowerment for women of the poorer and middling stations in the naval seafaring communities of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. See Margaret Hunt, 'Women and the Fiscal-Imperial State in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*. ed. by Kathleen Wilson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 29-47.

Beyond the public face of women as subordinate to their fathers, husbands and brothers then, Dorothy Shore and her mother filled the gaps as head of household when their menfolk were away.

With the 'self-command' of the East India company wife and daughter and the 'elegant and polished' manners of polite society, Dorothy shaped Shore with a 'tenderness and affection' that 'had no bounds'.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless like most elite boys, Shore was removed from his family and his mother's feminine influence. In the eighteenth century a boy too much in the society of his mother was believed to grow up soft, feminised and unmanly. Those educated at home were believed to develop feminine tastes for clothes, household management and conversation. They were in danger of preferring female company and turning into a fop, an Italianised man of fashion, known as a 'Macaroni', or to have a Frenchman's predilection for inconsequential chatter. The sins of becoming a 'feminised' fop were numerous. Fops lacked the vigour and strength of true Englishmen, lacked sexual passion and were vain. They preferred women's pastimes and tastes and at times were suspected of sodomy.<sup>83</sup> Under his mother's control, Shore's schooling into a manhood bereft of such feminised and nationalised fripperies was to continue after his father's death.

Sometime after Thomas died, Shore moved with his schoolmaster, the Rev Mr Harland, from Tottenham to Hale's Free Grammar School, in Hertford. In 1766 at the age of 16, Dorothy moved John from Hertford to the upper fifth form of Harrow school. In choosing an elite school, Dorothy asserted her ambition for him to occupy a leadership position in public life. The classical education of the grammar school imbibed their students with an elite masculine culture whose reference points were the classics of Greek democracy and Roman imperialism. In building the character of a leader such schools taught the social skills required of elite men, including music, dancing, martial arts, languages and drawing.<sup>84</sup> At

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<sup>82</sup> For a description of Dorothy Shore as reported to her grandson, see Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 6; Shore described his experience of his mother in a letter to his brother from Bengal, 28 November 1784, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 93.

<sup>83</sup> Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 144-8; Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 37-41, 57-8.

<sup>84</sup> Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 52-56.

Harrow the radical politics of the headmaster, Dr Sumner meant that his teaching had a Whig bias, which fostered an atmosphere of petitioning and collective protest.<sup>85</sup> Sumner's beliefs were rationalist and secular and with his independence of mind and attitude, he fostered a 'democratic spirit' within the school. As a result, Shore and his schoolfellows learnt that men were 'critical observers of the status quo'.<sup>86</sup> To Sumner, the classics were tools to fit these young men for public life. As his pupil, Shore practised oratory and rhetoric, performed declamations from the classics, speeches from contemporary dramas and extracts from Shakespeare. He learned political philosophy, and respect for Athenian democracy. He compared modern ideas to the Greek and learned to trust reasoning over tradition.<sup>87</sup> As a result, Shore could declare in 1797:

Whenever my judgement is fully satisfied about any measure, I may and must be solicitous about the result; and I care not what judgements are passed on it.<sup>88</sup>

Through his liberal education, Shore soaked up the values of a masculinity absent from his family. He developed a sense of a manhood steeped in classical allusion and experienced life outside the home in the homosocial society of men. After a year at Harrow his mother was again to send him away from her. She took up the offer of East India Company sponsorship from his father's friend and fellow supercargo in the Company service, Frederick Pigou.<sup>89</sup> Upon Pigou's advice his mother removed him from Harrow to study merchant's accounts and a foreign language at an academy in Hoxton.<sup>90</sup> Following his father, uncle, grandfathers and great-uncles into the service of the Honourable East India Company, Shore 'often expressed his regret that he had not embraced the medical profession.'<sup>91</sup> Of becoming a priest Shore once wrote, 'I almost envy my brother in the choice he has made; and now think I should

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<sup>85</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School, 1324-1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 102.

<sup>86</sup> Tyerman, *Harrow School*, p. 124.

<sup>87</sup> Tyerman, *Harrow School*, pp. 122-4, William Field, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr*. 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1828), I, pp. 55-6.

<sup>88</sup> To the Hon. Jonathan Duncan from Calcutta 10 May 1797 in Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 416.

<sup>89</sup> Reminiscences of Lord Teignmouth, A\AOV/97.

<sup>90</sup> Reminiscences of Lord Teignmouth, A\AOV/97.

<sup>91</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 218.

have been happier had I fixed upon the same.’<sup>92</sup> Even with Thomas dead, the network of Company friends brought the next generation of the Shore men reluctantly back to the East India Company. Shore departed from Gravesend on 8 December 1768 and arrived in Calcutta at the end of May 1769. As Shore absented himself from Britain, so his mother was an unfilled space in Bengal. Missing her, his family, friends and country throughout his first sojourn, Shore cherished her letters as:

monuments of maternal tenderness and affections. I can see through them the watchful anxiety of an indulgent mother, whose whole thoughts are centred in the welfare of her children.<sup>93</sup>

Dorothy died in 1784 and Shore would never see her again.

### Unstable Relations

In this section I turn to the families that Shore went on to create in Bengal. Through his relations with Chand Bibi, the most visible of his Bengali concubines and Jack Shore the most visible of his Anglo-Bengali children, I examine the degree to which Shore could re-enact the British state in India through the multicultural family that he made. Although fathering an illegitimate child was problematic in middling circles of Britain, a sexual life outside of marriage did not detract from Shore’s status as gentlemen. As well as the refined politeness of the gentleman in mixed elite circles, manhood comprised a roughness, bluntness and rudeness within all-male company, and with women of perceived lower status.<sup>94</sup> The time young men spent before marriage was a time of ‘adventure, exuberance and some expected licence’.<sup>95</sup> In the British-oriented state under formation in Bengal though, relationships forged with South Asian women were both illicit and disorderly. Such relationships called into question the extent to which co-habiting men could retain their sense of an origin in the British Isles and maintain their loyalty to the Company in Bengal.<sup>96</sup> The

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<sup>92</sup> To his mother from Moorshedabad, 6 July 1772 in Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 43.

<sup>93</sup> To his mother, 1 January 1769, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 16-17.

<sup>94</sup> Michèle Cohen, 'Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*. ed. by Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 44-61.

<sup>95</sup> Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, p. 77.

<sup>96</sup> Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, pp. 35-9, 107-32.

gift of a ring and a house to Chand Bibi, and solicitation for his first concubine, suggest that Shore formed close bonds with the women he had relationships with.<sup>97</sup> He also formed bonds with the children of these relationships, calling his first child ‘my little boy’ in 1784 and his second child ‘the young gentleman’ in 1783.<sup>98</sup> Because of the conflict between personal feeling and the demands of the state, Durba Ghosh noted an anxiety towards the status of such children.<sup>99</sup> In Britain, the father of a natural child was anonymous, and the child’s paternity usually undocumented in parish registers. This meant that the paternal family group had no legal evidence of the illegitimate child being of their bloodline. In contrast, in Bengal the multicultural children born outside of marriage were registered in the father’s name. By flouting the norm they knew in Britain, the men of the East India Company territories claimed their illegitimate kin as their own, providing their children with a documented reason for living within the protected territories of the East India Company.

Hints of Shore’s sexual activity in Bengal in his twenties and early thirties remain. According to a friend of his, Shore ‘lived as other young men did’.<sup>100</sup> In 1772 Shore described temptation as the body of a woman:

‘temptation comes under such pleasing and varied shapes, ... that, from the agreeableness of her form, the force of example, and the weakness of the will,

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<sup>97</sup> ‘In the Goods of Chand Bibi commonly called Bibi Shore, deceased’, 19 July 1836, BL, IOR/L/AG/34/29/58, p. 38. In 1790 Shore said ‘I am very happy to learn that the purchase of the house has been completed and that possession has been given to Chand agreeable to my directions.’ Letter to Burgh, Barber and Rothman from Egham 6 September 1790, A\AOV/11.

<sup>98</sup> To Ducarel in 1784 Shore wrote ‘My little boy is under my brother’s care, who behaves very affectionately to him and me.’ To Anderson earlier the same year: ‘The young gentleman begs his kindest remembrance to you and Frank, though he says Frank is a perfect dog for not discerning the meaning of the false lid to the box in his palanquin. Sir says he it is the choicest contrivance in the world for when you arrive at a place you have only to lift out the box and the false lid covers the top; we had a long discussion on the contrivance and at Redfearn’s expense.’ Shore wanted to take a child named ‘Billi’, probably Francis, back to Bengal with him in 1792. ‘Poor Billi has signified to me his determination to revisit India. I wish he could accompany me.’ To Ducarel 5 December 1784, Gloucestershire Archives Gloucester, D2091/F14; To Anderson from Murshidabad March 1784, Add MS 45428, fol. 120; To Anderson from London 30 September 1792, Add MS 45428, fol. 127.

<sup>99</sup> Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, pp. 107-32.

<sup>100</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 26.

the flesh falls into iniquities, and leads the spirit to be afterwards mortified into repentance.<sup>101</sup>

But apart from passing references, little is known about the household families that Shore set up in his early years in Bengal. In 1771 he bought a *chilumchee*, ewer, door purdahs and *qollones* at an inventory sale in Murshidabad, suggesting that he adopted Bengali domestic routines.<sup>102</sup> Between 1771 and 1785 he was to have four children with at least two indigenous women.<sup>103</sup> Bengali women lived privately with men in the British settlements, socialising with their British menfolk away from the public eye. On formal, public occasions, and in mixed company, the men's indigenous companions and mixed race children were excluded.<sup>104</sup> Elite men could cohabit with noble women who they met through the companions of their Company friends.<sup>105</sup> More commonly though, the men co-habited with lower-status female companions from their domestic households.<sup>106</sup> Of the two concubines of Shore's that we know about, his last, 'Chand Bibi, otherwise known as Bibi Shore' emerges most sharply into focus. I will refer to her in this thesis as Chand Bibi. From her will of 1836 we know that she was Muslim, unmarried and could not write English as she signed the pages with her mark. She may not have spoken English either as a J Chatter explained the will to her in Hindustani. She arrived in Calcutta between 1778 and 1780, and probably originated from outside Bengal as the will was explained to her in the lingua franca of the Mughal empire, rather than in Bengali, the local language.<sup>107</sup> Chand Bibi's will is one of a minority

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<sup>101</sup> To his mother from Moorshedabad, 28 May 1772, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 41.

<sup>102</sup> Inventory sale in Cossimbazar, 30 November 1770, BL, IOR/P/154/70, fol. 300.

<sup>103</sup> John Shore was christened in 1777, BL, IOR/N/1/2, fol. 285; Francis and Martha Shore were christened in 1785, IOR/N/1/3, fol. 11; George Shore was christened in 1788, IOR/N/1/4, fol. 52.

<sup>104</sup> Blechynden would not share a carriage with his companions, or have them dine with him if married European women were also present. Robb, *Sex and Sensibility*, p. 212; See also Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, pp. 35-6; Captain Thomas Williamson, *The East India Vade-Mecum*. 2 vols (London: Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1810), I, p. 457; Rev William Tennant, *Indian Recreations*. 3 vols (London: Longman Hurst Rees and Orme, 1803), I, pp. 71-2.

<sup>105</sup> Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, p. 79.

<sup>106</sup> Hawes, *Poor Relations*, p. 8. The brother of Shore's friend Charles Grant cohabited with a slave girl from his household. See Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, pp. 113-16.

<sup>107</sup> 'In the Goods of Chand Bibi commonly called Bibi Shore, deceased', IOR/L/AG/34/29/58, p.42.

from indigenous companions lodged at the High Court and in the India Office archive. She was well-known as Shore's companion. Blechynden in his diary reported that she built a house after Shore's departure and became the live-in companion of Charles Rothman.<sup>108</sup> She was to bear a child with Rothman in Calcutta in April 1802 sixteen days after Rothman's wife gave birth to a legitimate daughter.<sup>109</sup>

According to her will, Chand Bibi had at least one child with Shore. Francis and Martha were born in 1781 and 1783, respectively but both had died childless by the time Chand Bibi wrote her will, making it unclear if she was their mother. Their brother, or half-brother, George was born in 1785 a few weeks after Shore arrived back in England. He was baptised in 1788 after Shore returned to Bengal in 1786. Whether Shore renewed his sexual relationship with Chand Bibi is not known, but they had no more children together. In 1790 Shore bought her a house.<sup>110</sup> Sometime during their relationship he also gave her a ring which she passed on to their son, requesting George to wear it as 'a testimony of my natural love and affection'.<sup>111</sup> In Britain rings were a potent symbol that bound the giver and recipient into a contract or duty. Rings also signified a bond between a man and a woman that could last beyond death. One example is the 'dear pledge of affection', a mourning ring containing a lock of his mother's hair, that Shore's brother sent to him after her death.<sup>112</sup> This meaning of the ring, as well as Chand Bibi's words to her son, suggest that there was affection and commitment of some sort between herself and Shore.

Shore's first child is the most visible of his children. Born in 1772, the boy was not Chand Bibi's son, but the son of an unnamed companion who Shore referred to as 'My Lady' in one letter. In 1777 Shore baptised this boy John, in a ritual that transitioned the child from an

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<sup>108</sup> Robb, *Sex and Sensibility*, p. 12.

<sup>109</sup> IOR/N/1/6, fols 111, 180. Charlotte Mary was born to Rothman's wife on April 4<sup>th</sup> 1802, Eliza Cordelia, Rothman's natural daughter with Chand Bibi on April 20<sup>th</sup> 1802.

<sup>110</sup> To Burgh, Barber and Co from Egham, 6 September 1790, A\AOV/11. Bletchynden mentioned Shore's Lady building herself a house after he left. See Robb, *Sex and Sensibility*, p. 12.

<sup>111</sup> 'In the Goods of Chand Bibi commonly called Bibi Shore, deceased', IOR/L/AG/34/29/58, p. 39.

<sup>112</sup> To his brother Thomas Shore from Bengal, 29 November 1784, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 95.



indigenous religion into a Christian identity. The name followed the tradition of the Shore family's first-born sons since at least the late sixteenth century. The child would later be known as Jack and for clarity I will use this name. In 1784, like other high-ranking offspring of mixed race unions, Jack was in England in the care of his uncle, and receiving a Christian and British education.<sup>113</sup> At a time when paternity, kinship and patronage enabled men to occupy positions as of birth right, baptising his children asserted Shore's paternity over children in an ambiguous position. The baptism records state not only Shore's paternity, but also his public rank.<sup>114</sup> Where paternity and patronage were important entrants into employment in Britain and the East India Company, the baptism records marked Shore and his children with their position in Calcutta society and asserted their legitimate right to be living within British territories. But Jack Shore's illegitimate and ambiguous status also meant that he would not be able to inherit Shore's estate through primogeniture. He would also not be able to inherit his father's future knighthood and barony. Jack Shore's illegitimacy would decrease his status in the British marriage market where bloodline enhanced the suitability of a match. By legitimising only the offspring of Christian marriages, in Britain the state regulated the family order for men like Shore and his son.

Shore's multicultural family reacted and responded to such impositions upon their lives. Chand Bibi remade herself into a subject of the nascent colonial state. She knew to make a will and knew how to prosper under British rule. Her will shows her owning four houses, two in Calcutta and two in Intally, three of which she rented out to British men. In total she owned about an acre of land. At her death, her effects and her investments in the East India Company and Alexander and Co amounted to 19,300 Rs, making her a wealthy woman. The grant of administration for her estate is listed in the colonial press.<sup>115</sup> She seems to have mixed on friendly and business terms with British men. Her daughter married a Briton, and one of her appointed trustees was an employee at her late son-in-law's building firm. At the same time, she relied upon men to translate the codes of East India Company rule. One British man drew up her will. She appointed two British men as trustees to protect her

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<sup>113</sup> Letter to Ducarel 5 December 1784, D2091/F14.

<sup>114</sup> In 1777 he was Mr John Shore Junior Merchant in the Honorable Company's Service, in 1785 Mr John Shore Senior Merchant in the Honorable Company's Service, and by 1788 he was John Shore, Esq, his social rank now outweighing his Company position. IOR/N/1/2, fol. 285; IOR/N/1/3, fol. 11; IOR/N/1/4, fol. 52.

<sup>115</sup> August 1836, *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, p. 78.

daughter's inheritance, and an indigenous man translated the contents of the will into Hindustani.

Chand Bibi seems to have profited from her connections with British men, but at the cost of isolation from her own community. Her ways of generating wealth and legitimation suggest that she moved between South Asian and British cultures. In her two names she retained a foothold in both communities. As Bibi Shore, by keeping Shore's surname during her relationship with Rothman she identified herself publicly with an elite British family who rose to the highest rank in Bengal. In South Asian folklore her namesake Chand Bibi was a fierce warrior queen from Maharashtra and Karnataka, a heroine who led her army against the invading Mughals in the sixteenth century. But contracting relations with British men also came at a cost. Chand Bibi's names distanced her from her own kinship group and her religion, which in South Asia can be identified through the family name. As well as being unmarried at her death, Chand Bibi disavowed any knowledge of living relatives except for her son with Shore, and her daughter and grandchildren with Rothman. Chand Bibi operated along the boundaries of British imperialism. Included through her wealth and business acumen, she also subverted British and Bengali codes of the feminine through her intimate relationships with English men.

By the late 1780s markers of race and nation began to shift. By acknowledging his illegitimate children in their baptism records, Shore tagged them as members of the nascent British and imperial state in Bengal. But with Cornwallis' reforms, mixed race children began to have their nation of origin signalled from their mother rather than their father. In 1789 Cornwallis recommended that Eurasian boys should not serve as officers in the East India Company army. He wanted applicants to prove that they were 'without any mixture of the blood of natives of India'. In 1790, the Company banned Eurasians from owning land. At the same time from the 1790s the East India Company increasingly viewed the children of mixed-race unions as 'natives of India' rather than British subjects. This meant that when he was older Jack could not serve on a jury in Calcutta. Most importantly for father and son, in 1791 the Directors finally banned the 'sons of natives' from covenanted positions within the company's civil, military and marine branches, so Shore would be unable to use his influence

to gain his son any position within the Company hierarchy.<sup>116</sup> Shore's response to regulations that placed the family bloodline and national origin upon mothers rather than fathers, was to use his private influence to serve his son outside of the Company state. Because of legislation that side-lined him, Jack Shore became a merchant. In 1794 Shore loaned Jack money to set him up as a man of business.<sup>117</sup> Jack Shore bought a licence to produce indigo on 50 bighas (about 30 acres) of land in Darauli north west of Patna in Bihar. Jack seems to have turned a profit as an indigo manufacturer for five years later his successor had a licence for 3,750 bighas (1,500 acres), half of which was used for indigo.<sup>118</sup> As his forefathers had before him, Jack Shore challenged the civil order imposed upon him by gaining his wealth outside of elite circles. In so doing he challenged the superiority of British men who occupied the highest ranks of the Company in Calcutta. The actions of Jack and his father, the Governor General, complicated and subverted the boundaries around the British imperial state that Cornwallis' legislation had attempted to clarify.

### Civilised Britons

I now turn to the role that an English wife played in Shore's sense of family, nation and belonging. This section looks at the paradox that Shore encountered trying to uphold British virtue within a culture that confronted the patriarchal habits of his homeland. For elite and middling men in Britain it was only within Christian marriage that sex was legitimised. When children arrived through a sanctified union, marriage and their family became an open and public testament to their virile masculinity. Beyond their careers, marriage and domesticity gave men like Shore status in the polite and public world, showing that they had enough wealth to set up a household and maintain a wife and family.<sup>119</sup> From 1786, Shore returned to Calcutta as a patriarch, who had left an English wife and family at home. When his wife

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<sup>116</sup> Valerie R. Anderson, 'The Eurasian Problem in Nineteenth Century India' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2011), p. 36.

<sup>117</sup> Letter to Blackburn 26 March 1793, BL, IOR Neg 4373/5. Letter from Hubert Cornish to his brother James, 15 November 1793, A\AOV/64. Hubert Cornish said 'Shore can't give him Company work because he has no authority to appoint men outside of the Company's service.'

<sup>118</sup> L. S. S. O'Malley, *Saran*. ed. by A.P. Middleton. revised edn. repr. 2017. *Bengal, Bihar and Orissa* (Delhi: Logos Press, 1930), pp. 86-7.

<sup>119</sup> Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 76-82.

joined him in Calcutta in 1794, in public Shore emphasised his British virtue through the rituals he observed around his consort, but in private she was besieged by the routines imposed from her Bengali servants.

When Shore first set foot on English soil in Plymouth in June 1785 after 17 years away, he was melancholy and ‘almost a stranger on his native soil’ according to his biographer. Leaving behind Chand Bibi in Bengal, in England most of his childhood friends had either died or lost contact with him.<sup>120</sup> After his mother’s death in 1783 his only close relative was his brother. When Shore had left England in 1768 his brother Thomas was a child of twelve years. Shore arrived home in 1785 to find his brother a grown man, married and training to be a minister in the Church of England. Thomas introduced Shore to Charlotte Cornish and the couple married in West Teignmouth in Devon on 14 February 1786, three months after their first meeting. Within weeks he had fathered a daughter. In the next seven years Shore was to leave his family twice to return to Bengal. He was recalled first in 1786 as Supreme Councillor and again in 1792 as Governor General. In 1794 Charlotte and his daughter sailed to Calcutta to join Shore. The Shores had two further children in Bengal and returned to England in 1798.

Between 1786 and 1790, as in his letters to his mother, Shore’s letters to his wife were replete with expressions of love, longing and separation. Similar feelings in 1793 led to his wife and daughter sailing to Bengal to join him in Calcutta with her brother George as chaperone.<sup>121</sup> From 1794, as Governor General part of Shore’s masculinity was a performance of national virtue centred upon his role as a family man. After Charlotte arrived in Calcutta, flaunting a ‘respectable’ wife to the Calcutta public demonstrated Shore’s wealth and status in a community where the fashionable lifestyle required by English women was beyond the reach of many.<sup>122</sup> But more than a personal demonstration of his status, Charlotte was a symbol of civility to the Britons in Calcutta. In Britain ruling families and their households were public

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<sup>120</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 116.

<sup>121</sup> Hubert Cornish in Calcutta to his brother George in Devon, 30 November 1793, A\AOV/64. Of his sister, Shore’s wife, Hubert wrote ‘I am persuaded nothing would so much contribute to preserve his health and spirits as her company. ... If she would come! The accompanying her would of itself be a sufficient motive for your coming.’

<sup>122</sup> Williamson, *East India Vade-Mecum*, I, pp. 455-6.

institutions. The press celebrated events such as marriages or the births of heirs in royal and aristocratic families. These families were the subject of scrutiny when out in public.<sup>123</sup> Their homes performed a public function where kinship, friendship and patronage networks gathered.<sup>124</sup> Across the aristocratic and middling spectrum, the company of women in such public, mixed gatherings was believed a civilizing influence upon the roughness and rudeness of men. Wives, mothers and daughters performed a public role as exemplars of virtue and civilization. In this role they performed the moral face of the family to the public world and became gatekeepers for manners, morality and civility.<sup>125</sup>

When his wife arrived in Calcutta Shore re-ordered their domestic arrangements ‘according to the modern forms of politeness with separate establishments’.<sup>126</sup> Shore gave his wife the use of the house adjoining Government House that he had lived in from 1786 to 1789 as a Supreme Councillor.<sup>127</sup> In this way the British settlement gained two public households, a legal, economic and political nexus at Government House and a social and cultural nexus at Charlotte’s house next door. The Government House that Shore lived in was modest from the outside in contrast to the neoclassical palaces of East India Company grandees. The house was the old Calcutta residence of Mohammad Reza Khan leased from him from about 1773 and not bought until the end of the century. Many felt the building inadequate for the residence of the Governor General. The large rooms of Government House were public male spaces, furnished in the European fashion and hung with silk damask.<sup>128</sup> Shore bought portraits of his predecessors, men of the highest authority within the Calcutta Presidency, Clive, Hastings and Cornwallis, to display on the walls.<sup>129</sup> At Government House his table hosted political, public and diplomatic exchanges. Like Cornwallis, as Governor General Shore slimmed down the size of his retinue of servants and tried to live more simply than

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<sup>123</sup> Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 291.

<sup>124</sup> Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 196-7, 202, 222-3, 291.

<sup>125</sup> Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 214-222; Carter, *Men and Polite Society*, pp. 5-6, 67-70, 190-1; Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp. 29-31, 35-37; Colley, *Britons*, p. 275-281.

<sup>126</sup> To Cornwallis 8 March 1795, TNA, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 68.

<sup>127</sup> This house had previously been reserved for high ranking East India Company officers. See Jeremiah P. Losty, *Calcutta: City of Palaces: A Survey of the City in the Days of the East India Company, 1690-1858* (London: British Library, 1990), p. 58.

<sup>128</sup> Losty, *Calcutta*, pp. 58-9.

<sup>129</sup> To Hugh Inglis from Bengal 13 September 1797, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 438.

Hastings. He slashed the number of locally-employed British gentlemen who worked within the Company administration and took on ‘Portuguese [sic]’, or mixed race, clerks and assistants at a cheaper rate.<sup>130</sup> He was so economical in his household, his brother-in-law observed that except at Government House, Shore was no more opulent or extravagant in his style of living than any other elite Briton in the settlement.<sup>131</sup> Even so, Shore had to observe the etiquette of Government House, in particular preserving the ritual of state around formal public meals from which Charlotte was excluded.<sup>132</sup>

As wife of the Governor General, Charlotte was the Lady Governess, the highest ranked British woman in South Asia. A system of patronage emanated from the Lady Governess through the wives of the Supreme Counsellors to the lower orders of the women. Although the women’s system could work independently to the men’s, female patronage fed into the networks of their sons, husbands, fathers and brothers, even from abroad.<sup>133</sup> As Lady Governess Charlotte was ‘doing queen’ of the colony.<sup>134</sup> At her house next to Government House Charlotte held her own ladies parties away from the government ones. She ate there as Shore thought it improper for her to attend his public dinners. She attended mixed-company formal occasions, and was presented in high ritual at public balls, and other public functions such as race meets and church services.<sup>135</sup> Because of her symbolic role within the colony, for the family Charlotte represented a civilizing force upon the residents of Calcutta. Charlotte attended St John’s Church in the hope of making it fashionable. She also changed

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<sup>130</sup> Alfred Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of William Hickey*. 4 vols (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1913-1925), IV, pp. 168-70.

<sup>131</sup> From George Cornish to his wife 25 December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>132</sup> To Chandler 14 October 1793 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 260.

<sup>133</sup> In 1770 Shore’s mother wrote ‘a very genteel letter of thanks’ to his patron, Dr Hancock. See letter from Hancock to his wife from Bengal 13 March 1771, BL, Add MS 29236. In 1769 Hancock had urged his wife Philadelphia to call on Mrs Smith in England so as not to offend her husband and harm Hancock’s position in Bengal. Dr Hancock to his wife 23 November 1769, Richard Arthur Austen-Leigh (ed.), *Austen Papers, 1704-1856* (Colchester: Private, 1942), p. 41; Eliza Fay and her husband had patrons in different parties in Bengal. In the early 1780s Mrs Fay viewed Lady Chambers and Mrs Whelar as her patronesses, while her husband’s patron was Colonel Watson. The couple ultimately separated. See Eliza Fay, ‘Original Letters from India’, in *Original Letters from India*. ed. by E. M. Forster. (London: Hogarth, 1986), pp. 173-4, 183, p. 196-9, p. 200-2.

<sup>134</sup> Episolarly journal of George Cornish, December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>135</sup> George Cornish diary to his wife dated early December 1794, A\AOV/64.

the time that she attended and left Public Balls in the hope of reforming the manners of the British community. At these events she modified her dress to a simple and elegant style, 'as quiet as the nature of the thing would admit'.<sup>136</sup>

In the separation of the spheres in which he and Charlotte moved, Shore mirrored the practice of the British monarchy.<sup>137</sup> While St James Palace was a royal building dedicated to formal state functions, Buckingham House was the Queen's official London residence and the centre for royal domesticity. The Queen held social events at Buckingham House, attended public events as the King's consort and was a patroness of science and the arts.<sup>138</sup> Like the Queen, Shore's wife was a model of Protestant piety for the Britons in the settlement. Like the Queen as well, Charlotte attended public functions as the centre of elaborate ritual. Charlotte's public introduction to the settlement, known as her 'sitting up', was held at Government House. Her husband and brothers became her intermediaries, handing up the ladies of the settlement to curtsy in front of her.<sup>139</sup> Over two days Charlotte estimated she was introduced to three hundred ladies. Through the mediating function of her menfolk as chaperones, her husband, Shore, could limit Charlotte's contact with elite men, including elite South Asian men. In 1795 the only princes she had met were the ones who had attended mixed gender public balls: Saadat Ali Khan and Dilawer Jang of Awadh.<sup>140</sup>

Some have suggested that growing numbers of British women in Calcutta from the early nineteenth century began a separation of races and cultures within the settlement.<sup>141</sup> This movement came alongside measures for separating Anglo-Bengali children from their British

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<sup>136</sup> George Cornish diary to his wife dated 26 and 27 December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>137</sup> He was also following the practice of Warren Hastings who in 1779 had arranged a separate house for Mrs Hastings. See Losty, *Calcutta*, p. 59.

<sup>138</sup> Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'Queen Charlotte, "Scientific Queen"', in *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*. ed. by Clarissa Campbell Orr. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 236-66.

<sup>139</sup> George Cornish diary to his wife dated December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>140</sup> To Cornwallis 8 March 1795, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 68.

<sup>141</sup> Spear, *Nabobs*, pp. 140-1; Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex, and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1980), pp. 96-7; Sudipta Sen, 'Colonial Aversions and Domestic Desires: Blood, Race, Sex and the Decline of Intimacy in Early British India', *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 24 (2001), pp. 25-45, (pp. 31-2).

fathers, and removing Bengalis from high office in the colonial administration. Unlike their South Asian counterparts, European women were rarely sexualised in the discourses of British men. But colonial men controlled and policed their movements and took precautions to shield them from indigenous men who they believed to be sexualised, dissipated and predatory. Measures to protect women included providing private, segregated living quarters, anglicised interiors decorated with European furnishings and a pampered and privileged lifestyle surrounded by servants.<sup>142</sup>

As ‘bearers of a redefined colonial morality’ women like Charlotte were confined and restricted in their movements outside of the home in the nineteenth century.<sup>143</sup> I would argue that as early as 1794 this confinement was an attempt to protect Charlotte as a bearer of national virtue for the settlement. As the toast to her at the start of this chapter indicates, the War with France and allies that would include Spain and Holland by 1796 had helped to cement a sense of British cohesion within Calcutta. Linda Colley has cited the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars as a key moment in the creation of Britishness in the metropole.<sup>144</sup> In Calcutta celebrations of nationalism were reported from February 1793 with Cornwallis’ Public Ball for the defeat of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, a friend of France. Charlotte as subject of the St Andrews Day toast in 1795, even in her absence was the bearer of national sentiment, not just for the Englishmen who attended, but for the Scots as well. Among the colonial elite of Calcutta then, the attempt to protect and venerate Charlotte was an attempt to segregate British, civilized womanhood from the rapacious designs of both Bengali and European Others.

Away from her public duties Charlotte lived at Shore’s Garden House by the Hugli River with her husband, her brothers and her children. In eighteenth-century England, a porous and flexible household family included blood relations, servants, apprentices and friends under

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<sup>142</sup> Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 55-61.

<sup>143</sup> Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 57.

<sup>144</sup> Colley, *Britons*. She devoted four chapters to the 40 years from the start of the American War of Independence in 1776 to the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. The other four chapters cover 59 years after the Act of Union, and 22 years between the Battle of Waterloo and the accession of Queen Victoria.



one roof.<sup>145</sup> Charlotte's brothers looked to Shore for family preferment and financial advantage. Shore employed Hubert as his private secretary with the intention of helping the extended Cornish family financially. He later employed George as an aide-de-camp and helped him find work.<sup>146</sup> The Cornish family was an old West Country family with East India Company and Caribbean plantation connections. Charlotte's father had been a doctor, her brothers were attorneys, doctors and East India Company men. Her cousin Charles Floyer was dismissed from the East India Company in 1750 for attempting to oust the Governor of Madras, Lord Pigot. Her brother Charles died in 1783 at Surat, a captain in the Bengal Army. Her brother Philip married Mary Mackenzie from a Jamaican plantation family.<sup>147</sup> Charlotte and her brothers were then, familiar with the absences, separations and transgressive lifestyles that imperial families imposed upon themselves.

The Garden House on the banks of the Hugli River in which the family lived was a palace with immense echoing rooms, set in grounds that Shore had improved himself.<sup>148</sup> The European façade of the building was deceptive though. Deep in the heart of Shore's household, Bengali practices challenged the British forms of authority that the family promoted in their public roles. At the centre of Shore's households Britons and Bengalis intertwined in daily intimate interactions. Shore recalled that his household returned to his patronage from different employments when he came back to Calcutta in 1786, including the two servants who remained with him from his earliest days until his final tenure in the East Indies as Governor General.<sup>149</sup> These might have been Nelloo and Kishan, the two servants he named in his first sojourn. One servant he retained from his early years died in Shore's

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<sup>145</sup> Naomi Tadmoo, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 23.

<sup>146</sup> Hubert Cornish believed his appointment as Shore's aide-de-camp was 'a means of throwing a sum of money into the Family which might be a permanent benefit to it.'. Hubert Cornish to his brother George from Calcutta 8 November 1793, A\AOV/64.

<sup>147</sup> Pedigree of Cornyshe of Thurlstone and Cath Milon Devon (1495), A\AOV/64.

<sup>148</sup> George Cornish diary to his wife about 9 December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>149</sup> Reminiscences of Lord Teignmouth, A\AOV/97. This servant introduced his son to Shore's service saying 'I have long eaten your salt. You must allow my son to share it also.' For a discussion of the symbolism of salt in Indo-Persian power formations, see Richard M Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1240-1760* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 162-5.

house in the 1790s. When this man asked for his son to share Shore's salt, in Bengali custom the servant was asking for his son's incorporation into Shore's household patronage.

To Charlotte the country house was 'the most beautiful thing I ever saw' and her life was 'like a fairy tale or history of enchantment'. Even so, at the start of her stay in Bengal she felt like the quarry in a hunt, pursued by a 'whole parish at my heels every step'.<sup>150</sup> Durba Ghosh and Swati Chattopadhyay suggest that the intersection of Bengali and British within home and family unsettled and destabilised the European in Bengal. For this reason, Swati Chattopadhyay argued that the British were 'besieged by native practices in the very centre of domestic life'.<sup>151</sup> Domestic servants insisted upon adhering to the local customs surrounding servitude and patronage. When the patron rose in status the servants insisted on a wage rise and an expansion of the domestic workforce. Because of custom each servant adhered to their traditional roles, rather than changing their roles to operate as British servants would.<sup>152</sup> Their 'oppressive attention' was exacerbated by the open structure inside British buildings. These interconnected spaces were adapted from the South Asian household where servants were not hidden away in service areas as they were in Europe.<sup>153</sup> This meant that within a couple of weeks of their arrival George noted that despite the 'startling' nature of the attention of her servants, his sister had no option but 'to submit to it with patience'.<sup>154</sup> Charlotte's brother Hubert played the nabob, 'arrayed in a long chintz *robe de chambre*, red morocco slippers and smoking a *hookah*'.<sup>155</sup> Her daughter and an infant son born early in 1796 had Bengali

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<sup>150</sup> Lady Shore to her niece Elizabeth Hill from Calcutta 24 December 1794, Shropshire Archives Shrewsbury, 549/79.

<sup>151</sup> Chattopadhyay, 'Blurring Boundaries', pp. 154-79, (p. 176).

<sup>152</sup> Mrs Kindersley, July 1768 from Calcutta, Jemima Kindersley, *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East-Indies* (London: Nourse, 1777), p. 282; Mrs Fay, 20 July 1780, Fay, 'Original Letters' pp. 177-8.

<sup>153</sup> Chattopadhyay, 'Blurring Boundaries', pp. 154-79, (pp. 170-3).

<sup>154</sup> George Cornish diary, December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>155</sup> Hubert Cornish to his niece Elizabeth Hill from Calcutta 15 March 1794, A\AOV/64. A *hookah* was a device for smoking. It consisted of a long, flexible tube that drew the smoke through water in a bowl. The *hookah* required at least two servants to attend to the device.

nursemaids and both children spoke Hindi as well as English.<sup>156</sup> Charlotte too had learned ‘the language of India’ by the time she left.<sup>157</sup> In private then, it was impossible for Shore to set up a British civil order founded upon Christian ritual, regulated by Christian doctrine and policed by British cultural norms. Despite a public performance of national virtue, his servants, family and womenfolk troubled the notions he grew up with and complicated the duties of husband, father and householder. Shore’s domestic life with his family was an institution caught between British and Bengali forms.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to show how gender and family relations were a fundamental component of the fiscal-military state that emerged in the eighteenth century in Britain. In mercantile families, men upheld the honour of the family through public, masculine activities that increased the wealth of the family. For the men of the Shore family network this honour was bound up in the expansion of their activities overseas. But the rise of overseas trade removed the men from their traditional, patriarchal roles for extended periods of time. Overseas merchants like the Shores were agents of social change through the commodities they imported to the British Isles, the teas and porcelains from China, the textiles of South Asia and the tobacco and foodstuffs from the Atlantic colonies. These artefacts and foodstuffs brought new rituals among wealthy and fashionable families eager to perform their cosmopolitan and global status. By gaining wealth through commerce, the activities of the Shore family network transgressed a civil order in which authority devolved from noble and gentry bloodlines. Instead, as merchants, they contested the notion that superiority was solely inherited through blood, land and estate.

In this chapter I have also shown that women as gatekeepers of moral conduct and carriers of bloodline in Britain, became signs of virtue in Calcutta. Anne McClintock argued that in empire women were markers at the edges of the known and the unknown, the civilised and

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<sup>156</sup> George Cornish epistolary journal December 1794 from Calcutta, Hubert Cornish from Calcutta to his sister-in-law in Devon, 10 March 1796, 8 March 1797 George Cornish in Bengal to his wife in Devon 8 March 1797, A\AOV/64.

<sup>157</sup> Mirza Abul Hassan Khan, Persian Emissary said ‘It happened that Lord Teignmouth’s wife knew the language of India: when she found out that I did also, she was extremely hospitable to me.’ Diary entry 19 January 1810 in London, Khan, *Persian at the Court of King George III*, p. 107.

the controlled, the dangerous and the enticing.<sup>158</sup> Boundary crossers like Shore were transgressors, putting themselves in danger and becoming signals of danger to others. The three women in Shore's life in the eighteenth century existed together in his memory, each representing bonds of love and intimacy intertwined with more difficult associations – loss and longing, transgressive sexuality and jealous possession. As markers of bloodline and nation the three women in Shore's life were also signs of the unstable and disordering nature of his imperial lifestyle. By the end of the eighteenth century by fragmenting his bloodline into public and private, his family both confronted and upheld Shore's status as a British and English man. As his imperial family split, the legal definition of where his children belonged became structured around the origin of their mothers. The children recognised in the British state gained their legitimacy from a Christian marriage that allied him with another imperial, gentry family.

Having shown that global expansion threatened the family and order in multiple ways, we now need to consider the ways in which Shore himself experienced and represented these boundary-crossings within his East India Company world. The next three chapters consider Shore, the boundary-crosser, through his body, through his Company career and through the censure of the British authorities during Hastings' impeachment. By March 1798 when Shore finally left Bengal, his family lay both within and beyond the British state. Personally, professionally, and politically Shore's status was problematic and his place of belonging complex. For Shore though his nation of origin was clear. In sailing for Europe, Shore was sailing back home.

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<sup>158</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 23-5; See also Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. ARK (1984) edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), pp. 97-8.



# Chapter 2

## Flesh, Bile and Impurity

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### Introduction

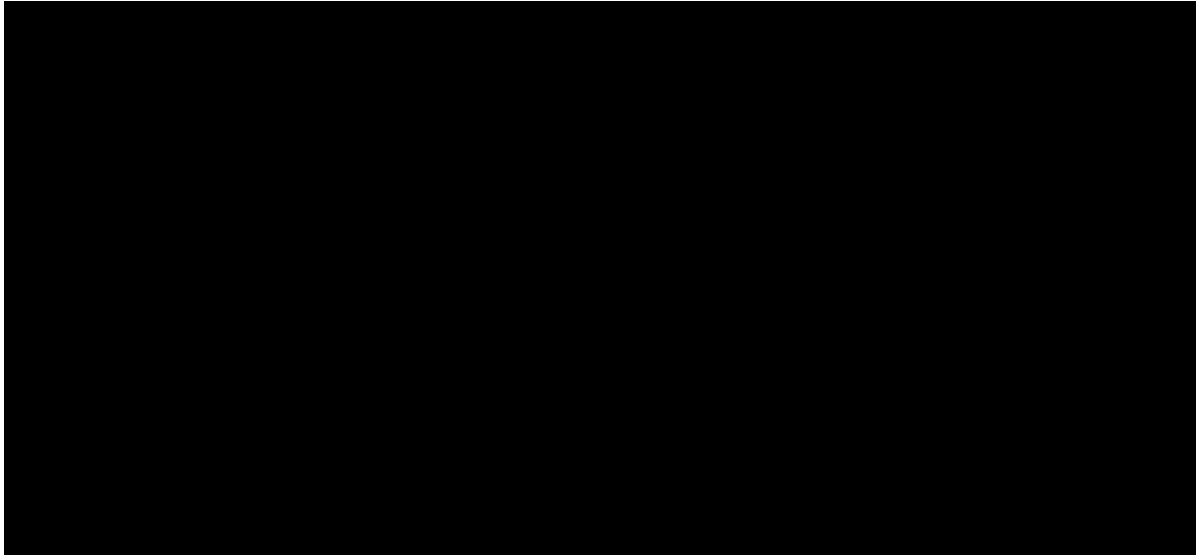


Figure 1: Detail of a painting of Sir John Shore with his aide-du-camp George Cornish at the back of Old Government House, Calcutta, probably by Hubert Cornish<sup>1</sup>

The previous chapter showed the fluid configurations of the Shore family over time and discussed how Shore and his forebears managed their identities as family men within the British and global arenas. In this chapter I examine the ways in which we can deploy medical and religious discourses to situate Shore's imaginings of his body in ground-breaking technologies of the late eighteenth century. Embedded within the multicultural discourses that shaped the person in late eighteenth-century Bengal, were signs of both South Asian and British practices. Through medical and religious discourses of the body and person then, this chapter shows how the elite men of the East India Company embodied the relationship between Britain and Bengal.

Throughout his career in India Shore related to his manly Anglo-Mughal body as a constitution with fluctuating health. Yet his body was also the vehicle for enactments of power, authority and strength. When Shore was Governor General his brother-in-law painted

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<sup>1</sup> Photograph of a picture in the possession of Mrs du Boulay (nee Cornish) taken for Lord Teignmouth in 1920. A\AOV/64.

him behind the Old Government House at the heart of Calcutta. The signs in the painting indicate that in Bengal, Shore operated among complex, blended codes of elite manliness. In the painting Shore embodied British and Bengali symbols of power through the meanings the painter and the observer placed upon his clothes, his servants, the buildings in the background and the objects that surrounded him. The backdrop of buildings impress with their fashionable neo-classical facades, their grandeur, and their expression of British civic and imperial pride. The spire of St John's Church pokes up behind the house that Shore occupied as a member of the Supreme Council. This is the house he gave over to his wife as her official residence when she arrived in Calcutta in 1795. The focal point of the painting is a group of four men. The two British figures can be identified by their European clothing, knee breeches, long coats, waistcoats, tricorns and pigtails. Neither faces the painter, so their bodies, their deportment and their clothing establish their identities. For both men their shapely legs and their elegant proportions express a manly virility and authority as elite, civil gentlemen. The figure of Shore towers over the other figures to assert his supreme status.<sup>2</sup>

In the painting these symbols of British patriarchal order exist alongside South Asian symbols of royal and noble masculinity. Apparently directing Shore's household retinue, to the right of this group stands a *harkara* with his staff. The *harkara* was the intelligence gatherer for the household, an essential figure for the Indo-Persian nobleman and king. The *harkara* too exhibits signs of manly elegance, for he has bound his waist as a sign of his martial and masculine strength.<sup>3</sup> Behind him a palanquin, the transport of Mughal nobility, is surrounded by the retinue of a noble house, the bearers, umbrella holders, staff carriers and banner holders of a person of high status. Two Bengali servants shield Shore's face from the sun with umbrellas, the prerogative of a king in South Asia. Another umbrella affixed to the palanquin identifies the traveller as holding royal status.

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<sup>2</sup> Matthew McCormack, 'Tall Histories: Height and Georgian Masculinities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (2016), pp. 79-101, (pp. 88-9); Joanne Begiato, 'Between Poise and Power: Embodied Manliness in Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century British Culture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 26 (2016), pp. 125-147, (pp. 131-3); K. Harvey, 'Men of Parts: Masculine Embodiment and the Male Leg in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), pp. 797-821.

<sup>3</sup> O'Hanlon, 'Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 42 (1999), pp. 47-93, (p. 64).

Despite this harmonious blend of symbols of masculinity and authority though, Shore's writing complicates the easy balance of Bengal and Britain portrayed in the painting. For Elizabeth Collingham, men like Shore adopted indigenous signs of power to legitimise their rule. She argued that the men adopted these signs alongside indigenous cleansing routines to mitigate the impure status foisted upon them within South Asian culture.<sup>4</sup> According to Mary Douglas, cultures define boundaries of appropriate behaviour and identity through ritualised acts of purity, impurity and cleansing.<sup>5</sup> Drawing upon Douglas' work this chapter builds upon Elizabeth Collingham's argument. I argue that as a coloniser living in a foreign country, Shore transgressed boundaries in both British and Bengali cultures. The chapter examines Shore's sense of himself as impure and details the actions he took to cleanse himself. In the first section I examine Shore's Anglo-Mughal constitution, whose constant humoral flux was a shared construction within European and South Asian models of the body. In the second section I look at the ways in which a sense of impurity might complicate his imaginings of himself as an elite, British man. The third section examines the changes wrought to Shore's relationship with his body after he converted to evangelical Christianity upon his return to England in 1784. I explore the measures Shore, the reborn Christian, now adopted to purify his body of his sinful disorder. The last section considers Shore's performance of impurity as a high-level retired colonial administrator in Britain and as Governor General in Bengal. The section argues that as a public figure an impure constitution became a matter of state concern. In what ways did Shore manage his impurity within this public arena. Throughout this chapter I argue that Shore's need to negotiate both British and Bengali frameworks set up shifting boundaries and led to multiple reworkings of this impure, unstable, masculine body.

### Falling into the Habits of India

From Shore's time in Murshidabad through his removal back to Calcutta in 1775 until he left in 1785, and into his next two sojourns in Bengal, the illnesses Shore complained of were diverse. He had the occasional, cold, headache or backache, but mostly he wrote of a constitution weakened in the climate of Bengal, of a liver complaint, jaundice, fever and a bilious condition. To modern ears these sound as if they are physical illnesses but in Shore's lifetime health encompassed both physical and mental well-being. As well as his biliousness,

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<sup>4</sup> Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, pp. 14-24, 47-8.

<sup>5</sup> Douglas, *Purity*, 69-70.



Shore repeatedly wrote of being ‘uneasy’, of racing thoughts, confusion, sleeplessness, melancholy and despair. He also wrote of his fears that his illnesses might lead to his death. According to his son, Shore first suffered ill health when he moved out of Calcutta to Murshidabad in 1770. Shore’s constitution was soon affected by the climate and he began to suffer ‘the watchfulness that disorders me’, which plagued him through his time in South Asia.<sup>6</sup> He was just turning nineteen, but the horrifying soundscape and vivid imagery of a severe famine stayed with him all his life, as indicated by the poem he wrote in his later years:

Still fresh in Memory’s eye, the scene I view,  
The shrivell’d limbs, sunk eyes, and lifeless hue;  
Still hear the mother’s shrieks and infant’s moans,  
Cries of despair, and agonizing groans.  
In wild confusion, dead and dying lie;-  
Hark to the jackall’s yell, and vulture’s cry.  
The dog’s fell howl, as midst the glare of day,  
They riot, unmolested, on their prey!  
Dire scenes of horror! Which no pen can trace,  
Nor rolling years from Memory’s page efface.<sup>7</sup>

As well as arriving at a time of famine, Shore removed from the cosmopolitan city of Calcutta to a place where ‘except once a week’ he saw ‘nobody of a Christian complexion’.<sup>8</sup> This ‘complexion’ meant more to Shore than the colour and texture of the skin on his face. To Shore and his contemporaries his complexion was the visible manifestation of the body’s humoral mix. In both European and South Asian traditions, the body was a reactive system of liquid and gaseous humours in constant flux. The person comprised an amalgam of four humours: the hot humours of the sanguineous and bilious and the cold humours of the phlegmatic and melancholic. An innate and inherited mix of humours determined personality and character traits, with extreme imbalances leading to ill health. These humours arose from

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<sup>6</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 26; To his mother from Murshidabad 28 May 1772, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 40-1; To his mother from Madras 17 February 1775, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 56; To his wife from Bengal 12 May 1789, I, p. 192; To Anderson 30 September 1792 from London, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 223; To William Bensley, an East India Company Director in London, 16 August 1794 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 296.

<sup>7</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 25-6.

<sup>8</sup> To his mother from Murshidabad, 1 April 1772, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 35.

the liver and were displayed through the surfaces, orifices, evacuations and movements of the body.<sup>9</sup>

In both European and South Asian traditions excess heat such as that of the Bengali hot season caused a surfeit of the bilious humour. In 1768 James Lind observed that many diseases in South Asia were caused by fluxes of the bilious humour.<sup>10</sup> Ibn Sina, known as Avicenna in Europe, was a Persian doctor influential in both European medicine and the *Unani* medicine of the Mughal nobility. He wrote of a bile that dried up through excess heat, and separated out into the atrabilious, or melancholic, humour.<sup>11</sup> For Ibn Sina a strong supply of innate heat from a healthy mix of the hot humours of blood and bile resisted the influence of hot climates. The hot humours also built resistance to heating agents such as alcohol or spicy foods. Without this innate heat, high temperatures and other warming agents overpowered the constitution. The result of an invasion of such ‘hot poisons’ was putrefaction, the destruction of the balance of the humours and a change of temperament.<sup>12</sup>

Similarly, Dr James Johnson was the author of an influential medical treatise in Britain in the early nineteenth century. He used terms such as languor, turgid and torpor to denote a gloomy mental state arising from an unhealthy and toxic constitution. According to Johnson upon arrival in South Asia a European man’s liver overproduced bile in the heat, but then reacted by shutting down. Subsequently the liver alternated between over and under production, with the stages of over production gradually diminishing. At this stage, torpor set in and the bile became vitiated, or toxic. Within European constitutions this vitiated bile circulated within a diluted blood stream, before making its way into the nerves and brain to cause nervous and

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<sup>9</sup> Wheeler, *Complexion of Race*, pp. 21-28; Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* (New York NY: Ecco, 2007), pp. xvii-xxi.

<sup>10</sup> James Lind, *An Essay on Diseases Incidental to Europeans in Hot Climates with the Method of Preventing Their Fatal Consequences*. 2nd edn (London: Becket and De Hondt, 1771), pp. 100-01.

<sup>11</sup> O. Cameron Gruner (ed.), *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna*. repr. 1973 (New York NY: AMS, 1930), pp. 83-4. *Unani* draws upon the traditions of Persia, of Ayurveda and of the classical Greek medical texts upon which European models of the body and health were based. Indigenous Ayurveda resembled the humoral body of ancient Greek medicine in its descriptions of winds, elements and temperaments. But in *Unani* and European medicine especially the similarity between the two models is striking.

<sup>12</sup> Gruner (ed.), *Avicenna's Canon*, p. 270.

hypochondriacal symptoms. Symptoms included a recurring bilious fever that could eventually lead to a Bengali variant of chronic hepatitis. Such bilious diseases made the mind less firm and the spirits gloomier and more irritable, with disturbed sleep and nightmares a common outcome.<sup>13</sup>

Shore's friends exchanged news with him and between themselves about his liver attacks, bile relaxation and lack of sleep'.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, James Johnson's view of the operation of bile in hot climates stemmed partly from his observations of himself and his peers upon his arrival in Bengal in 1803. After a short time in the tropics a host of feelings had descended upon Johnson, including irritability, gloomy thoughts, anxiety and confusion.<sup>15</sup> Shore's impure, turbulent and bilious constitution was then, an experience shared. This toxicity found Shore and his compatriots a place in Bengali society. Elite Indo-Persian men would entertain the British but would eat separately from them so they could adhere to their customs of cleanliness and eating.<sup>16</sup> Equally, when travelling Shore had to maintain distance from his boatmen when they were eating. If he accidentally brushed against the arm or leg of one of these servants, the man had to throw away his food.<sup>17</sup> Unclean in body, Britons like Shore sought medical cures for their condition. At the same time by drawing ritual boundaries, Bengalis maintained their purity against an onslaught of British toxicity.

### Shore's Medical Marketplace in Bengal

In the medical marketplace of Bengal, Shore found recourse to a blend of multicultural remedies for his condition. This section first considers the remedies he took, and then the health regimens he followed to manage his bilious condition. Shore took *priyangu*, a herb

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<sup>13</sup> James Johnson, *The Influence of Tropical Climates, More Especially the Climate of India, on European Constitutions* (London: Stockdale, 1815), pp. 17-18, 22-5, 117-18, 282-3, 307-311, 337.

<sup>14</sup> From David Anderson to Shore 15 September 1774, Add MS 45439, fol. 133; From E Hay to Ducarel 14 July 1784 from Calcutta, Charles Grant to Ducarel 7 March 1788, Francis Redfearn to Ducarel from Calcutta 12 March 1789, Richard Goodlad to Ducarel 16 July 1796, D2091/F14.

<sup>15</sup> Johnson, *Tropical Climates*, pp. 321-3.

<sup>16</sup> Phebe Gibbes, *Hartly House, Calcutta* (London: Dodsley, 1789), I, p. 143. The man she described in the novel appears to be Mohammad Reza Khan who after his arrest moved to Chitpore.

<sup>17</sup> Epistolary journal of George Cornish from Calcutta December 1794, A\AOV/64.

now noted for its purifying qualities, which was grown in Rakhine state in Myanmar. Possibly, he came across the herb in 1784 when for his health he repaired to Chattogram, a city north of Rakhine. In his second sojourn Shore tried ‘Mr Blanchard’s soporific’, a remedy recommended by Cornwallis. Like a baby in a cradle, he also spent many nights in his palanquin attempting to rock himself to sleep as his bearers carried him around the city.<sup>18</sup> As he might have in the British marketplace, as well as trying folk remedies Shore sought a supernatural cure for his condition. Around 1783 or 1784 he sacrificed a five-legged calf to Mahadeo.<sup>19</sup> The sacrifice of a calf to Mahadeo (Siva), rather than his female form Durga or her fiercer avatar Kali is curious. Durga and Kali worship is prevalent in Bengal and sacrifices of goats and water buffalo to her are a feature of this ritual, especially during Diwali, and in village traditions. Durga is often depicted riding upon the back of Mahisha the buffalo demon.<sup>20</sup> An annual sacrifice such as the one that took place during the puja to Durga or Kali is not then associated with a particular action or event, but is more a communal purge and reset, a container for the experiences of a community during the year.<sup>21</sup> But sacrificing an animal can also be a personal act of purification for crossing a moral boundary.<sup>22</sup> Although the record does not reveal the reason for Shore’s actions, I would argue that the sacrifice, being to a deity other than Durga or Kali, might be Shore’s attempt to purge a suffering constitution from impurity. He translated the toxic constitution of the British into a Bengali language of ritual and purgation through the deformed body of a five-legged calf.

As for his health regimens, in both *Unani* and European humoral medicine the advice for maintaining health was similar: to follow a routine of healthy exercise and a frugal diet to

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<sup>18</sup> From Sir William Jones to Sir Joseph Banks 17 September 1789 from Krishnanagar in Garland Hampton Cannon (ed.), *The Letters of Sir William Jones*. 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), II, pp. 842-3; To Cornwallis 8 March 1795 from Bengal, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 68. The reference to rocking himself to sleep in his palanquin is reported by his biographer. See Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> From Sir William Jones in Calcutta to an unknown recipient, possibly Charles Wilkins, 22 June 1784, Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, p. 652.

<sup>20</sup> Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 389-92.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion of how ritual structures the experience of a community see Bruce Kapferer, 'Performance and the Structuring of Meaning and Experience', in *The Anthropology of Experience*. ed. by Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner. (Urbana IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 188-203 (pp. 189-91).

<sup>22</sup> Douglas, *Purity*, pp. 115-40.

maintain balance within the bilious constitution. Shore rode seven to ten miles before breakfast throughout his time in Bengal to ward off his disorders. As he became more senior, he was able to retire to a country house to benefit his constitution with the healthier air. He also mentioned taking an evening walk ‘when the weather permits’.<sup>23</sup> For Ibn Sina a regime of care for the body was adapted to the temperature and humidity of the surrounding atmosphere. The regime included physical exercises, diet, healthy sleep patterns, and bathing and shampoo (massage).<sup>24</sup> James Johnson believed that exercise at the coolest time of the day balanced the blood, energized the system and contributed to the appropriate flow of bile around the system. East India Company doctors often prescribed a change of air as seasickness and a sea voyage restored the healthy production of bile.<sup>25</sup> According to James Lind in 1768, Madras and the Coromandel Coast were believed to have the healthiest air of the East India Company territories. The British in South Asia also found benefits by removing to Guangzhou (Canton).<sup>26</sup> Sometimes the pilot boats at the mouth of the Hooghly housed men in recovery, at other times the men returned to Britain for the sake of their health. Here they might recover at home or visit a spa town to bathe and take the waters.<sup>27</sup> As Shore’s visit to Madras in 1775 and to Chhattagram during this illness in 1784 indicate, they also sought recovery in removing to other settlements in South Asia.

Because the guidance from the two medical traditions was so similar, it is now difficult to know if Shore’s health regime was from the advice of a British surgeon, a Bengali *hakim*, or a blend of the two. Shore did not always follow the regime of healthy exercise, simple diet and moderate alcohol intake that these advisers advocated. He observed in letters to both his mother and his wife the ‘improper mode of living’ of most people in Bengal.<sup>28</sup> The diaries of William Hickey and Sir Philip Francis also indicate that Shore attended drinking parties and

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<sup>23</sup> As reported to his biographer. See also letters to Bury Hutchinson 20 November 1775 from Calcutta, to his wife 21 January 1787 from Calcutta and 21 February 1797 on the way to Lucknow, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 58, 111-12, 133, 408, 448.

<sup>24</sup> Gruner (ed.), *Avicenna's Canon*, pp. 381-431, 446-459.

<sup>25</sup> Johnson, *Tropical Climates*, p. 269.

<sup>26</sup> Lind, *Diseases of Europeans in Hot Climates*, pp. 84, 94.

<sup>27</sup> Anonymous, *Calcutta: A Poem with Notes* (London: Stockdale, 1811), pp. 24, n97.

<sup>28</sup> To his mother 28 May 1772 from Murshidabad, To his wife 24 May 1789 from Calcutta, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 41-2, 198.

enjoyed entertaining in his first sojourn in Bengal.<sup>29</sup> Soon after his arrival as prospective Governor General Shore asked his friend Blackburn to order him six barrels of wine from Madeira. In December 1797 he shipped an unspecified amount of madeira home to England on the ships of Barber & Palmer.<sup>30</sup> In 1800 and 1801 he was still maintaining a wine cellar. He corked 324 bottles of madeira in July 1800 and just over a year later took seven barrels of madeira to his new home in Clapham in November 1801.<sup>31</sup> In drinking madeira Shore may have believed it a tonic. Although drinking to intoxication and excess was recognised as detrimental to health, in moderation wine and spirits were believed to strengthen and stimulate the system. Despite the occasional attempt at prohibition, drinking wine was part of Mughal court life, and drinking arrack, toddy and other alcoholic beverages widespread among the population of South Asia. Mohammad Reza Khan, a high-ranking bureaucrat in the early years of Company rule, named the house he built for entertaining the British Nishat Bagh, or garden of intoxicating pleasures.<sup>32</sup> The Indo-Persian elites imported wine from Shiraz in Persia, the Canary Islands and other places in Southern Europe.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sina advocated a moderate consumption of fragrant wine as an essential ingredient of the regime of food and drink. To drink at the end of the meal, however, would interfere with digestion and cause obstructions in the system. As a tonic Ibn Sina advocated wine as particularly useful for an excess of the bilious humour, but also urged caution when drinking wines in hot climates.<sup>34</sup> The way British surgeons interpreted this ancient wisdom about the healing properties of alcohol in Bengal varied. Because of the heating, or stimulating properties of alcohol, in the heat of the Bengali climate James Johnson advocated temperance and drinking

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<sup>29</sup> Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of Hickey*, II (1923), p. 172; Joseph Parkes and Herman Merivale, *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, K.C.B.* 2 vols (London: Longmans Green, 1867), II, p. 84.

<sup>30</sup> To Blackburn 26 March 1793 from Calcutta, IOR Neg 4373/5; Anthony Webster, *The Richest East India Merchant the Life and Business of John Palmer of Calcutta, 1767–1836* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Lord Teignmouth Wine Acct 1800 & July 1801, A\AOV/6. The early nineteenth century wine bottle was about 400ml in volume, about two thirds of the present day bottle. The wine also contained a lower percentage of alcohol. See William Hague, *William Pitt the Younger* (London: Harper Collins, 2004), pp. 220-1.

<sup>32</sup> Seid-Ghulam-Hossein Khan, *The Seir Mutaqherin or Review of Modern Times*. 2 vols (Calcutta: Private, 1789), II, p. 419.

<sup>33</sup> Prasun Chatterjee, 'The Lives of Alcohol in Pre-Colonial India', *The Medieval History Journal*, 8 (2005), pp. 189-225, (pp. 194-5).

<sup>34</sup> Gruner (ed.), *Avicenna's Canon*, pp. 394-413.

water rather than wines and spirits. He suggested a compromise of moderate drinking, no more than 3 or 4 glasses of wine after dinner, at least in the first year in Bengal as the body became seasoned to the climate.<sup>35</sup> Other doctors disagreed. Charles Curtis, surgeon on the *Medea*, advocated drinking madeira and water between meals to tone and strengthen the internal organs and replenish the liquids lost through perspiration.<sup>36</sup> In the eighteenth century the madeira that Shore and Charles Curtis favoured was exported from the island by British merchants who grew rich on the profits of a trade that linked the Atlantic World, Britain and South Asia. The drink had the advantage that the motion and heat of a voyage in the tropics enhanced its flavour. During the eighteenth century the drink became the height of fashion.<sup>37</sup> That Shore retained his taste for madeira into the nineteenth century is one testament to the way in which habits of body care, or excess, formed in empire came to redefine fashion in Britain.

### A Crisis in the Anglo-Mughal Constitution

The previous sections suggest that in empire multicultural practices of body care, excess and fashion supported the Company man made fragile in a foreign environment. These technologies for care of the person were not always successful though. By the early 1780s Shore's toxic Anglo-Mughal constitution came to a crisis when his blood breached the boundaries of body and identity to spill with devastating effect:

Death rushes in, with unresisted sway.  
Bursts some dear tie, and sweeps our joys away.<sup>38</sup>

Through his literary outpourings, this section examines Shore's response to this personal crisis. In late 1783 after many fluctuations in the state of his health Shore was on commission in Patna. He felt he had 'lost all spirits, and half my understanding at least, and would be happy to relinquish a post which is too much for my abilities and health'.<sup>39</sup> During this time

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<sup>35</sup> Johnson, *Tropical Climates*, pp. 444-55.

<sup>36</sup> Charles Curtis, *An Account of the Diseases of India* (Edinburgh: Laing, 1807), pp. 278-81.

<sup>37</sup> Alex Liddell, *Madeira: The Mid-Atlantic Wine*. Second revised edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 33-48.

<sup>38</sup> Shore, 'Monody on the death of Augustus Cleveland Esq', Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 492.

<sup>39</sup> To Anderson from Patna 22 October 1783, Add MS 45428, fols 117-8.

he encountered a spectre from 1770 as the Chalisa famine threatened Bihar.<sup>40</sup> While still battling this famine, in January 1784 he heard of the death of his close friend and distant relative Augustus Cleveland and suffered a ‘fit of the jaundice’ he attributed to having ‘yielded to the climate’.<sup>41</sup>

Despite theories of toxicity, blood, bile and climate, medicine could not help. The ‘faculty’ he consulted was:

equally at a loss with myself to form an idea of the nature of my complaints, and can only conjecture with me that my constitution has yielded to the climate, whose influence has been more sensibly felt, from the irrecoverable loss of the friend I most loved.<sup>42</sup>

In late 1784 Shore’s letters home show one response. His letters contained South Asian wisdom about the human condition, a further indication that Shore was organising his constitution through both indigenous and European frames. To both his brother and Ducarel, Shore wrote that ‘time in a moment destroys the weak foundation upon which delight is built’, a phrase lifted from the text he was translating, a Persian version of the Sanskrit Yoga Vasistha.<sup>43</sup> Around this time, he began to investigate a South Asian model of the mind by translating Mir Findiriski’s *Muntakhab-i Jug Basisht (Selections from the Yoga-Vasistha)*. This work is a Persian extract of a Sanskrit spiritual dialog between Rama and the sage Vasistha. The full volume was a metaphysical work that was also a treatise on kingship. Findiriski’s extract removed the discussion of the duties of the king and translated the treatise on managing the mind through a frame of Sufi mysticism.<sup>44</sup> Shore’s investigation

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<sup>40</sup> Undated extract of a letter to an unknown recipient, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 76.

<sup>41</sup> Shore described his illness as a ‘fit of the jaundice’ in his reminiscences to his children. See *Reminiscences of Lord Teignmouth*, A\AOV/97.

<sup>42</sup> To Hastings from Dhaka or Chattagram 26 May 1784, Add MS 29164, fol. 35.

<sup>43</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 111; To Ducarel 5 December 1784, D2091/F14; To his brother he wrote ‘time in a moment saps the weak foundation on which delight is built’, 28 November 1784, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 93-6.

<sup>44</sup> Nair, ‘Sufism’, pp. 390-410.



consequently became a fusion of Persian, and Vedantic organisations of human experience with translation into a European idiom.<sup>45</sup>

He also responded through writing and sharing a poem with his Governor General. In 1783 Shore sent Hastings his 'Monody to Augustus Cleveland', as 'an expression of my feelings' upon Cleveland's death.<sup>46</sup> From this place, Shore adopted a model of reality structured into Enlightenment principles, essences and archetypes. This Enlightenment convention abstracted and rationalised Shore's inner world and distanced him from sensations of affliction:

Daughters of Misery, who lowly bend  
Beneath Affliction's yoke, lament your friend!<sup>47</sup>

While the 'Monody' mimicked the Georgian pastoral style, in Shore's descriptions of mental states of calm, bliss and rapture he also deployed South Asian metaphors of the mind:

E'en whilst the soul with bliss dilated glows,  
And the full pulse with tides of rapture flows<sup>48</sup>

Where concepts converged in European and South Asian thought, Shore combined the two. For example, 'the full pulse with tides of rapture flows' could reference South Asian ideas of energetic pathways, European beliefs in the animal spirits that coursed through the blood or the Indo-Persian *Unani* system of fluxes in the sanguineous humour.<sup>49</sup>

Practices described in texts such as the *Jug Basisht* gave Shore techniques for enquiry and reflection and offered up the inner life as a subject for exploration. In contrast to European

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<sup>45</sup> From Sir William Jones in Krishnanagar to Sir Joseph Banks, 17 September 1789 in Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, p. 842. To Cornwallis 8 March 1795, PRO 30/11//122, fol. 68.

<sup>46</sup> To Hastings 2 October 1784 Add MS 39871, fol. 31.

<sup>47</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 493.

<sup>48</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 492. 'Memory retraces the path of anguish', 'the giddy maze of joy' and 'the paths of guile' also reflect the East Indian model.

<sup>49</sup> Similarly, his use of the symbol of the urn as metaphor for Cleveland's memory and his physical remains referenced the East Indian allegory of the pot as both physical body and thought form. The metaphor also alluded to the 'destin'd urn' in *Lycidas* that symbolised Milton's reputation after death.

practices of distraction, Shore's poem included detailed observations of the thoughts that stirred up his anguish:

Too keen for human bliss, Remembrance wings  
The shafts of anguish, and our bosom stings  
Departed joys, like sleep-formed phantoms, rise,  
Press round the heart, and prompt uncall'd for sighs<sup>50</sup>

For Shore at this time, South Asian and British organisations of personal experience appear to exist alongside each other. Through the poem, Shore mediated the fusion of European and indigenous modes of being through a gentlemanly literary performance. In this way, he mimicked the European fashion of the melancholy of sensibility and graveyard poetry.<sup>51</sup> This positioned him within Britain as a man of both sensitivity and intellect, a man of the elite who as a romantic object of sympathy within Georgian society could express his agonies without shame. As in Hubert Cornish's later painting of him, Shore adopted an elite, civilized but Anglo-Mughal body throughout his poem.

After this devastating illness another response was a subtle change in the way that he represented his humoural constitution. During an illness in 1775 Shore had used metaphors of pace or tempo when he wrote to his mother from Madras of the 'hurry and confusion I am in'.<sup>52</sup> The phrase suggests Shore as a passive recipient of an energetic movement originating outside of himself. From 1783 though, Shore began to describe 'the languor of my constitution', a sense of tempo that arose from inside.<sup>53</sup> This tempo was located within the constitution independent of climate as his languor returned periodically in England in the nineteenth century. While the belief that humours destabilised in the heat was an ancient one shared between Islamic and European medicine, in Europe a more mechanised view of the body had started to overlay these ideas. As well as being a receptacle for the rhythms of the weather and the climate Shore's constitution was a more bounded system with an internal tempo set from the heart. While referring to the speed of his system Shore also alluded to his

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<sup>50</sup> In the same poem he wrote 'How teeming fancy wrings the tortur'd breast / When the soul sinks by sorrow's weight opprest!', Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I. pp. 490-1.

<sup>51</sup> Roy Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency* (London: Athlone, 1987), p. 244

<sup>52</sup> To his mother 17 February 1775 from Madras, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 55.

<sup>53</sup> To his mother 26 March 1783 from Calcutta, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 85.

blood as an energetic circuit which generated a supply of spirits. This fund of spirits became a measure of the efficiency of an internal mechanism. made volatile by changes in temperature and humidity:

This climate not only affects the health, but the spirits; and it is with difficulty I am sometimes enabled to support the uneasiness at being so long separated from my family and friends.<sup>54</sup>

In Europe in the early seventeenth century William Harvey had discovered that rather than being manufactured in the liver, the blood circulated through the body along veins and arteries with the heart acting as a pump.<sup>55</sup> Some fifty years later Thomas Willis discovered the connection between nerves, brain and the circulatory system.<sup>56</sup> While a system of blood circulation was known to South Asian and Islamic medicine, in Europe the later anatomical researches of Harvey, Willis and others had led to a more mechanised view of the constitution. The spirits of a person had once animated the constitution through the fluxes of a sanguineous humour. In Europe the heart now pumped blood through the entire system. As a result, rather than flowing uncontained, the animal spirits now energised the constitution through the channels and containers of arteries, brain and nerves.

From 1783 too, Shore began to interpret bodily experience through the faculty of feelings, which could be 'burthened', 'overpowered', 'expressed' and 'shewn'.<sup>57</sup> Thomas Dixon argued that the German concept of *gef uhl* was a precursor to a modern constitution, the separation of mind from body in popular thought in the nineteenth century. The new category of emotion was an Enlightenment invention that gathered momentum in the nineteenth century as the categories of passions, appetites and sentiments lost their hold.<sup>58</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>54</sup> To James Hutchinson from Calcutta 1 March 1780, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I. p. 64.

<sup>55</sup> Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, pp. 187-91.

<sup>56</sup> Arikha, *Passions and Tempers*, pp. 223-7.

<sup>57</sup> To Hastings 26 May 1784, Add MS 29164, fol. 35; To his brother from Bengal 29 November 1784, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 93-6; To Hastings from Chitpore 2 October 1784, Add MS 39871, fols 31, 153; To Anderson from Chitpore 2 October 1784, Add MS 45428, fol. 124.

<sup>58</sup> Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions*, p. 71. In the seventeenth century Descartes had proposed that a rational mind was a distinct function unaffected by the body. From the time of Augustine Christianity had viewed the body as flesh and sinful with the mind as a supernatural soul connected to God. See Roy Porter, *Flesh in the Age of Reason* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 28-43, 62-79.

Haskell argued a Western character centred on trust, honesty and integrity emerged in the eighteenth century in response to the needs of a burgeoning capitalist market, where contacts could be distant and rewards in the future.<sup>59</sup> While not wanting to imply that Shore's experience was universal, the point is that these shifts in Shore's self-understanding emerged outside of Europe. From rational Enlightenment gentleman to oriental scholar and South Asian mystic Shore began to remake himself in Empire. These shifts took place in a Company man with an Anglo-Mughal constitution participating in a multicultural world.

### An Evangelical Change of Heart

A form of Protestant Christianity constructed in the British Atlantic world also shaped these shifts. Citing his health as the reason, Shore returned to England in 1785 and again in 1790 before settling back home permanently in 1798. In 1785, 'after an absence of above sixteen years' he 'renewed the ideas of the transactions of my earliest youth'.<sup>60</sup> One of these ideas was a reconnection with the Christian faith. Originating from the religious instruction of his mother, in Bengal between 1769 and 1785 this faith had been one framework through which he understood his world.<sup>61</sup> Until St John's Church was built between 1784 and 1787 there was no regular British church service in Calcutta in Shore's early years there, with Sunday services conducted at Fort William.<sup>62</sup> As a result Shore observed the 'immorality' and lack of religious observance endemic within the British community.<sup>63</sup> From his return to Bengal in 1786 though, Shore had a firmer grasp of his religious convictions, which he understood through the doctrines of evangelical atonement. When Shore set out for Bengal again in 1786 under a revived Christian schema, he wrote to his new wife and to his brother through a shared evangelical language. Now his 'paradox' of human experience was reinvested in an

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<sup>59</sup> Haskell, 'Capitalism and Humanitarian Sensibility 1', pp. 339-61 and Haskell, 'Capitalism and Humanitarian Sensibility 2', pp. 547-66.

<sup>60</sup> To his wife 2 January 1787 from Murshidabad, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 132.

<sup>61</sup> His biographer recalled him talking of his mother's influence upon his religious sensibility. According to Charles his mother brought him up with 'the regulating influence of religious principle.... dwelling principally on the morality of the Gospel'. Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 6.

<sup>62</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 24.

<sup>63</sup> To his mother 28 May 1772 from Murshidabad, to Bury Hutchinson 20 October 1773 from Moidapore, to his wife 26 May 1787 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 41, 49, 198.

‘Author of my existence’.<sup>64</sup> This paradox expressed itself through his study of oriental literature, as well as his evangelical schema. In his second sojourn one of the end products was his poem ‘The Wanderer’, part of which headed the Introduction to this thesis, and combined Vedanta, Sufi and Christian ideas of the relation between humanity and the divine. He was once more brought low by his vitiated and toxic bloodstream in his second sojourn, and his routes to recovery were again multicultural. His writings coincided with the illnesses which frequently stopped Shore working. His attendance upon committees was infrequent at times.<sup>65</sup> From March 1789 his indispositions culminated in several months off work because of bile relaxation and lack of sleep.<sup>66</sup>

Nevertheless, when Shore returned to Bengal in 1786 as an evangelical, he revised the way he organised his body. His renewed faith also coincided with altered practices of governance and his framing of the affect of governance, policymaking, and authority, which I will analyse in the next three chapters. In this section I look at the ways that Shore reimagined his sense of self, his conduct, and his relations with Bengali friends. As a product of colonial experiences, the evangelical movement was a transcontinental revival of religious enthusiasm, with origins in Britain and the Atlantic colonies.<sup>67</sup> British leaders of the movement, John Wesley and George Whitefield, had spent time in Savannah, a frontier settlement in unclaimed territory south of the British Atlantic colonies. When John Wesley arrived as a missionary two years after the settlement was founded in 1733, dense forest surrounded the tiny agrarian community. An environment isolated from formal Christian structures, he sustained his spiritual and emotional life in part with reference to mystical Christian texts, such as those attributed to St Makarius of Egypt. Equally, the American colonist Jonathan Edwards grew up in Connecticut with news of frontier attacks from indigenous warriors ever present. When away from the parental home, before his marriage he experienced two profound emotional crises. John Wesley and George Whitefield drew upon Christian mysticism and Jonathan Edwards a communion with nature to develop the personal

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<sup>64</sup> Epistolary journal entry to his wife May 1789, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 190.

<sup>65</sup> Charles Grant to Gerard Gustavus Ducarel from Bengal 27 February 1788, Bengal, D2091/F14.

<sup>66</sup> Francis Redfearn to Gerard Gustavus Ducarel 12 March 1789 from Bengal, D2091/F14.

<sup>67</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 197.

relationship with God that was so fundamental to their theology. The ‘New Birth’, for example, is a phrase coined from Western mystical literature.<sup>68</sup> The revival movement that swept Britain and America from the mid-eighteenth century took hold among migrants uprooted from traditional support networks and displaced into the pioneering frontier of America or the urbanising areas of Britain. Few Anglican Church structures existed in either place.<sup>69</sup> As a result, the revival emphasised a personal relationship with the Deity that remained fundamental to evangelicalism into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Adherents to the movement adopted an evangelical identity. David Bebbington identified four elements of this identity, a concentration upon the word of God as given in the Bible, the emphasis upon evangelising and activism, a concentration upon the cross as a symbol of atonement and the need for a conversion experience. Mark Noll added a fifth element: confrontation with traditional religious boundaries and an emphasis upon a personal relationship with God.<sup>70</sup> Although Shore’s biography does not describe the method of his conviction into evangelicalism, conversion was often an intensely emotional crisis followed by the feeling of being reborn into a new life.<sup>71</sup> From Bengal in 1788 Shore described to his new wife a profound change in the way he framed his sense of self:

My mind is daily more impressed with a sense of my dependence on the Deity — of His Providence, mercies, and benevolence: and I think it is cheerful in proportion as this conviction gains strength. If this is the effect of sickness and

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<sup>68</sup> W. R. Ward, 'Evangelical Identity in the Eighteenth Century', in *Christianity Reborn: Evangelicalism's Global Expansion in the Twentieth Century*. ed. by Donald M. Lewis. (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2004), pp. 11-30 (pp.21-3); George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 11-16, 33-43, 101-9.

<sup>69</sup> Ward, 'Evangelical Identity', pp. 11-30 (p. 21).

<sup>70</sup> D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (Abingdon: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 1-19; Mark Noll, 'Evangelical Identity, Power and Culture in the Great Nineteenth Century', in *Christianity Reborn: Evangelicalism's Global Expansion in the Twentieth Century*. ed. by Donald M. Lewis. (Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2004), pp. 31-51; Ward, 'Evangelical Identity', pp. 11-30, (pp. 20-30).

<sup>71</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 5-10; Ian C. Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London: Cape, 1976), p. 21; For a discussion of William Wilberforce’s narrative of his conversion crisis see Stott, *Wilberforce*, pp. 27-32; Catherine Hall also discusses Zachary Macaulay’s conversion experience. See Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, pp. 6-13.

weakness of constitution, I ought to rejoice at a cause which has restored me to my senses.<sup>72</sup>

Rather than being a mere passive receptacle for outside influence, as an evangelical Shore had a direct relationship with God. He was now the master of his own being, responsible for his own dark nights of the soul. His sense of agency lay with a spirit that related to the divine through rational reflection. This rational witness controlled his lower feelings and generated moral sentiments. In this regard Shore's evangelical mind is more like the separate thinking consciousness of Descartes than the supernatural soul of traditional Christianity. From the time of Augustine, strands of Christianity had viewed the body as flesh and sinful with the mind as a supernatural soul connected to God. But in 1637 Descartes had proposed that a rational mind was a distinct function unaffected by the body and soul.<sup>73</sup> As a result, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century a form of rational religion had arisen in the Anglican Church. This 'Natural Religion' had set aside the sacred, mystical and affective in favour of reason and reflection. While Shore did talk of a 'mind and body' as well as a 'constitution' during his first sojourn in Bengal, from 1786 evangelicalism gave his rational mind an additional emphasis. Evangelicalism also contested the confines of Anglican and dissenting Protestantism by uniting both in a revival of the emotional and sacred tradition lost to the rational Church of the Enlightenment.<sup>74</sup> This meant that while he viewed the affections of the heart as messages from God, his rational mind became an independent agent responsible for control of his passions and appetites.

With his newfound faith Shore had additional technologies to tackle his impure constitution. An evangelical identity hinged upon faith in the sacrifice of Jesus on the cross as atonement for the sins of humanity. Faith in the doctrine led to a cleansing of sin through the blood of Christ. Shore now judged his actions against the state of his constitution, viewing low spirits and uneasiness as evidence of his fall from grace. Through this newfound faith, Shore's heart became the locus for atonement.<sup>75</sup> Through the animating grace of 'He who penetrates your

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<sup>72</sup> To his wife 12 April 1788 from an unknown location, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 155.

<sup>73</sup> Porter, *Flesh*, pp. 28-43, 62-79.

<sup>74</sup> Noll, 'Evangelical Identity', pp. 31-51; Ward, 'Evangelical Identity', pp. 11-30, (pp. 20-30).

<sup>75</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 7-26; Bradley, *Call to Seriousness*, pp. 19-33, Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, pp. 6-13.

heart' Shore experienced love, piety, hope, clarity and faith. Through the trials of his heart too, God punished him. To re-enter God's grace Shore must accept his grief, losses and despair with gratitude and resignation, for 'to be discontented with your present lot is to murmur at the dispensations of Providence'. To decide upon a course of action as an evangelical man then, Shore mistrusted his human desires. Instead he looked to the principles of conduct he found in the Bible, attempting to 'curb the licentiousness of unbounded expectation'.<sup>76</sup>

In this respect Shore mimicked the concerns of the leading evangelicals who from 1763 to 1829 produced eight influential manuals of conduct. These manuals laid out the duties of men and women across the social hierarchy. The earliest was Henry Venn's *Complete Duty of Man* in 1763. The last was William Roberts' *Portraiture of a Christian Gentleman* in 1829. Roberts included sections on deportment, posture, and conversation in his book. As well as laying out domestic duties for women, these evangelical treatises attacked aristocratic practices, of fashion, luxury, frivolity, and the honour code for men that endorsed duelling. Instead the evangelical code promoted middling, bourgeois values: of duty, hard work and modest standards of living.<sup>77</sup> Rather than being a mere code of ethics and conduct, for Shore the Bible became a practical course for moulding the body into an evangelical frame. A man laboured to bring his feelings in line with the character of Jesus modelled in the gospels, to subdue his passions and tempers and to inflame his affections, love, benevolence and charity. In this schema, anger and punishment were tools to subjugate the lower ranks, sanctioned by God to restore His natural order.<sup>78</sup> Regular attendance to the will of God as outlined in the New Testament bred a disposition suffused with humility and a dogged obedience to the civil order.<sup>79</sup> As a result, for Shore as in the conduct manuals, elite evangelical manhood was an

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<sup>76</sup> Epistolary journal entry to his wife May 1789, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>77</sup> Bradley, *Call to Seriousness*, pp. 145-55.

<sup>78</sup> From God and those in authority anger was chastisement and punishment for offending against social rules. From subordinate to those in authority anger was rebellion, subversion and a sin. Doing your duty to those in authority was following the will of God. This belief is most clearly seen in his later writings. John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), *Thoughts on the Providence of God, Written in 1810* (London: Hatchard, 1834), pp. 37-8, 55-8. Letter to his niece Bessie Hill 15 August 1810 from Tunbridge Wells, 549/96.

<sup>79</sup> John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), 'The Nature and Effects of Christian Courtesy Exemplified, by Asiaticus', *Christian Observer*, 3 (1804), pp. 85-90, (pp. 85-6).



arm of the moral universe. As well as leading through an embodied inheritance of blood and birth right, as a convert Shore must now also attain influence over others through the behaviours that he endeavoured to embed in his body.

This reimagining of a toxic constitution within an evangelical framework contained an ‘inward monitor’ that separated Shore from the people of Bengal. Shore’s Christian frame provided a language of morality and purity that allowed him to maintain his course of action in the East India Company administration. Adhering to these principles buttressed Shore’s identity as a moral and civilised Company man of the British elite. Principles outlined in the evangelical conduct manuals served men like Shore well. They extolled hard work, constant application to the task at hand and obedience to the civil order. They also promoted Christian values of honesty and integrity. If the evangelicals who became administrators, politicians and merchants failed to uphold these principles of conduct, they were accountable to God for their actions.<sup>80</sup> As a result, Shore assigned the state of his health to a spiritual cause, the disapproval of God for wavering from his duty. As well as deriving from the entitlement of birth right then, Shore’s evangelical authority came from a set of internal boundaries that codified the emotions appropriate to moral and virtuous manhood. This monitoring and censoring of affect attempted to fix the body into a moral and civil state of being. It also aligned the elite, manly body of Shore into the wider, imperial systems of morality that had emerged from the British Atlantic world. Rather than maintain his loyalty to the indigenous friends of his first sojourn, Shore adhered to principles that conflated his spiritual beliefs with his temporal duties as a Company servant:

What I feel most is, the distress of numbers with whom I am connected... I would give you a long list of persons that you know, actually ruined beyond hope of recovery; but the catalogue would not be most agreeable to your feelings. / The principles upon which we act will make me more enemies than friends; but how can I help it? There is no serving God and Mammon.<sup>81</sup>

Three persons from Shore’s list were the brothers-in-law of his friend Ducarel, who in 1784 left South Asia with his Bengali wife and their children. In 1784 Shore had settled a farm in Patna upon one of Mrs Ducarel’s brothers, Mirza Daim Beg, with papers that were ‘all

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<sup>80</sup> Christopher Tolley, *Domestic Biography: The Legacy of Evangelicalism in Four Nineteenth-Century Families* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 38-41; Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, pp. 88, 91; Bradley, *Call to Seriousness*, pp. 156-178.

<sup>81</sup> To H. J. Chandler Esq in Britain 3 August 1787, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 140-1.

properly drawn and duly registered'.<sup>82</sup> In February 1788 the three brothers were in trouble and daily attending Shore for help in Calcutta. By 1789 Mirza Daim Beg had mortgaged his farm and had debts of 7000 Rs. Mirza Alam Beg's land, that Ducarel had purchased for him in Burdwan, was in dispute with another claimant and the payment of allowances suspended. With Shore's help to re-educate himself, Mirza Khan Beg, the third brother, found employment as *Daroga* of the *Faujdar Adalat* (Chief Officer at the Criminal Court of Justice) at Burdwan.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately the outcome for Mirza Alam Beg and Mirza Daim Beg is not recorded. By October 1788 Mirza Daim Beg had left Calcutta and returned to Purnia. In July 1789 Mirza Alam Beg wrote to Ducarel of a straw house in Purnia destroyed by a fire that had 'entirely reduced me to the most ruinous extremity'. Rather than earning him money, his farm in Burdwan cost him 100 Rs a month and his brother's salary as *daroga* was 'hardly sufficient for the maintenance of himself and much more to venture supporting the numberless family which is well-known to you and the whole of my family is now at Burdwan, and I have no means whatsoever of supporting them.'<sup>84</sup>

Torn between his duty to Empire and the human demands of his position, Shore took his 'cowardly suggestions of despair' at such distresses as a signal of God's disapproval. He chose to suppress feelings transgressive to the British interest in Bengal and to serve God and the Company instead. Even though he felt for the distress of members of the indigenous population such as the Mirzas of Ducarel's family, his principles provided a moral meaning for his actions at the higher echelons of the Company administration. In this respect Shore was a communal being with a porous moral and British body who conflated love with conformity and despair with disobedience. Now that he had a sense of himself as a Christian

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<sup>82</sup> To Ducarel 5 December 1784, D2091/F14.

<sup>83</sup> In 1788 the *zamindari* of Burdwan was in difficulties, with the *zamindar* in Calcutta for several months to sort out his revenue debts. Up to 1786, the *zamindari* was managed by Company-approved indigenous officers with Ducarel until 1784 as Company officer. At this time the *zamindar* was in his minority, and his mother exiled. See John R. McLane, *Land and Local Kingship in Eighteenth-Century Bengal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 251-66. For the fate of the three Mirzas see letters to Ducarel in England from his friends in Bengal, John Malcolme 4 August 1784, 15 March 1785, 1 February 1788, Thomas Short 27 February 1788, 15 October 1788, Francis Redferan 12 March 1789, James Collie, 12 February 1788, January 1789, 9 November 1789, D2091/F14.

<sup>84</sup> To Ducarel from Mirza Allum Beg 28 July 1789, D2091/F14.

man following the religious practices of his homeland, the habits of an Anglo-Mughal constitution troubled this sense of a natural, moral order. The indigenous practices he had embraced were now contrary to the Will of a Providence that defined this British ordering of society. As a result, his Anglo-Mughal constitution became a pull upon Shore's emerging sense of himself as a Christian, rational and imperial man. His foreign habits joined with a sense of his 'trials of the heart' to become punishments from God. In his later years Shore would frame the multicultural habits of his first sojourn as transgressive of the British civil order. Now falling into the habits of India was a crime and his sojourns in Bengal were a banishment:

I do not mean to affirm that I did not fall into the habits of India, while I was there: on the contrary, I indulged them too much: still, I retained those which I carried there; and which, on my return to my native country, I resumed with equal profit and pleasure. The years which I passed in Bengal are like a dream; — and I feel happy in awaking in England!<sup>85</sup>

### Performing Elite, Oriental Suffering

While the habits of the colonial 'Other' challenged Shore's sense of Britishness in empire, in Britain as a noble sufferer, Shore embodied the long-suffering Company servant through his oriental disorders. Back home, high-ranking East India Company men like Shore could aspire to belong to a selection of elite, British but disordered masculinities. These representations and performances of disorder allowed Shore to own, discuss and perform his illness as an intellectual, sentimental, high-ranking man. During the crisis Shore suffered between 1784 and 1786 he performed the noble suffering of a citizen of the world in his poetry, journal and correspondence. As a returned East India Company servant in 1790, Shore performed a

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<sup>85</sup> To his son Frederick in 1818, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 333. For his reference to the 'catalogue of dark crimes the review of my life would exhibit', see his journal entry of October 1810, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 175. In 1808 he said 'Were the same superstitions, or the same barbarous and licentious rites, which are now exhibited on the banks of the Ganges, to be practised on the banks of the Thames, or even in the remotest part of the British islands, they would excite the strongest possible feelings of horror, and stimulate our efforts to substitute a purer and more benign system in the place of this compound of cruelty and crime.' See John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), *Considerations on the Practicability, Policy, and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity* (London: Hatchard, 1808), p. 92. For his reference to 'the period of my banishment in Bengal' see his letter to Anderson 29 June 1790 from Egham, Add MS 45428, fol. 125; For sojourns in Bengal as banishment see also the letter to his son Frederick in 1818, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 312.

public healing regime when he took the waters at Bath. As Governor General of Bengal, between 1793 and 1798 Shore became a suffering soldier of empire for his superiors in the East India Company. With his patrons as he rose to the top rank of the Company in Bengal, he adapted his identity to that of one who sacrificed himself for the Company cause.

Even though suffering was a fashionable affair, in Britain public weeping was ritualised and circumscribed for men. Men wept at the theatre, at public events of significance and for religious repentance. As a result, the unregulated tear and the outburst of public passion was a feminine act, confined to the performances of women.<sup>86</sup> In contrast to these late eighteenth century tropes that denied men public tears, Shore's suffering manhood could include tears that streamed in grief and agony.<sup>87</sup> In his letters to family and friends and in his poetry Shore wrote of his tears flowing openly during his crisis period of the mid 1780s:

But who is it I weep for? .... It is for myself that my tears stream. I lament a friend, an adviser, a parent. I lament the loss of those joys I shall never have more: I weep over my own misfortunes. Alas, my dear Tom! we have lost what we shall never more recover; and I shall be unhappy until I can pour forth, at the tomb of the best of parents, the tears of sorrow and affection — the tribute of filial gratitude and love.<sup>88</sup>

In this respect, Shore adopted the identity of the benevolent, humane and lettered man of sensibility. As a being between life and death and as a protector of his fellows, the duty of this noble sufferer was to resist the temptations of self-destruction and to carry on living for the benefit of normal, if slightly inferior, members of humankind.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> In this respect I disagree with Thomas Dixon who argued that the manly weeping of novels and trial transcripts was a reflection of a social movement among men. Weeping was gendered, so even during the sensibility movement of the eighteenth century public tears were problematic for men. See Keith Thomas, *In Pursuit of Civility: Manners and Civilization in Early Modern England* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 42-4; Thomas Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 96-108; G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 247-50; Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, pp. 1-17.

<sup>87</sup> To Charles Grant 22 September 1793, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 253.

<sup>88</sup> To his brother Thomas from Bengal 28 November 1784, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 94-95.

<sup>89</sup> Allan Ingram, 'Death in Life and Life in Death: Melancholy and the Enlightenment', *Gesnerus*, 63 (2006), pp. 90-102.

The months spent upon voyages between Britain and Bengal were times for Shore to step back from the daily pressures of his imperial existence and to reflect upon his life. His sentimental gloom was not just an affair for himself alone for in 1784 he also sent the multicultural 'Monody on the Death of Augustus Cleveland', to his Governor General, Warren Hastings. In return Hastings wrote an Ode to Shore on their shared voyage home in 1785. Hastings' Ode and its reference from Horace speak of the melancholy of travelling overseas far from home. To Shore and Hastings tears, longing and melancholy were experiences they communicated to each other through the language of poetry.

Now Sorrow, milder grown, more calm the mind,  
Enjoys the grief that Time has left behind :  
Yet still the tears shall stream through many an hour;  
For Time in vain opposes Nature's power.<sup>90</sup>

Both Hastings and Shore published their sentimental verses for a British audience. Hastings Ode appeared in the *European Magazine* in June 1786.<sup>91</sup> In the same year Shore printed his 'Monody' privately. Upon his return to Bengal he then published the poem in the *Asiatick Miscellany*.<sup>92</sup> This publication was an anthology of works from members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The anthology was edited by Francis Gladwin, who like Shore was a member of Hastings orientalist circle. The aim of the anthology was to validate and popularise to a home audience the experiences of British men in India.<sup>93</sup> In this respect the *Asiatick Miscellany* indicated who could be sympathized with in empire and for what reasons they earned the fellow feeling of their compatriots.<sup>94</sup> In publishing his 'Monody' for the

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<sup>90</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 490.

<sup>91</sup> Shore wrote to Hastings 'The Imitation of the Ode of Horace, in which you flattered me with the insertion of my name, has appeared in the European Magazine for June. I know not by whom it has been published; but I should not have deemed myself authorised, without your permission, to communicate a copy of it to any one.'. See Letter to Warren Hastings, 16 February 1787 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 137.

<sup>92</sup> John Shore, *Monody on the Death of Augustus Cleveland, Esq* (London: Private, 1786); John Shore, 'Monody on the Death of Augustus Cleveland, Esq', in *The Asiatick Miscellany*. ed. by Francis Gladwin. (Calcutta: Mackay, 1786), pp. 145-151.

<sup>93</sup> M. J. Franklin, 'The Hastings Circle', in *Authorship, Commerce, and the Public: Scenes of Writing, 1750-1850*. ed. by Caroline Franklin, E. J. Clery, and Peter Garside. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 186-202, (pp. 195-6).

<sup>94</sup> Lynn M. Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore MA: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 1-13.

audience of the *Asiatick Miscellany* Shore chose to make his tears in empire a public event. Full of pathos, as a sentimental work of literature detailing Company virtue in distress, the ‘Monody’ represented imperial Britons like Shore as servants suffering within the multicultural world they were encountering in the eighteenth century.

As well as reconstructing his grief in texts, Shore enacted his suffering at the fashionable spa. Upon his return to Britain in 1790 Shore settled with his wife in Egham for a year, close to London and Shore’s family friends, the Wyatts. In 1791 and 1792 the Shores made Bath a prolonged stop between travels around the south and west. Here Shore took the waters ‘with the greatest advantage to my health’.<sup>95</sup> In visiting the spa at Bath, as with his authorship of poems of sensibility, Shore placed himself among a cohort of fashionable suffering, the distemper of a civilized British elite.<sup>96</sup> For leading Georgian spas such as Bath and Cheltenham, the cure of the bilious or nervous complaint was central to their promotion of themselves as health resorts. When Shore visited, Bath was an elite destination for the beau monde. Biliousness was a fashionable Georgian disorder with a slippery array of symptoms and a permeable definition. Both physicians and lay people described biliousness within and alongside nervous conditions, indigestion, stomach complaints, vapours and low spirits.<sup>97</sup> Around the time that the Shores visited Bath, Dr Adair portrayed biliousness as the disease that had supplanted nervousness as the disease of the fashionable world, with a host of self-prescribed biliousness descending upon Bath.<sup>98</sup> Similarly the poem ‘Calcutta’, published anonymously in 1811, warns that living in Calcutta risked a frame congested with bile, veins rioting with fever and a brain tortured with delirium. According to the poet recovery was either back with the man’s family at home, or at the newly-fashionable spa town Cheltenham, taking the waters.<sup>99</sup> In 1803 Thomas Jameson in his *Treatise on Cheltenham Waters and Bilious Diseases* viewed the inflamed and indurated liver as a disease of South Asia, the most

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<sup>95</sup> To Berry and Sheppard, his attorneys, 17 May 1791 from Bath, A\AOV/11.

<sup>96</sup> J. Andrews and J. Kennaway, ‘Experiencing, Exploiting, and Evacuating Bile: Framing Fashionable Biliousness from the Sufferer’s Perspective’, *Literature and Medicine*, 35 (2017), pp. 292-333, (pp. 293-7).

<sup>97</sup> Andrews and Kennaway, ‘Bile’, pp. 292-333, (pp. 294-5).

<sup>98</sup> James M. Adair, ‘Essay on Fashionable Diseases’, in *Essays*. ed. by James M. Adair. (London: Goosequill and Paragraph, 1790)p. 8.

<sup>99</sup> Anonymous, *Calcutta*, pp. 21-4.

common disease Jameson treated in Cheltenham for returned East India Company men.<sup>100</sup> If the East India Company men lived in South Asia beyond midlife without adjusting their diet and lifestyle for the tropical climate, Thomas Trotter observed that they rarely enjoyed good health upon their return home.<sup>101</sup> As well as the stay-at-home elite, then, retired colonials and those on sick leave from the colonies visited spa towns such as Bath and later Cheltenham for treatment of their bilious disorders. By 1830 George Hamilton Bell went as far as to suggest that biliousness had supplanted nervousness as the disease of fashion because of the numbers of colonials returning to Britain diagnosed with a bilious constitution.<sup>102</sup>

The medical establishment reserved a special place for the biliousness of the men returned from South Asia. By the beginning of the nineteenth century Thomas Trotter in his *View of the Nervous Temperament* estimated that the nervous and bilious comprised two thirds of the illnesses that physicians treated in Britain. Trotter put down the prevalence of the complaint in this country to the uniqueness of the nation when compared with the rest of Europe. In the early eighteenth century, Cheyne had observed biliousness as an elite disease.<sup>103</sup> Seventy years later Trotter cited nation as the cause. Britain's insular climate, her wealth and her democratic system bred a nation of men both blessed and cursed by a civilized but delicate body.<sup>104</sup> As a result, even though Shore participated in a bilious British circle in Bath, the peculiar cause of his condition - prolonged stays in a tropical climate - demarcated him as different from his peers.<sup>105</sup> This gave the returned East India Company servants a special variety of illness, an 'Oriental disease', according to Trotter.<sup>106</sup> Women's nerves originated from an inherent physical weakness and a lack of nervous fibre that allowed the passions to become inflamed. Complaints in stay-at-home men originated from manly occupations.

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<sup>100</sup> Thomas Jameson, *A Treatise on Cheltenham Waters and Bilious Diseases* (Cheltenham: Ruff, 1803), pp. 69-93, 103-6.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas Trotter, *A View of the Nervous Temperament* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, 1807), pp. 103-4.

<sup>102</sup> George Hamilton Bell, *A Treatise on the Diseases of the Liver and on Bilious Complaints* (London: Longman, 1833), p. vii.

<sup>103</sup> George Cheyne, *The English Malady, or, a Treatise of Nervous Diseases* (London: Strahan, 1733), pp. 182, 262, 268-74.

<sup>104</sup> Trotter, *Nervous Temperament*, pp. xvii-xviii

<sup>105</sup> Trotter, *Nervous Temperament*, pp. 98-104 and 117-19.

<sup>106</sup> Trotter, *Nervous Temperament*, p. 100.

Desk-bound study or commercial work caused an over-stimulated mind to derange the bilious system in these men. In contrast, the bilious complaints of returned Company servants originated from a body made toxic and vitiated by prolonged stays abroad in a hot climate. Unlike the men who had stayed in Britain, returned colonial servants had their temperaments altered through the heat of a tropical climate. With an imperial identity lodged in the body they were permanently changed.

Shore's tender, elite, bilious constitution was to return to Bengal for a final time in October 1792 when he succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor General. Shore was dealt a fatal blow in September 1793 when he learned that his two infant daughters had died in England of measles. Caroline, born in 1791, he had known, but Emily had been born after his departure for Bengal. The news left him in 'agonies of sorrow' that he 'felt as a man, as a husband, and a parent'. Unlike his previous sojourns, Shore gave a supernatural attribution for the feelings that overwhelmed him at this time. Shore believed he had felt Caroline's death through a dream in May 1792 when he had screamed himself awake 'in an agony of tears'.<sup>107</sup> To his wife Shore wrote of this 'merciful premonition' as a vision from God, sent 'to prepare and sadden' so that with the news his heart 'might not be broken'.<sup>108</sup> To his evangelical friend Charles Grant, Shore wrote of the two deaths as a dispensation from Providence which left Shore certain that his past actions had caused the deaths of the infants:

The offences of my life have been too many, not to acknowledge the justice of Divine punishment. How little indeed have I suffered, in proportion to my demerits!<sup>109</sup>

Even so, unlike after the death of Cleveland, Shore was able to switch from his despondency and unease into an official life where he fulfilled his duties as Governor General with apparent vigour. Shore attributed this newfound 'strength' to a religious life that had dispelled his former 'languid and inert' sentiments:

[I]f such a shock had then attacked me, I know not what the consequences might have been. I thank God most sincerely and gratefully that it has been otherwise; and that He did not inflict the blow until He had given me strength

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<sup>107</sup> To Charles Grant 22 September 1793 and to his wife 23 September 1793 from Calcutta Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 246-53.

<sup>108</sup> To his wife 23 September 1793 from Calcutta Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 254.

<sup>109</sup> To Charles Grant 22 September 1793 from Calcutta Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 248.



to bear it. I have prayed to Him for chastisement, as the means of amendment;  
but I little thought to suffer through my dear children.<sup>110</sup>

A very different figure of suffering emerges from Shore's letters to Dundas and Cornwallis. During his time in this high-level public Company arena, Shore minimised his suffering, presenting himself as the noble and stoic hero who persevered with a self-sacrificing sense of duty to Company and nation. A variant of this manly public stoicism can be viewed in two paintings valorising the heroic deaths of elite men in imperial wars. Soldiers and sailors trained up their bodies for national endeavour. To allow them to both serve and embody the state, military training closed their bodies and hardened their boundaries to allow them to master anxiety, discomfort and pain. In this way military men were represented as giving up comfort and domesticity to sacrifice their lives for their country.<sup>111</sup> In Benjamin West's *The Death of General James Wolfe (1727-1759)*, originally painted in 1771 and John Singleton Copley's *The Death of Major Peirson, 6 January 1781* painted in 1782, the compositions revolve around a commanding officer fatally wounded in battle.<sup>112</sup> In these paintings the faces of the dying leaders are marked with pain and suffering, each with his manly breast made prominent. The bodies of both men are supported by caring and concerned troops in their final moments. In both paintings the artist minimised the gore of dying by musket ball and sword, with little or no blood breaching the boundaries of the body of the injured soldier. An untainted white handkerchief disguises the blood of General Wolfe's wound to the chest. Major Pierson's fatal injuries are represented as a red spot over his heart and a gash at his right shoulder. No man weeps tears. It is the forbearance, stoicism and resilience of the men in the paintings that is the starkest and most prominent message. Outside the literary pursuits of melancholic men of sensibility then, in death and loss these heroic soldiers of empire maintained the structure, strength and integrity of bodies neither mutilated by warfare nor

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<sup>110</sup> To Charles Grant 22 September 1793 from Calcutta Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 249.

<sup>111</sup> Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 122-34; For a discussion of the politicised and nationalized male body, see also Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture. Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 126, 142-3.

<sup>112</sup> John Singleton Copley, *The Death of Major Peirson, 6 January 1781*, 1783, Oil on canvas, 2515 x 3658 mm, Tate Britain, London; Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1779, Oil on canvas, 1525 x 2160 mm, National Trust, Ickworth, Suffolk.



Figure 2: The Death of General James Wolfe (1727-1759) by Benjamin West PRA (Swarthmore 1738 - London 1820), Ickworth, Suffolk. ©National Trust Images/J. Whitaker



Figure 3: The Death of Major Peirson, 6 January 1781, by John Singleton Copley ©Tate Britain

broken with tears. This ability for endurance and the forbearance of pain was a marker of civilized masculinity.<sup>113</sup>

As he rose in the Company administration, to his superiors in the East India Company Shore performed his illness through a similar stoic schema that downplayed the blood and guts of his suffering. To Dundas and Cornwallis Shore wrote rationally of causations, the weather and his work, and of symptoms such as want of sleep, languor and fatigue, but not of agony, pain and tears. While his old language of constitution climate and spirits continued, these attributions also came overlaid with the terminology of metropolitan physicians and the fashionable British spa. After Shore's two or three years in Britain he now wrote of his nerves, debility and a rheumatic complaint. As Governor General Shore's health took on a strategic importance.<sup>114</sup> His tenure as Governor General was never secure as he vacillated between staying and resigning. This meant that his illnesses became a matter of state concern as his superiors in the East India Company and in the British government had to plan around the state of his health. Missing from his accounts to his superiors in the colonial administration when he was Governor General, are the effusive expressions of suffering he produced in his poetry and in letters to his family and friends. The distance between him and his superiors allowed Shore to disguise the fluctuations in his health and report a summary of his condition in the despatches home. He delayed telling Dundas and Cornwallis of his illnesses until they became serious enough that he had to take time away, delay reports or request a return home. In early 1794 Shore was hiding the extent of his emotional crisis from Dundas, able to manage his condition. But by August 1794 he was losing two days a week of work to debility.<sup>115</sup> Alongside his reports of soldiering on through illness, Shore emphasised his determination to fulfil his duty to his patron, to the Company and to the nation.

if I could be satisfied with a languid discharge of official duty, I might get through it, perhaps, for two years more. But to preserve the British Empire in India — to render improvement progressive — to guard against events that may shake or disarrange our system — foresight, deliberation, reflection, and combination, are necessary... unless my health should prove an absolute

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<sup>113</sup> Forth, *Masculinity*, pp. 14-17.

<sup>114</sup> His health had also impacted his performance as Supreme counsellor in his previous sojourn. The timeline for delivery of the Permanent Settlement of the revenues was imperiled in 1789 because of Shore's time off for sickness. See Guha, *Rule of Property*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>115</sup> To Cornwallis 19 August 1794 from Bengal, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 63.

disqualification. — I could not justify myself in leaving the Government with my friend Speke; as he has worse health than I have.<sup>116</sup>

Shore's fluctuating health always held his tenure as Governor General in doubt. In May 1794 Shore requested that the government appoint a successor to him to arrive in early 1796. By late 1796 Shore was again mooting resignation to his friends in the Company and the British Government and in January 1797 wrote of his determination to leave that season.<sup>117</sup> Severe indisposition was to attack him again on a diplomatic mission to Lucknow in early 1797.<sup>118</sup> Despite telling Dundas he was recovered, Shore once more wrote of his desire to go home, feeling 'almost worn out' in September 1797.<sup>119</sup> Once again he rescinded, fulfilled his duty to the Company and travelled again to Lucknow to secure the succession for a British ally. The British government mooted first Hobart then Cornwallis to succeed him as Governor General should Shore's health fail completely.<sup>120</sup> Shore finally left South Asia in March 1798 with his actual successor, Lord Mornington, already on his way to Calcutta just weeks away from replacing him. While indispositions might be marked in the public consultations, the agonies of manly suffering were not a matter for the state.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to show that the men of the East India Company embodied their relationships with Britain and Bengal. Their multicultural lifestyles were transgressions from the civil order of their homeland. In Great Britain blood as a multivalent marker of identity tied families together, established rank through lines of descent and united the dispositions of

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<sup>116</sup> To Bensley, an East India Company Director in London, 16 August 1794 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 296-7.

<sup>117</sup> To Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, 23 November 1796 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 390; To David Scott, Chairman of the East India Company, BL, MSS Eur B396; To Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, 10 January 1797 from Bengal, in Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 117.

<sup>118</sup> To Henry Dundas 20 May 1797 from Bengal, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 127.

<sup>119</sup> To Hugh Inglis, Chairman of the East India Company, 13 September 1797 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 437.

<sup>120</sup> Holden Furber, *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742-1811, Political Manager of Scotland, Statesman, Administrator of British India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 133, 137; Henry Dundas to Lord Cornwallis, 19 January 1797 from Somerset House, Charles Ross, *Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*. 3 vols (London: Murray, 1859), II, pp. 319-20.

peoples bred from the same soil. Within the hearty, stout and courageous man was a strong, vigorous flow of blood and an ample fund of spirits that coursed through his veins. '[I]n every [Englishman's] Breast a Sense of Honour and Virtue', Shore believed.<sup>121</sup> Rather than acting as a binding agent and a source of power though, the surgeons of the Company and the *hakims* of Bengal viewed Shore's blood as vitiated under the tropical climate. Memories of his distant bonds of blood invaded his present, confused his thinking and drained him of the vitality he needed to function as a man of authority in Bengal. If Shore identified with Bengal in his body, it was through an impure and toxic substance that invaded the blood that bound him to his family and countrymen. Within the complex and turbulent field of the body then, Shore's blood stream was something that troubled. His imperial identity cohered around blood ties that became slow, depleted, impure and bilious when implanted in his body in Bengal. This troubled bloodstream challenged his position in a British society predicated upon an embodied hierarchy of entitlement and privilege. If his blood continued to be poisoned from long exposure to the Bengali climate, from 1786 Shore could call upon the lifeblood of Jesus to cleanse and purify this toxic constitution.

The changed body of Shore and men like him contradicted the idea that the constitution was porous and malleable. Instead Shore's impure condition endured across voyages. As a result, his independent heart and his recalcitrant liver persisted across hot and cold climates to separate his body from his immediate surroundings. Shore developed more boundedness and separation after his crisis period between 1784 and 1786, when he became seriously ill, returned to Britain, married, converted to evangelicalism and then left his new wife a few weeks after his wedding to return to Bengal. Elizabeth Collingham argued that a more closed, 'regimented' and anglicised imperial body in the nineteenth century resulted from an emerging modern body which withdrew intimate practices into a private domestic sphere. For Collingham, the subcontinent was a subterranean influence silently changing its British rulers. I do not differ from this analysis, but I would argue that rather than an external skin, after the mid-1780s Shore's system developed intrapsychic fissures which attempted to set aside affiliations with Bengali culture in favour of moving, feeling and thinking in a British mode. After his conversion to evangelicalism Shore judged his actions against the state of

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<sup>121</sup> 'Remarks on the Modes of Administering Justice to the Natives in Bengal and on the Collection of the Revenue, as Delivered to Mr. Macpherson, 13th Jan. 1782', BL, IOR/H/795, p. 7.

this constitution, viewing low spirits and uneasiness as evidence of his fall from grace, and of his impurity in the eyes of God. Now Shore had to negotiate an ambivalent path between human compassion for his indigenous friends and his duty to Providence, the Company and British interests. This path vacillated between his attraction to the similarities he found with Bengali culture and his anxieties around the differences with the divinely ordained culture of his homeland.

The important point here is that a balance between British and Bengali matrices of power still acted upon Shore to mould and manage this impure, ambivalent, anxious and gloomy constitution. From calling his medicines his household Gods, to using an Indian prescription, retaining a love of Persian literature and continuing his references to Persian metaphor, in the nineteenth century Shore indicated that the habits of his imperial past could not be entirely erased from his body. As the painting at the start of the chapter indicated, Shore's elite, authoritative body emerged from a complex field of manliness. Shore's sense of manhood was, as a result, a constantly evolving matrix of meanings that arose from a convergence of Bengali and British systems of authority. Having shown the effects of these global movements upon Shore, we now turn to look at the ways in which he attempted to manage these forces in Bengal. In the next chapters I will examine in more depth the challenges that Shore as an English gentleman experienced within his interactions with Bengali revenue officials, and in relation to his masters in Britain. In Chapter 3 I examine the ways in which Bengali administrators contested his notions of British civility. In Chapter 4 the ways in which British authorities disputed Shore's Anglo-Mughal practices of governance. Damaged and debilitated by these interactions, the rest of this thesis will explore how his manhood grew within, around and beyond the impurity of this bodily existence in Bengal.



# Chapter 3

## Civility, Revenue and Embarrassment

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### Introduction

On board the East Indiaman *Lioness* bound for Bengal in early 1769, all was in uproar. Along with the ten or eleven junior writers, the living quarters on two decks were packed in with military cadets, their officers, paying passengers and the crew. Frustration, anger and loneliness all fed off one another in the crowded ship, so by the end of the voyage young John Shore's messmates had fought five or six duels at intermediate stops along the way.<sup>1</sup> Through the tedium of the passage and the enclosed society of the ship, 17 year old Shore sought out friendship with Mr Hancock, 'a gentleman of real merit and real worth, and an exceeding good scholar'.<sup>2</sup> Saul Tysoe Hancock was a surgeon and free merchant, returning to Calcutta to settle his affairs. During his time in Madras and on the Coromandel Coast, Hancock had come to know several prominent East India Company merchants through his business interests in opium, diamonds, silk and cotton.<sup>3</sup> These included Robert Palk, the future governor of Madras, Henry Vansittart, a future governor of Bengal and George Vansittart, his brother. He was also a close associate of Warren Hastings, a good friend who would one day become the first Governor General of India, and the young John's patron.<sup>4</sup>

John idolised Hancock. 'Upon my honour, my dear mother, I have never met with, or heard of, any gentleman in my life superior to Mr Hancock ... he is universally admired and

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<sup>1</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 19; *Lioness*: Journal, IOR/L/MAR/B/502B.

<sup>2</sup> To his mother, 1 January 1769, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hancock to his wife from Calcutta, 7 September 1770, Add MS 29236; George Vansittart to his brother Henry, 29 September 1769, BL, Mss Eur F331/18; George Vansittart to his sister-in-law Emilia from Patna 19 Feb 1772 and 3 April 1772 Mss Eur F331/19.

<sup>4</sup> He had met and married his wife, Philadelphia Austen in Madras in 1753. Philadelphia Austen was the aunt of Jane Austen, the novelist. The Hastings and Hancocks forged such a strong friendship in Madras and Calcutta that the Hancocks named their daughter Elizabeth after the Hastings' baby who had died. Elizabeth Hancock, known to her father as Betsy, was Warren Hastings goddaughter. He generously set her up with a £10,000 stipend, which meant that in her lifetime she always had a comfortable income. William Larkins, the name of the captain of the *Lioness* appears in Jane Austen's novel 'Emma' as the manager and overseer of Donwell Abbey.



respected'. Tysoe Saul Hancock's cabin became a refuge from the youth's cramped, noisy, stuffy quarters 'an article the most useful and agreeable of all others, as he has a large collection of Latin, Greek, and English authors. I have free access to them at all times - a privilege I make a good use of'.<sup>5</sup>

Young John Shore's outward voyage to Bengal in 1768 was a continuation of the deepening engagement of his family with the imperial order. His father's network blended family and East India Company connections that spanned a global arena. As a supercargo voyaging 7,000 miles to Guangzhou, Thomas had deepened his immediate family's engagement with the global, while retaining the Elder John Shore's mercantile identity. Thomas' fellow China supercargo Frederick Pigou was to become his son John's patron into the East India Company. As well as rising to Director in the East India Company, Pigou participated in the long-distance, merchant networks between eighteenth-century London and Philadelphia.<sup>6</sup> Toby Ditz and John Smail showed that within these networks a 'public character' of honour operated within a matrix of mercantile patronage and influence that stretched around the Atlantic world and back to the ports of London, Bristol and Liverpool.<sup>7</sup> Frederick Pigou recruited Shore based upon his family heritage and embedded him within an East India Company matrix that overlapped this Atlantic world.<sup>8</sup> During John Shore's first sojourn in Bengal between 1769 and 1785 rather than working as a merchant as his forebears had, he rose through the ranks of the East India Company revenue administration. His private trading interests, those of his fellow Company servants and the retention of a commercial branch remind us that the Company Shore joined was still a mercantile organisation.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> To his mother 1 January 1769, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I. pp. 13-14.

<sup>6</sup> T. L. Ditz, 'Shipwrecked, or, Masculinity Imperiled: Mercantile Representations of Failure and the Gendered Self in 18th-Century Philadelphia', *Journal of American History*, 81 (1994), pp. 51-80, n63. Pigou had been a China super-cargo alongside Shore's father and a 'family friend' according to Shore's biographer. See Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', pp. 51-80, 51-80; J. Smail, 'Credit, Risk, and Honor in Eighteenth-Century Commerce', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), pp. 439-456, (pp. 446, 451).

<sup>8</sup> In the East India Company, a formal patronage system recruited from the kinship and friendship networks of the Court of Directors, whose position gave them a number of writer ships based upon seniority. See Ghosh, *British Community in Bengal*, pp. 9-32; McGilvary, *East India Patronage*, p. 152.

<sup>9</sup> For the private mercantile interests of Company administrators see Holden Furber, *John Company at Work: A Study of European Expansion in India in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 225-59. Shore's early

In this chapter I explore how challenges to these expectations of civility and a civil order in late eighteenth-century Bengal, highlighted to Company men their difference from the peoples of South Asia. While the John Shore setting out for Bengal in 1768 was the product of bloodline and privilege, he also adhered to a Whig order of progression and reform. His conception of the symbology of blood had split into the practice of duelling for status that he rejected and a dynastic practice of bloodline and privilege that he tacitly endorsed. Some historians argue that through the eighteenth-century a code of politeness gradually replaced the code of honour that Shore's shipmates practised in their duels.<sup>10</sup> Others argue that written forms, such as mercantile rhetoric, legal appeals, letter writing to journals and the romanticised anti-heroes of fiction show that the code of honour lay dormant within an evolving code of civility.<sup>11</sup> In the early modern period, imaginings of incivility revolved around tropes of barbarity and savagery.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, through the romanticised stereotypes of the libertine, rake, highwayman and pirate the code of civil masculinity contained the option for uncivil behaviour.<sup>13</sup> In an attempt to resolve the tension regarding

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letters to Anderson indicate his business ventures and financial transactions with Maharaja Nundcomar, Anderson, Bristow and Dawson. See letters to Anderson in 1772, 5 January 1774, 17 July 1774, 10 September 1774 and 22 September 1774 in Add MS 45428, fols 5-6, 8-11.

<sup>10</sup> Robert B Shoemaker, 'Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London', *Social History*, 26 (2001), pp. 190-208, (p. 207); Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, 'Introduction', in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*. ed. by Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 1-22, (pp. 13-15); Ute Frevert argued that the feeling of dynastic honour disappeared in Europe, possibly to re-emerge within the nationalisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011), pp. 40-87.

<sup>11</sup> Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen and Pirates*, pp. 1, 6-7, 9-13, 18; William Stafford, 'Gentlemanly Masculinities as Represented by the Late Georgian Gentleman's Magazine', *History*, 93 (2008), pp. 47-68; Smail, 'Credit, Risk and Honour', pp. 439-456, Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', pp. 51-80. Markku Peltonen argued that rather than being separate codes, civility and honour were introduced into England in the early modern period through Italian renaissance culture and both were consequently interlinked within the same code of masculine performance. See Markku Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England Civility, Politeness and Honour* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 13-16.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas, *Civility*, pp. 214-46.

<sup>13</sup> Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England*. *Oxford Studies in Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 51-2, 64,

John Shore's experiences of Indo-Persian revenue and his imaginings of civil order, this chapter examines how far signs of civility and incivility feature as the underpinning to reform. I also explore how experience of the Indo-Persian system may have informed Shore's imaginings of nation, class and race.

Both Jon E. Wilson and Ranajit Guha tackled the Permanent Settlement as an imagining of community that emerged from Shore's embodied, practical experiences. In the *Domination of Strangers* Wilson argued the Permanent Settlement was born of Shore's emotional distance from Bengali culture. He argued that Shore and his colleagues suffered a 'practical, semantic crisis, in which concepts and practices could no longer be taken for granted as working in an unreflexive fashion'. In Shore and his East India Company colleagues this crisis of meaning led to a 'peculiarly abstract, objectivising train of thought' when imagining Bengali communities. As a result, in an anxious attempt to manage this disconnection administrators adopted practices of information retrieval such as note taking. The result was a rupture in the Imperial polity with the implementation of the Permanent Settlement in 1793.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, in *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, Ranajit Guha vaunted Shore's emphasis upon practical experience and attention to detail. Guha argued that Shore's difficulties in imagining a community of revenue managers (*zamindars*) in the rural districts of Bengal was a prescient first criticism of Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement. In his final minute of 21 December 1789, to Guha Shore 'revolted ... against his own inherited and long-cherished notions' and 'used experience as a solvent of dogma'. While he initially imagined a community of *zamindars*, Shore was otherwise far from adopting generalised abstractions. Shore was a careful writer who came to a middle ground through weighing up both sides of an argument. He valued practical utility above general principle and took an experimental approach to policymaking. To Guha, Shore was 'firmly rooted to the ground'. He was a man who turned to the texts of South Asia and the 'living knowledge' of the people of Bengal in his researches. He had practical expertise in Persian accounting and experience of immersion within the Indo-Persian system as the revenue manager for a small area. As a result, 'his deviation from the

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84-6, 243-275; Ditz, 'Shipwrecked', pp. 51-80, (pp. 58-74); Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen and Pirates*, pp. 1-34; Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp. 37-41.

<sup>14</sup> Wilson, *Domination of Strangers*, pp. 9-13, 33-5, 39, 73.

doctrines of Philip Francis was, in fact, the sign of a coming revolt against the entire eighteenth-century tradition in the Company's administration.'<sup>15</sup>

This chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, I track Shore's rise in status in the Company records and his engagement with indigenous practices. This section investigates the mercantile, civil, and South Asian practices that Shore deployed and shows the ways in which these practices allowed him to navigate the global forces that contributed to the fluctuations in the revenue system in his early years. In section two, I look at Shore's experiences of practising revenue administration within an Indo-Persian system and explore how a multicultural Company state challenged and re-inscribed his sense of a British order. In the final section, I explore the ways in which these South Asian experiences influenced Shore's rational thinking. I examine the minutes Shore produced when the Court of Directors commissioned him to review the revenue system between 1787 and 1789. I also look at a report he produced in 1782 as Acting Chief of the Revenue Committee, outlining his ideas for reform. I examine in what ways the imagined communities in Shore's minutes were a product of a multicultural Company state, where signs of civility and order competed with the practices of Indo-Persian revenue collection Shore encountered in Bengal.

### Creating a Name within the Company

In this section I look at the ways Shore situated himself as a trustworthy man of civility and worth within the global forces of the late eighteenth century. His moves in his early years allowed him to rise from a junior writer in 1769 to the Acting Chief of Revenue in 1781 and to President of the Board of Revenue in 1787 with a seat on the Supreme Council. As a trading company operating from London, the East India Company communicated across the globe using the mercantile conventions of the British Isles. At the same time, in Bengal the men collecting the revenue had to adopt Indo-Persian practices. This section considers the ways in which the men of the East India Company organised themselves into committees along the lines of their homeland and simultaneously worked within the taxonomies and rituals of the Indo-Persian revenue system they adopted.

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<sup>15</sup> Guha, *Rule of Property*, p. 201-5.

Shore's letters from the *Lioness* in 1769 reveal a boy reared in England to standards of elite masculine performance. This boy chose to assert himself through print and debate rather than physical combat. His rank of fifth out of thirty-four junior writers sent out for that season, his gentlemanly outlook and the attention paid him by Hancock, the captain William Larkins and the second and third mates suggest a young man able to impress. With his family status, his social skills, his demeanour and his classical learning Shore inserted himself into the ranks of power aboard the ship.<sup>16</sup> While rejecting the rough character of the captain, who commanded the ship with imperiousness and 'an extreme mauvais gout', Shore idealised Hancock's 'real merit and real worth', his refined literary tastes and his 'generosity, good nature and humanity'.<sup>17</sup> Shore disparaged the duelling on board the *Lioness* that focused upon the code of honour and blood and that sought redress through ritualised combat.<sup>18</sup> Rather than resorting to this code, in his denigration of roughness and duelling and in his praise of inner worth and civility, Shore chose to perform an Enlightenment man of politeness and reason.<sup>19</sup> To request non-resident writers and cadets to vacate the Great Cabin, Shore took part in a voting ceremony redolent of a Parliamentary debate. Equally, he composed written satires of his shipmates' behaviour, for which they threatened him with the loss of his ears.<sup>20</sup> As a result, in his ambition for recognition as a modern man of reason, Shore dropped some friendships. '[C]onnections...which I inevitably fell into before I could sufficiently distinguish whom it was my interest and inclination to cultivate, and whom to avoid'.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> For Shore's ranking among his cohort of junior writers see IOR/E/4/619, fol. 143.

<sup>17</sup> To his mother 1 January 1769 and 19 May 1769, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 13, 19.

<sup>18</sup> Mackie, *Rakes, Highwaymen and Pirates*, pp. 84-96; Karen Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, Circa 1650-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), pp. 296-311; Shoemaker, 'Male Honour', pp. 190-208; Robert B Shoemaker, 'The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London, 1660-1800', *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), pp. 525-545; Stephen Banks, 'Killing with Courtesy: The English Duellist, 1785-1845', *Journal of British Studies*, 47 (2008), pp. 528-558, (pp. 528-48).

<sup>19</sup> The polite gentleman chose inner worth over external display, preferring elegance and simplicity to an extravagant lifestyle. See Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, pp. 42-53. The metaphor of the duel represented public debate in print and oratory when opponents attempted to win arguments through the cut and thrust of debate, rather than openly discussing issues. See Stafford, 'Gentlemanly Masculinities', pp. 47-68.

<sup>20</sup> To his mother 1 January 1769, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 17.

After Shore arrived in Calcutta in June 1769 the progress of his name through the Proceedings of the Revenue Committees marks his rise within the Company. Through the standing of his father, uncles and grandfathers in Company circles, his original ranking offered him preferment at the start of his career. For the first few years of his career in the Company he was too junior for his name to enter the Public Proceedings. But his name started to travel through the Company minutes as his authority increased. During his early years of service in Bengal Shore experienced a fluctuating revenue system with changes to the administration originating from government legislation and the orders of the Court of Directors. In 1765 just under four years before John Shore stepped foot onto Bengali soil, under the Treaty of Allahabad Robert Clive had forced the Mughal Emperor to grant the East India Company the rights to revenue collection and the administration of justice in Bengal. Until 1769 the Company collected revenue under a dual system. The Resident at the *Durbar* of the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa at Murshidabad and the Governor and Select Committee in Calcutta were general overseers to revenue systems run by Mohammad Reza Khan, the *Diwan* in Bengal, and Shitab Rai, the *Rairayan* in Bihar. As an early Company bureaucrat, Shore travelled along the fluctuations in the revenue system as the Company struggled to gain control of the Indo-Persian bureaucracy. In 1769 a Company Supervisor was sent to each district to oversee revenue collection by indigenous officers and to survey the state of the land. A year later the Company set up Controlling Councils of Revenue in Murshidabad and Patna to act as controls to Mohammad Reza Khan and Shitab Rai.<sup>22</sup> In 1770 Shore took his first steps into revenue when he went to Murshidabad as Writer and later Persian Translator at the Controlling Council of Revenue in Murshidabad.<sup>23</sup> With Warren Hastings' appointment as Governor of the Calcutta Presidency, in 1772 the Court of Directors ordered that Mohammad Reza Khan and Shitab Rai be arrested and a new system of revenue collection be established that would extend Company control.<sup>24</sup> In 1772 Shore toured with a temporary Committee of Circuit, an interim measure to settle the revenue and investigate the

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<sup>22</sup> Bankey Bihari Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), pp. 108-14.

<sup>23</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, 28, pp. 48, 50.

<sup>24</sup> Misra, *Central Administration*, p. 114.

state of collections in outlying districts of Bengal.<sup>25</sup> In this year Hastings removed the Khalsa (Treasury) from Murshidabad to Calcutta and abolished the Committees of Control. In 1773, under the Regulating Act Hastings became Governor General over all East India Company presidencies. The Act made provision for a Supreme Council with four named councillors and a Supreme Court with an ambiguous jurisdiction. Alongside this Act, the Court of Directors ordered the recall of the district Collectors and directed that another plan for revenue collection be put in place. Hastings set up Provincial Revenue Councils in Calcutta, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Dinajpur, Dhaka and Patna.<sup>26</sup>

At this point Shore became Secretary to the Murshidabad Council of Revenue and gained his first mention in the Revenue Proceedings when the minutes announced this appointment. He took up his position on 8 January 1774 and left on 19 December 1774.<sup>27</sup> As ‘The Secretary’, he carried out the orders and duties of the Committee with the Revenue Proceedings listing him anonymously. Subsequently, Shore gained visibility and influence as he rose through the ranks of the Revenue Committees. He was the fifth and final named member on the Calcutta Committee from January 1775 rising to Acting President from 1781 to 1784.

The Revenue system at this time operated upon an Indo-Persian model, but within the East India Company reporting and recording of business took the form of the homeland. Dependence upon writing was fundamental to merchants of the early modern period. Conventions such as double entry bookkeeping and writing daily logs allowed businessmen to control and contain the risks of the marketplace.<sup>28</sup> In the eighteenth century, East India Company merchants in South Asia followed these writing practices, but they also transposed their civil order into their Proceedings. As early as the late seventeenth century, factories of Fort St George practised hierarchical table seating so that men arranged themselves for meals according to their rank in the Company. The men in South Asia transcribed this civil order in the consultation books returned to Leadenhall Street. In return the Court of Directors

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<sup>25</sup> Shore’s letters to Anderson indicate that he was on the Committee of Circuit. See Letters to Anderson 5 October and 25 October 1772 from Dhaka and 10b December 1772 fear near Chilmary, Add MS 45428, fols. 1, 3, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Misra, *Central Administration*, pp. 114-23.

<sup>27</sup> A\AOV/81.

<sup>28</sup> Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 30, 37.

translated a code of civility into demands for a ‘rhetoric of respect’ between themselves and their Chiefs across the globe.<sup>29</sup> While unable to control the minutiae of the decision-making at Fort William, the despatches from Leadenhall Street at this time reiterated the principles upon which decisions should be made and actions taken in Calcutta: simplicity, frugality and regularity.<sup>30</sup>

In the Revenue department in Bengal junior writers copied Committee Proceedings for the examination of the Court of Directors in London.<sup>31</sup> The Proceedings recorded the orders issued from the Supreme Council, letters and reports from Company revenue collectors and Committee members and the translated letters and petitions of indigenous revenue payers. These records were the rationale by which the Committee argued their decisions and issued their orders and justified themselves to their superiors. Through written records, East India Company servants in South Asia could represent themselves to their superiors in London as part of an open, honest and disinterested mercantile order. In this way a technology of global communication between the Court of Directors and their Presidencies in South Asia shared a mercantile culture which ranked the men into status hierarchies, and disseminated performances of openness, honesty, logic and impartiality across the globe.

As well as deploying a mercantile, civil order though, the minutes and reports of the Revenue Proceedings show that Company officers worked with Indo-Persian forms. They wrote using an Indo-Persian calendar, with South Asian currencies and with indigenous measures of land, area and volume. These became such a familiar grammar that Shore wrote to his colleague Anderson within the logic of these Indo-Persian taxonomies. His private letters show him reckoning up balances in rupees, annas and paise. His reports to the Revenue Committee and Supreme Council package Persian revenue categories within the British mercantile code of balance sheets and statements. Consequently, the foundation upon which the abstractions and decisions of the Revenue Committee were based were also organised within Indo-Persian

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<sup>29</sup> Miles Ogborn, 'Streynsham Master's Office: Accounting for Collectivity, Order and Authority in 17th-Century India', *Cultural Geographies*, 13 (2006), pp. 127-55, (pp. 137-50).

<sup>30</sup> H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 198-9.

<sup>31</sup> Ogborn, 'Streynsham Master's Office', pp. 127-55, (pp. 76-82).



modes. The frameworks of both Britain and Bengal shaped the dialog between the merchants of Leadenhall Street and the administrators in Bengal.

### An Embarrassment of Revenue

Shore's understanding of civility that he brought with him from Britain was not without challenges in Bengal. In his engagement with Indo-Persian bureaucracy, Shore found confusion and confrontation with his position as Company administrator. By 1782 Shore found the Indo-Persian system 'confused and complicated ... difficult to understand [and] embarrassing to perform.'<sup>32</sup> As a result, Shore suspected 'actions are instigated with a design to embarrass.'<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, according to Shore a deliberate plot was afoot to confuse and befuddle the Company men. It was 'the business of all, from the *ryot* to the *Diwan*, to conceal and deceive. The simplest matter of fact are (sic) designedly covered with a veil, through which no human understanding can penetrate.'<sup>34</sup>

Shore perceived the Indo-Persian cultural codes around revenue administration as fundamentally different from his own, with little clarity of custom and usage.<sup>35</sup> He expected usages written down as in Europe, but the 'mode of transacting business' defied the rigid definitions and precedents Shore expected from his experience of British custom.<sup>36</sup> Because he did not understand the 'mode of transacting business', he did not trust the existing revenue methodology:

to learn at Calcutta the particular customs of a district of Rajshahi or Dhaka, is almost impossible and considering the channels through which an explanation

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<sup>32</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 17. According to Dr Johnson to embarrass was 'to perplex, to distress, to entangle'.

<sup>33</sup> To Anderson 21 July 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 90-3.

<sup>34</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 10. In the Indo-Persian system a *Diwan* was a minister in charge of revenue and a *ryot* the cultivator of the land. During Mughal rule, the *Khalsa Diwan* was the chief financial officer for a province assisted by the *Naib Diwan* as his deputy. See Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals 1700-1750* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1970), pp. 64, 84-5.

<sup>35</sup> Shore, 'Duties of the officer in charge of the Adalat', 15 March 1779, IOR/H/421, fols 141-50; To Anderson from Calcutta September 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 6-8; To James Hutchinson from Calcutta, 1 March 1780, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I. pp. 63-5.

<sup>36</sup> Shore 'Duties of Officer in Charge of Adalat 1779', IOR/H/421, fols 141-50.

must pass, and through which the complaint is made, any colouring may be given to it, and oppression and extortion, to the ruin of a district, may be practised with impunity.<sup>37</sup>

As a result, he felt unable to behave according to his own cultural code stating that transacting revenue was ‘morally impossible’.<sup>38</sup> He tried to understand the Indo-Persian administration through codes of mercantile virtue, judging behaviours according to the mores and customs of his homeland. While he perceived that some administrators behaved with ‘civility’, and merited respect, others lacked morals, and were ‘idle’ and ‘dissipated’.<sup>39</sup> For Shore Ganga Gobinda Sinha, the Revenue Committee’s *Diwan* ‘abused’ the revenue farmers, ‘pretended’ to the Committee and devised ‘manoeuvres’ in his revenue dealings.<sup>40</sup> He also complained of Ganga Gobinda Sinha’s ‘abuse of his temper’.<sup>41</sup> ‘If any good can come from him I will be hanged’.<sup>42</sup> Even Pran Kishan Sinha, the Committee’s *Naib Diwan*, was criticised for his habit of rising at noon. Even so, ‘notwithstanding my opinion of his morals, his dispatch and diligence suits me perfectly well.’<sup>43</sup>

Such cultural differences disordered Shore. From 1774 when the Supreme Court came into operation, because of the law suits the indigenous inhabitants raised, he was ‘cautious to observe distinctions, rules and form lest our proceedings, if hereafter laid before the Supreme Court, should be deemed informal, or irregular’.<sup>44</sup> One reason for his caution could be that in 1775, the Revenue Committee twice jailed Kamal-ud-Din Ali Khan for the ‘recovery of his balances’. Both times the Supreme Court issued a habeas corpus for his release.<sup>45</sup> As a result,

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<sup>37</sup> Shore, ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’, IOR/H/795, p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> Shore, ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’, IOR/H/795, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> To Anderson from Patna 22 October 1783, Add MS 45428, fols 117-8; To Anderson from Dhaka 6 May 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 61-2; To Anderson from Dhaka 9 May 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 63-6; To Anderson 2 February 1782, Add MS 45428, fols 113-4.

<sup>40</sup> To Anderson from Calcutta 15 May 1780, Add MS 45428, fols 34-6.

<sup>41</sup> To Anderson 11 August 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 102-5. According to Dr Johnson, temper is a ‘constitutional frame of mind’.

<sup>42</sup> To Anderson from Dhaka 19 May 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 76-9.

<sup>43</sup> To Anderson from Patna 22 October 1783, Add MS 45428, fols 117-8.

<sup>44</sup> Shore ‘Duties of Officer in Charge of Adalat 1779’, IOR/H/421, fols 141-50.

<sup>45</sup> Deposition of John Shore (undated), London, British Library, BL, Add MS 38398, fol. 128; Henry Beveridge, *The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar, a Narrative of a Judicial Murder* (Calcutta: Thacker, 1886), p. 152.

in April 1776, Kamal-ud-Din Ali Khan sued Shore and two other members of the Revenue Committee for wrongful imprisonment. The questioning of witnesses revolved around the understanding of the meaning of Persian revenue documents relating to the ‘custom and usage of the country’.<sup>46</sup> Four years later perhaps because of his experience of such ‘vexatious prosecutions in the Supreme Court of Judicature’ Shore rejected a role as ‘charge of adalat’. Once more the fear revolved around the power and agency of an indigenous population supported by a living system and ‘mode of transacting business’ he did not understand. As a result, Shore declared that a person in the proposed role ‘cannot proceed with figure or carry any decree into execution but with a trembling hand.’<sup>47</sup>

Shore’s narrative suggests that both the Bengalis and the British were under pressure and confused by the changes the British brought to the system. In Shore’s 1776 court case, indigenous witnesses appeared for both the prosecution and the defence of the Revenue Committee. Because Shore’s rationalisation of his actions depended upon literal translation of revenue documents, his interpretation of custom and usage differed wildly from the version of the *kanungos* (keepers of revenue records).<sup>48</sup> In Shore’s transactions out in the field, the voice and agency of Bengalis is evident. Indigenous petitioners pressed their cases and Indo-Persian revenue officers asserted their customs and rights. To Shore these indigenous forms of protest and intervention were problematic. As an official in the field and on the Committee, he found that petitions and representations from revenue payers could be insistent and overwhelming.<sup>49</sup>

Most commonly, Shore referred to these petitions as complaints. In the Indo-Persian state the petition or *arzasht* was a form of collective protest and negotiation that an inferior submitted to a superior. Using ornate expressions of fealty, *arzis* allowed the supplicant direct access to

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<sup>46</sup> ‘Extract of the proceedings of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue dated Fort William 2nd November 1775’, Add MS 38398, fol. 183.

<sup>47</sup> Shore ‘Duties of Officer in Charge of Adalat 1779’, IOR/H/421, fols 141-50.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Extract of the proceedings of the Calcutta Committee of Revenue dated Fort William 2nd November 1775’, Add MS 38398, fol. 183.

<sup>49</sup> To Anderson from Krishnanagar 7, 9 and 17 May 1777 and from Dhaka 9 May and from an unknown location 15 October 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 25-6, 63-4, 112.

the sovereign.<sup>50</sup> The Persian styles of address are absent from the English translations in the Revenue Proceedings though. Rather than being expressions of fealty, the Company translator changed the understanding of the petition into the simplicity and practicality of the East India Company mercantile form.<sup>51</sup> In the early years of Shore's career, the Revenue Committees delegated the investigatory mode to the *Diwan* and district *Amins* so that a Bengali bureaucrat would often write the reports deriving from such petitions.<sup>52</sup> In the Company Revenue Proceedings the *Diwan*, the *Naib Diwan*, and other indigenous officers such as the *Amins* were unnamed. Like the Committee Secretary, these high-ranking treasury officers occupied opaque roles, relegating the Indo-Persian bureaucrat outside of the collective decision-making responsibilities of named Committee members. By 1779, Shore managed the *Amins*, eroding the influence of the *Diwan* still further. Shore as second on the Committee was accumulating social capital by investigating petitions himself. In early 1782 Shore asserted that the *Diwani Adalat* or civil court had worked to the advantage of the *zamindars* because if the Committee attempted to use any force, the revenue payer would make out a complaint. The court would then absolve the complainant from paying.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, rather than being an example of political influence and voice, to Shore complaints were a deception and a subversion of Company order. The practice of *arzi* meant that the business of the Committee was organised around a multiplicity of indigenous voices that battered the Company of Shore's imaginings.

Changes came for Shore though with the Amending Act of 1781. Under this Act Hastings was asked to come up with a more efficient plan for collecting the revenues. Hastings' answer was to centralise the collections for the Presidency to a Committee of Revenue at

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<sup>50</sup> Bhavani Raman, *Document Raj: Writing and Scribes in Early Colonial South India* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012), pp. 163-7.

<sup>51</sup> Raman, *Document Raj*, pp. 163-7.

<sup>52</sup> During Mughal rule, the *Khalsa Diwan* was the chief financial officer for a province assisted by the *Naib Diwan* as his deputy. The *Amin* adjudicated revenue disputes between *zamindar* or revenue farmer and *ryot* and assessed the revenue due from the lands under his remit. See Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, pp. 64, 84-5.

<sup>53</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 8. See also Shore's concerns about complaints against 'compulsatory powers ... to restrain trivial and groundless complaints' in Shore 'Duties of Officer in Charge of Adalat 1779', IOR/H/421, fols 414-50.

Calcutta. The Chiefs and Collectors of the provincial councils remained in the districts, under the control of the centralised committee.<sup>54</sup> Once again Shore rode the moves of the British government and East India Company. In 1781 he was appointed to the centralised committee as second in command, but with the Chief of the Revenue Council at the court of Mahadji Scindia in Pune, Shore became Acting Chief. Crippled by Wars in the South and West of the subcontinent, from 1781 the Company entered a financial crisis and the revenue demand for the province increased by 24 *lakhs* of rupees or 9.4%.<sup>55</sup> While the number of men on the centralised committee did not change, the amount of work did. From two books of Proceedings in 1775 and four books in 1779, by 1783 the Committee of Revenue at Calcutta was producing nine books for the business of the year.<sup>56</sup> With the financial crisis and the increased workload, under Shore as Acting Chief the Committee's attitude to revenue arrears hardened. From 1777 *zamindars* pleading that they could not pay often had their revenue assessment adjusted downwards. From 1781 those *zamindars* who could not pay were dispossessed. In 1776, Shore had declared that he remembered no member of the Supreme Council influencing him to 'proceed with rigour or severity'. Two years later though, Philip Francis had advocated Shore 'appear a rod of terror held over' the Raja of Nadia.<sup>57</sup> Consequently, at least one member of the Supreme Council had advocated Shore's use of threats in the execution of his revenue duties. By the early 1780s Shore's letters to the Chief of Revenue at Pune were overt in his use of aggression and violence to collect revenue for the Company. He employed fear to control the indigenous revenue farmers and administrators by 'threaten[ing] violently', by using 'rigorous measures' that were 'both necessary and just' and by threatening with 'the fear of dismissal'.<sup>58</sup> In 1782 Shore argued that 'It may be possible in the course of time to induce the natives to pay their rents with regularity, and

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<sup>54</sup> Misra, *Central Administration*, pp. 123-33.

<sup>55</sup> McLane, *Land and Local Kingship*, pp. 252-3. A *lakh* is 100, 000.

<sup>56</sup> Calcutta Committee of Revenue for 1775, IOR/P/67/59 and IOR/P/67/60; Calcutta Committee of Revenue for 1779 IOR/P/67/75, IOR/P/67/76, IOR/P/68/1 and IOR/P/68/2; Calcutta Committee of Revenue for 1783 IOR/P/68/20 to IOR/P/68/28.

<sup>57</sup> Deposition of John Shore (undated), Add MS 38398, fol. 128; Parkes and Merivale, *Memoirs of Francis*, II, p. 121.

<sup>58</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 16; To Anderson from Calcutta 15 May 1780, Add MS 45428, fols 34-6; Deposition of John Shore (undated), Add MS 38398, fol. 128.

without compulsion, but this is not the case at present'.<sup>59</sup> Because of the variations in custom at different localities, the Committee tended to decide on the part of the revenue farmer. Shore believed this 'a continual source of embarrassment [confusion] to the Committee of Revenue in Calcutta' and 'a circumstance which may support the most cruel acts of oppression'.<sup>60</sup>

In Chapter 2 I explored climate as Shore's metaphor for the overpowering Indianisation of his constitution. But conflict and challenge to his mercantile order also highlighted his differences with this culture that he inhabited in Bengal. In his rigorous measures, Shore responded to revenue debtors as Indo-Persian officers had before the Company took over. In the Indo-Persian system beatings and imprisonment were ways of determining whether a debtor was telling the truth about his inability to pay. But Shore was acting contrary to the system of England which was increasingly marginalising corporal punishment and taking the responsibility for imprisonment and capital punishment out of the hands of private men and into the courts.<sup>61</sup> After his promotion to Acting Chief of the Committee of Revenue in 1781, alongside his efforts at compulsion Shore's letters to the Chief are still replete with his 'endless confusion'.<sup>62</sup> From 1781 Hastings had appointed Ganga Gobinda Sinha as the *Diwan* of the Committee. Ganga Gobinda Sinha had assumed control of the revenue collections. Operating with the assent of Hastings the *Diwan* was an accomplished revenue expert but hard for the Committee to control. At this juncture in 1782 Shore wrote a private minute entitled 'Remarks on the Mode of administering Justice to the Natives in Bengal, and on the Collection of the Revenues'. The minute (hereafter called 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782') called for revenue reform and for the Company officers to take a despotic authority over collections. In the minute Shore portrayed the secrets of the revenue system as covered by mist and veil and felt lost within 'such a labyrinth as nothing would get you out of'.<sup>63</sup> For

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<sup>59</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 8.

<sup>60</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, pp. 9-10.

<sup>61</sup> McLane, *Land and Local Kingship*, pp. 69-95.

<sup>62</sup> To Anderson from Dhaka 11 May 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 67-8; To Anderson from Dhaka 25 May 1781, Add MS 45428, fol. 85; To Anderson from Patna 22 October 1783, Add MS 45428, fols 117-8.

<sup>63</sup> To Anderson 9 May 1781, Add MS 45428, fols 63-6; To Anderson from Patna 22 October 1783, Add MS 45428, fols 117-8; Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 10.

Shore then, exchanges on the frontier of empire were a site of disorder and unreason when attempting to settle the revenues. Between 1775 and 1784 he was hard pressed to set the terms of engagement.

### Imagining Civil and Uncivil Communities

In this section I consider Shore's role in the implementation of a permanent settlement of revenue for Bengal. In the 1770s and 1780s there were many debates about the way in which revenue collections could be made more efficient, but two principles of reform united Company revenue officers: that Company men should supervise Bengali collectors and that the revenue settlements should provide security for the *zamindars*.<sup>64</sup> The arguments revolved around the virtues of the English officers juxtaposed against the oriental despotism of the Bengali men working within the Indo-Persian system.<sup>65</sup> I argue that in the 'Permanent Settlement Plan' Shore drew up in 1789 he became the mouthpiece for these general principles. His vision of British authority emerged from the experiences of men embedded within the Indo-Persian revenue system. It was constructed around and within the customs and practices of Bengali revenue. In the 'Permanent Settlement Plan' Shore represented Bengali society as a space of disorder, an alternative realm that he cast against the order and virtue of a British sovereign state. In this way Shore's plan argued his case assuming notions of nation, class and race that were constructed within the interface of Briton and Bengali in empire.

Under the East India Act, from 1784 the Company was answerable to government through the Board of Control. As part of this Act the Court of Directors were obliged to set up permanent rules for revenue collection that operated within the laws and constitutions of South Asia. The idea of a permanent settlement of the revenues of Bengal emerged in the 1770s, expressed through the pamphlets of East India Company servants Alexander Dow and Henry Pattullo. The doctrine was later championed by Philip Francis between 1774 and 1780 after he took his place on the Supreme Council. As a commissioner for the British government, his 1776 plan for permanent settlement was in part a response to Hastings'

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<sup>64</sup> P. J. Marshall, *Bengal, the British Bridgehead: Eastern India 1740-1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 117.

<sup>65</sup> Marshall, *British Bridgehead*, p. 118.

system of contracting out revenue ‘farms’ to the highest bidder. Known as *ijara*, this system was common under Mughal rule, and *ijaradars* were roles within the Indo-Persian state. The British men who argued for a permanent settlement of the revenue system in the 1770s though, believed that as in Britain, owning land across family generations was the cornerstone of stable, secure and prosperous governance.<sup>66</sup>

Shore left Bengal with Hastings in 1785 and returned with Cornwallis in 1786 with a seat on the Supreme Council. While in Britain the Court of Directors had tasked Shore with a particular mission: that of investigating revenue reform. In 1782 Shore had set out his vision for governance of Bengal with his ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’, a private minute he gave to John Macpherson, then a member of Hastings’ government. In the minute he argued for a ‘despotic’ form of government in which Company officers in the districts assumed the dual role of revenue collector and administrator of civil justice. In the minute Shore also advocated a more stable revenue settlement, but one that was moderate, flexible in case of hardship and based upon the lifetime of the *zamindar*, rather than a permanent commitment. He also proposed excluding women and minors from the management of *zamindaris*. Minors he wanted to place under the management of Company-approved men, preferably relatives, but certainly men who would educate the boy into the Company way of managing their estates. Shore obligingly volunteered himself to ‘cheerfully embrace the Trouble of this Detail’.<sup>67</sup>

Before his departure in 1786 Charles Rouse Boughton, Secretary to the Board of Control, had solicited Shore’s opinion on the Company’s public letter to Bengal.<sup>68</sup> The orders sent to Bengal from Leadenhall Street for revenue administration laid out that ‘the settlement should be made with the *zamindars* on a fixed and permanent plan’. They approved the role of the district chief as an amalgamation of revenue collection and superintendence of the *Diwani Adalats* (civil courts).<sup>69</sup> The Court of Directors also wanted exceptions to the *zamindari* settlement made for ‘incapacity from age, sex, lunacy, contumacy or notorious profligacy of

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<sup>66</sup> Guha, *Rule of Property*, pp. 1-10, 171.

<sup>67</sup> Shore, ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’, IOR/H/795, p. 17.

<sup>68</sup> Shore, ‘Remarks on the Heads of the Plan contained in the Letter’, IOR/H/381, pp. 255-63.

<sup>69</sup> Misra, *Central Administration*, pp. 132-3.



character'.<sup>70</sup> Once again, in his reply to Rous Boughton, Shore reiterated the ideas he had laid out in 1782. He cast doubt upon a fixed settlement. He agreed that Company Collectors in the districts should have the dual roles of revenue collection and civil justice. He also agreed that appointments to *zamindaris* should be to men of obedience and economy. As early as 1782 then, for Ranajit Guha, Shore had drafted a blueprint for the revenue reforms of the Cornwallis era.<sup>71</sup> Upon his departure for Bengal Shore was still pressing his ideas upon the Board of Control. Shore's plan was an amalgam of ideas from Britain and the Company in Bengal, created in the debate between metropole and colony. When Shore returned in 1786, the India Act forced upon him the need to find permanent rules for revenue collection. But the vision of who would uphold the authority of the British state outside of Calcutta came from the experiences of Company men like Shore in Bengal.

Up to June 1789, in Bengal Shore struggled manfully with the edicts of his Company superiors and his own ideas of reform that he had outlined in his 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782'. His first move was to investigate the Indo-Persian system of revenue, and to this end he researched in Persian texts, read English translations of South Asian works and interviewed high-ranking revenue experts in South Asia: in Patna the *Rairayan* (Chief of Revenue) and Ghulam Hussein Khan, the author of a history of Bengal.<sup>72</sup> The result was two minutes, one on the rights of *zamindars* and *talukdars*, the other on *jagirdars*.<sup>73</sup> The rest of this section examines Shore's vision of imperial rule outside of Calcutta as outlined in his 'Permanent Settlement Plan' of June 1789. In his plan as well as ensuring that the Company

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<sup>70</sup> John Shore, 'Minute of Mr Shore, Dated 18th June 1789, Respecting the Permanent Settlement of the Lands in the Bengal Provinces', in *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*. ed. by Walter K. Firminger. repr edn. 3 vols. (New York NY: Kelley, 1969), II, pp. 1-145, (pp. 37, 62, 63, 65, 71, 72, 77, 99, 102, 114, 119).

<sup>71</sup> Ranajit Guha, 'An Administrative Blueprint of 1785', in *The Small Voice of History: Collected Essays*. ed. by Ranajit Guha and Partha Chatterjee. (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2009), pp. 21-35, (p.34).

<sup>72</sup> Replies by Ghulam Hussein Khan and the *Rairayan* (Head of Revenue in Bihar) on the Rights and Privileges of Landholders, IOR/H/381, pp. 491-585.

<sup>73</sup> Shore, 'Mr Shore's Minute on the Rights of Zamindars and Talukdars 2 April 1788', II, pp. 737-752. 'On the Rights and Privileges of Jagirdars' 21 April 1788, IOR/H/442, pp. 1-32; 'Memorandum on the Rights of Zamindars, Talukdars, and Jagirdars by John Shore (subsequent to 1788)', IOR/H/381, pp. 303-39. A *jagir* was a revenue area given to a courtier who became a *jagirdar*. The revenue collected by the *jagirdar* served as income instead of receiving a salary from the Emperor or his Nawab.

men had control over the revenue collections, Shore attempted to incorporate Bengali society into a British framework of sovereign and dynastic power. Some men in the East India Company from early in the eighteenth century had used the family as a tool of governance and saw the reform of conduct upon English lines as a matter of good statesmanship. At Fort Marlborough in Sumatra in the early eighteenth century the Governor, Collett, saw the family as a model of conduct, in which men who performed upstanding, patriarchal roles were fitted for inclusion within an English sovereign state. While embracing a public role from which Collett was excluded at home, Collett operated as the Chief within a multicultural administration. At the same time, he attempted to reform the manners and intimate lives of the men and women of all ethnicities who served under him. In Collett's form of statesmanship, he both embodied the British sovereign state and attempted to deploy practices of British sovereignty within empire. Family for Collett, as in other places like St Helena and Jamaica in the eighteenth century, became the method for claiming British sovereignty and also for reclaiming a personal sense of belonging and Britishness in empire.<sup>74</sup>

Likewise, for Shore. In Chapter 2 we saw how Shore as Governor General had modelled himself in public as a national model of family patriarchy when his wife and daughter arrived in Calcutta. In the 1780s with his vision of revenue reform, Shore attempted to recreate a British dynastic order in Bengal in his remodel of the revenue administration. Shore equated a British rule of revenue with the traditional values of 'the dynastic realm' that Benedict Anderson argued 'appeared for most men as the only imaginable "political" system'.<sup>75</sup> Although Shore usually described Company servants as European and the language, government and constitution of his native country as English, he used 'British' to describe the Company government and interests in Bengal. As well as adhering to a British sense of hierarchical order in the Company, the men were largely of British origin. They were recruited in Britain through British networks of influence controlled from the Court of Directors. Laurence Dundas for example used East India company patronage to bolster his political support in Scotland. He offered writerships to the younger sons of elite families impoverished after the Jacobite uprisings of the first half of the eighteenth century. For this

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<sup>74</sup> K. Wilson, 'Rethinking the Colonial State: Family, Gender, and Governmentality in Eighteenth-Century British Frontiers', *American Historical Review*, 116 (2011), pp. 1294-1322, (pp. 1301-7).

<sup>75</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 25.

reason, George McGilvary argued that empire helped to unify Scotland and England into a British state. Equally Linda Colley contended that serving in empire helped Scotsmen to engage with British interests.<sup>76</sup> Because of these patterns of patronage in the East India Company, in Bengal networks of men of Scots, Irish, English and Welsh origin united in the enterprise of administration using the civil forms and principles of writing laid out by the Court of Directors in London. Records formed a site of British collaboration between London and Calcutta, creating a sense of continuity and a collective memory that formed part of the Company identity in Bengal.

In his 1789 'Permanent Settlement Plan' Shore put forward a vision of British sovereignty over Bengal predicated upon who had access to revenue rights and responsibilities, who was entitled to occupy the higher reaches of a stratified social system and who performed with civility. In so doing he argued for a reified model of how sovereignty worked in Britain. In Britain in the eighteenth century, a sense of nation was felt as the access to a set of rights and freedoms bestowed by the British constitution. As the century wore on this formal sense of Britishness came to include Protestants of ethnicities across the British Isles who championed an ideal based upon gender, social status and religion.<sup>77</sup> The ownership of land was enshrined within the constitution as a condition for having a political voice. Both electors and members of the House of Commons needed to be male, Protestant and freeholders. In the House of Lords, the wealth of the Church and the peerage depended upon the ownership of property and vast landed estates. As a potent symbol, writers represented land as central to the wealth of the English nation and a cornerstone for political stability and civil order. The powerful, liminal figure of the ploughman, who worked the soil, encouraged wealth through agricultural fertility and maintained the socio-economic order.<sup>78</sup>

When Shore laid out a model of revenue reform though he corrupted these British sovereign forms because he severed the connection between owning land and having democratic rights

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<sup>76</sup> Colley, *Britons*, 117-32; McGilvary, *East India Patronage*, pp. 203-8.

<sup>77</sup> Kathleen Wilson, 'Empire, Gender and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century', in *Gender and Empire*. ed. by Philippa Levine. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 14-45, (pp. 15-18).

<sup>78</sup> Simon Schaffer, 'The Earth's Fertility as a Social Fact in Early Modern England', in *Nature and Society in Historical Context*. ed. by Mikuláš Teich, Roy Porter, and Bo Gustafsson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 124-47.

within the Company. Shore argued for a British elite to have authority and voice, but he gave *zamindars* rights to own land. Shore's model carved up both British and Indo-Persian social structures and remade them into a new, imperial framework. This rarefied form of elite, male, authority was a system of authority that neither Britons nor Bengalis recognised. Indo-Persian practices of power were an intricate meshing of ritual and belief from many cultures. Authority was decentralised and dispersed through households employing multi-ethnic merchant and scribal castes, skilled workers and service groups.<sup>79</sup> Under the Indo-Persian system the aristocrats and nobility were the high-ranking bureaucrats that the Mughal Emperor and then the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa appointed to administer the system. These men could be of any ethnicity and while families could inherit patronage and roles, this was not an exclusive condition for appointment.<sup>80</sup> The records of the 1770s and 1780s suggest that about three quarters of the men in the revenue system were non-Muslim and where caste can be determined, there was a bias towards *kayasthas*.<sup>81</sup> As a result, complexes of customs and practices produced a power that valued living, embodied knowledge over written forms and tolerated differences in practices and beliefs. Rather than being rigidly hierarchical with male *zamindars* at the peak, as many of the Britons who advocated Permanent settlement believed, power and wealth was distributed among many cultural roles, including among women and minors.

Expecting *zamindars* to act as the land-holding elite in Britain did, in his plan Shore wrote of the Bengali form of authority that he encountered through the *zamindars* as 'ignorance'. They showed 'great inattention to the management of the concerns for which they are responsible'. This was 'as deplorable as it is universal'.<sup>82</sup> Vakeels or agents exerted a powerful and

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<sup>79</sup> T. Mukherjee, 'The Co-Ordinating State and the Economy: The Nizamat in Eighteenth-Century Bengal', *Modern Asian Studies*, 43 (2009), pp. 389-436, p. 407.

<sup>80</sup> P. B. Calkins, 'Formation of a Regionally Oriented Ruling Group in Bengal, 1700-1740', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 29 (1970), pp. 799-806; Mukherjee, 'Co-Ordinating State and the Economy', pp. 389-436, (pp. 405-17); Hintze, *Mughal Empire*, pp. 66-74; K. Chatterjee, 'History as Self-Representation: The Recasting of a Political Tradition in Late Eighteenth-Century Eastern India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32 (1998), pp. 913-948, (pp. 917-923).

<sup>81</sup> P. J. Marshall, 'Indian Officials under the East India Company', in *Trade and Conquest: Studies on the Rise of British Dominance in India*. ed. by P. J. Marshall. (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 95-120, (p. 103).

<sup>82</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 41).

disordering influence upon *zamindars* he viewed as members of the public polity and constituents of a Company state:

The *zamindars* are encouraged in disobedience and evasions; they are taught to ascribe to the favour and indulgence, or to the resentment of individuals, the censure or compliance of the supreme power, and they are made to believe that everything depends upon intrigue, without any relation to system or to principles.<sup>83</sup>

Unsurprisingly, to Shore this Indo-Persian culture did not conform to his sense of order nor did Bengalis operate according to British embodiments of civil virtue. ‘As individuals, they are insolent to their inferiors;’ he observed. ‘[T]o their superiors, generally speaking, submissive; though they are to them also guilty of insolence, where they can be so with impunity’.<sup>84</sup>

Shore’s remedy in his ‘Permanent Settlement Plan’ was to propose a British Company of elite officers who commanded an indigenous administration.<sup>85</sup> Because he never described indigenous officers as servants of the Company, Shore conceived of a powerbase operating solely between the British officers approved from Leadenhall Street. In this way Shore equated the Company to a sovereign oligarchy that had assumed the responsibilities previously vested in the Nazim of Bengal. The new form of British sovereignty that Shore proposed in Bengal hoped to bestow the responsibilities of patronage upon the *zamindars*, without the rights of representation that their counterparts had in Britain. To account for this anomaly, within his plan Shore did not accord the Bengali rural elite with aristocratic status but equated them instead to the middling merchants and lower gentry of Britain. In Shore’s logic, on rare occasions *zamindars* may be termed liege lords or a race.<sup>86</sup> But, he never equated the *zamindars* of major holdings such as Nadia, Rajshahi, Burdwan or Dinajpur to an English aristocratic title such as a Lord, Duke or Marquis. Instead, he preferred the indigenous terms Raja and *zamindar* or the British terms landlord or proprietor. Through this terminology Shore demoted the Bengali elite out of the early modern British conception of

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<sup>83</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 42).

<sup>84</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 58); Shore, 'Minute on the Rights of Zemindars', II, pp. 737-752, (p. 746).

<sup>86</sup> Shore, 'Minute on the Rights of Zemindars', II, pp. 737-752, 737; Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 40).

authority. He placed the most powerful *zamindars* and revenue farmers at the same level in the civil order as the gentlemanly administrators of Bengal, who came mostly from the merchant, professional and lower-gentry families of Britain.<sup>87</sup> By imagining the *zamindar* as proprietor rather than aristocrat, Shore left the way clear for British administrators to fulfil the role of a 'noble race' and displaced the high-ranking Indo-Persian bureaucratic elite.<sup>88</sup> In this way, he conflated Indo-Persian concepts of aristocracy as service, with British ideals of noblemen entitled to privilege and power. In so doing Shore sliced through both British and Bengali traditions of governance.

I turn now to Shore's representation of Bengal as the foil for British order. While promoting an elite Company hierarchy, Shore justified his demotion of the Bengalis in the bureaucracy with essentialist representations. Despite the usual conception of Bengalis being removed from high office under the Cornwallis Code of 1793, in the land revenue administration that Shore worked within the process had started in the 1770s. Both the commercial and revenue branches saw the gradual diminishing of the responsibilities given to Bengalis in the late eighteenth-century. From the time the Company took over the Diwani of Bengal in 1765, the Company revenue administration had begun to side-line traditional roles in the Indo-Persian bureaucracy, with a hiatus in the early 1780s when Hastings was in control. Prior to the return of Shore and Cornwallis in 1786, Macpherson's interim government had increased the Company collectors and abolished the role of diwan in the districts. The *Diwan* on the central committee was abolished and replaced with a Company officer. When Shore and Cornwallis arrived, they brought further instructions that confirmed that the British collectors were to be in charge in the districts, but they were to resurrect the role of district *diwan* in subservience to the Company men. The only reason the policy was not adopted sooner was because the Court of Directors distrusted the motives of the Company men in Bengal and because Hastings entertained a high opinion of indigenous officers.<sup>89</sup>

Instead of initiating a policy of separation, Cornwallis seems to have run with the feelings of the revenue administrators and completed measures others had already started.<sup>90</sup> In this

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<sup>87</sup> Ghosh, *British Community in Bengal*, pp. 30-2.

<sup>88</sup> McInerney, 'Better Sort', pp. 47-63.

<sup>89</sup> Marshall, 'Indian Officials', pp. 95-120, (pp. 119-20).

<sup>90</sup> Marshall, 'Indian Officials', pp. 95-120, (pp. 119-20).

respect then, in writing a 'Permanent Settlement Plan' Shore was the mouthpiece for a consensus of men who viewed Indo-Persian revenue officers with suspicion. In defining a British order in his plan, Shore set the disorder of Bengal as foil which in a letter to his wife he called 'misrule'.<sup>91</sup> Shore did not confer the epithets of barbarity and savagery upon the revenue-paying Bengali population. This term he reserved for the hill tribes of Bhagalpur district on the borders of Bengal and Bihar and the ruler of Gwalior, outside of his rule of jurisdiction and therefore peoples he knew by rumour and hearsay, rather than by personal experience.<sup>92</sup> Instead, Shore's experience of revenue as disorder and misrule helped him to imagine Bengali communities that turned British ways upside down. Shore complained of an inverted social hierarchy, where, as described earlier, the servants of the *zamindars* held too much influence over their masters, and the polite forms of respect were not followed. In the Enlightenment manner, Shore attributed the disparity between his expectations and the practices he observed to the pernicious influence of custom and superstition. Rather than Bengal being savage and barbaric, Shore linked despotism with an irregularity that contrasted with Enlightenment ideals where reason, order, system, regularity and method prevailed.<sup>93</sup> This realm of unreason exercised unprincipled, unbounded power where rights were unclear.<sup>94</sup> Shore argued that disorder manifested itself in the population as concealment, indifference, impulsiveness, intrigues and the need to seek protection.<sup>95</sup>

Disorder also manifested through religious practices. Shore imagined this disordered realm as an essentialised religious community of Hindus historically ruled by an oppressive and arbitrary 'Mahomedan' or Mughal polity. For the population of Bengal adherence to sects who worship Siva and Vishnu were more appropriate terms for the spiritual communities they belonged to, while Shore ignored Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Sikhs who worship outside of both Islam and the Brahmanical traditions.<sup>96</sup> To Shore the men of his Brahmin

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<sup>91</sup> To his wife 9 January 1789, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 163.

<sup>92</sup> 'Monody to Augustus Cleveland' written in 1784 and letter to Anderson, 8 November 1788, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 159, 493-4.

<sup>93</sup> Shore, 'Minute on the Rights of Zemindars', II, pp. 737-752, (p. 737).

<sup>94</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 83).

<sup>95</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 46).

<sup>96</sup> Sharada Sugirtharajah, *Imagining Hinduism: A Postcolonial Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. x-xi.

caste of priests and teachers were powerful Lords of Misrule who concealed knowledge from the British. By controlling the consciences of female *zamindars* the Brahmin 'without appearing, exerts an influence over the conduct of the public business'; an influence Shore called 'a concealed authority'.<sup>97</sup> Shore attributed an essentialised Hindu character to the external effects of the 'despotic and arbitrary' government the population had lived under before British rule.<sup>98</sup> This government he viewed as either Muslim or Mughal, despite him having worked with non-Islamic administrators at all levels of the Indo-Persian bureaucracy.

By 1789, Shore viewed the relations between the government and the indigenous population as suffering a crisis of trust. He represented the Indo-Persian revenue administrators as employing deceit and concealment in their dealings with the Company and also argued that the variation in system of the 1770s and 1780s meant that Bengalis had lost their confidence in the Company. One of Shore's aims within the 'Permanent Settlement Plan' was 'giving confidence to our subjects, and of correcting the evils resulting from fluctuating measures'.<sup>99</sup> He believed that the way to regain that trust was to reproduce the stability and regularity of a British sovereign order based upon the symbology of blood and soil. By the time he had completed his investigations though, Shore comprehended that soil in Bengal was a compound of rights between the government, *zamindar* and *ryot*. Consequently, he began to question whether Bengali society could fit within this British, civil order. In his final two minutes of 18 September and 21 December 1789 Shore began to doubt that the Company could impose system, regularity and improvement without further experience of South Asian responses.<sup>100</sup> In this respect, the living knowledge of Bengal and the text and principle of England caught Shore between two versions of truth. Contrary to his own beliefs in obedience to the rule of his superiors, his experience of indigenous revenue practices led him to suspect that the civil order of his homeland might not fit the people of Bengal.

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<sup>97</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 72).

<sup>98</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, pp. 2-3.

<sup>99</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (p. 66).

<sup>100</sup> Shore, 'Extract of Bengal Revenue Consultations, 21st December 1789', II, pp. 518-27, (p. 520).



## Conclusion

While separation of the races and a racial language began to operate around British colonies in the late eighteenth century, Shore's story indicates that at least in Bengal it was a movement that developed alongside notions of Britishness and class. Other writers have postulated that the loss of the Atlantic colonies to Britain in 1783 caused a rupture in imperial relations that affected imperial politics in London.<sup>101</sup> Shore's story suggests that in Bengal a combination of global and local forces created a unique form of imperial rule at this time. The men in Calcutta and London responded and reacted to each other before making their decision and the Permanent Settlement became part of the Cornwallis Code of 1793. In his 'Permanent Settlement Plan' Shore portrayed himself as part of a community of Europeans who contrasted with the Bengali population. At the same time, he distinguished himself and his fellow Company men from both European and Bengali by the pride he took in the Company administration as a British formation. With Britons as the administrative nobility, he equated *zamindars* as gentry and *ryots* as the peasantry. In this way, Shore returned to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control a plan of reorganised revenue relations that began to take on modern forms, a racial binary, a three tier class system and a sense of British superiority forged against both European and Bengali.

Permanence was a demand of the British government and the Court of Directors who operated within a British paradigm that privileged the security of property through the long-term ownership of landed families. Ranajit Guha argued that Whig principle guided Francis and 'aristocratical prejudices' guided Cornwallis. Both wanted to recreate the 'rule of property' so fundamental to a British sense of civil order.<sup>102</sup> But Shore's family history indicates that the frame of civil order they clung was a reified form. The Shore family as mercantile gentry gradually divorced themselves from inherited landed estates in the provinces and had married into the aristocracy. Shore's own experience of a multicultural family order in Britain and South Asia also transgressed the order he was trying to recreate in

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<sup>101</sup> See for example Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp. 95-9; Christopher Leslie Brown argued that the American Revolution gave momentum and prescience to an abolition movement in Britain that had been marginal at best before the 1780s. See Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>102</sup> Guha, *Rule of Property*, pp. 181-5.

Bengal. This paradox between his practice and his public writings suggests that rather than being separated and abstracted as Jon Wilson suggested, Shore was a person caught within the conflict of global movements at this time. By 1789, he had created space in his imaginings for a superior 'noble race' of Company officers who could wrest control from the Indo-Persian state. While he challenged the idea of a British civil order for Bengalis in his final minutes of 1789, he also stuck firm to his belief that British administrators should operate as a controlling elite.

Having shown that boundaries of national and racial difference began to form in the Company administration in the 1780s, it is clear that British civil forms still operated upon Shore, despite his long residence and experience in Bengal. Shore's remit for reform began as accusations of corruption and oppression erupted in Britain with the impeachment of Warren Hastings. In his plan Shore produced a set of arguments that would counter the charges levelled at Hastings as the highest representation of the East India Company in Bengal. Shore's document defended the East India Company. At the same time, through his depiction of Bengal's history and customs, Shore justified a 'despotic' form of rule. In the next chapter I shall look deeper into these critiques emanating from Britain that formed the background to Shore's plan for reform.



# Chapter 4

## Impeachment, Scandal and Disgrace

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### Introduction

My examination before the House was short and my embarrassment was completely over before it was finished, yet I do not wish to become the object of a second exhibition in the Box. Shore 29 June 1790<sup>1</sup>

Within weeks of setting foot in Dartmouth in April 1790, Shore was called to attend Warren Hastings' impeachment trial. Shore had rented a house in Egham in May in anticipation of this parade. After giving evidence at Westminster Hall on 2 June, Shore likened the impeachment to a bear hunt, Edmund Burke as mad, and his old friend Philip Francis as malicious and revengeful. 'The community attend the Court as they would an Opera, and with an equal degree of feeling', he observed.<sup>2</sup> Edmund Burke questioned him for the Managers of the Impeachment. Burke asked Shore whether he had handed his minute 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782' to the Supreme Councillor, John Macpherson, in 1782. When Shore agreed that this was his minute, Burke asked him to read it to the trial. One phrase of this first outline of Shore's vision for revenue reform had captured the Managers' imagination when Burke had read out an excerpt from this minute in his opening speech. But this phrase was altered from the original. Changing 'fool in the hands of their *Diwan*' to 'tool' diverted the blame for the Revenue Committee's confusions and embarrassments away from the Company officers and on to the shoulders of the Bengali official who worked alongside them. The new phrase implied that Bengali bureaucrats had a malicious intent to defraud and control the Company's revenue. Being a 'tool in the hands of their *Diwan*' was an evocative metaphor of a reversed power relation in the British eighteenth century civil order.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> To Anderson 29 June 1790 from Egham, Add MS 45428, fol. 25.

<sup>2</sup> To Dr Cornish from Egham 27 June 1790, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 11.

After he finished reading, Lord Dallas for the defence cross-examined Shore on the procedures for recording revenue transactions. Shore stuck by his opinion in the minute. Although the Proceedings of the Revenue Committees were recorded and examined openly by the Supreme Council and Court of Directors, he still believed Hastings' system needed reform. His main objection was the amount of control accorded to the indigenous *Diwan* within the Committees under Hastings' government. Despite his critique of a system that gave Indo-Persian revenue administrators authority, Shore gave a forceful assertion of Hastings' incorrupt motivation.<sup>4</sup> Shore's testimony was comprehensive. To observers he answered questions with such accuracy and balance of opinion that he undermined the case of Burke and the Managers.<sup>5</sup> Under the public spotlight Shore's evidence showed an ability to impress with his clarity of expression, his level of experience and a performance of honesty and credibility.<sup>6</sup> Shore could perform a character of honour.

Two years later a pamphlet attempting to defend Shore's character was published anonymously in London. The pamphlet reprinted part of Edmund Burke's opening speech and a letter from Burke to Francis Baring, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company. When Shore was appointed Governor General in September 1792 Burke had written to Lord Fitzwilliam, to the Home Secretary, and to the East India Company Chairman, to cast him as one of the most complicit of Hastings' corrupt co-conspirators.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> F. William Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence Given at the Trial of Warren Hastings*. repr edn. 10 vols. *House of Lords Sessional Papers* (Dobbs Ferry NY: Oceana, 1974), III, pp. 276-86.

<sup>5</sup> *World*, 3 June 1790; *Oracle*, 3 June 1793.

<sup>6</sup> In his reply to Hastings' defence in 1794 Burke was aware of the weight of Shore's evidence. He said that Shore 'is a competent evidence, that he is a favourable evidence to Mr. Hastings, and that he would not say one word of the establishment of which he himself was at the head that was not perfectly true and forced out of him by the truth of the case.' Burke Reply 14 June 1794, P. J. Marshall and William B. Todd (eds.), *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*. 9 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981-2015), VII (2000), p. 634.

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Burke to Lord Fitzwilliam, 5 October 1792 from Bath. Burke wrote 'I offerd the fullest, and was permitted to give some, proofs, of Mr Shore's subordinate, but dreadful delinquencies. They answer me, by appointing Mr Shore, with complete despotick powers, to the Government of the whole of that Country, of which in their Name, amongst the rest, I charged him with utterly destroying a considerable part.'. He reiterated this sentiment in more detail in two long private letters on 8 and 28 October 1792 to Henry Dundas, Home Secretary and one public letter to Francis Baring, Chairman of the Court of Directors on 14 October 1792, P. J. Marshall and John Aubin Woods (eds.), *The*

Perhaps Burke realised that Shore's appointment as Governor General signalled that Hastings' conviction for high crimes and misdemeanours was increasingly unlikely. Whether true or not, the pamphleteer sought to challenge Burke's opinion of Shore's actions in Bengal. The pamphleteer's purpose was to 'rescue [Shore's] character ... from the calumnies of Mr Burke – to rescue the character of the British nation in India, from the reproach which Mr Burke has so unjustly cast upon it'.<sup>8</sup> To the pamphleteer Burke's reflection on Shore's character and conduct was the 'groundless calumny of an unauthorized individual'.<sup>9</sup> Written by somebody who was conversant with the revenue administration in Bengal, the pamphlet highlighted the charges that reflected upon Shore's actions and concentrated upon the part of Burke's opening speech that related to his friend Raja Debi Sinha (called Deby Sing in the pamphlet and the trial, but accorded his title of Raja in Revenue Proceedings). The pamphleteer also redeemed Shore's friend Richard Goodlad as 'a gentleman of irreproachable character.'<sup>10</sup> The evidence in the pamphlet points to Shore as the author. If not him, then one of his friends used Burke's letter to challenge the revenue charge and to rescue Shore's name from disgrace.

In this chapter I look at the debates between Shore and Edmund Burke regarding the character and conduct of East India Company servants in Bengal. Through the financial trail that is left in Shore's archive as well as his personal letters and public productions, I trace the interplay of Shore's public and private imaginings of the communities in South Asia from which these imperial scandals emerged. I argue that during the impeachment notions of nation and race were intimately entwined. On both sides, the debate about behaviour and identity revolved around the character and conduct of East India Company servants as representatives of Britain in South Asia. Disputes about the Company's role as governing authority and its level of independence from the British Parliament also raged, with Burke taking an increasingly vocal part from 1781. The result was a series of Bills and Acts for the regulation of Indian Affairs. Starting in 1773 with the Regulating Act then the Amending Act

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*Correspondence of Edmund Burke*. 10 vols (London: Cambridge University Press, 1958-1978), VII (1968), pp. 233, 246-55, 266, 279-80.

<sup>8</sup> *Mr. Burke's Speech, in Westminster-Hall, on the 18th and 19th of February 1788* (London: Debrett, 1792), p. xxx.

<sup>9</sup> *Burke's Speech*, p. xxiii.

<sup>10</sup> *Burke's Speech*, p. 32.

of 1781 these moves culminated with Pitt's India Act of 1784. The controversies also led to the impeachment trial between 1787 and 1794 of the former Governor General of India, Warren Hastings. Between 1787 and 1794 it was not only the court of directors who scrutinised the public records that Shore presented himself in, but the government and the reading public through the reporting of the trial.

As well as suspicion in Britain around Company practices, mistrust of the multicultural demeanour of the men who returned from South Asia was rife. Known as 'nabobs', the clothes the men wore, the foods they ate, the objects they surrounded themselves with and the servants they brought home bespoke of people who immersed themselves in practices outside of the British norm. Alongside these visible differences, the desire to acquire a fortune meant that from the 1760s the scale of the corruption and greed of East India Company servants in South Asia shocked the nation. Among the more prominent scandals were those revealed in 1772 after an investigation into Lord Clive's government of Bengal from 1765 to 1767. Thirteen years later Edmund Burke dramatically publicised the massive web of debt that ensnared the Raja of Tanjore as creditor of East India Company merchants, Paul Benfield, in particular. Scandals such as these highlighted fears in Britain that oriental practices and modes of government were invading the nation through the changed habits and reversals of fortune of returning East India Company servants. The fear was that these men of low birth had acquired their newfound wealth by nefarious means and were then infiltrating the centres of power of Britain, the House of Commons and the land-holding gentry.<sup>11</sup> The controversy reached its zenith with the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

In this chapter I argue that Shore's writings were a product of these moves to bring a British civil order to the government of South Asia. Shore perceived these moves as attacks from Britain. This representation helped him to conceive of a sojourner community in Bengal united against an onslaught from the British government and from British opinion. Nicholas Dirks argued that because of Burke's belief in a universal rule of law, during Hastings' impeachment British sovereignty itself was on trial. Burke believed Hastings was the agent of British justice. By being oppressive in South Asia and citing the history and culture of the region as arguments for his conduct, Burke believed Hastings subverted the constitution not

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<sup>11</sup> P. Lawson and J. Phillips, 'Our-Execrable-Banditti - Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-18th-Century Britain', *Albion*, 16 (1984), pp. 225-241; Nechtman, *Nabobs*, pp. 140-84.

just in South Asia, but in Britain as well.<sup>12</sup> I argue that such attacks from Britain helped Shore to perceive of himself as having an imperial identity. He viewed the dishonour accorded to the community of British sojourners in Bengal as an injustice. He felt his imperial character undermined because of laws from Parliament and orders from the Court of Directors. He also defended himself and the Company by elaborating upon the subversions of Indo-Persian revenue bureaucrats who he believed undermined his authority. In this way Shore returned an alternative vision to the metropole: that of a British morality subverted and under siege in empire not by the British government, but by the South Asian bureaucrats and revenue payers with whom he worked.

In the first section I look at the ways Shore contested the disgrace and dishonour he felt from the Regulating Act of 1773. Shore took a prominent part in protesting to the British Parliament about the ambiguous jurisdiction of the new Supreme Court. The Regulating Act had promoted Hastings from Governor of Bengal to Governor General of all the Company territories in South Asia, with a Supreme Council over which he had no casting vote. This led to a power struggle between Hastings and Philip Francis a Supreme Councillor appointed from England under the Act. The power struggle affected men of the lower ranks like Shore, because factions and divisions among the elites were replicated among political interest groups in the lower orders. In addition, the new Supreme Court had an ill-defined authority over Company servants. This meant that Company officers like Shore were liable for legal actions from South Asian revenue payers and did indeed face them in court. He later refused an appointment as the Chief of Adalat (civil court) because of his fear of ruin.

In the second section I consider the ways in which Shore contested the British civil order when he formed friendships with Bengali men. In England in the eighteenth century, friendships could be emotional and sentimental among close family and an intimate circle. They could also be with the people with whom a man chose to spend his leisure time. They could be business associates and intellectual collaborators. They could also be the unchosen political connections within an interest group that served an elite patron. Such social friendships were negotiated with a network of friends whose influence went up to the highest

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<sup>12</sup> Dirks, *Scandal of Empire*, pp. 196-9.



figures of power.<sup>13</sup> Shore in the 1770s had taken emoluments as part of his financial reward for administering revenue, a custom of Indo-Persian government. Along with other newly arrived East India Company men he also became indebted to Bengali merchants and money lenders in his early years. He learned Persian, Hindi and Bengali to make himself useful to the Company. To become fluent in these languages he employed indigenous scholars and read Persian literature. Because of their fundamental differences in culture, Burke asserted that a man could not be a loyal to his country if he maintained friendships with Bengali men. Their adoption of Bengali customs and friendships led Burke to question the character and loyalty of Company men like Shore.

Finally, I consider how Shore contested the disgrace he felt visited upon him from Hastings' trial in London. Between 1787 and 1790 Shore was in Bengal for a second time, appointed from London to investigate revenue reform. As Hastings' conduct came under scrutiny in London, I argue that for the benefit of British statesmen at the impeachment trial and on the Board of Control, Shore's 'Permanent Settlement Plan' contained a justification for the conduct of East India Company servants in Bengal. As in his 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782' in the plan Shore asserted the British gentleman's right to rule in Bengal.<sup>14</sup> He defined this right to rule as a 'despotic' regime that placed East India Company men in authority over Bengali officials.

### Shore, Revenue Collection and Impeachment

Edmund Burke made his first move to impeach Hastings while Shore was on honeymoon near Exeter in February 1786. As Burke presented his case for impeachment to the House over April 1786, Shore set sail for India for a second time, this time accompanying the new Governor General, Lord Cornwallis. By the time they set foot in Calcutta on 12 September 1786 Hastings' impeachment was confirmed in London. A revenue charge was accepted in April 1787 as the seventh article of impeachment. The charge was never examined during the trial. Instead both sides deployed their evidence for the seventh article in the arguments for the four charges that were examined. The seventh article of impeachment partly concerned a

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<sup>13</sup> Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 167-236.

<sup>14</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, pp. 6-7.

centralised Revenue Committee Hastings formed in February 1781, of which Shore was Second Member and Acting Chief. According to the seventh article Hastings appointed to the Committee to act upon his behalf the four British officers and the *Diwan* Ganga Gobinda Sinha (Gunga Govind Sing in the trial testimony). This gave the Revenue Committee powers to act outside the authority of the Supreme Council, was contrary to the orders of the Court of Directors and in defiance of the Act of Parliament. By implication Shore as Acting Chief of the committee worked upon Hastings's behalf to embezzle the Company and extract revenue from the Bengali people. In doing so he used oppressive measures that ignored the rights of the people.<sup>15</sup> Shore was named in Burke's opening speeches on the 18 and 19 February 1788. His name appeared throughout the trial in the speeches of the Managers and Counsel for the Defence. Even though the seventh article was never formally examined in the trial, Burke believed the revenue charge was second only to his Rohilla charge in importance in Hastings' crimes in South Asia.<sup>16</sup>

Although he was not officially on trial, Shore's actions were interwoven in the evidence. As well as his proposal for reform written in 1782, his minute of 1788 on the Rights of *Jagirdars* and his report of his visit to Murshidabad in 1787 to review the costs of the Nazim's household were also used as evidence. During his time on the Supreme Council in Calcutta the government also saw Shore's name sign off on revenue consultations and saw him recorded as 'indisposed'.<sup>17</sup> Many of Shore's friends and associates gave testimony at the trial. His old friend Philip Francis sat alongside Burke on the Committee that drew up the

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<sup>15</sup> 'Article Seventh', Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI (1991), pp. 188-201.

<sup>16</sup> From Burke to Dundas 20 April 1787, Marshall and Woods (eds.), *Burke's Correspondence*, V (1965), p. 328. Burke wrote "I had the least doubt of all as to the Revenue Charge, thinking it, next to that of the Rohillas, the most atrocious; nor is this the opinion of the moment. To put the whole landed Interest of the Country to auction, and farm out the Estates... appeared to me a matter of such enormity, that, if all the rest had been rejected, this must have stood." For Burke the Rohilla War of 1774 was an oppressive act of territorial expansion that disregarded the rights of the people of Rohilkhand. Parliament voted down the Rohilla charge so it never made the articles of impeachment.

<sup>17</sup> Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, II, pp. 1095, 1119, V, p. 2698, IX, pp. 1527-56; Extracts from Shore's report on *Jagirs* used in Hastings' defence, 20 April 1793, Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, IV, pp. 2043-6; Extract of a letter from Shore to Supreme Council 2 November 1784, used in prosecution, Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, III, p. 1260; Shore 'Report on Murshidabad Nizammat Expenses', 11 June 1787, Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, VII, pp. 565-91.

articles of Impeachment, although he was removed from the prosecuting Managers by vote of Parliament in 1787. Among other witnesses were men who served with Shore on Revenue Committees in Calcutta, David Anderson, Peter Moore, Charles Goring as well as the Supreme Councillor responsible for revenue, Philip Francis himself. Between 1787 and 1788 several of Shore's connections were also under scrutiny in the trial. The violence the *Diwan* Raja Debi Sinha used in Rangpur under Goodlad's supervision was a prominent feature of Burke's opening speech on 18 and 19 February 1788. Unable to meet the revenue demands placed upon him by the Company, the Raja had used increasing levels of violence to extract the money the Company demanded. By the end of 1782, the *ryots* of Rangpur had started to organise themselves to resist. They occupied revenue buildings, burnt down offices and pursued the most notorious Bengali revenue officers, in some cases killing them. The Company Supervisor at Rangpur, Richard Goodlad, called in the Army who fired upon the rebels. By the end of February 1783, the uprising was largely over, but sporadic protests continued into March.

Shortly after the rebellion had died down Shore commissioned John David Paterson to investigate the cause of the uprising. Paterson delivered in three reports on 18 May, 22 June and 29 September 1783. Burke was to draw heavily upon the first report in his opening address in February 1788. In his speech he added further embellishment to Paterson's descriptions of the tortures and excesses of Raja Debi Sinha's revenue officers.<sup>18</sup> Burke's copy of Shore's response to the first report includes increasingly angry and indignant remarks against Shore's arguments against Paterson's claims.<sup>19</sup> There was a sense of theatre about the trial. During his opening speech of 1788 Burke was taken ill while describing the tortures of Raja Debi Sinha.<sup>20</sup> Two years later Shore compared the spectators to his own testimony at Westminster Hall with the audience at an opera. On 18 February 1788, the spectators who packed Westminster Hall to hear Burke's graphic and dramatic rhetoric of violence in the

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<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the Rangpur uprising of 1783 see Jon E. Wilson, 'A Thousand Countries to Go To': Peasants and Rulers in Late Eighteenth-Century Bengal', *Past & Present*, (2005), pp. 81-109. On the use of beatings in the Bengali revenue system see McLane, *Land and Local Kingship* pp. 69-95.

<sup>19</sup> 'Remarks of Mr Shore with petition of Mahomed Nullie', BL, Add MS 24268, fols 285-304.

<sup>20</sup> Burke, Opening Speech, 18 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI (1991), pp. 418-22.

collection of revenue comprised the most fashionable and influential. The tragic actress Sarah Siddons and the acclaimed soprano Elizabeth Ann Linley, wife of the Manager Richard Sheridan, both fainted at the reports. Burke himself collapsed, terminating his speech for the day.<sup>21</sup> Unwittingly, Shore as a prominent East India Company servant was an unnamed but implicated officer embroiled in the drama of the trial. The rest of the chapter examines the ways in which Shore, as an associate of Hastings, contested this representation of his conduct.

## Disgraced in Bengal

From 1775 until 1780 Shore was one of the men the Supreme Councillor Philip Francis relied upon to gain knowledge of Indo-Persian revenue.<sup>22</sup> The Regulating Act had named four councillors to sit upon the Supreme Council of Bengal. General John Clavering, Col George Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis. Along with Edmund Burke, Francis had been a member of the Select Committee of 1772 that was set up to investigate the abuses of Company men in India. In this section I examine the ways in which the multicultural interest group of Shore and Francis undermined the interests of a British state. Francis, with Monson and Clavering arrived in Bengal in late 1774. Barwell was a Company servant already based in the area. Until Monson's death in 1776 Francis held a majority in the Supreme Council against Hastings and Barwell.<sup>23</sup> One of Francis' first acts upon taking up his post in 1775 was

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<sup>21</sup> Burke, Opening Speech, 18 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI (1991), pp. 426-7; Chiara Rolli, *The Trial of Warren Hastings: Classical Oratory and Reception in 18th Century England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), pp. 80-2.

<sup>22</sup> Captain Price called Shore Francis' 'particular friend' but also observed in Shore 'a Kindness which implied a Desire to serve both Parties'. Joseph Price, *A Letter from Captain Joseph Price to Philip Francis, Esq.* 2nd edn (London: Stockdale and Sewell, 1783), pp. 4-5. Captain Price also asserted that 'Whatever the Governor General proposed in council, Mr. Francis objected to, and promised a minute at a future meeting. A copy of the proposition was carried home. Messieurs Shore, Ducarel, Anderson, Alexander, or Mr. Charles Grant, were sent for; the three first on all matters of revenue, or Hindu laws or customs ... they digested the minute, and Mr. Francis copied it and carried it to the board'. See Joseph Price, *Some Observations and Remarks on a Late Publication, Intituled, Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa* (London: Stockdale, Scatchard and Whittaker, 1782), p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> McGilvary, *East India Patronage*, pp. 146-7. After the Regulating Act of 1773 the government had started to increase its influence over Company affairs by limiting the number of Directors to six, and making proprietors serve on a rotational basis. This meant that the parties that formed after 1773 were based less upon personalities and began to take on business and political objectives, such as the shipping, India and ministerial

to place the protégés of Directors in Clive's party into positions of prominence. It was at this time, possibly because Frederick Pigou was the sponsor on his writer's petition, that Shore became the fifth member of the revenue committee in Calcutta from January 1775.<sup>24</sup> At the same time Ducarel, who had served Clive in the 1760s, became the fourth member on the revenue committee and Bristow was placed at the *Durbar* of the Wazir of Awadh as the Company's Resident.<sup>25</sup> Francis and Hastings embarked upon a power struggle within the Supreme Council that was to culminate in a duel in 1780, which Francis lost, and his subsequent departure from Bengal in early 1781.

In the 1770s, competing voices in the nebulous world of Company connections in Bengal led to the 'demon of party and politics', originating in the power struggle between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis. Upon his return from Murshidabad to take up his new position on the revenue committee in 1775, Shore found Calcutta had changed with the new Supreme Council in place. '[I]n the room of private and public confidence' he found 'suspicion, envy and distrust.'<sup>26</sup> Shore had to 'keep on good terms with one party without making myself offensive to the others.'<sup>27</sup> The memoirs and diaries of George Grand, Philip Francis and William Hickey hint that Shore's years in Calcutta as a friend of Francis contained a riotous

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interests. The ministerial interest also formed through the men in the Direction who were MPs, and through agents that Government ministers sent out to Bengal as Governors and Supreme Councillors.

<sup>24</sup> At that time Pigou was allied with the party of Clive and Rous. George K. McGilvary, *Guardian of the East India Company: The Life of Laurence Sullivan* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), p. 139. For patronage and the Court of Directors in the late eighteenth century see Ghosh, *British Community in Bengal*, pp. 13-27.

<sup>25</sup> Mary Bayliss, 'Gustavus Ducarel and His Family (1745-1855)', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 28 (2006), pp. 548-552, (p. 548); For a description of the way in which patronage worked between Francis and John Bristow and Claude Martin, see Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Very Ingenious Man: Claude Martin in Early Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 61-4, 68-9, 87-9, 92-3. John Bristow had travelled out to Bengal as number 10 to Shore's 5th in the list of writers on the *Lioness*. 11 November 1768, IOR/E/4/619, Despatches to Bengal (Original Drafts), p. 143.

<sup>26</sup> To Bury Hutchinson from Calcutta 20 November 1775, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> To Bury Hutchinson from Moorshedabad 27 November 1778, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 60-1.

blend of alcohol, parties and sexual intrigue.<sup>28</sup> Shore's extravagances included his lavish entertainment of Francis, Bristow and Ducarel in Krishnanagar in 1777.<sup>29</sup> In 1778 Shore stayed drinking at William Hickey's all-night party in Calcutta.<sup>30</sup> Later that year, Shore became entangled in one of Philip Francis' sexual adventures.<sup>31</sup> This Shore had a rakish, ribald humour, unfamiliar to the Shore of Company proceedings and family letters. In contrast to the intellectual and affectionate missives he sent to others, Shore joked with Francis about sexual and intimate matters:

Mr Bristow is now at Lucknow you must have heard of his marriage with the Wrangham who seemed to have spread his tails with uncommon skill. He had a long struggle between prudence and desire before he could determine on this measure.<sup>32</sup>

Such words bound Shore into a masculine, sojourner community united through hedonism and sexual indiscretion. As described in Chapter 1, the conduct subverted a British, Christian state where marriage bestowed legitimacy upon sexual relations, and civil codes prescribed the conduct expected of men towards women of the genteel ranks. In Britain, although middling bachelors and widowers would commit such indiscretions, the behaviour often troubled the men who participated.<sup>33</sup> For this reason I would argue that some of Shore's sense of toxicity and sinfulness described in Chapter 2 might be attributed to this behaviour. Through shared social events, indiscretion and private escapades Shore developed bonds with East India Company colleagues connected to Francis from across France and the British

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<sup>28</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 26. His biographer briefly alluded to his early life style 'Nor did he resist the almost universal contagion of bad example; and lived, to borrow the language of one of his earliest friends, as other young men did'.

<sup>29</sup> Parkes and Merivale, *Memoirs of Francis*, II, p. 84; To Anderson from Krishnanagar 17 May 1777, Add MS 45428, fol. 29.

<sup>30</sup> Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of Hickey*, II (1923), p. 172.

<sup>31</sup> George Francis Grand, *Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India* (Cape of Good Hope: Private, 1814), pp. 30-1. On 8 December Francis had entered the bedroom of Mme Grand from her window, but the family servants had discovered him. On guard in the street below, George Shee ran over to Ducarel's house where Shore and a Mr Archdekin lodged. Shore, Archdekin and Shee scaled the walls of the compound to help Francis. In the scuffle that followed, Francis escaped. When George Grand arrived with William Palmer, Shore, Shee and Archdekin were tied to chairs and pleading loudly for the servants to release them.

<sup>32</sup> To Philip Francis from Calcutta 9 December 1782, BL, Add MS 34287, fol. 362.

<sup>33</sup> Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors*, pp. 49-82.

Isles.<sup>34</sup> Like Edmund Burke, Francis was an Irishman. Ducarel was of French Huguenot descent. Bristow was Anglo-French, possibly Huguenot as well.<sup>35</sup> Deepening bonds with these Company men are reflected in the names of their children. In 1777 Shore followed family tradition and named his first son John. But by 1785 he strayed from the tradition of the family of naming his second son Thomas. Instead the given names of his next two children were those of Francis Redfearn from Yorkshire and Redfearn's sister, Martha. In 1778 Ducarel named his first son Philip, so the name 'Francis' for Shore's second son might also be a reference to Shore's old political friend.<sup>36</sup> By 1784 Shore's connections in the interest of Francis were also a multicultural blend that stretched from Exmouth to Calcutta, Burdwan and Bihar. This web included Ducarel and his Bengali wife after they left for England, Ducarel's brothers-in-law in Patna and Purnia in Bihar - Mirza Daim Beg, Mirza Alam Beg and Mirza Khan Beg – and Raja Debi Sinha who managed the Mirzas' revenue farm in Purnia. Shore's friend Francis Redfearn was also within this circle. This network slipped between public and private with Shore's promise in 1786 to Ducarel to 'attend to your requests in favour of your relations and friends'.<sup>37</sup>

At this time along with others of Francis' and Hastings' parties Shore began to petition Parliament against what he felt were the 'unbounded powers' held against East India

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<sup>34</sup> In 1772 he signed off letters to the Scotsman David Anderson 'yours sincerely', yet by 1783 with 'yours affectionately' and in 1784 'yours very affectionately' To Anderson from Dhaka 5 October 1772, Add MS 45428, fol. 1; To Anderson from Moorshedabad March 1784, Add MS 45428, fols 119-20; To Anderson from Patna 22 October 1783, Add MS 45428, fols 117-8.

<sup>35</sup> Bristow's mother was Anne Judith Foisin daughter of Paul Foisin, an East India merchant in Paris. Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland for 1852*. 2 vols (London: Colburn, 1852), I, p. 141.

<sup>36</sup> 'February 1785 ... 2d Francis & Martha natural son and daughter of Mr John Shore Senior Merchant'; IOR/N/1/4, fol. 11; 'June 1778 11 Philip John natural son of Mr Ducarel Senior Merchant in the Hnble Company's Service', IOR/N/1/2, fol. 289.

<sup>37</sup> To Ducarel 29 April 1786 from Portsmouth, D2091/F14. When Shore gained influence in the Company, recommendations and pleas for advancement and assistance for indigenous friends came to Shore from his Company connections at home. In 1786 Hastings from London asked Thompson to remind Shore to recommend Mrs Hastings' banian to the Board of Revenue. Letter to Thompson from Hastings 20 May 1786 in G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings*. 3 vols (London: Bentley, 1841), III, p. 291; Similarly, in 1792 Anderson asked Shore to remember Taffazul Hussein Khan and Ali Ibrahim Khan. Note dated 8 October 1792 on Shore's letter to Anderson of 29 June 1790 from Egham, Anderson Papers, Vol XII, fol. 128.

Company men by the Regulating Act of 1773. In this respect Shore acted as a subject of British sovereignty with rights to agitate for democratic liberties. At this time, a sense of Britishness was not an identity based upon a country, but access to a set of political liberties. Elites in Britain venerated Parliament as the fount of these liberties, which distinguished the British state from its European neighbours.<sup>38</sup> The Regulating Act of 1773 that set up the Supreme Court in Calcutta was an attempt to extend British sovereignty within Bengal, but the system was ambiguous. In the late 1770s Shore took a leading part in a petition to Parliament to reform the system. Amid the constitutional crisis of the American Revolutionary Wars, Shore likened his protest against the form that British sovereignty took in Bengal to that of the American patriots' protests against taxation. Shore feared that:

Pains will be taken to misrepresent our efforts, and perhaps to state a legal constitutional act as the beginning of an insurrection: but ignorance alone can give in to such an idea; for we are not 4000 Europeans here, including those of all Denominations; and the throne of Delhi would not tempt me to reside here for life.<sup>39</sup>

In January 1779, a Colonel Watson called a meeting for the residents of Calcutta to petition Parliament for the right of trial by jury for British residents in civil as well as criminal cases. The meeting voted Shore on to the committee alongside Watson. Between January and April 1779, the committee met four times a week.<sup>40</sup> Shore's motivations for participating were:

a thorough conviction, founded on the most solid grounds, that an English Court of Law established on the same principles as the Supreme Court must inevitably work the ruin of the British dominions in Asia. ... The Judges exercise over all Europeans whatever power they judge fit; for in Civil actions we have no trial by jury. In short, a villain, considering the powers and dispositions of the Judges, may procure the ruin of the honestest man in the Settlement.<sup>41</sup>

In March 1779 Shore argued that because of the law suits the indigenous inhabitants raised against revenue confinements, he was 'cautious to observe distinctions, rules and form lest

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<sup>38</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 93.

<sup>39</sup> To James Hutchinson 1 March 1780 from Calcutta, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 65.

<sup>40</sup> Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of Hickey*, II (1923), pp. 182-5; Petition to Parliament from the British Residents of Calcutta, Cleveland Public Library Cleveland OH, DS473.3.W37 1779X. Hickey's list of committee members differs from the signatures on the petition. Both show Shore as committee member, but Hickey does not mention Ducarel.

<sup>41</sup> To James Hutchinson 1 March 1780 from Calcutta, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 64.



our proceedings, if hereafter laid before the Supreme Court, should be deemed informal, or irregular'.<sup>42</sup> One reason for his caution could be Kamal-ud-Din Ali Khan's law suit of April 1776 described in the previous chapter. Shore objected that:

The more effectually he performs his duty, the more he maintains the dignity of his office and enforces his decision, the more he is liable to prosecution. - If in procuring the attendance of witnesses he should exercise any, compulsory-powers, if to restrain trivial and groundless complaints and to deter chicane and intrigue he should put in practice the discretionary powers with which he is invested by the public regulations of imposing a moderate fine or inflicting a mild corporal punishment he may become subject to a suit, which may terminate in his ruin.<sup>43</sup>

In December 1780, the House of Commons saw four petitions about the Supreme Court in Calcutta. Two were from the Court of Directors and the Supreme Council who wanted revenue matters removed from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The other two petitions Shore took a prominent part in, one from Calcutta's British residents and one from Bengalis. The petitions demanded a reform of the 'unconstitutional powers' of the Supreme Court. Shore's name heads the list of signatures for the British Residents' petition. At least one Briton went to Shore's house during Christmas week of 1779 to read and sign.<sup>44</sup> The Bengali petitions were translated from Persian by two unnamed members of the same Committee and also included Shore's name, but in a less prominent position on the document.<sup>45</sup> The petitions went to the Select Committee, upon which sat two men who would later be Managers of Hastings' impeachment, Edmund Burke and Sir Gilbert Elliot. Through this Select Committee the petitions fed into the Amending Act of 1781. This Act removed revenue administration from the remit of the Supreme Court and redefined the Calcutta Court's jurisdiction. Now the Court presided over British inhabitants throughout the Calcutta Presidency but over South Asians in Calcutta only. The Act made provision for Hindus and Muslims to be tried under their own religious laws, so that Britons and Bengalis answered to separate laws. Consequently, even before appearing to give his testimony at Hastings' trial, Burke had encountered Shore's name as one of the committee members who organised the

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<sup>42</sup> Shore 'Duties of Officer in Charge of Adalat 1779', IOR/H/421, fols 141-50.

<sup>43</sup> Shore 'Duties of Officer in Charge of Adalat 1779', IOR/H/421, fols 141-50.

<sup>44</sup> Price, *Some Observations*, p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> From the British Inhabitants of Calcutta to Lord Weymouth 3 and 26 April 1779 from Calcutta, DS473.3.W37 1779X.

petitions to Parliament in April 1779, and who had contested Parliament's version of British sovereignty in Bengal.

Philip Francis left Bengal in early 1781 after being wounded in the duel with Hastings. In Bengal Shore remade himself as a connection of Hastings' party through his old colleague Anderson, a friend in the Hastings interest. As Chief on the newly formed centralised revenue committee Anderson recommended Shore as his second. Shore and Hastings quickly found common intellectual ground and established a lifelong personal friendship. In the 1780s while bonding with Hastings though, Shore shielded at least two men in Francis' interest group. At this time, the service he rendered extended to both Bengali and Briton in this circle. This protection operated at the expense of his superiors who sat on the Supreme Council in Calcutta, as well as at the Court of Directors and on the Board of Control in London. Shore's actions also compromised any personal loyalties he had formed to Hastings' party. The first protection Shore attempted was towards his friend Raja Debi Sinha in 1782. Shore had evidence earlier than 1783 that the Raja's revenue collectors used violent methods. In 1782 Charles Grant had reported to the Revenue Board that Debi Sinha's people were behaving violently to the weavers in Kaliyaganj in Dinajpur. One man was beaten to death, Grant claimed to the Board. The letter that was not published in the Proceedings that went to the Treasury in London. Instead Shore sent a private letter to the Raja telling him not to oppress the weavers.<sup>46</sup> In a response to the investigation that Burke drew so heavily upon in Hastings' trial, Shore set up an argument against the Briton Paterson and in favour of his Bengali friend. Shore argued by touching upon colonial insecurities. He cautioned that those wanting Raja Debi Sinha tried should remember that his accusers were guilty of insurrection. If the Company supported the rebels rather than the Raja then the people might use insurrection in the future to gain further concessions from the government. Shore also questioned Paterson's methods in an attempt to discredit the reports.<sup>47</sup> He argued that Paterson passed on allegations without supplying evidence, that when asked for more information he had not supplied any by the date required and that Paterson had:

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Grant's journal entries of 13, 20 and 27 January, 17 and 27 February and 3 March 1782, Henry Morris, *The Life of Charles Grant* (London: Murray, 1904), pp. 76-7.

<sup>47</sup> Add MS 24268, fols 285-304.

formed a very inadequate idea both of the importance and object of his deputation. I have explained both and I do not doubt that the committee will entertain the same opinion<sup>48</sup>

By 1784 in private Shore reassured Ducarel about the fate of their mutual friend. 'I am confident the accusations against Debi will not be proved although I cannot suppose he will be quite cleared'.<sup>49</sup>

The second move to protect a man in Francis' private circle came in 1784, a year after the investigation into the Rangpur uprising. Since 1775 John Bristow and Hastings' protege Nathaniel Middleton had alternated as Resident at the *Durbar* of the Wazir of Awadh according to who was in the ascendancy in the Calcutta government. Upon his final return to Awadh in October 1782 Bristow made increasingly aggressive demands to the Wazir's minister for repayment of debts to the Company. These debts had accumulated from charges the Company exacted for stationing troops in Awadh. Ostensibly the troops were to protect the kingdom from invasion, but stationing troops in Awadh also meant that the kingdom acted as a buffer zone for the territories under the control of the Calcutta Presidency. From 1782 Bristow took control of the Wazir's land revenues, underestimated them to the Company and took a large sum for himself. By September 1783, the Company was unable to ignore the complaints from the Wazir and his minister. In addition, further allegations of misconduct came from Colonel William Palmer, a friend who Hastings stationed in Awadh to observe the actions of the men at the Residency. Bristow was recalled to Calcutta in December 1783. He left Awadh at the end of January 1784, still denying the charges against him, but he had spent 3 *lakhs* of rupees of the Wazir's money and had no receipts to show the Company where the money had gone. During the Company investigation that followed Bristow was found to have spent 14 *lakhs* of the Wazir's money in the final year of his Residency which he had not reported to the Company. The Wazir himself thought he had lost 10 *lakhs* of rupees which the Company did not receive. In addition, unknown to the Company Bristow supplemented the salaries of the men at the Residency with inflated expense claims from the Wazir, including his own expenses at Rs 25,000 a month. Bristow was found guilty of misappropriating Company money. He was dismissed from the service but was not charged with fraud. Powerful friends including Shore and John Macpherson, the officer to

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<sup>48</sup> Add MS 24268, fol. 298.

<sup>49</sup> To Ducarel 24 December 1784, D2091/F14.

whom Shore had sent his plan of reform in 1782, worked to protect Francis' friend Bristow in 1784.<sup>50</sup> In a private letter to the Chief of the Revenue Committee Shore claimed that he had seen the accounts for the 14 *lakhs* but that Bristow did not wish to give them to the Court of Directors because he wanted to protect others. Shore referred to the custom of the country to justify Bristow's behaviour 'for the disbursements are all established by precedents and vouchers, which ought not to be produced'. He wanted the affair hidden from the Court of Directors because it would 'alarm and call for a particular enquiry'.<sup>51</sup>

Whether Bristow acted within the moral limits of the Indo-Persian system is highly unlikely, as the Wazir of Awadh himself protested at the amount of money that Bristow took. The connection with Philip Francis, who as Supreme Councillor had put him in post in Awadh, prevented his misconduct coming under scrutiny at Hastings' trial, despite extortions similar to the ones Burke exposed for Benfield and of which he accused Hastings. A similar level of protection was not afforded to Raja Debi Sinha whose conduct became a substantial component of Burke's opening argument. Upon his return to England Francis recruited Edmund Burke to his cause. Francis sat on the Parliamentary Committee alongside Burke to draw up Hastings' articles of impeachment, but the House of Commons voted him off the committee of managers in 1787 because of his irrational partisanship against Hastings.<sup>52</sup> From being a friend in 1782 with whom he shared gossip about Bristow's love life, Shore distanced himself from the friendship. As the impeachment trial progressed into the 1790s Shore came to characterise Francis as 'malicious and revengeful' and 'beyond the operations of reason'.<sup>53</sup>

Publicly a Briton when organising the petition to Parliament in 1779, privately Shore and Sir Philip Francis operated within a diverse world. Members of their multicultural interest group oppressed the *ryots* of Rangpur, extracted enormous sums of money from the Wazir of Awadh and vied for power with the party that had formed around Hastings. In protesting the

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<sup>50</sup> Llewellyn-Jones, *Claude Martin*, pp. 106-116.

<sup>51</sup> To Anderson 17 September 1784 from Calcutta, Add MS 45428, fol. 123.

<sup>52</sup> Richard Bourke, *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 545, 648.

<sup>53</sup> To Francis from Calcutta 9 December 1782, Add MS 34287, fol. 362; To his brother-in-law Dr Cornish from Egham 27 June 1790, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 206.

jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta to Parliament in London, Shore was asserting a multicultural sojourner's notion of British sovereignty. This notion did not include the rights of Bengalis to protest about Company impositions in a civil court. As well as originating from Parliamentary concerns in Britain then, the resulting Amending Act of 1781 was influenced by sojourners concerned to protect their names from disgrace in the court. The Act changed the legislation in the Company men's favour and removed revenue matters from the court's jurisdiction. In this way, the legislation was the result of a dialog between men in South Asia protecting their interests and a British government concerned to uphold their notions of British rights and liberties abroad.

### Pursuing the Oriental Interest

The previous section considered the ways that Shore manipulated British codes and practices for his own interests. This section considers Shore's unintended transgressions of the British state as a multicultural man. As the previous section touched upon, Shore joined the Company when the codes around virtue in public office were changing. Public pressure in Britain provided the impetus for the reform of 'old corruption' which was defined as profiteering from public office, taking lucrative pensions and being elected to office through systems of patronage.<sup>54</sup> For Burke such acts were private acts of bribery that sabotaged the government in South Asia and subverted the public and honourable character of the Company. Such private acts dishonoured the British nation, corrupted the character of East India Company men and debased the government that Hastings represented. One of Burke's main objections to Hastings was that his government placed the control of revenue collection in the hands of indigenous actors. He argued that this act resulted from Hastings' deliberate intention to embezzle the revenue for his own benefit. Unlike the Begums of the royal *zenana* at Awadh (Oude in the trial) and the Raja of Benares, who were members of the nobility of the country and victims of Hastings' oppression, the revenue farmers Debi Sinha and Ganga Gobinda Sinha, worked in collusion with Hastings as dangerous mercantile despots who

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<sup>54</sup> Philip Harling, *The Waning of 'Old Corruption': The Politics of Economical Reform in Britain, 1779-1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 15; P. J. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings. Oxford Historical Series 2nd Series* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 184-5.

usurped the power of the Company from inside the Calcutta Presidency.<sup>55</sup> From his metropolitan framework Burke argued that civilized Britons could not have friendships with Bengalis, work alongside these indigenous actors, depend upon their knowledge or take up their practices. In contrast in his opening speech Paterson who was sent to investigate claims against Debi Sinha, was the son of a British gentleman of renowned, good character. Before going upcountry to do his duty, according to Burke Paterson read a conduct letter from his father that gave him strength, integrity, incorruptibility and a desire for truth. In producing his report on the Rangpur uprising of 1783, to Burke Paterson referred to English values and dynastic honour in order to keep a clear head and avoid the corruption of the Oriental despot Debi Sinha.<sup>56</sup> While representing Debi Sinha as a merchant, Burke never referred to his honorific of Raja which would place him in the nobility or royalty according to Burke's social schema.

During his early years in Bengal Shore had profited privately from his Company role, in a manner that Burke was later to denounce as corrupt. Since 1766 the Court of Directors had forbidden farming by Company servants, yet from 1771 to 1773 'in order to learn the details of business, when I was at Murshidabad ... I took a small farm of about 1000 Rs a year.'<sup>57</sup> Until 1775 the practice of farming by East India Company servants was common but open to abuse, with the servant covering his tracks by employing his banian.<sup>58</sup> To Shore at this time an emolument was a recognized form of remission known as *abwab* in the Indo-Persian state. These were private resources outside of the Company collections that *zamindars* and indigenous officials were entitled to under the Indo-Persian system. As well as taking a revenue farm, Shore took emoluments on his role as Secretary to the Murshidabad Provincial Revenue Committee in 1774.<sup>59</sup> Yet with increasing opprobrium from Britain the large private

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<sup>55</sup> Burke, Opening Speech 18 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI (1991), pp. 382, 399-413, 432. Burke said 'when the ancient nobility, the great princes. ... a nobility perhaps as ancient as that of your Lordships ... all the gentry, all the freeholders of the Country, had their estates in that manner confiscated ... no doubt some good was pretended'.

<sup>56</sup> Burke, Opening Speech 18 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI (1991), pp. 423-424.

<sup>57</sup> To his son Frederick from Brighton 26 January 1826. *Teignmouth, Memoir*, II, p. 466.

<sup>58</sup> Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 192.

<sup>59</sup> To Anderson 17 July 1774 from Moidapore, Add MS 45428, fol. 9.

gains from emoluments that Company officers had taken began to decline in the 1770s. By March 1784 Shore could no longer 'descend to contingent emoluments' himself.<sup>60</sup> Instead as a member of the revenue committee he received a fixed commission and no salary.<sup>61</sup>

As well as profiting from emoluments outside of the Company system, Shore was a member of a mutual, dependant network of merchants. When residing in distant places in Company territory indigenous actors became the go-betweens and intermediaries that linked together the financial partnerships of Company men.<sup>62</sup> As well as Shore at least two other members of the revenue committee in the 1770s and 1780s had multicultural families. These relationships suggest that in the late eighteenth century revenue collectors survived up country by adopting a more multicultural way of life and by gaining access to kinship networks in these remote districts.<sup>63</sup> When they returned to Calcutta as high-ranking officials they found themselves having to negotiate family loyalties alongside the demands of the East India Company.<sup>64</sup> At Hastings' trial, while Burke maintained that the rights and customs of South Asia should be preserved under Company rule, he also decried the power of indigenous merchants over young, easily-influenced junior writers like Shore, who turned to them for loans. To Burke, by rights South Asian society should have operated upon a British model. Because of Company interference indigenous merchants had invaded their social hierarchy at the highest

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<sup>60</sup> To Anderson March 1784 from Murshidabad, Add MS 45428, fol. 120.

<sup>61</sup> Gleig, *Memoirs of Hastings*, II, p. 375; To Shore now, his emoluments were 'avowed, authorised and liberal'. See letter to his mother from Calcutta 26 March 1783, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 86.

<sup>62</sup> Some of Shore's early multiculturalism in Bengal remains as traces of financial transactions in his private letters. In 1774 Maharaja Nundcomar 'has in his hands 4536 rupees' on the Beerboom detachment account, while in 1775 Shore suggested 'taking out of [Gobudeen's] hands any money he may have belonging to Redfearn'. In 1777 Kishan, Shore's sircar, 'acknowledges having a sum of money on this account in his hands' To Anderson 22 September 1774 from Moidapore, Add MS 45428, fol. 11; To Anderson 18 November 1775 from Calcutta, Add MS 45428, fol. 18; To Anderson 8 September 1777 from Krishnanagar, Add MS 45428, fol. 32.

<sup>63</sup> By family traditions Sharif-un-Nissa, Ducarel's wife, was a Mughal princess from Purnea, while Bogle's wife, Tichan, was Tibetan. H. E. Richardson, 'George Bogle and His Children', *Scottish Genealogist*, 29 (1982), pp. 73-81, (p. 82); Bayliss, 'Ducarel', pp. 548-552, (p. 95).

<sup>64</sup> Ghosh, *Sex and the Family*, pp. 70-1.

levels and overturned the rightful order.<sup>65</sup> If as Margot Finn argued, credit tied individuals into a matrix of power relations, then some of the most powerful figures in Shore's early career were the indigenous banians, bankers and money lenders who provided him with money.<sup>66</sup> According to Burke such financial transactions caught Shore in a web of iniquity that subverted the honour of Britain and the Company.

As well as adopting these indigenous financial practices, Shore's lifestyle adapted to the Bengali culture in which he lived. Shore described the late eighteenth-century culture in Calcutta as a multicultural temptation to the English gentleman who:

adopts the luxuries and indulgences of the country, sets up the establishment of a *hookah*, purchases a horse and equipage, receives and gives entertainments and plunges into luxury, vice, and extravagance.<sup>67</sup>

In Britain the remnants of this private lifestyle provoked fear and outrage towards nabobs. During Hastings trial, Burke argued that the men of Bengal and Britain were so different in outlook that they could not be friends. But to Shore adopting a multicultural lifestyle was both necessary and expedient. As a young man Shore had learned Persian and other local languages in an effort to progress in the Company hierarchy. His efforts included employing a storyteller in Murshidabad.<sup>68</sup> During his friendship with Francis these linguistic researches lead to friendship and collaboration with elite Persian scholars and administrators in social matrices that reached beyond Calcutta back to England, but also to Persia and the rest of South Asia. After Francis left for Britain through his new revenue appointment Shore had

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<sup>65</sup> Burke's opening speech 15 and 18 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI (1991), pp. 291-5, 382-4.

<sup>66</sup> Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914*. *Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 104. To Shore the hand as power, authority and agency could possess land, property and money. He spoke of 'the strong hand of authority' in which power could move from one pair of hands into another, and power was curtailed through tying up another's hands, or taking something from their hands. To Dundas 10 January 1794 from Bengal, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 34; Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 12; To Anderson, 18 November 1775 from Calcutta, Add MS 45428, fol. 18.

<sup>67</sup> To his son Frederick 1818, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 331. An early friend of Shore's reported that he 'lived ... as other young men did' in Bengal. See *Teignmouth, Memoir*, I, p. 26.

<sup>68</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 31.



entry to Hastings' party and his orientalist circle. With the febrile atmosphere in Britain, Hastings encouraged Company men to publish English translations of Sanskrit and Persian texts. Partly his aim was to gain understanding of indigenous judicial and revenue precedents through texts such as Nathaniel Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws* and Francis Gladwin's translation of the *Ain-i-Akhbari*. Partly though, Hastings wanted to promote South Asian culture and a multicultural lifestyle to justify his style of government for this increasingly hostile audience at home.<sup>69</sup> From 1783 Shore took on Radhakanta Tarkavagistha to teach him Hindu scriptures.<sup>70</sup> Shore translated the *Yoga Vasistha* from a Persian summary into English.<sup>71</sup> His biographer referred to a friendship developing between Shore and his *munshi* (secretary or language teacher), who gave him a present of some 'Oriental books' and tried to give him money when he left Bengal in 1785.<sup>72</sup>

Shore needed friendships with South Asian revenue administrators and scholars. They gave Shore knowledge of the languages of Bengal and embedded him in the rituals of elite Indo-Persian manhood. Both Britain and South Asia embraced an elite masculinity based upon scholarly pursuits. The *Mirza Namah*, a Bengali manuscript of the early seventeenth century elaborated a moral code of conduct for Indo-Persian administrators, through the scholarly pursuit of Persian literature and the practice of religious virtue.<sup>73</sup> In Britain too one type of intellectual and elite masculinity valued the rational, temperate, educated man who pursued knowledge and engaged in debate.<sup>74</sup> Shore's collection of books in his home in Calcutta

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<sup>69</sup> R. Roeder, 'British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century: The Dialects of Knowledge and Government', in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*. ed. by Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer. (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 215-249, (pp. 215-45); Franklin, 'Hastings Circle', pp. 186-202.

<sup>70</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 31.

<sup>71</sup> Ogborn, *Global Lives*, pp. 104-5; R. Roeder, 'The Career of Radhakanta-Tarkavagisa, an 18th-Century Pandit in British Employ', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 109 (1989), pp. 627-633.

<sup>72</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 31-3.

<sup>73</sup> M. Hidayat Husain Mawlavi, 'The Mirza Namah (the Book of the Perfect Gentleman) of Mirza Kamran with an English Translation', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 9 (1913), pp. 1-13.

<sup>74</sup> Stafford, 'Gentlemanly Masculinities', pp. 47-68,

shows him living between these Bengali and European scholarly masculinities..<sup>75</sup> Among his own collection Shore listed the *Shah Nameh* of Phirdoosi, a Persian translation of the *Commentaries of Baber*, several of the *Tales of the Arabian Nights* in Persian and ‘Persian translations of many valuable sanskrit books on religion and morality’.<sup>76</sup> He owned copies of the *Dabistan*, the *Durr*, the *Sheba* and a volume of poems by Hafiz.<sup>77</sup> He also owned a beautiful manuscript of the *Akhlagh-i-Nasiri*, a book of philosophy and ethics.<sup>78</sup> Alongside his oriental books Shore collected classics and English works. From England, he requested the *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences by a Number of Gentlemen*, *A Treatise on Astronomy* and *The Poems of Fingal*. He also read *Hume's History of England* and bought Derham’s *Physico Theology* and some Latin and Greek Classics in Bengal. Early requests from home included the Latin edition of *Consolations of Philosophy*, by Boethius, Scott's *Versification of the Book of Job*, and Glover's *Leonidas*.<sup>79</sup>

As I discussed in Chapter 2, Shore also needed oriental scholarship to understand and articulate his feelings. Shore’s orientalist voice is now heard most clearly through the poetry he wrote during his second sojourn. In ‘The Wanderer’, the poem that headed the Introduction of this thesis, Shore amalgamated both South Asian Vedanta and Christian symbolism.<sup>80</sup> In a love poem to his new wife in England, Shore wrote a rhyme which he had ‘versified... from the Arabic’. This ‘Arabic’ poem might be a romanticised pastiche of a

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<sup>75</sup> Shore collected Persian manuscripts, an activity valued in both Mughal and British elites. See Alam and Alavi, *European Experience*, pp. 32-56; Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750-1850* (New York NY: Vintage Books, 2006), pp. 63-71.

<sup>76</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 31-2; To the Rev Mr Professor Ford from Calcutta 17 September 1783, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 101-9.

<sup>77</sup> From Jones to Shore 24 June 1787 from Gardens near Calcutta, 10 October 1787 from Krishnanagar, late summer 1788 from Gardens in Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, pp. 739-40, 784-5, 808-9. Shore also sent Jones quotes from Persian poets like Wahshi of Bafq. See letter from Jones to Shore summer 1788 in Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, p. 89.

<sup>78</sup> Diary entry for 19 January 1810, Khan, *Persian at the Court of King George III*, p. 107.

<sup>79</sup> To his mother from Murshidabad 6 July 1772, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 45; To his mother on board ship 1 January 1769; Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 18; IOR/P/154/70, fol. 264.

<sup>80</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 199-200 and II, pp. 145-6.

section of Attar's 'Conference of the Birds', where Jacob pines for his son in exile in the wilderness:

The Dove, whose notes disturb my rest,  
Feels pangs like mine corrode her breast:  
Her midnight warblings fill the grove,  
Whilst I conceal my secret love:  
Yet hidden passion fiercer glows,  
And bursting sighs my griefs disclose.  
All pangs that Love inspires, we own;  
Her lot is, to lament and moan;  
Whilst I with deeper anguish sigh,  
In silence weep, and weeping die.<sup>81</sup>

At this time Shore swapped quotes from Indo-Persian sources with his friends and family to articulate his feelings and thoughts.<sup>82</sup> To Ducarel and his brother during his illness of 1784 Shore understood his feelings of loss through 'an expression of a Hindu moralist' regarding the impermanence of human existence.<sup>83</sup>

As well as needing to adopt a multicultural lifestyle, in Bengal Shore's oriental scholarship gave him the guise of specialist, expert and intellectual. These oriental credentials gained further encouragement when Sir William Jones arrived in Bengal in September 1783. Jones came as a Supreme Court judge, but he was also a celebrated oriental linguist and scholar who was intent upon pursuing his interests in South Asia. One of his first acts was to marshal the private oriental scholarship of East India men in Bengal by organizing a public institution. Basing his learned society upon the Royal Society in London, Jones' Asiatic Society of Bengal pulled together the private researches of Hastings circle into Asian languages and

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<sup>81</sup> To his wife 2 January 1787, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 132; Farid al-Din Attar, 'The Bird Parliament', in *Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Fitzgerald*. trans. Edward Fitzgerald. ed. by William Aldis Wright. 3 vols. (London: Islamic Texts Society, 1889), pp. 431-482, II, (p. 451).

<sup>82</sup> For example in 1789 Jones spoke to Shore of emotions using the metaphors of the *Bostani Kheiyal*. To Shore 20 October 1789 in Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, p. 849; Shore wrote two lines in Persian script from the poet Hafiz in a letter to Col William Kirkpatrick in 1796. To Kirkpatrick 15 December 1796 BL, MSS Eur F228/15, fol. 24.

<sup>83</sup> To Ducarel he wrote '[T]ime in a moment destroys the weak foundation upon which delight is built'. To Ducarel 5 December 1784, D2091/F14; To his brother he wrote 'Human happiness depends upon too many contingencies, and time in a moment saps the weak foundation on which delight is built'. To his brother 29 November 1784 from Bengal Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 94.

cultures.<sup>84</sup> Shore was a founding member in January 1784 and joined the circle again upon his return to Bengal in 1786.<sup>85</sup> As Governor General he would become the Society's second President in 1795. As President he built a solid foundation for the Society by drawing up a constitution, applying for letters of incorporation and beginning regularly scheduled meetings.<sup>86</sup>

In his second sojourn in Bengal from 1786 Shore was to deepen these oriental credentials. Shore established close bonds with Sir William Jones, known today as a pioneer of the field of Indology, and one of the first scholars to propose a common origin for Indo-European languages.<sup>87</sup> Shore introduced Sir William Jones to his *pandit*, Radhakanta, with whom both collaborated.<sup>88</sup> As well as borrowing Radhakanta's *Purānas* from Shore, Jones borrowed Shore's manuscripts. Like Shore, Jones corresponded with Dr Henry Ford at Oxford University and sent him oriental manuscripts from Calcutta.<sup>89</sup> At the same time, Shore swapped papers amongst Asiatic Society members Samuel Davis and Thomas Law.<sup>90</sup> Although the Asiatic Society operated publicly as an elite European club, privately indigenous figures were included in its circuits of information and collaboration. Both Ali Ibrahim Khan, chief judge of the Benares Adalat, and Taffazul Hussein Khan, envoy from the

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<sup>84</sup> Franklin, 'Hastings Circle', pp. 186-202, (p. 186); John L. Brockington, 'Warren Hastings and Orientalism', in *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings: Papers from a Bicentenary Commemoration*, ed. by Geoffrey Carnall and C. E. Nicholson. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989)pp. 99-101.

<sup>85</sup> Chaudhuri, *Asiatic Society Proceedings*, I, pp. 1, 86, 378, 392.

<sup>86</sup> Chaudhuri, *Asiatic Society Proceedings*, I, p. 11.

<sup>87</sup> To Chapman from Jones in Calcutta, early March 1785, Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, p. 667.

<sup>88</sup> Ogborn, *Global Lives*, pp. 100-11; Rocher, 'Radhakanta Tarkavagisa', pp. 627-633. Jones became sponsor for Rhadacaunt to Shore. See letter from Jones to Shore 16 August 1787 in Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, p. 762.

<sup>89</sup> From Jones to Dr Henry Ford from 'Gardens on the Ganges' 5 January 1788 and from Krishnanagar 11 October 1790, Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, pp. 785-6, 868. Shore was introduced to the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic in Oxford by his brother and was already corresponding with him when Sir William Jones arrived in Bengal. To Rev Prof Ford 17 September 1783, *Teignmouth, Memoir*, I, pp. 101-9.

<sup>90</sup> From Jones to Davis 27 October 1789 from Calcutta and to Law 21 September 1787 from Krishnanagar, in Cannon (ed.), *Letters of Jones*, II, pp. 876, 772-3.

court of Lucknow, were incorporated in Shore's orientalist circles of knowledge.<sup>91</sup> In 1787 Shore corresponded with Ibrahim Ally Khan in Benares and 'procured him permission to come to Calcutta agreeable to his own request and my desire to see him'.<sup>92</sup> Ali Ibrahim Khan contributed a paper to the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches* in 1789.<sup>93</sup> Shore himself transmitted an eye witness account from Father Giuseppe de Rovato of the Gurkha conquest of the Kathmandu Valley between 1767 and 1769. Father De Rondo died in Patna in 1786. His paper was first presented to the Asiatic Society on 27 May 1784, so Shore probably brought it back from Patna where he was settling the revenues in late 1783 and early 1784. In 1787 Shore also transmitted a translation of a Maga inscription found on a plate in a cave near Islamabad. The paper does not detail how Shore came by the information he transmitted, but the paper was read to the meeting of 22 November 1787 by Henry Chichele Plowden.<sup>94</sup> Both papers indicate that Shore was embedded within wide multicultural scholarly circuits in South Asia through which he could transmit back to Calcutta the knowledge he encountered on his revenue assignments.

As well as giving him intellectual credentials in Bengal, Shore's orientalist knowledge served the Company's interests. From the time that Shore returned to Calcutta with Cornwallis in 1786, the orientalist knowledge emanating from orientalist circles started to take a political and imperial turn.<sup>95</sup> In 1786 the Court of Directors had tasked Shore with aiding Cornwallis in his attempts to reform the Company system of governance so that it conformed with the India Act of 1784. The Act required the Company to define permanent rules for revenue collection that were also founded upon the ancient laws and local usages of Bengal and

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<sup>91</sup> Shore praised Taffazul Hussein Khan's merits as a scholar, his engaging manner and his honesty. 'An Account of the Life and Character of Tofuzzel Hussein Khan', in *Asiatic Annual Register*. 12 vols. (London: Debrett, 1804), pp. Characters, 1-8.

<sup>92</sup> To Hastings from Bengal, 16 February 1787, Add MS 29170, fol. 375.

<sup>93</sup> Ali Ibrahim Khan, 'On the Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus', *Asiatick Researches*, 1 (1788), pp. 389-404; Papers from Athar Ali Khan in Delhi were transmitted to his friend Mir Mohammad Hussein, who accompanied Richard Johnson from Lucknow to Calcutta. See Athar Ali Khan, 'On the Baya or Indian Gross-Beak', *Asiatick Researches*, 2 (1790), pp. 109-10; Athar Ali Khan, 'On the Cure for Elephantiasis', *Asiatick Researches*, 2 (1790), pp. 149-58.

<sup>94</sup> Chaudhuri, *Asiatic Society Proceedings*, I, pp. 352, 357; Shore Esq, 'Asiatick Researches', pp. 307-22; Shore Esq, 'Asiatick Researches', pp. 383-7.

<sup>95</sup> Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 54.

Bihar.<sup>96</sup> With his return to Calcutta Shore went into an investigative mode. Learning Persian, Bengali and Hindi had given Shore a depth of understanding that helped him to gain knowledge of Indo-Persian revenue systems. In compiling his reports as well as reading the Persian *Ain-i-Akbari*, Shore used English translations of Sanskrit texts compiled by members of Hastings orientalist circle and the Asiatic Society. To give authority to his assertions, footnotes to his ‘Minute on the Rights of Zamindars and Talukdars’ included references to Francis Gladwin’s English translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Nathaniel Halhed’s *Code of Gentoo Laws*, Sir William Jones’ *Institutes of Menu*, Henry Colebrook’s *Digest of Jagannatha*, Joseph White’s *Institutes of Timour*.<sup>97</sup> Having direct access to revenue texts such as the *Ain-i-Akbari*, meant that Shore broke the hold that indigenous officers held over the Company. His knowledge of Persian allowed him to read several versions of the texts so that Hastings’ and Jones’ orientalist endeavours fed into his ‘Permanent Settlement Plan’. Shore used the knowledge gained from his oriental pursuits to take on the guise of an expert to argue for his form of Bengali history and to promote a remedy for the dishonourable conduct of East India Company officers now under scrutiny in London. Even though he lived outside of the British order Shore found ways to promote and use his multicultural scholarship for the benefit of an imperial interest in South Asia. At the same time this scholarship risked his reputation to the public in the metropole, for immersed in the literature of Persia, Shore revealed himself as neither Briton nor Other. To Burke in London, Shore the nabob, a multicultural man, was troubling and ambiguous.

### Defending the Honour of Hastings and the Company

Prior to 1781 and his appointment to the centralised revenue committee, Shore was associated with the party that opposed Hastings’ administration in India. Like its leader Philip Francis, Shore disagreed with Hastings’ military policy. He branded the on-going Mahrattas War ‘useless, impolitic, absurd’, for it resulted in ‘large sums’ being ‘idly’ and ‘foolishly’ spent.<sup>98</sup> While feeling relieved ‘that my connection with him [Hastings] in this country has not implicated me in any of the charges’, in 1787 Shore confessed that ‘I do not think his conduct

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<sup>96</sup> Guha, *Rule of Property*, 171-2; Shore’s letter to Boughton-Rous, Secretary to the Board of Control, 26 March 1786, IOR/H/381, pp. 255-63.

<sup>97</sup> Minute on the Rights of Zamindars and Talukdars, 2 April 1788, IOR/H/381, pp. 738-9, 744.

<sup>98</sup> To Bury Hutchinson 1 November 1780 from Bengal, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 67.

exempt from blame, or altogether consistent ... as a statesman, I have often disapproved of his conduct'.<sup>99</sup> In contrast to Burke, after Philip Francis left Bengal in 1781 Shore came to love and esteem the private character of Hastings, and described him as a man of 'charity, generosity and forgiveness'.<sup>100</sup> Shore separated the public and private characters of Hastings, agreeing with Burke that a policy of Company aggrandisement was liable to censure, but disagreeing that the private character was corrupted through the practices of Bengal. Shore believed Hastings to have 'a reprehensible indifference to money and pecuniary concerns' and so could not believe the 'imputations ... of self-interest and corrupt motives'.<sup>101</sup> It was in Hastings' management of private affairs that Shore differed substantially from Burke and Francis.

By 1783 and 1784, anxiety for his own reputation led Shore to object to his mother when he was mentioned in Francis' 'literary war' in Britain:

if any of these violent gentlemen, who amuse themselves with the name of friends and foes...should chance to throw out a reflection not very honourable to my character, I hope you will not suffer it to give you a moment's uneasiness...my name shall never be a reproach to you..<sup>102</sup>

From 1781 and Francis' arrival in Britain the calls for Hastings return had intensified, with Edmund Burke now entering the fray. Between 1781 and 1784, a series of bills attempted to impose control on the servants of the East India Company from Britain. Shore expressed anxiety about the public perception of East India Company servants, and the resulting legislation that 'is to determine all our fates'.<sup>103</sup> The 'continual variation of system' made every East India Company servants 'anxious to gather the Profits of his Hour, lest a new change should deprive him of them'.<sup>104</sup> In other words Shore blamed the policies of the East

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<sup>99</sup> To his wife 21 January 1787 from Calcutta, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 134.

<sup>100</sup> To his wife 21 January 1787 from Calcutta, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 134.

<sup>101</sup> To Hastings from Bengal 15 September 1787, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 145; To Cornwallis 4 September 1787, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 14.

<sup>102</sup> To his mother from Calcutta 26 March 1783, *Teignmouth, Memoir*, I, pp. 85-7.

<sup>103</sup> To Bury Hutchinson from Moorshedabad 27 November 1778, *Teignmouth, Memoir*, I, pp. 60-1.

<sup>104</sup> Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 14.

India Company directors and the legislation imposed by the British government for the behaviour of the administrators in Bengal.

To Shore such public censures and ‘literary wars’ meant that his conduct and character were called into question. Despite his continuing loyalty to men in Francis’ circle, in the early 1780s with Hastings under attack in London, Shore began to participate in the war of words. By 1784 Shore’s remedy was to suggest a plan of reform, designed to rescue the Company’s reputation:

The task of reform is disagreeable but where necessity renders it unavoidable, where it takes place generally without partiality all honest and good men will admit it. Suppose it will run counter to public regulations. The reply is clear, that regulations however proper, must give way to public necessity and individuals must subject to it also... The objects must silence them.<sup>105</sup>

As an ambitious officer rising through the Company and with his Governor General under attack from critics in London, in his ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’ Shore had argued for reform citing the practices of the Indo-Persian revenue system as reason for the acts of British men. Burke quoted from this minute on the fourth day of his opening speech:

The Committee must have a *Diwan*, or executive officer—call him by what name you please. This man, in fact, has all the Revenue paid at the Presidency, at his disposal, and can, if he has any abilities, bring all the renters under contribution. It is little advantage to restrain the Committee themselves from bribery or corruption, when their executive Officer has the power of practising both undetected...The Committee with the best intentions, best abilities and steadiest application, must after all be a tool in the hands of their *Diwan*.<sup>106</sup>

Both Shore and Burke represented Bengali revenue bureaucrats as in control over British gentlemen. ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’ formed part of the evidence at the trial and Shore read it in full when called as a witness for the prosecution in June 1790. In this minute Shore wrote a justification and vindication of revenue collections using the character of Bengali people as defence for the behaviour of Company officers. Shore looked backward to the precedent of custom to assert the Company’s right to undemocratic rule. Although he did not advocate replicating that Indo-Persian system, Shore argued that the character of the

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<sup>105</sup> To Anderson 17 September 1784, Add MS 45428, fol. 121-3.

<sup>106</sup> Opening Speech 18 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VII (2000), pp. 400-401; Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, III, p. 1280.



people had been changed by Mughal practices. Because an absolutist Indo-Persian system was what they were adapted to, the British should adopt a similarly despotic approach. His suggestion was that revenue collection and civil justice for a district should be vested in the same East India Company officer. In addition, the officer would be stationed with the indigenous *Faujdar* or Chief of Criminal Justice. The *Faujdar* would send the British man a daily report so that the Company could keep a check on how criminals were apprehended and punished.<sup>107</sup>

With Hastings under attack Shore feared censure and modified his behaviour in Bengal. In 1787 he had ‘no inclination to be impeached ... either by Mr. Burke — or, what is worse, my own feelings’.<sup>108</sup> His advice to Cornwallis when the trial was on-going in Britain was constructed against this background of public censure and disgrace:

The debates in the House of Commons are as illiberal as the court of directors; and I think it an even chance that the agreement with Asaf disapproved by both ... Considering the temper of the times I would recommend to your lordship to attempt if possible getting the Wazir to adopt some secure adjustment respecting Farrukhabad; ... unless you can inform them in Europe how this is done, they will say that you have given him up to the Wazir.<sup>109</sup>

In Bengal, Shore discussed the trial with Cornwallis, passing on his opinion on the intelligence he received from home. Privately he helped Hastings compile his defence by enabling meetings and turning a blind eye for Hastings’ old aide Thomson to gather ‘Testimonials from the Natives’.<sup>110</sup> Shore made certain that any testimonials received could

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<sup>107</sup> Shore, ‘Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782’, IOR/H/795, pp. 6-12.

<sup>108</sup> To Chandler 3 August 1787, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 141.

<sup>109</sup> To Cornwallis 4 September 1787, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 14. See also a letter to Chandler 12 January 1788, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 149. ‘The Committee of Directors, however liberally disposed they may be to us, do not at least express it as they ought to do. But, after all, the doctrines I hear held forth and maintained in Parliament are such as would deter any man of common prudence from stepping beyond the line of his duty in compliance with State exigency. This is a language I shall not use to any one in power. Indeed, I am determined to write to none but my friends: and if the public proceedings will not bear us out, I am contented to remove’.

<sup>110</sup> See informal note in Add MS 29194, fol. 71 and letter to Cornwallis 29 August 1787 PRO 30/11/122, fols 8-9; To Hastings 7 March 1788, Add MS 29171, fols 137-8. Hastings wrote to Shore asking for his help with securing ‘Testimonials from the Natives’. Letter to Shore from Hastings, 19 February 1787 from St James’ Place, PRO 30/11/122, fols 10-13.

be proved to be ‘not obtained by official authority’ and that the process ‘must establish the impartiality of the testimonies produced’. As a result, Shore asked for Cornwallis’ ‘serious assent to my employing such means as may be most conducive to the end referred, without any other interference whatever’.<sup>111</sup> ‘I should with great pleasure sacrifice a portion of my labour and time to procure [Hastings] this satisfaction’, Shore said.<sup>112</sup> If the Managers accused the Company of compelling people to produce testimonials, because of his public non-involvement Shore planned to reply that:

I have never seen the Addresses...I never, directly or indirectly, solicited a vote in his favour; nor ever authorised any man to use my name for this purpose.<sup>113</sup>

Careful not to show himself involved in Hastings defence in Bengal, Shore nevertheless, engaged the help of Cornwallis to gain evidence of Hastings good character with the indigenous population. In this endeavour the multicultural circle surrounding the Asiatic Society came to the aid of Hastings. Shore’s friend Ally Ibrahim Khan, the Judge at Benares, now transmitted the signatures of indigenous supporters for Hastings to another Asiatic Society member, Jonathan Duncan for transmission to London. One chain of signatures went from Ally Ibrahim Khan to Jonathan Duncan to Hastings’ former private secretary in Bengal, to Cornwallis, to the Supreme Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors, to publication in London and Hastings trial.<sup>114</sup> A testimonial received from the hill tribes of Bhagalpur is remarkably like Shore’s narrative around Cleveland. This testimony and others like it gave the impression that the people of Bengal and Bihar were on Hastings’ side. The similarity with Shore’s ‘Monody’ to Cleveland suggests that Shore or an associate helped produce the statement.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> To Cornwallis 29 August 1787, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 8.

<sup>112</sup> To Cornwallis 29 August 1787, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 9.

<sup>113</sup> To Anderson 8 November 1788, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 159.

<sup>114</sup> *Copies of the Several Testimonials Transmitted from Bengal by the Governor General and Council Relative to Warren Hastings* (London: Stockdale, 1789).

<sup>115</sup> Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 121-2, 181.

On 28 May 1794, Burke represented Shore as part of an ‘Indian Cabinet Council’ that had written Hastings’ defence.<sup>116</sup> According to John Scott, Shore did play the major part in compiling Hastings’ defence of the seventh charge, the revenue charge.<sup>117</sup> Although he denied active participation, during his examination Shore admitted sending across ‘some Memorandums on the Revenue Charge’ but he maintained that ‘a very small part of what I gave him appears in the printed defence’.<sup>118</sup> As Hastings’ defence got under way in early 1792, the actions of Cornwallis, and the Supreme Council in the late 1780s became evidence of prior precedent to counter the first charge. Much of the evidence first presented came from the Consultations of the Supreme Council during the time of Shore and Cornwallis. The defence cited the arrest and confinement of the Raja of Burdwan in 1788 under Shore and Cornwallis for not sending accounts of his alienated charity lands. An extract of the Supreme Council Consultations of 21 May 1788 showed that Raja Balwant Sinha of Benares had dispossessed many *zamindars* from their *zamindaris* for non-payment of revenue, prior to the Company acquiring the *Diwani* (rights to revenue collection) in 1765. The evidence for the defence also submitted a minute of 27 July 1787 from the Governor General to the Supreme Council. The minute showed Cornwallis following Hastings’ precedent when leaving Fort William to visit the outlying districts of the Presidency.<sup>119</sup>

During the trial, alongside promoting Hastings’ good character, Shore published a poem highlighting the tragedy of the lot of the benevolent colonial servant. Chapter 2 elaborated on the pathos within Shore’s ‘Monody’ on Augustus Cleveland. As well as examining the Company man’s lot, the poem is also an elaboration upon Cleveland’s virtues as an imperial servant:

Prudence with vigour, sense with temper join'd  
 In true proportions, mark'd his steady mind.  
 In honour firm, and just in all his ways,

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<sup>116</sup> Burke Reply 28 May 1794, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VII (2000), pp. 261-2.

<sup>117</sup> Major John Scott’s examination at Hastings’ trial, 15 April 1788, Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, I, p. 369.

<sup>118</sup> Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, III, p. 1285.

<sup>119</sup> Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, III, pp. 1467, 1547, 1618; Shore insisted that Cornwallis used the same order from the Board of Control that Hastings had followed. See his private letters to Cornwallis 2, 5, 11 and 16 August 1787 from Calcutta, PRO 30/11/18, fols 559, 563, 569, 579.

The public voice bestow'd unenvied praise;<sup>120</sup>

When he was in England Shore published his 'Monody' anonymously and privately. In Calcutta in 1787 he published it anonymously again in the populist *Asiatic Miscellany*, which was a publication edited by Hastings' orientalist protégé Francis Gladwin.<sup>121</sup> At the same time, Hastings' 'Ode to Shore' was published without Shore's consent in the *Edinburgh Magazine* on June 1786, in the *Calcutta Gazette* on February 15 1787, and in the *European Magazine* in April 1793. Hastings wrote the poem as the men travelled home together in 1785, basing it on Horace, Ode 16, Book II. Both Hastings and Horace wrote about longing for home amid the despair of seeking fame, glory and fortune in empire.<sup>122</sup> These poems are among the first of a discourse that started at the time of Hastings' trial to promote the morality, benevolence and heroic forbearance of the Company servant in South Asia.<sup>123</sup> By publishing the poems Shore, Hastings and the defence team chose to place private feelings of anxiety, despondency and alienation from home into the public domain. In so doing they created a rhetoric of trauma and vulnerability to justify their actions in India. As a result, the sympathetic relationships fostered between Shore and Hastings became a political tool in the public debate surrounding the trial. The implications of Hastings' poem to Shore did not escape contemporary notice. At the trial thirteen days before Shore was due to take the witness stand for the prosecution, Hastings' friend Fanny Burney used the poem to unsettle the Manager William Windham when he came over to speak to her in the viewing gallery.<sup>124</sup> Hastings' 'Ode to Shore' included verses that reminded the Managers of East India Company

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<sup>120</sup> 'Monody on the Death of Augustus Cleveland, Esq, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 492-3.

<sup>121</sup> Shore, *Monody on Cleveland*; Shore, 'Monody on Cleveland', pp. 145-151. Franklin, 'Hastings Circle', pp. 186-202, (pp. 195-7).

<sup>122</sup> The verses were based on Horace Book II Ode XVI. See Warren Hastings, 'Addressed to John Shore, Esq', *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany, 1785-1803*, (1786), pp. 447-448; 'An Ode written by Mr. Hastings ... addressed to John Shore, Esq. in imitation of Horace, Book II., Ode 16.', Seton-Karr, *Calcutta Gazettes*, I (1864), pp. 194-6; 'Correct Copy of Mr. Hastings's Verses to John Shore, Esq', *The European magazine, and London review*, 23 (1793), p. 312.

<sup>123</sup> Teltscher, *India Inscribed*, pp. 121-4.

<sup>124</sup> See Fanny Burney's diary entry for 20 May 1790, Charlotte Barrett (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Madame D'arblay*. 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), V, pp. 102-4. Of the Ode to Shore William Winthrop retaliated 'Burke was going to allude to it, but I begged him not. I do not like to make their lordships smile in this grave business.'

men they had known. One verse mentioned the death of Alexander Elliot, the brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot. Another verse referred to Lord Clive who was an MP and the patron of Sir Philip Francis. Burke had lauded Clive in his opening speech.<sup>125</sup> Both Lord Clive and Alexander Elliot had suffered with their mental health in South Asia, reinforcing the personal experience that the Managers had of private, heroic East India Company suffering while also reminding them of Hastings' friendship with these men.<sup>126</sup>

Amongst these tactics of the defence team, to bolster the reputation of Company officers Shore also contributed reports destined for the British government. Like his 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782' Shore's 'Permanent Settlement Plan' was set against a Company desire to secure the revenue collections, assert dominance in the region and establish a long-term residence there. Both were also written under the critique of Company greed and violence that was unfolding in Britain. The 'Permanent Settlement Plan' of 1789 was a public document, seen by government officers on the Board of Control and visible to the Managers at Hastings trial. With the trial as background then, Shore's 'Permanent Settlement Plan' is part of his defence of East India Company actions in South Asia. Shore used it to reiterate his view that the form of government in Bengal should be despotic. Like Burke at the trial, Shore criticised the ways in which Bengali conduct deviated from British norms. One of Shore's restraints as he drew up his plan was that under the East India Act of 1784 permanent reforms of the administration should work within the customs and practices

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<sup>125</sup> Opening Speech, 16 February 1788, Marshall and Todd (eds.), *Burke's Speeches*, VI, pp. 340-3.

<sup>126</sup> Lord Clive committed suicide in London in 1774. Alexander Elliot died in 1778. Sir Gilbert wrote of his brother's death 'Our poor Alick had prepared us all for such a union' To George Bogle 10 February 1781. Sir Clements R. Markham (ed.), *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*. repr edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. cxlvi. Their sister wrote of Alexander Elliot's sojourn back in Scotland in 1776 that 'Poor Alick's eastern eyes behold us with despair. He could not bear flowers feathers nor stays, so to please him we have almost left off feathers – *c'est bien complaisant* – but we can go no further.' Gilbert Elliot and Emma Elizabeth Elliot, *Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto from 1751 to 1806*. 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green, 1874), I, p. 49. Sir Gilbert Elliot said of Hastings 'I always feel uncomfortable in the reflection of his connections with Alick and I cannot say I was insensible to that idea on seeing him today. But the clearness of his guilt and the atrociousness of his crimes can leave no hesitation in anybody's mind, who thinks as I do about him, what one's duty is'. Sir Gilbert Elliot to his wife 13 February 1788 in Elliot and Elliot, *Sir Gilbert Elliot*, I, p. 194.

of Bengal.<sup>127</sup> Rather than merchants usurping the natural order with the help of the Company then, to Shore a lack of consistency in revenue administration rendered indigenous revenue officers duplicitous and designedly resisting Company authority. Under the old Mughal regime, order was maintained by the most oppressive and cruel means. This meant that under a more lenient British rule, the *zamindars* were now taking advantage to ‘infringe its laws and oppose its orders’. They talked to the Company’s officers in terms of principle, but in their conduct they reverted to the habits created under arbitrary oppressions. In addition, Shore argued, Company men struggled to understand the cultural codes of Indo-Persian revenue collection.

Shore’s remedy was to systematise and simplify the administration. Instead of proposing to use the ‘living knowledge’ of indigenous revenue experts as had Sir William Jones with *pandits* and *qadis* in the Supreme Court, Shore’s inclination was to exclude, side-line and demote them. His plan worked towards reforming the manners of the *zamindars*, so they acted as agents for British authority. In his plan, as directed by the Court of Directors in London, but also in his own report of 1782, Shore proposed removing *zamindars* from revenue responsibilities because of ‘incapacity from age, sex, lunacy, contumacy, or notorious profligacy of character’.<sup>128</sup> By bestowing permanence and security upon the revenue estates of male *zamindars*, Shore’s plan rewarded those who complied with demands for obedience and economy with rank, wealth and status within the Company state.

Shore also proposed a system designed to reform the conduct of the British men he worked with and to save their character and reputation:

When we consider the nature and magnitude of this acquisition, the characters of the people placed under our dominion, their difference of language and dissimilarity of manners ; that we entered upon the administration of the government, ignorant of its former constitution, and with little practical

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<sup>127</sup> The Act required the Company to ‘establish permanent rules for the settlement and collection of the revenue, and for the administration of justice founded on the ancient laws and local usages of the country’. Quoted in Misra, *Central Administration*, p. 185.

<sup>128</sup> Shore, 'Minute of Mr Shore, on the Permanent Settlement of the Lands in Bengal; and Proposed Resolutions Thereon; 18th September 1789', II, pp. 478-501, (p. 72).

experience in Asiatic Finance; it will not be deemed surprising that we should have fallen into errors, or if any should at this time require correction.<sup>129</sup>

Shore argued that despite their 'zeal and assiduity' much of the Company officer's time was taken in carrying out laborious duties. These British officers were outnumbered strangers in a country which differed in language, religion and manners. The men were 'in a constant state of fluctuation'. Their residence in a district usually expired before they had gained enough experience to operate effectively, as such duties included investigating complaints, translating petitions into English and completing paperwork for the central revenue committee. These duties left little time for gaining the knowledge about the district they needed to perform their duties efficiently. As a result, their opinions and actions often varied, instead of being consistently applied. To Shore 'precedents formed on partial circumstances, and perhaps on erroneous premises, become established rules of conduct'.<sup>130</sup> Moreover to collect the revenues, British officers depended upon indigenous collectors for their expertise, but Company men had no time to exert control over the *diwans* and *amils* in their districts. The vigilance and zeal of British officers had done much to reform the manners of these Collectors, but still there was much to do. His plan therefore both justified the conduct of East India Company men and their desire for control over the revenue system. At the same time he justified the measure through the customs and usages of the people of Bengal, to argue his case within the constraints of both the East India Act and the debates of the impeachment trial.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to examine the ways in which Britishness was contested around the multicultural conduct of East India Company men. In debates of nation and race during the impeachment trial of Warren Hastings, the Company in Bengal and the Houses of Parliament in Britain argued for their own representation of a British character. Once the battle went to impeachment, multicultural men like Shore were fighting for their public reputations and the public honour of their character in Bengal. The trial mobilised narratives of oppression and corruption to scandalise and draw in the public, which Dirks suggested resulted in the normalisation of empire. For Shore as a multicultural man, there also came a more unified

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<sup>129</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 478-501, (p. 1).

<sup>130</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 478-501, (pp. 2, 50).

purpose and a more solid sense of Company identity. In Bengal in the 1770s Shore had found division among multicultural interest groups loyal either to Hastings' oriental style of leadership or Francis and his promotion of a British, civil order. In the face of Burke's charges at the impeachment, Shore protected his multicultural friends rather than dividing his partisanship along racial lines. He upheld this sense of imperial loyalties by concealing the acts of both British and Bengali friends from the gaze of his East India Company superiors. He also openly confronted British legislation of 1773 through the prominent part he took in the petitions to Parliament in 1779. In concealing some acts and confronting the leadership at home with others, Shore's actions suggest that in Calcutta the East India Company nurtured a British community that recognised shared emotions, experiences and cultural codes. In his first sojourn these included emoluments, 'precedents and vouchers' of South Asian origin. If, as Linda Colley suggests, identity is a process of differentiation and boundary-setting then Shore placed one of these boundaries between the imperial servant in Bengal and the colonial administrator in London.

At the same time, by campaigning to narrow the Supreme Court's jurisdiction in 1779, Shore protested the British government's notion of its sovereignty in South Asia. While differentiating himself from the metropole, Shore's representations placed an alternative vision into the debate regarding the conduct, morality and the honour of the British nation. This notion of Britishness as a unique set of political liberties, distinguished him and his fellow citizens from Europeans in South Asia. While not articulating a precise vision of nation, Shore argued from the standpoint that British civilization was honourable and moral. In this respect his vision of Britishness differed little from Burke's. Their main difference came from the definition of 'Other'. For Burke the Other was mercantile: Britons who adopted Bengali practices and Bengalis who usurped their ranks in a universal and hierarchical civil order. During the trial Burke denigrated the acts of the Bengali merchants who he saw as usurpers of this civil order, and knowingly exaggerated the cruelty of Raja Debi Sinha's management of the revenue collections of Rangpur to evoke popular outrage against Hastings and the Company.<sup>131</sup> He also cast suspicion upon Hastings and his

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<sup>131</sup> Burke was 'clear that I must dilate upon that; for it has stuff in it, that will if any thing, work upon the popular sense. But how to do this without making a monstrous and disproportioned member I know not'. Burke to Francis 3 January 1788, Marshall and Woods (eds.), *Burke's Correspondence*, V, p. 372.



multicultural, mercantile practices. In contrast, for Shore the Other became the Bengali peoples. Because of their history of oppression and subjugation, according to Shore the indigenous population was incapable of operating under a British style of sovereignty. They were too passive to act upon their democratic rights and needed a despotic regime imposed upon them for their own good. In this respect as well as normalising the idea of a British empire, throughout Hastings' trial the Managers and the defence team were renegotiating the definition of Britain's imperial Other.

By the time Shore appeared as witness on 2 June 1790, his minute to Macpherson had been printed and circulated since 1786 as evidence in Hastings' impeachment. He had also written the 'Permanent Settlement Plan'. Both documents proposed a reform of the revenue system into a style that Shore characterised as 'despotic'. As one of his sweeping reforms of the government of Bengal, Cornwallis implemented most of Shore's revenue proposals. Twelve years earlier the Amending Act of 1781 had removed the rights of Bengali revenue payers for protection under British law. Despite Burke's arguments for a universal set of constitutional rights, the East India Company had placed the Britons it employed in control of the revenue collections. At the same time Bengali bureaucrats were relegated to subordinate positions. Through debates about the morality of the conduct of Company men, national superiority with race as counterbalance, was a shared understanding between both sides. But in what ways did a new moral imperative influence the governance of the Company territories after the trial? It is to Shore's actions as Governor General to which this thesis turns in the next chapter.

# Chapter 5

## Governance, Morality and Conduct

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### Introduction

Possibly there is no sentiment that operates more forcibly or is capable of providing happier effects in the human breast than the love of one's country consequently there is nothing that should be more carefully inculcated on the minds of British officers and soldiers employed on foreign service than a persuasion that they have a fair though somewhat distant prospect of returning to their native land.... For who repines at such circumstances when engaged in vindicating the honour or supporting the just rights of a country to which he is attached by every tie of natural interest?... whilst these are cherished our troops will never abate of the energetic activity and gallant spirit of enterprise that have so often attracted the notice and applause of our enemies and which in their effects have so greatly contributed to raise the British Empire in the East to the glorious pre-eminence it at present enjoys.

Sir John Shore 1794.<sup>1</sup>

These words from Shore in 1794 were written within his plan of reform for the Bengal Army, which he entitled 'Considerations on the defects of the present construction of the Bengal Military Establishment'. In 1793 Company officers had heard of a plan by Cornwallis to merge the Company Army into the King's Army. Rumours of a merger had left the men of the Company Army in ferment and calling upon the Court of Directors and British government for change. In 1794 Shore suggested a three-year furlough for Army Officers as one measure in response. Shore in characteristic style detailed the reasoning behind the suggestion. Where long residence meant that officers divided their loyalties between their country of settlement and their country of origin, lengthy furloughs in Britain and the prospect of returning home with a sizeable pension would generate patriotic fervour and love and loyalty for Britain and British interests in Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

From his own experience in his first sojourn, Shore knew that 'falling into the habits of India' and inhabiting friendships networks with the likes of Raja Debi Sinha, could compromise

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<sup>1</sup> Shore to Dundas, 'Considerations on the defects of the present construction of the Bengal Military Establishment, together with propositions for remedying the evils of the existing system, comprehending an entire new arrangement of the army' (hereafter called Defects of the Bengal Military), IOR/H/451, pp. 46-7.

<sup>2</sup> Shore to Dundas, 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, pp. 46-7.

British interests and, in Britain, call into question the conduct of Company men in empire. In his embodiment of the British state as Governor General, in this chapter I argue that Shore viewed Britishness as a moral concern. Through his administration in Bengal and with Hastings' trial ongoing, he attempted to set a moral state into being that lived within and alongside a fiscal-military one. In 1794 Thomas Gisborne, a friend of Wilberforce's and a friend of Shore's in the nineteenth century, published *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain*. The *Enquiry* was one of the most influential conduct books to emerge between 1770 and 1830, when these books were immensely popular treatises on manners for the middle classes.<sup>3</sup> Driven by prominent evangelists, conduct books emerged at this time as part of their drive to reform the characters and morals of the nation. The *Enquiry* is a detailed explanation of an evangelical code of conduct for British men. Volume 1 began with a disquisition upon the British constitution, moved on to the duties of Englishmen and then continued by outlining the duties of men of authority within public service of the State. Although Gisborne called the chapter *Of the General Duties of Englishmen as Subjects and Fellow-Citizens*, the content embraced the British state and the British constitution, so Gisborne conflated his own Englishness with the other ethnicities of the British Isles.<sup>4</sup> Other chapters included the duties of the Sovereign, Executive Officers, MPs and Commanding officers in the Navy and Army. Although Shore did not know Gisborne at the time, the *Enquiry* gave voice to a moral code of governance circulating among high-ranking evangelicals around the time that Shore set sail as a policy-maker in Empire. In this chapter I will consider Shore's policies against the background of Gisborne's moral code.

As Governor General Shore had more to contend with than the manners of Bengal. In February 1793 Britain entered the War of the First Coalition with France, the first of the turn of century Wars that Linda Colley argued evoked a profound transformation in the way that Britons viewed themselves as a national community. Under Shore's tenure as Governor General, by 1796 the French, Spanish and Dutch settlements had turned into enemy territories in South Asia as France won victories in Europe. In Chapter 1 I indicated that as head of the imperial government in South Asia, Shore had enacted the British state through his role as a

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<sup>3</sup> Marjorie Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774-1858* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 12-19.

<sup>4</sup> Linda Colley observed this as a common practice at the time. Colley, *Britons*, p. 162.

patriarch who displayed his wife as a marker of bloodline, family and status to the men of the settlement. As Lady Governess Charlotte was also a symbol for national loyalty. After describing in the first section this background of war and the evangelicalism that permeated his tenure, in the second section I consider Shore and the crisis in the Bengal Army. The crisis built up from before the start of his tenure until its denouement in mid-1796. Along with the trial of Hastings in London this ferment amongst Company officers underpinned much of Shore's policy during the first half of his term as Governor General. The crisis affected Shore's response to the threat of France and compromised the second Rohilla War in late 1794. Much of the protest of these officers of middling birth were calls for parity with the officers in the Crown forces.

In the third section I consider the ways in which Shore came under fire from within the Company administration. Lord Hobart, the Governor of Madras, arrived in late 1794 with a commission to succeed Shore. Believing that the Company held its territories by the thread of opinion, Shore was fearful that the British presence in South Asia would not be permanent. As a result, his most pressing concern was the stability of the region and the continued presence of the Company in South Asia. He was also keen to protect protocol, assert the legitimacy of the Company and display its moral supremacy. Hobart was an ex-Army officer who had fought in the American War of Independence and served in Ireland. He came with a focus on the War with France and the preservation of honour, his own and by extension that of the Army and the British nation. I argue that while contesting Hobart's code of honour against Shore's evangelical and Company order, the men were negotiating the meaning of British authority in empire.

In the final section I look at the ways that Shore both contested and inhabited Indo-Persian codes of governance in ways that furthered the interests of the British imperial state. At the palace in Murshidabad Shore promoted a code of economy and prudence. He cut down the expenditure of the Nazim of Bengal and by taking control of the pensions and sinecures Babar Ali Khan paid to his retainers, ensured that the Company had control over Babar Ali Khan's advisors. At the same time by refusing presents and attempting to slim down his own household Shore began to disengage himself from Bengali networks of influence. Outside of Bengal Shore adopted Indo-Persian codes to promote the interests of the British imperial state. I argue that despite his promotion of a moral code of straight dealing, principle and

openness at Calcutta, Shore's long residence in Bengal allowed him to adopt and manipulate indigenous political practices to serve British interests in South Asia.

### Shore and the Moral British Empire

In this section I consider the effects that evangelicalism had upon Shore's notions of statesmanship. In 1792 as the defence of Hastings' character and conduct began in Westminster Hall, events took a surprising turn for Shore. In September 1792 Shore was living at Clifton in Bristol and contemplating removing to Devon when he was offered the post of Governor General of India. He set off for London to refuse the commission but after leaving Bath he met his old friend Charles Grant from the Cornwallis administration in Bengal, who persuaded him to accept the appointment.<sup>5</sup> As well as having the weight of the expectations of evangelical friends like Grant upon him, for the first half of Shore's tenure as Governor General he would labour under the uncertainty of the outcome of Hastings trial in London. Hastings was acquitted of all charges in April 1795 and the news reached Calcutta in September of that year.<sup>6</sup> Even with Hastings acquitted though, the threat of impeachment remained with Edmund Burke's hostility towards Shore and his new appointment. Burke died in July 1797 and Shore left Bengal in March 1798. With several months delay for the news to reach Calcutta, the threat of impeachment overshadowed most of Shore's tenure.

As well as the censure originating from Hastings' trial, in Calcutta Shore had another moral influence upon him, the hopes of elite evangelical friends. In June 1791 Shore had met William Wilberforce and Wilberforce's cousin Henry Thornton in Bath. Charles Grant was also in Bath at the time, so it is possible that Grant introduced Shore to the two men. In 1787 Grant had sent Wilberforce and other prominent men a proposal for government-sponsored Christian missions in South Asia. He had then formed a more profound friendship with Wilberforce upon his return to Britain in 1790. Meeting Wilberforce in 1791 was to profoundly change Shore's life. Wilberforce and Grant together influenced Pitt and Dundas

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<sup>5</sup> Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 221.

<sup>6</sup> On the 19th of September 1795 the British Inhabitants met to produce a congratulatory address to Hastings, their former Governor General. Seton-Karr, *Calcutta Gazettes*, II (1865), pp. 165-7.

to appoint Shore Governor General of India, with Grant believing he was ‘instrumental’ in the decision.<sup>7</sup>

Political evangelicalism had arisen in Britain in the early 1780s out of the instabilities caused by economic depression, riots and the loss of the Atlantic colonies. Born out of fear and guilt the political imperative was exacerbated in the 1790s by the violent overthrow of the old order in France, the fear that Jacobinism would topple the British civil order from within and the terror that France would invade Britain from without. By 1792 world events had taken a further sinister turn with the start of the Wars with France in Europe. Britain would enter the War of the First Coalition in February 1793 after Louis XVI of France was executed in Paris. Historians of political evangelicalism like Boyd Hilton and Christopher Leslie Brown have attributed the start of moral campaigns from the late eighteenth century as a means of pacifying an offended God and atoning for national sins.<sup>8</sup> At the base of evangelical fears was a belief in divine retribution. In this world view threats to the civil order were visitations upon the nation for the decline of religious observation and a lack of morality.<sup>9</sup> In empire British slave traders and plantation owners offended God through their cruelty, and at home aristocrats offended through their extravagant, decadent and dissolute lifestyles. Such beliefs led to a sense of God as an arbiter of nations, who punished Britain for the sins that British citizens visited upon others around the world. Converting the world to the virtues of a Christian life would save Britain from an apocalyptic fate. Through such politics these evangelicals promoted a code of middling and mercantile virtue that would atone for the sins of imperial and aristocratic wealth.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Charles Grant in Clapham to his wife, 1 September 1792, Morris, *Life of Grant*, p. 173.

<sup>8</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 203-5; Brown, *Moral Capital*.

<sup>9</sup>In 1797 William Wilberforce believed that ‘to the decline of Religion and Morality our national difficulties must both directly and indirectly be chiefly ascribed’. William Wilberforce, *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes of This Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity*. 10th edn (London: Cadell and Davies, 1811), p. 307.

<sup>10</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 209-10. See also James Stephen, *Dangers of the Country* (Philadelphia: Bradford, 1807), pp. 102-42. Stephen argued that the dangers of French invasion and the usurpation of a British civil order could be prevented by abolishing the slave trade.

At the base of evangelical political thought was a belief in the essential sinfulness of mankind. Within the divinely ordained social hierarchy men and women had a duty of obedience to their superiors. The duty of the elites was to protect their underlings from suffering and to educate them into the practices of Christian virtue. As a result, rather than campaigning for legislation to change inequalities, evangelical politicians campaigned to reform the morals of the middling and the wealthy. They required villains to fight: plantation owners in empire, chimney sweeps at home. As Boyd Hilton suggests, it is not entirely clear whether the motivation of evangelical campaigners was to rescue enslaved Africans and chimney boys from their fates or to save the souls of their overlords.<sup>11</sup>

In answer to these apocalyptic fears of destruction, from the 1790s political evangelicals like Wilberforce and Grant had a vision for global change. This vision stretched from Britain to the Americas, Africa and South Asia. The years Shore set out for Bengal and took over as Governor General were pivotal years for their imperial designs. In 1791 Wilberforce and Thornton, along with Grant, Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp, had set up the Sierra Leone Company to resettle enfranchised black loyalists from the American War of Independence. Thornton was the Chairman of the Company and Shore, Grant, Wilberforce, and Granville Sharp were appointed to the Court of Directors.<sup>12</sup> In 1792 Thornton sent Zachary Macaulay to Sierra Leone as second in council. Macaulay was ultimately to become Governor of the Company in Africa.<sup>13</sup> In that year too, the same month that War started in Europe a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade passed in the Houses of Parliament, but with an amendment that stated the abolition would be gradual. Also in 1792, Henry Thornton and William Wilberforce initiated a ‘Clapham System’ when they moved to Battersea Rise,

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<sup>11</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, pp. 205-8.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Wilberforce to an unknown recipient from Highwood Hill, Middlesex, 28 November 1827, Robert Isaac Wilberforce and Samuel Wilberforce, *The Correspondence of William Wilberforce*. 2 vols (London: Murray, 1840), II, p. 510.

<sup>13</sup> The Sierra Leone Company was the successor of the St George’s Bay Company, set up to resettle enfranchised black loyalists who had made their way to London after the American War of Independence. Its successor was founded to provide a home for black loyalists who were resettled in Nova Scotia after the British lost the War. Both companies were the brainchild of the abolitionist Granville Sharpe. See Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (London: BBC, 2005); Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, pp. 19-49.

the house that Henry Thornton bought on the edge of Clapham Common.<sup>14</sup> Thornton's aim was to build a community of likeminded, philanthropic evangelicals who would work for social and moral change across the globe. The members of the system would come from the elite of the professional and mercantile classes. Representatives of the growing strength of a middling rank who required stability for prosperity, men like Wilberforce, Thornton, Shore, Grant and Macaulay would all at some time live around Clapham Common. Their central tenet was the need for religion and morality to re-establish stability and order in a world that seemed out of control.

As well as lobbying for Shore's appointment in 1792, Charles Grant and William Wilberforce were in hopes of inserting a 'pious clause' into the renewed East India Company charter of 1793. During the renewal debates in 1793 Wilberforce put forward two resolutions to the House. One was for an increase in chaplains in the East India Company territories. The other was that it was the duty of the Company to promote the happiness of the indigenous people living within the Company territories. To this end the Company should take upon itself the task of educating the people for their religious and moral improvement. Although Grant and Wilberforce had initial success, a Company backlash meant that the new clauses ultimately failed to pass the House. With the failure of the pious clause in Parliament, in Bengal it was up to Shore to promote the evangelical agenda in Bengal without the backing of legislation. Instead Shore would have to navigate his tenure as Governor General using his own moral compass as his guide. His answer was to perform as head of state through religion at a time when the world careered out of control around him. Vastly outnumbered, reliant on an Army of indigenous foot soldiers and believing that the Company held its territories by the thread of opinion, Shore was fearful that the British presence in South Asia would not be permanent. As a result, his most pressing concern at the start of his tenure was stability in the region. As well as the threat of uprising from within, the influence of French commanders in the armies of indigenous princes brought the threat of War to the borders of the British territories. Like his father, Tipu Sultan showed alarming sympathies for France. The ruler of Mysore allowed a Jacobin Club to take root in Seringapatam, declared himself Citoyen Tipu and corresponded with Buonaparte himself.<sup>15</sup> In the Maratha confederacy, within the Savoyard De Boigne's

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<sup>14</sup> Henry Thornton to Charles Grant, 30 September 1793 in Morris, *Life of Grant*, p. 200.

<sup>15</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, pp. 149-67.



corps, many battalions were commanded by French mercenaries who were divided in their loyalties between Revolutionary and Royalist France. In Hyderabad Raymond trained 12 infantry regiments of sepoys who fought under the tricolour. His letters to the French governors of Pondicherry and Ile de France (Mauritius) and to officers in De Boigne's corps reveal his desire to band together with his fellow French mercenaries to serve their country in patriotic, republican fervour.<sup>16</sup> In addition, in 1790 just 30 miles upstream of Calcutta, the French settlement of Chandernagore had declared itself a republic. In June 1793 after the news of War reached Calcutta Shore witnessed Cornwallis' invasion of the settlement. He also witnessed Cornwallis' order for French citizens in British territories to register with the government.

As well as threats from France and the fear of indigenous uprising, during his tenure Shore had to negotiate two contests from within the Company in South Asia. Before Shore's tenure as Governor General, a new newspaper in Calcutta had been printing anonymous complaints from officers about the lack of promotions in the Army. The argument on the pages of *The World* that began in 1791 gathered pace between 1792 and 1794 as Shore took the reins of government. Through the paper the men organised corresponding committees alarmingly redolent of American patriotism and of revolutionary France. In 1793 the corresponding committees heard of a plan by Cornwallis to merge the Company Army into the King's Army.<sup>17</sup> In Britain, the cost of commissions and the need for connections meant that the sons of the elites dominated the officers in the King's Army, especially in the upper ranks. Compared to the Company Army the periods of service were shorter as these men from wealthy families took half pay to avoid postings and then bought a higher rank when a suitable position arose.<sup>18</sup> The demands of the Company officers smacked of radicalism in their calls for an Army in India where men of humbler origins would receive equivalence in pay and promotion. Among other demands they called for advancement on merit and promotions that were not blocked by commissions bought in Britain. They also demanded pay equivalent to the officers in the British Army. Above all, the demand that united

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<sup>16</sup> Dalrymple, *White Mughals*, pp. 58, 101-2.

<sup>17</sup> Nigel Little, *Transoceanic Radical, William Duane: National Identity and Empire, 1760-1835. Empires in Perspective* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), pp. 67-78.

<sup>18</sup> P. E. Razzell, 'Social Origins of Officers in the Indian and British Home Army: 1758-1962', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 14 (1963), pp. 248-260.

recalcitrant officers across South Asia, was the desire to retain an identity independent from the British Army. They wanted parity of status between the sons of merchants in the Company Army and those of the landed elites in the King's Army. The Bombay Army was content to follow the Bengal Army lead, while the Madras Army prepared a more moderate set of proposals, but still with the insistence that the Company Army in South Asia should remain separate from Crown forces.<sup>19</sup>

Protests against the plan began before Cornwallis left Bengal. The first petitions went to the King and the Court of Directors in February and March of 1793. In March 1794 Shore sent Dundas his report 'Defects of the Bengal Military'. But the pressing needs of the Revolutionary Wars with France meant that final orders did not arrive in South Asia until April 1796. The onset of the Revolutionary Wars with France delayed government issuing their plans for military reform. This delay allowed the Army officers in Bengal to organise their resistance and to organise themselves into corresponding committees. In Bengal most of the King's Army was in the south of the subcontinent, made ready in case of a French-backed uprising or invasion.<sup>20</sup> British troops were engaged in conflicts in Europe and the Caribbean, so there was little hope that reinforcements would come to Shore's aid at this time. With such pressures and his civilising intent Shore concentrated upon reforming the conduct of the officers by modelling Christian morality but also by encouraging British national sentiment in the Army.

On the 7 September 1794 as the ferment in the Army began to unfold in Bengal and the War in Europe escalated Lord Hobart arrived in Madras, expecting to take over as Governor General when Shore resigned. By August of 1795 Hobart and Shore were in open conflict. Hobart had attempted an 'irregular' promotion of a Major Young to the Military Board of Madras. He had attempted to set up a treaty with Rajadhi Rajasinha, the King of Kandy in Sri Lanka. He had also attempted to send a battalion of troops to support the Nizam of Hyderabad against the Mahrattas and to send Major Macdonald to the Nizam's court.<sup>21</sup> By 1796 the private correspondence between the two men ceased and they corresponded mainly

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<sup>19</sup> Callahan, *Army Reform*, 129-33.

<sup>20</sup> To Hobart from Bengal, 23 January 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, pp. 155-6; Callahan, *Army Reform*, pp. 171-2.

<sup>21</sup> To Dundas 26 August 1795, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, pp. 75-9.

through public letters. As the army crisis in Bengal deepened Hobart started to defy Shore's orders. In 1795 he attempted to force the new Nawab of Arcot to adopt a treaty in defiance of the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1792. After the fall of the Netherlands, in 1795 without Shore's permission Hobart sponsored and equipped an expedition to take the Dutch East Indies and Dutch ports in Sri Lanka. He then, according to Shore, 'dragooned' the Raja of Tanjore into ceding a large territory to the Company.<sup>22</sup> With naval forces diverted to protect the Dutch East Indies in an action he had not approved, by late 1796 Shore felt the British possessions were 'in a most defenceless state' as 'six French Frigates parade the Bay in triumph'.<sup>23</sup> In July, Hobart had needed to send troops to the Dutch East Indies, reducing the numbers available to combat any further disturbances within the Bengal Army, or within South Asia as a whole.<sup>24</sup> Army reinforcements arrived in South Asia in early 1797.

As well as the practical measures took to quell these challenges that he faced, Shore promoted Christianity as 'the religion of the state' as far as he could under the restrictions imposed upon him by the charter of 1793.<sup>25</sup> He attended Church weekly, accompanied by his wife, family, aides and chief officers. At Christmas 1794 soon after his wife's arrival in Calcutta the Church was busier with fashionable attendees than it ever had been before. A few years into his tenure, instead of the handful that appeared in 1793 the square in front of the church and sometimes the neighbouring streets were packed with the palanquins and palanquin bearers of the congregation.<sup>26</sup> For Shore those of 'situation, rank and fortune' should be 'examples to the community' and 'shew their respect for Religion and Morality by their attention to the duties and practice of both'.<sup>27</sup> Alongside his desire to promote Christian conduct among the British inhabitants of Calcutta Shore took the first steps towards the

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<sup>22</sup> Martin Robson, *A History of the Royal Navy: The Napoleonic Wars* (London: Tauris, 2014), p. 90; Shore mentioned Hobart dragooning the Raja of Travancore in letters to Cornwallis, Dundas and Grant; To Cornwallis from Bengal, 26 April 1796, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 76; To Dundas from Bengal 5 July 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 102; To Charles Grant from Bengal 22 June 1796, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 374.

<sup>23</sup> To Dundas from Bengal 9 September 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 109.

<sup>24</sup> Robson, *Napoleonic Wars*, p. 91.

<sup>25</sup> David Brown, *Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1816), p. 303.

<sup>26</sup> From George Cornish to his wife 26 December 1794, SHC, A\AOV/64.

<sup>27</sup> To Charles Grant from Bengal 7 March 1795, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 315; Brown, *Memorial Sketches*, pp. 23, 51, 302-3.

reform of Bengali manners. A piece he published in the *Asiatick Researches* of 1795, is among the first public missives from evangelical quarters to denigrate Hindu manners to highlight the need for reform. It is certainly one of the first printed in a paper with such a wide readership as the *Asiatick Researches*.<sup>28</sup> Published in the same issue as another of his works, Shore's two papers operate in binary opposition. In his obituary of Sir William Jones Shore delineated the model character of a British man in Bengal. As an iconic figure of intellectual and moral superiority, Jones' heroism was a path of national choices. He sacrificed his pleasures and ordered his life for the interests of British imperialism in South Asia. As a result, Shore portrayed Jones' endeavours as a nationalist and imperial project beneficial to the 'wise and benevolent intentions of the legislation of Great Britain'.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, Shore's focus in his second paper on Hindu customs was the violence that Hindu men visited upon the bodies of their women. Shore presented women as victims of violence, either through their own suicide, or the actions of their menfolk. The narrative moved from dharna that subverted Company authority in Benares to increasingly gratuitous cases of witchcraft, sorcery and trial by endurance in Ramgarh in the same district. 'If the preceding detail has no relation to science it is at least descriptive of manners', Shore asserted.<sup>30</sup> As well as cases of witchcraft, Shore described the use of amulets, astrology and superstitions to show the barbarity of the people in 'the least civilised part of the Company's possessions'.<sup>31</sup> In his arguments Shore appealed to British ideas of decency, invoking examples of 'depravity' and 'indecent' in images of female nudity. He offered his observations from 'public duty' and 'if the narrative has too much the language of office, it may be deemed a sufficient

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<sup>28</sup> Shore, 'Extraordinary Facts', pp. 331–350; Two earlier papers of 1792 were of limited circulation. Charles Grant, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects to Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals, and on the Means of Improving It* (London: Private, 1797); William Carey, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (Leicester: Ireland, 1792). Charles Grant presented his paper to Henry Dundas in 1792 and then the Court of Directors in 1797. William Carey's pamphlet was a manifesto for the Baptist Missionary Society that he helped to found in 1792. See Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented*, pp. 28–9.

<sup>29</sup> Shore, 'Discourse on Jones', pp. 181–94, (pp. 177–8).

<sup>30</sup> Shore, 'Extraordinary Facts', pp. 331–350, 346 Shore, 'Extraordinary Facts', pp. 331–350, 346

<sup>31</sup> Shore, 'Extraordinary Facts', pp. 331–350, 343.

compensation that it is extracted from official documents and judicial records and hence has a claim to authenticity'.<sup>32</sup>

As practice that was potentially subversive to the Company state, in 1797 Shore's government outlawed dharna in the first legislation to ban an indigenous custom.<sup>33</sup> Shore also allowed Baptist missionaries to attempt to convert members of the indigenous population. Promoting Christianity was illegal under the Company charter of 1793. Arriving in late 1793 without licences, the Company authorities allowed the Baptist missionaries William Carey and John Thomas to remain unopposed, even though both preached openly in Calcutta. They eventually obtained positions as indigo plantation managers. Another Baptist missionary, John Fountain, arrived in 1796. In 1797, after pressure from London to ensure all residents had Company covenants to reside in South Asia, the authorities in Bengal issued Carey, Thomas and Fountain with residence licences.<sup>34</sup>

So, what are we to make of Shore's moral and performative statesmanship? While Joseph Sramek linked elite displays of authority to the honour code, Linda Colley described a culture of military, patriotic display designed to show the lower ranks the extent of the power of the ruling order.<sup>35</sup> In Linda Colley's assessment elite display was a performance designed to maintain the civil order at a time of national crisis. While this might be true, Shore's statesmanship also had something of the moral leadership that Gisborne detailed in his code of conduct for elite Britons. For Gisborne the sovereign, peers of the realm and private gentlemen should act as models of Christian virtue because the lower orders looked to them for imitation. Providing models of Christian virtue for imitation would disseminate a moral

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<sup>32</sup> Shore, 'Extraordinary Facts', pp. 331–350, 330.

<sup>33</sup> James Talboys Wheeler, *India under British Rule: From the Foundation of the East India Company* (London: Macmillan, 1886), p. 81; For a discussion of the subversive nature of dharna to colonial authorities see Lisa Mitchell, 'The Visual Turn in Political Anthropology and the Mediation of Political Practice in Contemporary India', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 37 (2014), pp. 515–40, (pp. 524–530). Wheeler gave the date of abolition as 1797, Mitchell as 1793.

<sup>34</sup> In 1796 Carey wrote to Fuller, the secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, that Shore 'knows our real business'. Quoted in Carson, *Company and Religion*, p. 54, 67. After Shore left Bengal in 1798 Carey and Thomas placed themselves under Danish protection in Serampore. Fountain died in Dinajpur in 1800.

<sup>35</sup> Colley, *Britons*, pp. 177–93; Sramek, *Gender, Morality and Race*, pp. 4–5.

order down through the ranks and bring control back to the nation.<sup>36</sup> Such codes supported an institutional hierarchy with the sovereign at its head with power devolving downwards. They eschewed violence and promoted benevolence and humanity in dealing with those of inferior station in life. Something of the same sentiment occurs in Shore's 'Permanent Settlement Plan' in which he argued that the character of an administration flowed from its leader.<sup>37</sup> In this respect then, Shore followed an early modern political tradition in which elite families performed their elevated stations to earn respect and to win over the opinion of the Britons stationed in Calcutta. At the same time, he mobilised religion in the service of promoting the middling values of his mercantile background and evangelical friends. and pacify a God enraged at the actions of Britons in Bengal.

### Winning the Minds of the Bengal Army

In this section I consider the ways in which Shore combatted the near mutiny within the Bengal Army. From 1794 to 1796 as French forces began to threaten Company territories in South Asia 'a very alarming spirit of discontent in the Army' occupied much of Shore's time.<sup>38</sup> During the Army Crisis Shore's strategy was 'obviating anarchy and confusion by temperance and moderation' rather than 'adopt[ing] coercion'. But he felt out of his depth in an area 'so foreign to my habits or modes of business'.<sup>39</sup> To prevent the rebellion widening into a Bengali uprising between 1794 and 1796, Shore would not respond with military might. Neither did he decide to punish the main agitators in the Army. Instead he attempted to conciliate the minds of the officers:

Severity to Individuals although I am satisfied that it might have been exerted successfully, might have produced a compleat Disorganization of the Army, the Officers of which with few Exceptions are united in Obligations of Secrecy and mutual Support. This Consequence might have led to others still more dangerous, perhaps to Insurrections of the natives.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men*. 4th edn. 2 vols (London: White and Cadell and Davis, 1797).

<sup>37</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 1-145, (pp. 1-2).

<sup>38</sup> To Grant from Bengal 21 October 1793, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 262.

<sup>39</sup> To Cornwallis from Bengal 26 April 1796, PRO 30/11/122, fol. 75.

<sup>40</sup> To Dundas from Bengal 6 March 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 97.

Shore attempted to conciliate the minds of the officers, through both short-term and long-term measures. In the short-term he appealed to the men directly by reminding them of their loyalty to their nation and empire. At the same time, he represented the officers' complaints as disloyalty not only to their immediate superiors but to their sovereign and to their nation. In December 1795 as ferment bubbled away amongst the British officers Shore appealed for national loyalty in the *Calcutta Gazette*. He posted a notice saying that he was still awaiting orders from London and refusing to implement the officers' demands. Shore's public notice impressed upon the officers and readers of the *Gazette* their national duty in the face of 'the serious contest in which the British Empire is engaged'.<sup>41</sup>

His other immediate step was a less conciliatory attempt to influence the officers by shutting down free, public debate regarding their complaints. As a supporter of revolutionary ideals, the American Editor of *The World* had attempted to create a republic of letters within his newspaper. William Duane's republic allowed residents in South Asia to challenge the Company anonymously and to debate issues outside the control of the authorities in Bengal. *The World* undermined Shore's ability to keep control of the Army Crisis, but it also printed pro-French missives that could have tipped the balance against the Company among the French-influenced kingdoms of South Asia. From 1793 with War gathering momentum, the government in Bengal put pressure upon British residents to stop patronising *The World*. Duane noticed that trade advertisers and military subscribers were withdrawing their support from the paper. Duane heard that the pressure was a direct result of his editorials supporting the claims of the rebellious officers. In March 1794 Duane suffered a severe beating organised by the Company authorities. Later that year Shore ordered his arrest and deportation. The government gave three reasons for this order: a libel against the Wazir of Awadh; Duane's pro-French stance; and his support of the complaints of East India Company Army officers. After evading deportation orders and attempting to blackmail Shore by threatening to inflame the Army to mutiny, Duane was finally arrested at Old Government House. In Shore's presence on 27 December 1794, thirty sepoy with guns and bayonets

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<sup>41</sup> 'Military Intelligence, Fort William, 8th December 1795', 10 December 1795, Seton-Karr, *Calcutta Gazettes*, II (1865), pp. 174-5. In letters to the stations in 1796 Shore stressed again the need for propriety, duty and subordination from officers. Letters to Col Erskine and to Lt Col MacGowan at Midnapore 16 February 1796, National Army Museum Templer Study Centre London, 6404/74/2.

jumped out of hiding in the levee room to arrest Duane.<sup>42</sup> While encouraging Britons in their loyalty to Crown and Empire on one hand, at the same time Shore shut down the voices of dissenting Others, the foreign views of Duane and his support of French and American republican ideals.

In his long-term strategy, Shore wanted to foster a sense of national loyalty among officers who had spent many years settled in a foreign country. Part of this strategy involved encouraging a reform of manners and a return to religion and morality among the Bengal Army by setting up chapels in remote military stations. This attempt to bring religion to the Army came about through the collaboration of himself and his evangelical friends in London. After Wilberforce withdrew the 'pious' clause from the debates to renew the Company charter, the Company and government agreed to extend the Christian establishment for Britons in South Asia. Through this agreement Charles Grant, now at the Court of Directors, was able to get two evangelical chaplains agreed for the Bengal Presidency. The first chaplain in Bengal was David Brown, who was appointed in 1794. David Brown had been chaplain of the Military Orphan Asylum and of the 6<sup>th</sup> Battalion at Fort William since 1786. That year he had written a joint proposal to the East India Company with Charles Grant in support of sending missionaries to South Asia. Upon his appointment as Presidency Chaplain in 1794 Brown reported receiving kindness and attention from Shore. He also reported Shore's interest in setting up chapels to combat the lack of religion in distant military stations in Bengal.<sup>43</sup> By 1797 a second evangelical chaplain had arrived in Bengal. Rev Claudius Buchanan was appointed as the chaplain for Barrackpore through the evangelical network that stretched between Clapham and Bengal. Buchanan was a friend of Henry Thornton. His sponsor at the Court of Directors was Charles Grant. Two of their evangelical friends, Rev Isaac Milner in Cambridge and Beilby Porteus, the Bishop of London, sent references to the Company in support of Buchanan's appointment.

The other part of Shore's strategy was to foster the loyalty of Company officers to their nation of origin. Shore's second long term measure he expressed through his 'Defects of the Bengal Military' which he sent to the government in January 1794. Ultimately, his aim was

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<sup>42</sup> Little, *Duane*, pp. 70-92.

<sup>43</sup> Letter from Rev David Brown in Calcutta to a friend at the East India Company Court of Directors (presumably Charles Grant) June 1794, Brown, *Memorial Sketches*, pp. 277-82.



to re-structure the army and to consolidate the Company's presence in South Asia. As in his short-term strategies Shore's longer-term plan involved the encouragement of Britishness at the expense of non-Britons, in this case the South Asian sepoy troops. For Shore national and racial identities in the Army were to be developed in tandem as tools to achieve stability. Strengthening British loyalty and British character by tackling corrupt and dissolute practices though, also rested upon the demotion of Bengali soldiers' ambitions. Shore was to be made acutely aware of the dangers of disloyalty and insurrection among Company officers later that year when the Second Rohilla War was almost lost through the actions of one wayward commander. During the Battle of Bhitaura on October 26 two regiments of cavalry led by Captain Ramsay ploughed through the Company sepoys, opening a gap for the Ghulam Mohammad's Rohilla forces to enter Company lines. 2,500 Company troops were killed or wounded, but Ramsay's actions never made the official account. It was rumoured that Ramsay's intent was to throw the Battle and move to the Rohilla side. According to William Hickey, Shore ordered a court martial declaring Ramsay either a traitor to his country or a coward, or both. Ramsay fled to Portuguese Goa, from where he made his way back to Scotland.<sup>44</sup>

Shore believed that soldiers from Britain like Ramsay were apt to have divided loyalties because of their long residence on the subcontinent. Because they were never relieved from home the British men 'are for the most part naturally led in time to forget their native country while by a long residence in India they are apt to acquire habits and also to form connections with the natives of a pernicious tendency'.<sup>45</sup> Instead they often harboured a 'dangerous indifference' to a Britain from which they 'consider[ed] themselves virtually exiled'.<sup>46</sup> In addition, they were encouraged to drink because of generous spirits allowances from the government. Their inebriety led them to commit crimes and then they would desert. Coupled with difficulties in recruiting from home, this meant that the British numbers amongst the force were small in comparison to the South Asian troops. They were also decidedly ill-

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<sup>44</sup> John Williams, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry, from Its First Formation in 1757 to 1796* (London: Murray, 1817), pp. 79-82; Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of Hickey*, IV (1925), p. 121-4.

<sup>45</sup> Shore 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, p. 37.

<sup>46</sup> Shore 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, p. 50.

disciplined through the government's encouragement of their drunkenness and untrustworthy because of their Bengali habits.<sup>47</sup>

As a result, Shore argued that the security of the British possessions in South Asia relied upon the indigenous soldiers in the Company. The South Asian men were well-disciplined, and officers preferred to serve with the native regiments. Even though the Company relied upon this sepoy force and the indigenous soldiers had shown themselves faithful so far, Shore did not trust them to remain loyal either. Shore expected the Permanent Settlement to create 'a new order of beings in the country' and a 'permanent landed interest' with the *zamindars* gaining 'opulence and influence'. He worried that riches could give birth to 'ambitions' and the means to put these ambitions into practice. He felt that the more independent the Bengalis became, the more a 'strong and respectable' European force was required to keep them under control.<sup>48</sup>

Through his report 'Defects of the Bengal Military' Shore proposed measures that would encourage the loyalty of the troops to the Company. To encourage the Company officers to maintain their loyalty to Britain and engender 'that warm attachment to their country that is so desirable both politically and militarily', Shore suggested that officers above the rank of subaltern during a long service should be allowed at least one three-year furlough on full pay and without loss of rank:

as the Europeans in India are but weak in point of numbers the more requisite is it that our officers should on all occasions of moment act with that ardour which a lively interest in their country can alone inspire but which can only be excited and maintained by a prudent mention to their natural feelings and reasonable claims.<sup>49</sup>

To make Company service more enticing he suggested a superannuation scheme that would allow for a more fluid system of promotion. He also advocated having no crossover for officers between an ethnically diverse Company Army and the King's regiments that were regularly refreshed from Britain. But the officers should have parity of payment and promotion prospects with the King's Army. Shore wasn't the only person to suggest a three-

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<sup>47</sup> Shore 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, pp. 37-8.

<sup>48</sup> Shore 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, pp. 36-44.

<sup>49</sup> Shore 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, p. 50.

year furlough and superannuation. Cornwallis also suggested this idea, but Cornwallis did not lay out the reasoning behind his plan. It is hard to know where the idea arose as both men proposed these measures and they discussed policy before Cornwallis' departure from Calcutta.<sup>50</sup> As with the 'Permanent Settlement Plan' though, it is the merging of influences between the experiences of men who served in Bengal with the concerns of the men in the Court of Directors and on the Board of Control that eventually produced the final orders.

Shore wanted to create internal boundaries within the Army by devising a system of promotion and authority based upon national origin and denying influence and command based upon ethnicity. To his fear of insubordination amongst the Bengali troops Shore advocated an increase in the number of British Company officers in the sepoy battalions. He also wanted to introduce a flatter system of promotion which would reduce the influence of Bengali soldiers and reinforce a hierarchy of respect for Company officers. More pay would come with experience and good conduct, but it would not be accompanied by promotion up the ranks. While the path of promotion and status was opened for European officers then, he wanted to close it down for sepoys.<sup>51</sup>

The delay in sending out the orders from Britain, the promotion of three King's officers to Major-General over the heads of Company officers in each of the three presidencies in spring 1795 and the publication of Cornwallis' plan in August 1795 meant that by mid-1796, the Army in Bengal was on the brink of armed resistance. By late 1795 the ferment was so alarming that Shore gathered forces loyal to the Company. In Bengal these were the Company's artillery units and one under-strength King's regiment, the 76th Foot. By January 1796 discontent in the Bengal Army was so alarming that despite the 'controversies' between himself and Hobart, Shore wrote the Governor at Madras and to General Sir James Craig the commander-in-chief at the Cape asking for reinforcements if they should be required.<sup>52</sup> Shore also asked for aid from the rulers of South Asia. The Company's ally, the Wazir of Awadh,

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<sup>50</sup> Cornwallis to Dundas from Bengal, 24 March 1793, Ross, *Correspondence of Cornwallis*, II, pp. 220-1; Cornwallis notified Shore when he submitted his plan of reform to the government. See Cornwallis to Shore from Brome, 12 March 1794, Ross, *Correspondence of Cornwallis*, II, p. 237.

<sup>51</sup> Shore 'Defects of the Bengal Military', IOR/H/451, pp. 61-3.

<sup>52</sup> To Hobart from Fort William 23 January 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, 14, 155.

agreed to supply his best soldiers. De Boigne agreed to send a regiment of cavalry commanded by Europeans from the Mahratta Army. De Boigne also sold the Company his personal bodyguard of 600 horse, 100 camel and 4 artillery as he was about to return to Europe. With just one under-staffed King's regiment, the artillery and De Boigne's body guard to hand Shore feared a more widespread rebellion against the government and empire, 'would have been most fatal'.<sup>53</sup> As well as the worry of an armed uprising among British forces, Shore's concern was that sepoys would join in any mutiny, leading to a widespread rebellion and loss of the Company's territories in South Asia.

After the orders from Britain finally arrived to quell the disorder Shore put in place further concessions. In the May 30 military consultations, the committee agreed to postpone promotions until they had consulted the Court of Directors and to enhance the allowances laid out in the London plan. The additional allowances would cost the Company £350,000 per annum, but by July Shore's concessions had stemmed the spirit of resistance amongst the officers.<sup>54</sup> Shore also refused commissions into the Company's Army from the Crown. In 1797 a close associate of the Prince of Wales arrived in Bengal on the understanding that he would command the Company's Cavalry. Shore refused to appoint him. Despite Major-General John St Leger's very public and vocal protests Shore did not change his position and open hostility broke out between the two men.<sup>55</sup> The orders from Britain brought further benefits to Company officers, increased salaries, a three year furlough to Britain and a superannuation scheme. Much that was reformed in Shore's time remained and the Company, through its Army asserted an independent imperial identity for another 60 years. No other government attempted so radical a reform showing how fundamental the loyalty of the army remained to the imperial state. While Shore's response might be because of lack of reinforcements available from Britain, it was also an expression of his evangelical desire to eschew violence, conciliate minds and reform national character. In his attempts to reform character though, Shore advocated a separation of the soldiers of Britain and Bengal by opening British prospects and limiting the influence of Bengalis. In this way through his fears of insurrection and his distrust of a multicultural army Shore hoped to construct a sense of

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<sup>53</sup> To Grant from Bengal 9 March 1796, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 365.

<sup>54</sup> To Dundas from Bengal, 12 July 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 106.

<sup>55</sup> Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of Hickey*, IV (1925), pp. 155-6.

Britishness in empire. While he raised disloyal Britons up though, he dashed the ambitions of an untrustworthy and racialised Other.

### Contesting Britishness

Upon Hobart's arrival in Madras in late 1794, Shore attempted to mentor the new Governor into the ways of an orderly East India Company. The Governor was 'welcome to any advice or information which I can furnish' and Shore planned to send Hobart all his political minutes. Shore was keen to shape Hobart's actions and referred him to his rules of conduct and proposed style of government.<sup>56</sup> Shore illustrated his ideas of governance using the practice of his deceased relative Augustus Cleveland, the subject of his 'Monody', as an example of how to civilise hill tribes without the use of force. According to Shore, Cleveland befriended two of the chieftains and extended his influence in Rajmahal so that many of the tribespeople were now in the employ of the East India Company as sepoy in the army. Shore described his need for actions to be performed according to fixed rules and advised that revenues should be collected annually.<sup>57</sup> In this way he described a system of evangelical order that befriended and enticed the indigenous population through humanity and benevolence, but also ensnared them into the Company's influence.

By 1796 with several disagreements regarding military strategy behind them, Lord Hobart experienced Shore as a man of determination and tenacity. Hobart felt he could not act without Shore's orders and that Shore was deliberately undermining his authority in a persecutory fashion. Hobart took Shore's actions as a personal affront upon his status and his honour.<sup>58</sup> Shore accused Hobart of conduct unbecoming of a man lower in Company rank to

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<sup>56</sup> To Hobart 11 November 1794 from Fort William, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies Aylesbury, D-MH/H (India)/A/E5. For Shore's initial ideas of the relationship between himself and Hobart see letter to Dundas 31 December 1794, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 61.

<sup>57</sup> To Hobart from Bengal 1 December 1794, D-MH/H (India)/A/E6.

<sup>58</sup> Hobart wrote to Dundas that Shore had given 'a pledge... tho' not publicly ... to depreciate & lower me upon all occasions'. He also wrote that if Shore were to remain at the head of the interests of British India then he was 'most thoroughly convinced that their advancement & my own honour will not admit of us both remaining in the country'. See letter to Dundas from Hobart in Madras, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, pp. 195, 197.

himself. To Shore Hobart was 'exceeding the bounds of decorum'. He was 'offensive and arrogant' and he did not recognise Shore's authority over him:

he chuses to call the exercise of the controuling power of this Government over his Administration, a want of confidence in his measures; or, in other words, he will be despotic in his own Government, and wants even to controul me.<sup>59</sup>

From Shore's point of view as one below him in the Company order Lord Hobart addressed him 'in terms which I would not have used to any subordinate officer'.<sup>60</sup> Shore's disagreement with Hobart centred upon his conduct. Much of the evangelical's attempts to reform manners in Britain focussed upon their critique of the aristocracy and landed elites. Because they believed the elites were 'regarded as patterns by which the manners of the rest of the world are to be fashioned' evangelicals targeted the conduct of the upper and middling ranks of society for reform.<sup>61</sup> Within the King's Army in which Hobart had served during the American War of Independence, men disproportionately from these landed elites asserted themselves through a code of honour that exhibited their valour and military prowess. This code expressed itself through the duelling Shore noted as a young man on his first voyage out to Bengal and described in Chapter 3. An officer's loyalty was to the men he fought among with the regiment as the bridge between personal and national honour.<sup>62</sup> Instead of this performative aspect of aristocratic manhood though, evangelicals vaunted a moral character that was a judgement upon the person's inner nature.<sup>63</sup> Gisborne viewed the aristocracy to be prone to the sins of pride and entitlement and a propensity to value personal honour over the public good.<sup>64</sup> Evangelicals like him wanted to promote the development and display of the aristocracy by educating them into a virtuous Christian character based upon religious and

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<sup>59</sup> To Grant from Bengal, 20 October 1795, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 340-1.

<sup>60</sup> To Cornwallis from Bengal, 26 April 1796, PRO 30/11/122 fol. 76.

<sup>61</sup> Hannah More, *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society* 6th edn (London: Cadell, 1788), p.2.

<sup>62</sup> Catriona Kennedy, 'John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British Army Officer During the Napoleonic Wars', in *Gender, War and Politics Transatlantic Perspectives 1775-1830*. ed. by Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 127-146, (pp. 134-6).

<sup>63</sup> Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class*, p. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Gisborne, *Duties of Men*, I, pp.133-6.

moral principles. These principles could be learnt through following personal examples like that of Cleveland. They also found expression through a person's conduct.<sup>65</sup>

To Thomas Gisborne the public statesman should be open and honest in his dealings, promote regularity and consistency of system and prefer benevolence and humanity over violence and temper. The duty of those occupying the highest posts in the government administration was to serve their nation within a set of principles which they openly declared to those they dealt with. Instead of the honour code, as examples to the rest of society Gisborne believed the nobleman's duty was to model industry, morality and merit to the lower ranks.<sup>66</sup> Like Gisborne, Shore was an advocate of character, conduct, system and principle. In his 'Permanent Settlement Plan' of 1789, Shore juxtaposed his representation of an arbitrary and despotic Indo-Persian revenue system against the principles and regularity of the Company plan that he proposed. In the plan he had represented a Mughal administration in which 'The safety of the people, the security of their property, and the prosperity of the country, depended upon the personal character of the monarch'.<sup>67</sup> Shore had upheld regularity and system prior to being Governor General. In 1786 Charles Grant had noted upon meeting Lord Cornwallis for the first time that the head of government turned to Shore many times for guidance.<sup>68</sup> By August 1787 Shore was defending the system to a Governor General unused to Company practices. In Calcutta the military parole was a 'polite form' that devolved the power to order gun salutes and receive the reports of returns of troops to the garrison.<sup>69</sup> When Hastings left for Lucknow in 1784, in compliance with an order from the Board of Control he had left the parole with the most senior member of the Supreme Council in Calcutta. But in 1787 Cornwallis had left no instructions for Stuart who was 'a little distressed'.<sup>70</sup> Cornwallis wanted to subvert the precedent Hastings followed by having orders issued in the name of the Supreme Council rather than Stuart alone, but Shore insisted that the parole 'will remain as it

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<sup>65</sup> Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class*, p. 65.

<sup>66</sup> Gisborne, *Duties of Men*, pp. 165-71.

<sup>67</sup> Shore, 'Minute on Permanent Settlement', II, pp. 478-501, (p. 1).

<sup>68</sup> Entry in journal of Charles Grant December 1786, Morris, *Life of Grant*, p. 87. He noted later that Shore played 'a conspicuous part' in all branches of the Service, not just the revenue. From Charles Grant to Ducarel 7 March 1788 from Calcutta, Gloucester, D2091/F14.

<sup>69</sup> To Cornwallis 11 August 1787 from Calcutta, PRO 30/11/18, fol. 569.

<sup>70</sup> To Cornwallis 2 August 1787 from Calcutta, PRO 30/11/18, fol. 559.

stands'.<sup>71</sup> In this way Shore reinforced and defended the regularity and order of an East India Company hierarchy in Bengal by referring to prior practice and Acts of Parliament to ensure the 'propriety' of Cornwallis' actions.<sup>72</sup>

With Hobart Shore disagreed that South Asian rulers should be coerced and pressed into agreements, because violence would 'sacrifice the real interests of my country'. Instead of Hobart's violence and threats, Shore's instinct was to manipulate the South Asian rulers into alliances with the Company. As with the recalcitrant Bengal Army officers, Shore believed the 'language of intimidation' produced resistance and 'should never be used without the power to enforce it'. To Shore, Hobart's actions with the Nawab of Arcot in 1795 had led to the 'obloquy of a breach of public faith'. If the Company acted in such a way, rulers on the subcontinent would lose their trust in the Company and would cease to respect the Company's intent to follow through on its threats. A couple of months later he would go further and accuse Hobart of dishonestly dragooning the Raja of Tanjore into a treaty for his own personal gain.<sup>73</sup> It wasn't Hobart's goals that Shore disagreed with but the means he took to attain them. Using coercive measures were to Shore immoral and 'a deviation from Rectitude':

Some future Government might adopt the same conduct with very different views, and the arguments adduced in support of the suggestions of zeal, might be employed to justify the plans of corruption. If Mr. Hastings had done what Lord Hobart has, it would have formed an article in his Impeachment. In his Lordship I see great error of judgement, unjustifiable violence, and precipitation.<sup>74</sup>

Under Shore's tenure, the nobleman Hobart was placed in an incongruous position in the Company administration. Shore was elevated far above the birth station of his family of wealthy gentry merchants where financial economy, trustworthiness and personal worth were measures of virtue and morality. It was this reversal of status that both Callahan and Furber

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<sup>71</sup> To Cornwallis 16 August 1787 from Calcutta, PRO 30/11/18, fol. 579.

<sup>72</sup> To Cornwallis 5 August 1787 from Calcutta, PRO 30/11/18, fol. 563. See also Cornwallis' minute to the Supreme Council dated 27 July 1787, Torrington (ed.), *Minutes of Evidence*, III, p. 1547.

<sup>73</sup> To Grant from Bengal 22 June 1796, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, i, 374-6.

<sup>74</sup> To Dundas from Bengal 5 July 1796, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, 103-4.



argued contributed to the animosity that was to follow between the two men.<sup>75</sup> Contemporary diarists in Calcutta in the 1790s also reported prejudices against Shore and his family because of their wealthy but middling and mercantile social station. Upon hearing of his appointment William Hickey called Shore ‘a man of low origin, without any connexion of weight or influence’. A supporter of Burke, Hickey attributed Shore’s appointment to his abrupt change of opinion regarding Hastings.<sup>76</sup> Blechynden on the other hand, while believing Shore ‘honourable’, in private ridiculed his brother-in-law, Hubert Cornish because his father was a mere mace-bearer in Exeter.<sup>77</sup>

While social status might be a factor in their conflicts, the men represented their disagreements as undermining national interests. For Hobart, Shore challenged his ideals of honour, loyalty and patriotism. Shore was unpatriotic and treasonous, and his policies destabilised the empire in South Asia.<sup>78</sup> Because Shore supported indigenous rulers against Hobart’s actions, he behaved in a way that undermined British honour and political influence in India. At the same time Shore promoted the pursuit of proper conduct to create an imperial state where members of the administration performed according to evangelical notions of civil order. Where Shore saw national honour in economic prudence, upholding treaties and negotiating within the Indo-Persian system, Hobart viewed such practices as subversive to British interests. These conflicting notions of British honour intersected with the men’s understanding of their social rank. While Shore did adopt an aristocratic performative role as Governor General, he emphasised the Protestant stewardship of the monarch. At the same time, as shown in Chapters 1 and 2, he performed his authority through South Asian symbols of power and through British markers of gender. In this way in empire Shore’s national honour combined with codes from the middling, the noble and the royal and from both Britain and South Asia. Class and nation remade themselves together in empire through the codes of conduct which the men contested with each other in their dealings with the indigenous rulers of South Asia.

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<sup>75</sup> Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 20; Callahan, *Army Reform*, p. 114.

<sup>76</sup> Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of Hickey*, IV (1925), p. 80.

<sup>77</sup> Robb, *Sentiment and Self*, p. 7.

<sup>78</sup> For example in 1795 Shore had supported the King of Kandy, persuaded to do so by the heads of the Dutch factory at Chinsura Hobart insinuated. See letter from Hobart to Dundas 20 January 1797, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, pp. 194-5.

## Gaining Influence through the Language of Princes

In this final section I look at the ways in which Shore interacted with South Asian rituals of authority. Outside of the Company's public domain Shore adopted evangelical and South Asian codes in his encounters with South Asian princes, applying them expediently to try to gain the upper hand for the British administration. Rather than applying system, regularity and openness in all his encounters as Thomas Babington's conduct book suggested, when dealing with indigenous Princes Shore's manners became a practical blend of British and Bengali. To illustrate, I look at how Shore attempted to gain compliance from two rulers under Company influence, the Nazim of Bengal and the Wazir of Awadh. The Nazim Babar Ali Khan of Bengal was a young man when he succeeded his father a month before Shore became Governor General. One of Shore's first acts was to direct the Nazim to the code of conduct he expected of him. Wazir Ali Khan of Awadh succeeded when his adoptive father Asaf-ud-Daulah died in 1797. Shore intervened to depose Wazir Ali Khan citing rumours of the Wazir's illegitimate birth to justify his act. Instead of Wazir Ali Khan Shore installed a friend of the Company, Asaf -ud-Daulah's brother Saadat Ali Khan, who had lived in Calcutta and attended celebrations of the Company's victories over Tipu Sultan of Mysore in 1791 and 1792.<sup>79</sup> The day Shore rode into Lucknow behind Saadat Ali Khan on an elephant during a bloodless, Company-backed coup, Shore also wrote to the new ruler about the conduct required of him as an ally of the Company. Although Shore's words to Saadat Ali Khan are not recorded, Shore showed something of what he expected in his correspondence with the Nazim of Bengal. I first look at this correspondence with the Nazim, before looking at the ways in which Shore manipulated Indo-Persian codes to ensure that he secured the kingdom of Awadh into friendly hands.

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<sup>79</sup> To Saadat Ali Khan, 13 November 1795 and 26 December 1795. On the 13th November Shore referred to Saadat Ali Khan as 'my friend'. On the 26<sup>th</sup> December Shore declared that 'it is my sincere desire to gratify your wishes upon every practicable occasion.' BL, Add MS 13509, fols 52; 136-7. On 1 February 1796 Saadat Ali Khan was granted a private interview with Shore, Add MS 13510, fol. 70. From his residence in Benares Saadat Ali celebrated Cornwallis' successes in the third Anglo-Mysore War against Tipu Sultan in 1791 and then attended the Public Ball in Calcutta held in honour of the final victory at Seringapatam in February 1793. See Seton-Karr, *Calcutta Gazettes*, II (1865), pp. 291, 363.

As Governor General, despite high-ranking scholarly friendships Shore began to remove himself from Bengali power structures. This process had started under Cornwallis with the slimming of the Governor General's household servants and the refusal of presents. As described in the previous chapter the British government viewed the use of presents and emoluments in the Indo-Persian system as arbitrary and corrupt, but gifting was a legitimate mode of transacting business in Bengal.<sup>80</sup> Indo-Persian bureaucrats expected presents for favours rendered and for carrying out their duties. Before Company rule present-giving was the main way an individual could obtain influence within the Indo-Persian state.<sup>81</sup> In 1764 after the Company took over the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa the Directors forbade Company servants from accepting presents from the indigenous people. Company servants interpreted the injunction to mean accepting bribes for services rendered, but not for presents of gratitude and alliance. After the Regulating Act of 1773 the injunction became enshrined in British law. From this date Company officers sent lavish presents of diplomatic friendship from South Asian rulers to the Company treasury to be recycled as gifts in future ceremonies, or sold on for the Company's benefit.<sup>82</sup> Even after 1773 though, Company men in South Asia continued to interpret the law according to their own standards.<sup>83</sup> Not until the 1780s as the censure of Hastings style of governance began to occupy debates about Company rule, did Shore start to be more circumspect about receiving emoluments from Bengalis. The sixth article of Hastings impeachment concerned the presents Hastings had accepted. When Shore returned to Bengal in late 1786, Cornwallis discouraged present-giving from private citizens but would engage in the ritual exchange of gifts that diplomacy in South Asia required.<sup>84</sup> Similarly Shore as Governor General accepted token gifts such as baskets of fruit and pickles from the Nazim and the Begums in the *zenana* at Murshidabad.<sup>85</sup> Like Cornwallis though,

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<sup>80</sup> Mukherjee, 'Co-Ordinating State and the Economy', pp. 389-436, (p. 422).

<sup>81</sup> M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1968), pp. 151-2.

<sup>82</sup> Emily Hannam, *Eastern Encounters: Four Centuries of Paintings and Manuscripts from the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2018), p. 28.

<sup>83</sup> Marshall, *Impeachment of Hastings*, pp. 130-1.

<sup>84</sup> Franklin Wickwire and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: The Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill NC: North Carolina University Press, 1980), p. 29.

<sup>85</sup> Shore received, mangoes, pickles, conserves, oranges, attar of roses and oud from the Palace at Murshidabad. See complimentary replies from Shore to the Nazim of Bengal 8 January 1794, 14 July 1795, 11 July 1796, 10 July 1797, Add MS 13502, fol. 20; Add MS 13508, fol. 10, Add MS 13512, fol. 5, Add MS 13516, fol. 8; Complimentary replies

away from public diplomatic ritual, Shore refused presents from private citizens.<sup>86</sup> In slimming his complement of servants and refusing presents from men wanting to come under his protection, Shore distanced himself from the ties of obligation that had embedded him in the Bengali networks of influence. Nevertheless, for high-ranking friends of the Company as Governor General Shore held public levees at the Old Government House in Calcutta. At the levee Shore received petitions and heard pleas from the men within his circle of influence. Shore's 'native levee' ended in a South Asian manner with gifts of *pān* (betel) and attar of roses distributed from Shore's own hand. In sprinkling the influential men of Bengal with attar Shore participated in a ritual that bonded men together, for attar of roses was a male accessory, that promoted emotional and spiritual refinement.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the ceremony of giving *pān* forged a relationship between donor and recipient. In Ayurveda betel leaf increased the digestive fire and sharpened intelligence<sup>88</sup> While rejecting presents then, Shore continued a ritual that bound Bengali men into the Company's circle of influence.

As Governor General Shore attempted to extend this circle by promoting the virtues of evangelical conduct to South Asian princes. For Shore incurring debts through a lack of economy and prudence was a sinful and immoral act. A civilized, virtuous prince treated those under his care as a saved deposit with the lower ranks as resources to be accrued and multiplied.<sup>89</sup> The conduct that Shore required of the new Nazim of Bengal revolved around paying off the royal family's debts to the Company and living within the reduced allowance which the Company provided. In so doing Shore interfered with the running of Babar Ali Khan's household and his traditional sources of power, the systems of family life, patronage

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from Shore to Munni Begum, 30 July 1794, 15 January 1796, Add MS 13504, fol. 30, Add MS 13510, fol. 25; Babbu Begum, 21 April 1794, Add MS 13503, fol. 39.

<sup>86</sup> For example in December 1794 in Government House Shore refused a present for his wife from a Bengali visitor or administrator, the person is not defined in the account of the transaction. According to his brother-in-law Shore refused with a laugh. When the man persisted saying it had always been the custom Shore replied that it might have been once but that it was no longer so. See letter from George Cornish to his wife 9 December 1794, A\AOV/64.

<sup>87</sup> O'Hanlon, 'Manliness in Mughal North India', pp. 47-93, (pp. 67-84).

<sup>88</sup> David L. Curley, 'Voluntary' Relationships and Royal Gifts of Pan in Mughal Bengal', in *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*. ed. by Stewart Gordon. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 50-79, (pp. 71-3).

<sup>89</sup> Shore to Tipu Sultan of Mysore, 10 February 1794, Add MS 13502, fol.53.

and rulership that revolved around his presence. Shore couched his language in his private letters to the court in terms of friendship, but it is hard not to perceive a threatening tone to letters that declare Shore's friendship and concern for the welfare of the young Nazim. A different Shore to the civilized and reasonable man he portrayed in public documents emerged from his private letters to the South Asian ruler. The Governor General could be condescending, threatening and irritable when the Nazim deviated from the line of conduct Shore expected. A little of this character had made fleeting appearances in Shore's private letters to Anderson during his first sojourn in Bengal.<sup>90</sup> This is also the man who Philip Francis could trust to terrify the Raja of Krishnagar into paying his dues.<sup>91</sup> Rather than the overt, coercive tactics of Hobart, Shore's letters contained an undertone of menace with insinuations that something unspecified but terrible would happen if the Nazim did not comply.

In December 1793 Shore had warned Babar Ali Khan to choose his friends carefully, quoting from a Persian source (Abul Fazl's *Dastur-ul-Amal*) to emphasise his point.<sup>92</sup> It was not long after that Shore's gaze turned to conduct that he disapproved and was 'taking notice of [the Nazim's] first abstraction from the line of prudence'. Shore's letters became increasingly aggressive as he learnt that the Nazim was appointing stipends and offices without the Company's approval. By April 1795 Shore was sending menaces to the court, emphasising that the Nazim should change his conduct and his friends. The Nazim had:

suffer[ed] himself to be influenced by the sinister counsels of unworthy men to adopt a line of conduct disgraceful in itself & serious in its consequences...I have hopes that this letter will have the effect of awakening His Highness to a sense of his real interest, of what belongs to his own situation and of what is due to mine. If it should not he is responsible for the consequences.<sup>93</sup>

Although Shore addressed the Nazim as 'His Highness' the tone of the letter assumes Shore had higher rank:

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<sup>90</sup> To Anderson from Calcutta 15 May 1780, 2 February 1782, Add MS 45428, fols 34-6, 113; Shore, 'Remarks on Revenue Collection of 1782', IOR/H/795, p. 16; Deposition of John Shore (undated), Add MS 38398, fol. 128.

<sup>91</sup> Francis sent Shore to 'hold a rod of iron in terror' over the recalcitrant Raja. See Parkes and Merivale, *Memoirs of Francis*, II, p. 121.

<sup>92</sup> To Nasser ul Moulk 3 December 1793, Add MS 13501, fols 52-4.

<sup>93</sup> To Munni Begum 15 April 1795, Add MS 13507, fol. 19.

‘Nothing but my extreme astonishment at the contents of your letter of 6<sup>th</sup> March has prevented me replying to it sooner. I did indeed entertain hopes that your own reputation would have suggested to you that it was a very improper return for that friendship and regard which dictated my address to your Highness and that if you had not even seen and acknowledged these motives it was written in a style which neither become your situation nor mine.’<sup>94</sup>

Among his other crimes, without the Company’s consent the Nazim had appointed Raja Debi Sinha, the Company’s nemesis in Rangpur, as a retainer to his household. A bewildered Babar Ali Khan responded with apologies and astonishment, elaborating on the ancient family connections of the men he had appointed. The Nazim declared that he never seen Raja Debi Sinha, and that the Raja had never set foot in his house. He had never heard the characters of the men he had tried to honour to be so bad. The last thing he wanted was to lose credit with the Company and be disgraced among his contemporaries.<sup>95</sup> By June 1796 the Nazim of Bengal asked Shore for approval for a reply to the Wazir of Awadh.<sup>96</sup> In this way Shore promoted the Company and British culture as a superior, more moral more civil culture than the one the Nazim lived within.<sup>97</sup> The result was that the Nazim of Bengal sought the approval of the Company in the structure of his household, his expenditure and in his diplomatic relations with the other princes of South Asia.

While attempting to control the expenditure and networks of power of the Nazim of Bengal, Shore could also enact diplomatic relationships with South Asian rulers through a multi-layered ‘language of Princes’.<sup>98</sup> In these encounters Shore gained the upper hand by adopting indigenous codes of masculine authority. In particular he performed the Indo-Persian tradition of *khilat*, a system of honour that incorporated an individual into power structures and established a client-patron relationship between giver and receiver.<sup>99</sup> For usurpers and

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<sup>94</sup> To Nasser ul Moulk 13 April 1795, Add MS 13507, fol. 15.

<sup>95</sup> From Nasser ul Moulk 29 May 1795, Add MS 13507, fols 49-53.

<sup>96</sup> To Naussir-ul-Moulk 30 June 1796, Add MS 13511, fol. 127. Shore found the letter to the Vizier of Awadh and his minister ‘unobectionable’.

<sup>97</sup> To Nasser ul Moulk 3 February 1795 and from Nasser ul Moulk 6 March 1795, Add MS 1356, fols 48-51, fols 83-85.

<sup>98</sup> To his wife 8 February 1797 from Benares, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 404-5.

<sup>99</sup> Stewart Gordon, 'Introduction: Ibn Battuta and a Region of Robing', in *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India*. ed. by Stewart Gordon. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 1-30, (p. 4).

invaders accepting or rejecting the *khilat* or robe of honour demonstrated whether an individual would be loyal to the new regime.<sup>100</sup> Shore also worked the intelligence gained through the men of influential families he encountered at his levees and through his scholarly friendships.<sup>101</sup> Shore felt that to reform the government of Awadh in 1797 he needed to attend in person ‘to form a more accurate judgement of the state of things in that quarter, and of what can be done or attempted’.<sup>102</sup> He stopped in Benares on his way to Lucknow. Here his role included ‘professing humility and submission’ to the grandson of the Mughal emperor, Shah Allam II. But to his wife Shore expressed the ridiculous part he felt he played and the unreality of the act of submission.<sup>103</sup> In Lucknow on the same diplomatic mission Shore enacted the dominant party for ‘in my presence he [Asaf ud-Daulah, Wazir of Awadh] was ever submissive’. According to Shore the ceremonial was crucial because Asaf-ud-Daulah would ‘never would have yielded anything to the Language of Reason only’.<sup>104</sup> While he enacted his authority in the Mughal style on this mission, Shore did not feel bound to a polity embodied in the person of the Mughal emperor. Instead Shore understood that performing these ceremonials bestowed legitimacy upon Company rule in South Asia. Such acts would protect British interests upon the subcontinent.

On a later diplomatic mission to Lucknow in early 1798 Shore most decisively demonstrated his familiarity and mastery of indigenous diplomacy and ritual. At this time, he acted a confident and steely part with Wazir Ali Khan, the successor of Asaf-ud-Daulah. Shore had infiltrated the networks surrounding the Wazir and his rivals with ‘secret enemies’. These included Wazir Ali Khan’s head harkara, Sheif Ali who reported the news Wazir Ali Khan obtained back to the British. It also included the faction surrounding the Begum, widow of Asaf-ud-Daulah’s father, who favoured a candidate other than Shore’s for the rule of Awadh.

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<sup>100</sup> Gordon, 'Region of Robing', pp. 1-30, (p. 19).

<sup>101</sup> Christopher Bayly argued that the British worked pre-colonial social and political categories to gain dominance, Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 30.

<sup>102</sup> To Henry Dundas 10 January 1797 from Bengal, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 117.

<sup>103</sup> Shore said ‘we mutually acted parts inconsistent with our real characters; I, the Representative of our Power, professing humility and submission before the dependants on the bounty of the Company; whilst they, who are the objects of charity, and feeling their situation, thought it incumbent on them to use the language of Princes.’ To his wife 8 February 1797 from Benares, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, pp. 404-5.

<sup>104</sup> To Henry Dundas 20 May 1797 from Bengal, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 124.

Intelligence allowed Shore to intercept forces marching towards Lucknow and to promise prominent positions in the new administration to men within Wazir Ali Khan's close circle. As well as being able to gain intelligence through his friendship networks, he was also well-versed in the political language of the body. Confident in his ability to read the situation he refused to seize Wazir Ali Khan despite indigenous advisors telling him that political negotiations could not be carried out as they were in Europe.<sup>105</sup> Shore also used *khilat* to 'disunite [the Begum's] Interests from those of the Nabob'. He asked Wazir Ali Khan to perform the *khilat* ceremony with the ministers Shore had chosen to demonstrate to the Begum that Wazir Ali Khan was under British control. The implied threat was that to oppose Wazir Ali Khan was also to oppose the might of the East India Company.

Through hours of 'anxious doubt and expectation' Shore remained focussed and his body 'continued vigorous'.<sup>106</sup> He judged the strategies of Wazir Ali Khan's ministers accurately, combining his reading of the negotiators' hidden motivations with his knowledge of South Asian custom. When the time came to place the Company's choice of ruler on the *musnud*, Shore employed South Asian rituals to legitimize the Company's choice and to assert the Company's power.<sup>107</sup> Saadat Ali Khan received *khilat* from his father's powerful widow and received *nazr* (tribute) from the chief minister of the deposed Wazir. When Saadat Ali Khan rode into Lucknow on an elephant, the traditional transport of kings, Shore sat behind him to 'to give him confidence, & mark union & determination'. In this ceremony Shore made himself visible and present to the crowds of Lucknow as joint ruler of Awadh. He found compromises between British and Indo-Persian systems that meant that he could negotiate a deal and send out messages of dominance that were understood in South Asia without the need for military action. His purpose was to secure the succession in the Company's favour without rebellion, and Shore manipulated traditional ceremonies to achieve this end. One

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<sup>105</sup> Narrative of the Revolution in Oude, sent to Henry Dundas in 1798, Furber (ed.), *Private Record*, p. 173.

<sup>106</sup> To his wife 22 January 1798 from near Lucknow Teignmouth, *Memoir*, I, p. 454.

<sup>107</sup> A seat of honour which privileged visitors are invited to share as a mark of favour. The *musnud* is an elaborately embroidered raised platform with pillows for the back and elbows, symbolic of the elevated status of the person seated upon it. In the *zenana*, the *musnud* is the seat of the first lady of the house. At the *darbar* (royal court) it is the elevated seat of a ruler.



witness put his success down to a well-kept secret. For Neil Edmonstone, Shore had managed his conduct well.<sup>108</sup>

## Conclusion

As Hastings' trial progressed from 1792 world affairs began to dominate the news. As Britain entered the Revolutionary Wars with France, from 1792 Company aggressions in South Asia became tangled up in the War. British victories became national celebrations in the protracted battle against France. Military victories in South Asia too, became a matter of national honour rather than an affirmation of the Company's rapacious appetite for oppression.<sup>109</sup> If the impeachment debates helped to normalise the idea of empire as Nicholas Dirks has contested, then the Wars with France in South Asia helped to normalise the idea of a national honour bound up in territorial expansion in the East. Even during the impeachment in London, the Company continued to extend its influence under Shore. In Benares in 1797 he practically eliminated the Province's independence from the Company. In Awadh he put an ally on the throne, increased the tribute paid to the Company and took Allahabad as a Company garrison.<sup>110</sup>

In this chapter I have argued that as well as through these political means, Shore fostered British interests in Bengal through the codes of conduct that he promoted. Promotion of these codes, the reform of manners, was a primary concern for the group of elite evangelicals who lobbied for him become Governor General. Shore's evangelical frame of reference infused his influential 'Permanent Settlement Plan' with the essentialised characters, the moral principles, and the codes of conduct of the colonising and colonised actors in Bengal. Eric Stokes argued that during the reforms of Bentinck and Macaulay in the 1830s, in his belief that the conquest of minds would secure the dominion of Britain over India, Macaulay was influenced by the political beliefs of his father's evangelical friends Wilberforce and Grant.<sup>111</sup> To Stokes, evangelicalism provided the emotionalism of empire in the late nineteenth

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<sup>108</sup> Cambridge University Library Cambridge, MS Add.7616/2/13.

<sup>109</sup> In Calcutta Shore arranged a Public Ball in December 1796 to celebrate the capture of the Dutch fleet at the Cape in August 1796. See Seton-Karr, *Calcutta Gazettes*, II (1865), p. 188.

<sup>110</sup> Marshall, *Impeachment of Hastings*, p. 184.

<sup>111</sup> Stokes, *English Utilitarians*, pp. 45-6.

century, but utilitarianism provided the drive for logic, efficiency, system and obedience.<sup>112</sup> Other works, in particular, Boyd Hilton's *The Age of Atonement*, have argued that the political imperatives of evangelicalism made it a profound political force in nineteenth century Britain.<sup>113</sup> Writers on the evangelical circle around Wilberforce and Grant argued that they were active agents for social and moral change in Britain.<sup>114</sup> As evangelicalism gathered momentum in Britain in the early nineteenth century, Shore was to sit on the Board of Control for India, hear India Appeals from the Supreme Court and become President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. As the doctrine gathered momentum in Britain, increasing numbers of Company men like Shore were to become agents of evangelicalism in South Asia. It is easy to conjecture the influence of evangelicalism upon the thoughts and actions of these men who administered British India in the century that followed.

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<sup>112</sup> Stokes, *English Utilitarians*, pp. 308-9.

<sup>113</sup> Hilton, *Age of Atonement*; See also Ben Wilson, *Decency and Disorder: The Age of Cant, 1789-1837* (London: Faber, 2007).

<sup>114</sup> See for example Ford K. Brown, *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); David Spring, 'The Clapham Sect: Some Social and Political Aspects', *Victorian Studies*, 5 (1961), pp. 35-48; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*.



# Conclusions

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Far from having a fixed and sealed sense of self, Shore was in flux throughout the eighteenth century. While Bengal acted upon him to change the habits from his homeland, policing from Britain through legislation, the Hastings trial and the nabob controversies lead to censure for his acts outside of British moral and civil norms. Within a multicultural world Shore constructed himself as an elite figure of authority. Operating as a point of convergence between multiple imperial networks, Shore's sense of self was constantly in the making, a process rather than a static pattern of characteristics. Before embarking upon his evangelical campaigns of the nineteenth century Shore had remade himself three times. The first time was when he arrived in Bengal in 1769 at the age of seventeen. The second was when he converted to evangelicalism around 1785. The third was when he returned permanently to Britain in 1798. By examining the categories, symbols and rituals embedded within Shore's writings the previous chapters have sought to untangle the mechanisms by which his multicultural environment moulded and remoulded his conduct and methods of self-care at these times. Analysing Shore's life as the site of a complex of identities has revealed the ways in which his Indo-Persian conduct disrupted the identities Shore grew up with in Britain.

In Chapter 1 I argued that in London in the early eighteenth century a Shore Company family identity formed around global trade. Disturbance and disorder came to their family order as the men of the family absented themselves from Britain. In South Asia Shore's relationships with local women contested the notions of family and dynastic order that he grew up with. The men in Bengal attempted to legitimate their children through Christian baptism. But they also subverted a British civil order in which Christian rites of marriage incorporated a bloodline that ran through the mother into a patriarchal, dynastic and moral state. Chapter 2 claimed that Company men experienced disruptions in identity from prolonged sojourns in South Asia. They connected with their country of origin, and their distant family and friends through narratives of longing and loss. South Asian and European medical frames jointly constructed their bodies and represented their disorders as impurities in the blood. The treatments they adopted were multicultural. With his conversion to evangelicalism in the mid-1780s however, Shore reacquainted himself with the culture of his homeland. An emphasis upon British middling and mercantile notions of conduct meant that Shore later

condemned his multicultural acts and relations during his first sojourn as crimes. His affiliation with Indo-Persia survived this, as an abstracted and scholarly love of oriental literature. As studies of Shore's frames of meaning, Chapters 1 and 2 analysed family and body as they evolved across time. They also defined the unspoken moral codes through which Shore functioned. Shore understood metaphors of blood, climate and impurity as natural truths that did not require explanation. The metaphors he used as a shorthand for a complex of cultural beliefs and codes of conduct permeated wider discourses of family, body, religion and empire.

In Chapters 3 and 4 I argued that his experiences in Bengal tested the codes of moral conduct that Shore brought with him from Britain. In Chapter 3 we saw how the *zamindars* and bureaucrats in the Indo-Persian revenue system challenged his notions of a public, polite and civil order. As a revenue expert Shore embedded himself within complex, local systems of knowledge, which he found confusing to perform. Because the collections were so contingent upon local custom, Shore had to depend upon Bengali bureaucrats. His solution in his 'Permanent Settlement Plan', originated from an amalgam of Company and government voices in London and Calcutta and from his own experiences of powerlessness in Bengal. Shore argued that the ills attending the collection of the revenues occurred because of an arbitrary and irregular Indo-Persian system. The chapter contends that despite knowing that Bengali society was in fact much more complex, Shore tried to create a simplified facsimile of a British landed hierarchy in order to create stability in the region. His solution merged with a flow towards separation of Company and Bengali roles in the revenue administration that had gathered pace since the Company took over the revenue collections in 1765. Shore tried to introduce a layer of despotic control for Company officers in the districts who would both collect revenue and administer justice, arguing that this arbitrary control was the norm for the Indo-Persian bureaucracy. In Chapter 4 I showed how through public scandal the British government and the print domain challenged the Indo-Persian conduct that the East India Company men adopted in their public roles in Bengal. This intense debate coupled with the impeachment of Warren Hastings revealed ambivalence in the middling and upper ranks towards Britain's role in Empire. The wider debates focussed upon the morality of men who adopted conduct outside of British norms. Finally, Chapter 5 argued that evangelical beliefs and codes of conduct promoted British middling and mercantile codes of morality. As an elite evangelical Shore began to promote moral conduct in empire to secure the interests of a

British imperial state. In his providential view of the World, Shore changed his relationship with Bengal. Where before he had embraced South Asian forms, he reconstructed these customs and habits as sinful crimes against the civil order that God had ordained.

### Mechanisms of a National Identity

This thesis has engaged with debates about the mutual constitution of nation and race. It has argued that class, gender and morality were co-constituents of an emerging sense of nation. An element within, and a container for, this matrix of identities, nation developed not only in the British Isles, but across the global span of the British world. In South Asia, both Bengali and British forces contributed to shaping the identities of Company men. Rather than being separate from Bengali society, these men were embedded within the shifting global matrices of political, economic and social forces that enmeshed the Company world in the late eighteenth century. These multicultural forces organised the ways in which the men acted, and the ways that they related to themselves. Movements emerged from settlers in the Americas and in a Britain transforming through economic revolutions. Movements also arose from shifting power structures within the Mughal Empire and within Europe. They developed within the interactions between Europeans in the East India Companies and Indo-Persian traders and bureaucrats. Agents swam among these imperial flows adopting, adapting, acting and voicing their visions for stability, accommodation and reform. A sense of a British national identity began to cohere, against multidimensional crosscurrents around the globe.

From the outset, within these crosscurrents in Bengal, the Company worked for British interests. The corporation might employ South Asians and Europeans locally and adopt Indo-Persian forms, but the Company and its merchants sent the goods and profits of trade back home for the benefit of Britons.<sup>1</sup> By the late nineteenth century the notion of Britain's unique role in empire was a major component of national identity with Empire and nation making and remaking each other in tangled webs of interaction. The four main components comprised militarism, veneration of royalty, worship of national heroes and the denigration of colonised races.<sup>2</sup> These elements are also apparent in Shore's concept of nation from Bengal

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<sup>1</sup> Conway, *Britannia's Auxiliaries*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>2</sup> John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 2.

at the start of the War with France, suggesting that this late nineteenth century movement had a far-earlier origin, at least among the Company elite. Shore's sense of nation was many-stranded. It emerged from the differences he experienced with Bengalis, his sense of insecurity as colonist and the distance he felt from home. He defended British imperial conduct during the controversies surrounding Hastings' trial and promoted British interests as Governor General and Supreme Councillor. In return, he had attempted to foster within officers of the Bengal Army an emotional attachment to their nation of origin. He had also prepared a plan of reform that attempted to stabilise the region by creating a loyal, property-holding class in the Bengal districts. As a result, the Permanent Settlement of 1793 was shaped by multiple forces: within Asia, through scandal in Britain, and through his evangelical beliefs. Shore reimported these components of Britishness to Britain when he returned in 1798 as a member of the imperial elite.

This thesis has also argued that identities of nation and race arose in tandem. The Regulating Act of 1773 was the first Act to introduce the concept of the division of British subject from the native of India within South Asia<sup>3</sup> In the use of the term British subject the Act also distinguished Britons from other Europeans. During the debates about British sovereignty in Hastings trial, a set of identities began to emerge in Bengal: imperial, national, racial. These identities emerged together and in relation to each other at a time when Benedict Anderson argued that nationalism was arising through a complex interaction of historical movements.<sup>4</sup> I have argued that as well as world war, the Indo-Persian bureaucracy, evangelicalism and Hastings' impeachment were all cross-currents in this cohering modern world. Agreeing a sense of Britishness as moral and honourable, in South Asia a solidifying sense of Britishness marked the emergence of civilising Britons set against both European sojourners and Indo-Persian peoples.

The imperative for separation between the colonised and the coloniser too has appeared to emerge from both local and global forces, with historians divided about the origin. The loss of the Atlantic colonies in 1783, the Dominican revolution of 1792 and war with France from 1793 made racial mixing subversive to the colonial state with white governance and a family

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<sup>3</sup> Hawes, *Poor Relations*, p. 56.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 4.

order seen as the most stable and appropriate forms of power.<sup>5</sup> The loss of the Atlantic colonies in 1783 meant that French-backed settler uprisings became a source of anxiety. Christopher Leslie Brown for one has argued that fear of further divine retribution led to a moral imperative for abolition of the slave trade from this time.<sup>6</sup> But in Bengal, the Company revenue administration had been separating from the early 1770s with a pause in the early 1780s when Hastings gained control of the government.<sup>7</sup> This imperative came from within the East India Company from revenue administrators who agreed upon two principles: the need for stability and the need for English gentlemen to be in control over the Indo-Persian system. British legislation in 1781 to remove revenue disputes from the jurisdiction of the Calcutta court was partly informed by the petitions of Calcutta residents. Other moves in the Army led to soldiers of South Asian parentage being barred from serving as officers. In both fiscal and military branches of the Company the superiority of British men circulated within Company circles before the 1790s.

Throughout this dissertation I have suggested that in the eighteenth century a British state was more than a fiscal-military construction. It also contained forms that bound together a dynastic, civil order based upon codes of Protestant morality and upheld in Britain through Church courts, Kirk sessions and ecclesiastical laws. In this respect I have not differed from Linda Colley and Benedict Anderson who both identified a religious component to national identity.<sup>8</sup> During the Napoleonic Wars the elite performed their nation in Britain through displays of honour and power in flamboyant military uniforms.<sup>9</sup> In South Asia though, under Shore's administration, elite Britishness was also a performance of morality, economy and simplicity. While commerce and trade might have contributed to a sense of national pride as

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<sup>5</sup> Wilson, 'Rethinking the Colonial State', pp. 1294-1322, (p. 1320); Philip D Morgan, 'Encounters between British and 'Indigenous' Peoples, C. 1500-C. 1800', in *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*. ed. by M. J. Daunton and Rick Halpern. (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 42-78, (p. 16).

<sup>6</sup> Brown, *Moral Capital*.

<sup>7</sup> Marshall, 'Indian Officials', pp. 95-120, pp. 119-20. Guha, 'Administrative Blueprint', pp. 21-35.

<sup>8</sup> Colley, *Britons*, pp. 11-54; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 9-22. Anderson argued that nationalism evolved from a religious base and retained the passion of religious fervour.

<sup>9</sup> Colley, *Britons*, pp. 177-93.



Linda Colley suggested, the values and codes of conduct upheld by the middling and mercantile were under contest at this time, especially in the multicultural environment of Bengal. Evangelicalism promoted a code of British, middling conduct that stood firm against the temptations of wealth, luxury and violence. At the same time, during Hastings' trial Burke emphasised a British code of behaviour that was uninfluenced by the corruption and oppression he perceived inherent within the practices of South Asian merchants. Neither he nor Hastings' counsel disputed that the honour of the British nation was at stake, nor that Company men were agents of a moral code. Instead London and Calcutta contested the behaviour that would uphold the honour of the nation. During the trial and the late eighteenth-century nabob controversies, the print domain policed these East India Company merchants for their financial and political conduct, their public life, rather than the intimate and domestic. In this respect the print domain not only united a British World through a shared language but policed Britons who contravened these moral codes. The representation of disorderly conduct in empire served as a space for debates about the standards of behaviour expected of British men across the globe. One government response to public scandal was to legislate and attempt to realign the administration in South Asia along British lines. The impeachment trial debates suggest that nation forged itself through contests with multicultural men in empire as well as by defining itself against France and racialised Others. In this sense as well as normalising empire, impeachment began to normalise Britishness as a homogeneous culture, and an honourable, civil and moralising state.

### Person as Object of Analysis

To historicise the mechanisms of power and authority that formed identities such as nation, Joan Scott called for historians to analyse the ways in which experience is produced. Scott argued that historians should analyse the language that bridges the spaces between the personal and the social.<sup>10</sup> This thesis has proposed a methodology through which we might do this. Using biography as the vehicle, I have taken a person-centred view of the global forces that shaped imperial history in the eighteenth century. For the methodology I took as my inspiration a humanistic, experiential approach. Rather than viewing the person through theory and generalisation, this approach prioritises the meaning that actors themselves place upon their words and actions. Marrying this approach with a historian's concern with wider

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<sup>10</sup> J. W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry*, 17 (1991), pp. 773-797.

social, political and economic movements, I analysed the cultural understandings behind the signs and symbols that the subject of this thesis deployed. This methodology uses the ‘evidence of experience’ as Joan Scott called it, as an entry point to wider themes. In my approach signs and symbols became seeds in the narrative of one person which opened out to experiences of the unelaborated and unmentionable, the private and secret aspects of a life shaped in the East India Company world. Unravelling these entry points to wider discourses revealed a depth of meaning shared across disparate themes. Signs endured not just across contemporary discourse but across time. In particular, blood was a multivalent marker of inclusion and exclusion that through the course of the eighteenth century attached itself to new imaginings of communities, while still retaining something of its old meaning. Discourses adapted with global events, but signs of blood, soil, climate and hierarchy endured and adapted across time. Such signs lay behind codes of morality and civility which Britons of the time did not need to overtly articulate to each other.

With the sign as the entry point to understanding and the person as the frame of analysis, this thesis has enriched our knowledge of a period in which revolutionary movements changed the world. This approach has placed topics together that we often interrogate separately and has examined one individual’s efforts to navigate a crisis period during the formation of a British world, at home and overseas. The subject of the thesis acted from a starting position of family and gender privilege, over which he had no control. But the ways he chose to negotiate his life and career within the flows of social, economic, and political change were individual to him. Looking at the struggles through the eyes of one individual has brought into focus the fact that as well as an era of empire-building, these early years of Company rule were unstable, chaotic and frightening for the men who ruled Bengal. In this thesis parallels and discrepancies have emerged between the person who constructed himself in the public record and the one who experienced his imperial controversies in private. Throughout, I have emphasised the disorders wrought upon the subject of this biography from living and working within an Indo-Persian culture and adopting an elite Bengali identity. Even while silencing this part of himself from the mid-1780s, this actor could not divorce himself from Bengal completely. In his campaigns as a Governor General to reform the customs of the people, into his participation in nineteenth century evangelical campaigns to convert Hindus to Christianity, this person still engaged with the Bengali culture that had made him.

This thesis has, then, contested the notion that Company men were separate and distant from Bengalis in the late eighteenth century. Occupying an authoritative position might mean they appeared to hover above Bengali life in their public writing, but in their most intimate relations, their bodies, and their domestic life, the men were embedded in Bengali networks and relationships, their bodies porous and open to local influence. If toxicity is an expression of boundary-crossing, then both the medical constitution and the evangelical sense of self were organised around a sense of transgression. Through the humoral model of medicine, Bengalis and Britons had a shared understanding of toxicity in the body. The toxicity of the humoral body transformed itself into the sin of the evangelical body where divine blood became a cleansing and purifying agent to purge evangelicals from their sins. This joint representation of imperial transgression meant that the national and racial identities of Company men formed in South Asia in the face of indigenous boundaries, as well as through the mechanisms of authority that British men adopted. Boundary setting, and consequently identity formation, was a joint construction, with colonised and coloniser acting and reacting against each other.

This representation of toxicity emphasises that identity did not form solely around actions and words, but in wordless experiences as well. The subject of this thesis experienced family and country in a paradoxical, dualist fashion, in which he was both absent and present. He was a liminal figure, both inside and outside of the bounds of a family and nation that extended around the globe. The Bengali habits and affiliations of this man and others like him were a source of controversy in Britain. In his public, political writing the subject of this thesis met these critiques with omission, rational argument and with fabulous, horror stories of an indigenous Other. In this respect I align with Ann Stoler in her assertion that the state constructed a rational empire from an anxious and ambivalent base of feeling.<sup>11</sup> According to Luise White, such prevarications in the narrative of one man show wider anxieties and fractures in British society.<sup>12</sup> The subject of this thesis took orientalist discourses and retold them as his own experience. Such distortions gained a cultural potency and a charge because the violations wrought through imperial conquests lay hidden beneath his public words. The

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<sup>11</sup> Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 57-102.

<sup>12</sup> L. White, 'Telling More: Lies, Secrets and History', *History and Theory*, 39 (2000), pp. 11-22.

prevarications of powerful men like John Shore, Lord Teignmouth hint at the mechanisms that shaped and controlled the elites inside their positions of authority. Silence and distortions buttressed power by suppressing and eliding experiences outside the norms of conduct in Britain. They also spoke of the confusion, shame and fear that lay in the spaces beyond national identification.

## Epilogue

In 1807 Shore added more verses to *The Wanderer*, the poem with which this thesis began. The verses speak of Shore's shifting relationship with his imperial past. In 1789 when he began the poem Shore had envisaged bliss in a South Asian frame as it flew elastic to an eternal, omnipotent source. In the verses he wrote almost twenty years later Shore linked himself to his Bengali past through the repetition of the words 'bliss' and 'eternal' and through metaphors of light and shade. As one of 'Earth's benighted wanderers' in his new verses Shore vaunted Christianity as a British religion that relieved his anxieties and sorrows. Although he now viewed his multicultural conduct as benighted, shadowy and dark, he was not able to discard this Bengali identity entirely. Denigrated within Shore's re-creation as a moral reformer, Bengal still lurked within him.

Ah, times unblest! Now happier days arise;  
The Day-spring's lustre has illum'd the skies,  
O'er Death's drear shadows pour'd resistless day,  
And Earth's benighted wanderers hail its ray. —  
"Glory to God on high! " the world resounds:  
"Good-will to men! " from earth to heaven rebounds;  
Through Albion's vales the cheering accents run,  
And Britons bow to God's Incarnate Son.

Oh Grace ineffable! mysterious Love!  
Which angels pant to sound, and mortals prove;  
From where ten thousand thousand seraphs join  
To praise the Threefold Unity divine,  
In human form the Lord of Worlds descends,  
And life immortal on his steps attends.  
In heaven ador'd — on earth a man of tears —  
He bears our sorrows, calms our anxious fears;  
A willing victim, to redeem us, dies;  
Bursts the dark tomb, and re-ascends his skies;  
There, thron'd with God, the Father's glory shares,  
And bliss eternal for his saints prepares.  
John Shore, *The Wanderer*, 1807<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Shore, Teignmouth, *Memoir*, II, p. 144-5.

# Appendix: Early Family Networks

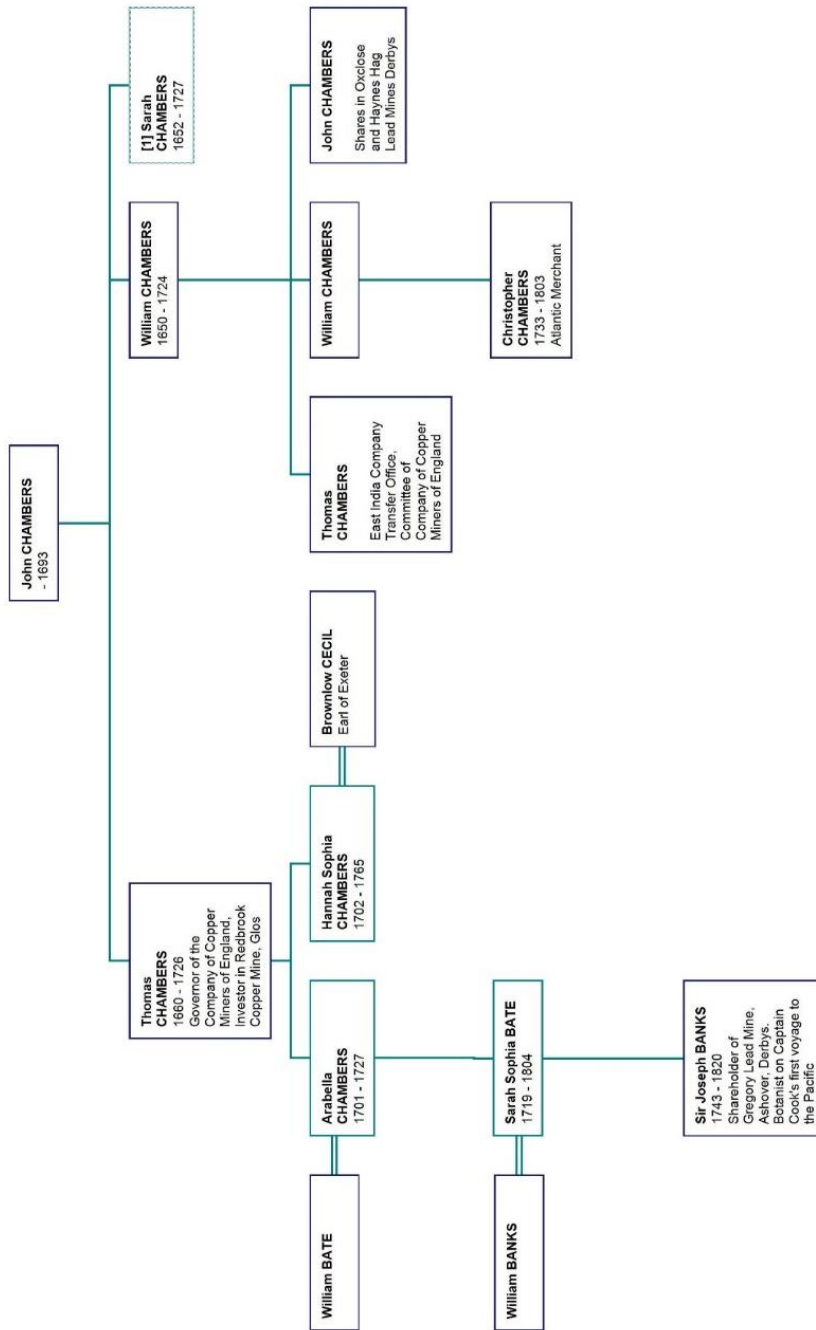
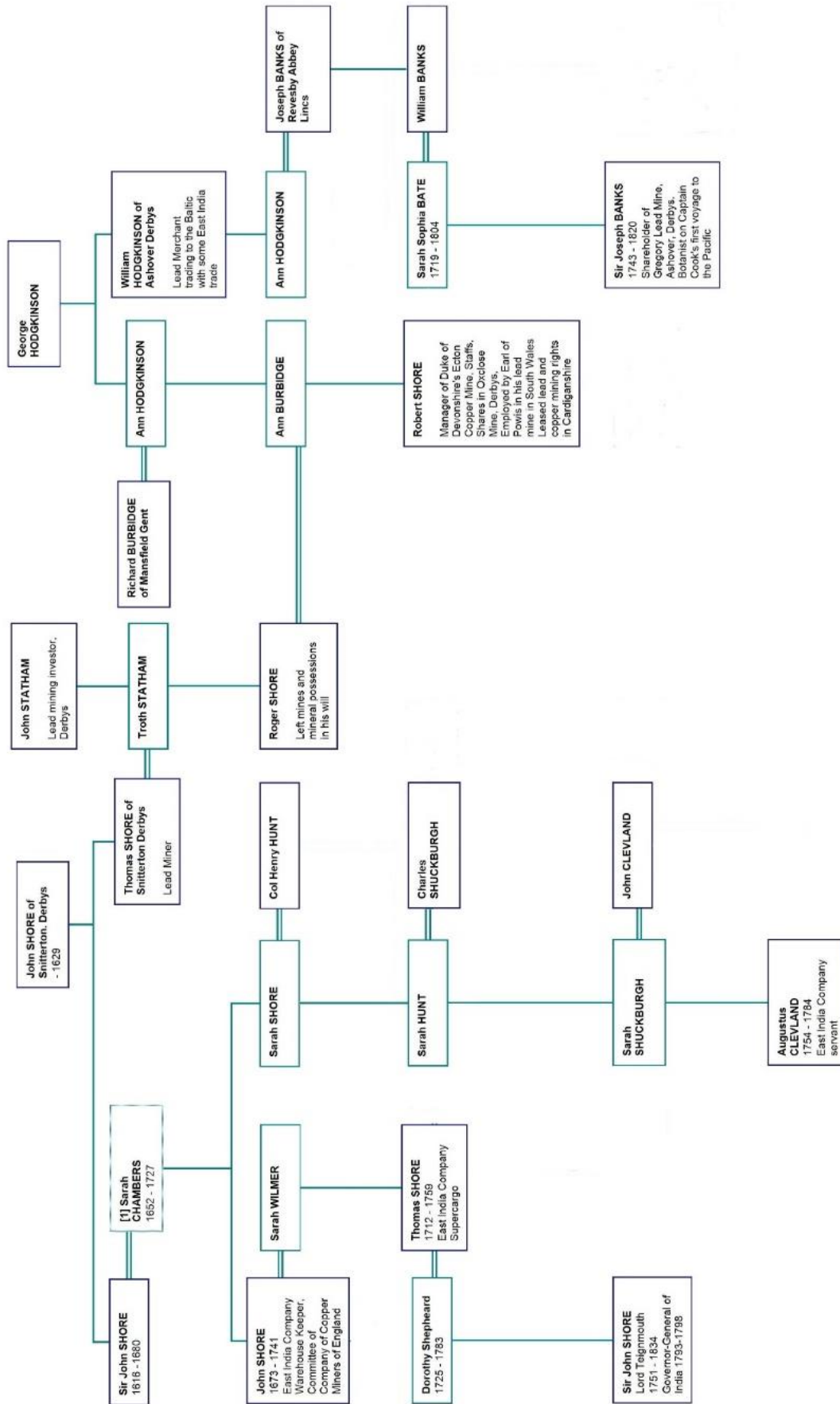


Figure 4: Chambers family tree



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## List of Abbreviations

- BL British Library, London  
TNA National Archives London  
SHC Somerset Heritage Centre, Taunton, Shore Papers

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