

**The Lobbying Activities of Provincial Mercantile and  
Manufacturing Interests against the Renewal of the East  
India Company's Charter, 1812-1813 and 1829-1833.**

Yukihisa Kumagai

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

University of Glasgow

Department of Economic and Social History

April 2008

## Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to reassess Cain and Hopkins' gentlemanly capitalist explanation of British imperialism in Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century through examining the lobbying activities of provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests against the renewal of the East India Company's charter during the periods 1812-1813 and 1829-1833. This thesis particularly has focused on Glasgow's lobbying activities although Liverpool and Manchester's cases have also been examined.

In Cain and Hopkins' model, the position of provincial manufacturing interests was outside from the gentlemanly capitalists' circle consisting of non-industrial capitalists based in London and South-east England, such as the landed aristocracy, the merchants and bankers of the City and professions. Economically, there was a split between these gentlemanly capitalists and the provincial manufacturing interests, and politically, the provincial interests could exercise minor influence on the national politics. This thesis has contributed to three issues related to Cain and Hopkins' gentlemanly capitalist thesis. The first issue is the degree of influence of provincial commercial and manufacturing interests on the formation of Britain's imperial policy. The second issue is the relationship between the gentlemanly capitalists in London and the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests. The third issue is the Scots contribution to the formation of the British Empire, to which they failed to give their attention.

Regarding the first issue, this thesis has demonstrated that the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests organised effective lobbying activities for the opening of the East India and China trades and succeeded in exerting undeniable influence over the state's decisions in both the first and second campaigns through well-organised lobbying strategies, powerful lobbying means, and their access to the centre of the national politics through their influential parliamentary supporters. In this thesis, the provincial lobbyists' economic interests and political backgrounds have closely been examined. Although the provincial lobbyists' economic and political interests were varied and they split up over some economic and political issues, these did not affect their unity in their challenge against the London merchants' dominance in the East India trade. This contrasts with Cain and Hopkins' argument on the gentlemanly capitalists' superior influence on the national politics. In terms of the second issue, this thesis has shown that there is no evidence for the collaboration between the provincial interests and the London merchants during the 1812-1813 campaign. Nevertheless, as the connection between the provincial manufacturing interests and the London agency houses grew after the opening of the India trade, in the 1829-1833 campaign, the provincial lobbyists and some of the London mercantile interests showed their collaboration. Therefore, this thesis supports the application of Webster's more complex model than Cain and Hopkins' original model to British imperialism in Asia during this period. Finally, in respect of the Scots contribution to the formation of British Empire, during these two national campaigns for the opening of the East India trade, the Glasgow lobbyists were very active and the GEIA played a significant role in their lobbying activities.

## **Acknowledgement**

Without supports from a number of people, I could not have completed this doctoral thesis. Since I started my research at Glasgow University, I have received invaluable guidance and advice from my current and former supervisors, Dr. Duncan Ross, Professor Michael French, Professor Tony Slaven, Professor Catherine Schenk and Professor Ray Stokes.

Academic scholars outside this university have also supported my research. Particularly, I would like to thank Professor Tom Tomlinson, who introduced me the records of the Glasgow East India Association, and Dr. Anthony Webster, who was willing to give me his article before issuing.

I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Sambrook, who has spent his precious time for checking my final drafts. I also received great help from my fellow research students, particularly, Duncan Connors, Niall Mackenzie, and Per Eide Anders when I had personal difficulties.

All other academic and non-academic staffs in the Department of Economic and Social History have also helped me to conduct my research comfortably for many years.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Ryoichi and Sizuko, who have been supporting me financially for many years, my grand parents, Rihei, who passed away during my study here, and Kesano, and my elder brother, Hideya.

## Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2. The East India Company .....	23
Chapter 3. The lobbying activities of the Glasgow East India Association against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, 1812-1813 .....	59
Chapter 4. The lobbying activities of the Glasgow East India Association against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, 1829-1833 .....	104
Chapter 5. Liverpool's campaigns against the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, 1812-1813 and 1829-1833 .....	147
Chapter 6. The lobbying activities of the Manchester interests against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, 1829-1833 .....	191
Chapter 7. Conclusion .....	209
Appendices .....	223
Bibliographies .....	251

## List of Figures

Figure 2-1. The Composition of the Court of Directors by Occupational Groups and its Change (1754-1858) .....	26
Figure 2-2. Exports from Bengal: Regional distribution (1795/1796-1805/1806) .....	48
Figure 2-3. Import into Bengal: Regional distribution (1795/96-1805/1806).....	49
Figure 4-1. Profit and Loss of the EIC on India and China Trade between 1814-15 and 1828-29 .....	107

## List of Tables

Table 2-1. The composition of those who held the EIC's stocks valued over £1,000 by titles (April, 1809) .....	28
Table 2-2. Occupation of Fathers of Appointees to Haileybury .....	30
Table 2-3. Fathers' Occupations of Recruits to the East India Company's Military Service, 1796-1854 ... ..	31
Table 2-4. Place of Birth or Place of Residence of Parents of Appointees to Haileybury, 1809/10-1849/50 .....	33
Table 2-5. Place of Birth of Recruits to the East India Company Military Service, 1796-1854 .....	33
Table 2-6. Trade between India and Europe, estimated annual average, 1780-90 .....	55
Table 3-1. Pig-iron output in Scotland (1788-1852) .....	64
Table 3-2. The General Committee members who subscribed to the GWIA and their West Indian firms .....	70
Table 3-3. List of the Magistrates & Town Council of Glasgow (1811-1814) .....	77
Table 3-4. The relationship between the subscribers who paid more than £15.15s to the GEIA and the General Committee members .....	80
Table 4-1. Manufacturing interests in the GEIA, 1829-1833 .....	116
Table 5-1. Trade and dock duties collected in Liverpool. (1810-16) .....	155
Table 5-2. Membership of the committee appointed at the General Meeting held in Liverpool on 17 March 1812 .....	158
Table 5-3. The number and the total tonnage of vessels that cleared from Liverpool for the East Indies between 21 July 1813 and 9 June 1818 .....	169
Table 5-4. The Comparative Prices of English and Dutch teas in 1772 and 1827 .....	176
Table 5-5. The Liverpool Committee members who had senior posts in Liverpool merchants' associations .....	179
Table 6-1. Labour Productivity in Cotton Spinning (Number of Operative Hours to Process 100lb. of cotton for 80's cotton yarn) .....	195
Table 6-2. List of the firms and individuals who requested the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester for the Public Meeting along with the Directors of the MCCM .....	200
Appendix I. The General Committee of the GEIA (1812-13) and their economic interests .....	223
Appendix II. List of names of subscribers for the GEIA and the sums of their subscriptions in 1812 and 1813, and the descriptions of their main businesses .....	226
Appendix III. List of members of the GEIA and the descriptions of their designations and main businesses (1829-1833) .....	232
Appendix IV. List of the Magistrates & Town Council of Glasgow, 1828-1833 .....	246
Appendix V. List of the members of the Liverpool Committee in 1829 and their designations, the regions with which their firms traded, and Liverpool merchants' associations to which they belonged .....	248

## **Abbreviations**

Add. MSS (Additional Manuscripts)

EIC (East India Company)

GEIA (Glasgow East India Association)

LEIA (Liverpool East India Association)

MCCM (Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers)

## Chapter 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Introduction

The introduction of the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ by P. J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins during the 1980s was a highly significant event for British imperial historians, matched in the post-1945 period only by the concept of the informal empire addressed by J. Gallagher and R. E. Robinson.<sup>1</sup> The ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ rejuvenated debates over the British Empire in recent years. The main points of the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ are (1) the existence of different economic interests in Britain, i.e. gentlemanly capitalists consisting of landowners, merchants, financiers, professions and other non-industrial economic interests based in London and its surrounding areas, and the provincial manufacturing interests, and (2) the economic and political supremacy of gentlemanly capitalists over provincial manufacturing interests. Since the introduction of this thesis, debate has centred on these two issues. The main purpose of this thesis is to reassess the influence of the provincial manufacturers over national politics and the relationship between provincial commercial and manufacturing interests and gentlemanly capitalists by analysing the lobbying activities of provincial commercial and manufacturing towns against the renewal of the East India Company’s (EIC) charter during the periods 1812-1813 and 1829-1833. Before examining the debates over the renewal of the company’s charter will outline the historiography of British imperialism.

### 1.2. The classical Marxist and non-Marxist theories of imperialism and the Gallagher and Robinson thesis

In the classic theories of imperialism, both Marxist and non-Marxist theorists pointed out the basic difference of British foreign policy in the periods before and after the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, when one of the rapid expansions of the British Empire took place. The older non-Marxist western views regarded the mid-Victorian period as an anti-imperialist era, and then the late Victorian era as a neo-imperialist era. Such views derived from their observation of the rise and fall of free trade in the international economy. For example, in his study of the relation between the rise and fall of free trade

---

<sup>1</sup> One of the best recent books on the historiography of British imperialism is A. Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire*, 2006.

and the growth of the British Empire, Langer argued that the mid-Victorian formal empire did not expand, but rather seemed to be disintegrating, while in the late Victorian era the British formal empire expanded, i.e. the former was the period of anti-imperialism and the latter was one of imperialism.<sup>2</sup> Between the seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century, the British experienced the first expansion of their empire over North America and the Indian Continent under the mercantilist policy, although they lost their American colonies in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. However, heavy financial burdens as a result of Britain's conflicts with European rivals, particularly with France, and the acquisition and maintenance of foreign territories under the mercantilist policy were not favourable to the newly growing industrialists during the Industrial Revolution. Their increasing hostility against this traditional policy was supported theoretically by such classical economists as Smith and Ricardo. Eventually, *laissez faire* became a main strand of British policy during the mid-Victorian period, particularly under the Liberal governments. Nevertheless, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, facing the increasing competition from newly-industrialised European countries, British policy shifted from 'anti-imperialism' to 'new imperialism'.

Meanwhile, Marxist theorists linked Britain's imperial expansion with economic development in the metropole. For example, Lenin argued that imperialism was the highest stage of capitalism, after financial capitalism began to form in the 1880s.<sup>3</sup> Hobson, whose study largely contributed to Lenin's work, also argued that

Overproduction... and surplus capital which could not find sound investments within the country, forced Great Britain, Germany, Holland, France to place larger and larger portions of their economic resources outside the area of their present political domain, and then stimulate a political expansion so as to take in the new areas.<sup>4</sup>

Because under-consumption and over-production, caused partly by technological innovations and the increase of competition in the domestic market of industrial countries, reduced profits for investors, the excess capital needed places for investment overseas. This capital was invested in new areas in order to exploit economic resources. The metropolitan countries were manipulated by those who made profit overseas and such areas turned into a part of formal empire with the political take-over. Although Hobson pointed out 'finance' as the main engine of imperialism, he critically misunderstood that

---

<sup>2</sup> See J. Gallagher and R. E. Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. VI No. 1, 1953, pp. 2 and W. L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902*, 1935.

<sup>3</sup> V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1982.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, 1972, p. 80.

the major part of foreign investment in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century was absorbed by tropical Africa, where formal empires were created at the period, rather than by the White Dominions and the United States.

Although these two groups of theorists never agreed over their views of modern imperialism, they had a substantial consensus on the change in the nature of British Imperialism in the late Victorian period. However, Gallagher and Robinson argued that these theories cannot explain a paradox of actual historical events. They make a point that Britain's formal empire actually expanded to New Zealand, the Gold Coast, Labuan, Natal, the Punjab, Sind and Hong Kong during the period 1841-1851 in spite of the growth of 'anti-imperialism' ideology.<sup>5</sup> The informal empire was their concept to explain such paradoxical phenomena. The core of their thesis was that Britain had a continuous imperial policy throughout the nineteenth century, and that the form or mode of imperial expansion and the discontinuity of imperial activities were dependent on circumstances in non-European countries.<sup>6</sup> They argued that an informal empire and a formal empire form a continuity of process. For instance, granting White Dominions a responsible government was a change in imperialist control from formal to informal but not a device to separate them from the empire. The form of imperialism was decided by circumstances in the peripheries. Gallagher and Robinson insisted that the fundamental policy concerned with Britain's overseas expansion was 'trade without rule (informal means) if possible' and 'trade with rule (formal annexations) when necessary'.<sup>7</sup>

During the nineteenth century, Britain experienced rapid economic growth, which was coincident with the development of the international economy. The growth of British industries in the Industrial Revolution increased their demand for new markets for their manufacturing products and for the importation of raw materials and food. Gallagher and Robinson described imperialism as 'a sufficient political function of the process of integrating new regions into the expanding economy; the character is largely decided by the various and changing relationships between the political and economic elements of expansion in any particular region and time.'<sup>8</sup> For example, in the case of Latin America, the general strategy employed by Britain was 'to convert these areas into complementary satellite economies, which would provide raw materials and food for Great Britain and

---

<sup>5</sup> Gallagher and Robinson 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wm. R. Louis, *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy*, 1976, p.3.

<sup>7</sup> Gallagher and Robinson 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

provide widening market for its manufactures.’<sup>9</sup> In spite of the initial difficulty for British economic interests in penetrating into Latin American countries, they succeeded in integrating them into the world economy during the second half of the nineteenth century. In Gallagher and Robinson’s thesis, Latin America was the most successful part of the British informal empire. When the markets of underdeveloped regions were opened to Britain and integrated into the metropolitan economy, Britain could exercise its influence over them in favour of British foreign policy through local collaborators who benefited from this relationship. In the mid-Victorian period, Britain preferred informal control over the regions owing to the supremacy of British economic competitive power because this means was cheaper and less of a burden on British taxpayers.

However, as Britain faced the growth of other great European powers and increased competition from them in Africa and Asia in the late Victorian era, Britain had no means to secure its trade with the areas under informal control and needed to change its imperial strategy to formal control. In other words, the expansion of the British formal empire reflected her relative decline as the world’s great economic power. However, in their thesis of 1953, a shift from informal to formal rule was not only caused by European rivals’ challenge to Britain’s hegemony. The integration of the peripheral economy into the metropolitan economy often destabilised a local political structure. In the case of Egypt, they argued that the local political structure could not bear the impact of western economic expansion. The control of Egyptian finance by Britain and France for the liquidation of its foreign debts raised the anti-imperialism movement and brought the country into crises. This culminated in the revolution of Arabi Pasha in 1881 and British occupation in the following year to secure the Suez Canal.<sup>10</sup> Anthony Webster’s more recent study also explained the establishment of British colonial rule in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century from this viewpoint.<sup>11</sup> He argued that the expansion of the East India trade after the abolition of monopoly in the Indian trade enabled indigenous merchants and local chiefs to accumulate wealth and power and that the expansion of the Southeast Asian trade led to the influx of Chinese immigrants to this region, who established themselves as the significant economic interest group there. They eventually became a factor in internal conflicts and destabilised the central authorities of Southeast Asian states, which resulted in direct British intervention.

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> A. Webster, *Gentlemen Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia 1770-1890*, 1998.

Gallagher and Robinson do not deny the importance of the economic element in imperialism, but they insist that economic expansion was one of several factors related to imperial phenomena. Political considerations of security were sometimes superior to economic. In British imperial policy in the 1880s and 1890s the protection of the route to India and the Indian Empire took precedence. In their later work, they paid more attention to non-economic and non-metropolitan elements, that is to say, the activities of such sub-imperialists as military officers and other European settlers, who were often out of the metropolitan control, and to local collaborators.<sup>12</sup>

According to *Africa and the Victorians*, strategic security was the main motive of high British statesmen and officials ('official mind') for the partition of Africa by the great European powers. Nevertheless, their imperial expansion was initially caused by crises in peripheral areas, not by the metropolitan elements.<sup>13</sup> In 'Non-European Foundation of European Imperialism', Robinson argued that imperialism was an interaction between European strategy and economics, and indigenous collaboration and resistance.<sup>14</sup> Then Robinson insisted that controlling the non-European empire largely depended on the existence of collaborative system. According to Robinson,

Without the voluntary or enforced cooperation of their governing elites, economic resources could not be transferred, strategic interests protected or xenophobic reaction and traditional resistance to change contained. Nor without indigenous collaboration, when the time came for it, could not Europeans have conquered and ruled their non-European empires.<sup>15</sup>

The collaborative system tended to consist of separated and isolated collaborators with mutual rivalries through native society. They exploited profits from free trade with the western ruler to maintain their position. Because they were politically isolated from each other, the collaborators had limited political power. Therefore, when they faced anti-European feeling as the result of European penetration, the situation, which was often accelerated by other European competitors, required direct intervention and the establishment of formal control. However, since 'the official mind' in the metropolis

---

<sup>12</sup> Robinson and Gallagher with A. Denny, *Africa and Victorians: the Official Mind of Imperialism*, 1961 and Robinson 'Non-European Foundation of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration' in Louis *Imperialism*, pp.128-151. 'Non-European' was originally published in E. R. J. Owen and R. B. Sutcliffe (Eds.) *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, 1975, Chap. 5.

<sup>13</sup> For example, the British occupation over Egypt following the 'protonationalist movement' and the collapse of the native regime resulted in the upset of the power balance among the European rivals and the scramble for Africa.

<sup>14</sup> Robinson 'Non European Foundations of European Imperialism', p.130.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

chose a policy to economise on its human and financial resource for the maintenance of formal empire, the metropolis still needed the indigenous collaborators. Therefore, after the indigenous collaborators lost their authority to the natives, western powers still tried to restore their position in the formal imperialism because it was the easiest solution.

Gallagher and Robinson's works have largely contributed to the development of studies on peripheral events. As will be explained, during the following two decades, their thesis was at the centre of debates on British Imperialism. Whilst their thesis attracted some followers, others pointed out its defects.

### 1.3. The debates on the Gallagher and Robinson thesis during the 1960s and 1970s

One influential historian who argued from a similar standpoint to Gallagher and Robinson was D. K. Fieldhouse. In his article, '*Imperialism: An Historiographical Revision*', he considered Hobson's thesis, and stressed the mistaken assumption that the newly acquired colonies absorbed a high proportion of overseas investment. He concluded on the theory of 'imperialism' derived from Hobson and Lenin that their interpretation of the expansion of European empires during the period from the 1870s until the breakout of the World War I was 'unacceptable'. He argued that:

As an economic theory it is unsatisfactory because detailed investigations have shown that the alleged need of the European investor, monopolist or individual capitalists, to find outlets for his surplus capital had little or nothing to do with the division of Africa and the Pacific between the European powers.<sup>16</sup>

In his later work, he stressed more the connection between local crises that arose on the periphery and the colonial expansions in the late nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In his viewpoint, the territorial expansion of European countries in the late nineteenth century was generally their passive response to the problems that occurred on the periphery. In terms of the economic factors in the imperial expansion, he explained that 'all European expansion in the whole period [between 1830 and 1914]... was in some way and in some degree

---

<sup>16</sup> D. K. Fieldhouse 'Imperialism: An Historiographical Revision', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1961, p. 208.

<sup>17</sup> D. K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire 1830-1914*, 1973.

influenced by economics'.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, instead of the immediate and direct link between economics and empire, he emphasised their coincidental and indirect link.<sup>19</sup> He insisted that:

European governments were normally prepared to use political methods to solve problems associated with European economic enterprise on the periphery only when and because this came up against some otherwise insurmountable non-economic obstacle; or alternatively, when economic activity gave rise to some strictly non-economic problems which again demanded political action.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, the arguments of Gallagher and Robinson and their followers failed to convince some historians. For instance, E. Stokes criticised those who rejected the economic-determined imperialism (in other words, imperialism resulted from pressure within the metropole) on the grounds of the defects of the 'Hobson-Lenin thesis', including Fieldhouse and Gallagher and Robinson.<sup>21</sup> He pointed out that their arguments are 'the conflation of the arguments of Hobson and Lenin into a single model.'<sup>22</sup> He explained that:

... imperialism did not emerge, according to Lenin, until all the 'unoccupied' portions of the world had already been divided up into colonial or semi-colonial territories; for imperialism; which 'in its economic essence.. is monopoly capitalism' was the struggle for the redivision of the already divided world.<sup>23</sup>

His argument stressed that Lenin's theory of imperialism, which aimed at a logical explanation of the origins of World War I, was different from Hobson's argument on Britain's colonialism in the scramble of Africa during the last few decades of the nineteenth century.

D. C. M. Platt also developed his critical argument against the Gallagher and Robinson thesis. In 1968, he analysed nineteenth-century British official policy regarding overseas trade and investment in Latin America and China, which Gallagher and Robinson regarded as examples of Britain's 'informal empire'.<sup>24</sup> On the one hand, they argued that the British policy in Latin America was an example of the 'policy of commercial hegemony in the

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 463-464.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 464.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> E. Stokes, 'Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity' in *The Historical Journal*, XII, 2, 1969, pp. 285-301.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 288.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 289.

<sup>24</sup> D. C. M. Platt, 'The imperialism of Free trade: Some Reservations' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series., Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1968, pp. 296-306.

interest of high politics, or of the use of informal political supremacy in the interests of commercial enterprise'.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, Platt insisted that during the nineteenth century, Britain maintained its non-intervention in the internal affairs of South American countries and restricted their commercial objective to the sustenance of fair and equal treatment for British trade in comparison with its rival nations. Similarly, he also denied Gallagher and Robinson's illustration of Britain's 'political hold' over the Chinese government because British officials tended to be reluctant to intervene in the country and promote British trade and investment more than on the same footage as other Western powers.<sup>26</sup> During the late Victorian period, the change of the British governments' general attitude from non-intervention to more active policy for the promotion of foreign trade and investment resulted from international pressure.<sup>27</sup> He also pointed out the limited penetration of British manufacturing products in Latin America, the Levant and China and the lack of commodities for return cargoes during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Poor communication and transportation, self-sufficient local economies and poverty prevented British products from penetrating into the interior. As a result, British influence over these regions was limited. Therefore, he concluded that:

The "Imperialism of Free Trade", and the whole notion of an "informal empire" of trade and investment so far as it related to the early and mid-Victorian periods, developed out of three assumptions: first, the readiness of British governments at all times "to establish and maintain British paramountcy by what ever means best suited the circumstances of their diverse regions of interests"; second, the determination of British manufacturers and merchants to extend their influence throughout the world; third, the subordination of primary producers, as suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials to Britain in her chosen role as "Workshop of the World". Even if such assumptions may in part be relevant to Britain's attempts to maintain her threatened position in the late-Victorian period, it is obviously unhistorical to apply them to the period 1830-60.<sup>29</sup>

Regarding the Scramble for Africa, Gallagher and Robinson insisted on strategic considerations, whilst Platt admitted the significance of the economic factors in the British government's policy in West and Central Africa. He argued that the British territorial expansions into these regions were motivated by 'the fear of being excluded from *prospective* as well as *existing* markets' under pressure from the competition with other

---

<sup>25</sup> Gallagher and Robinson 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Platt, 'Imperialism of Free Trade', pp. 301-302.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 'Further objections to an "Imperialism of Free Trade", 1830-60', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, 1973, pp. 87-88.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. pp. 79-84

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

European rivals.<sup>30</sup> During the same period, other historians who examined the case of West Africa reached a similar conclusion, including Hopkins. He regarded the British policy in this region as ‘a major triumph for the economic imperialists of Victorian England’.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, concerning India, Gallagher and Robinson insisted that British expansion over India directly resulted from existing imperialist interests in India. In spite of India’s important position in the British Empire both strategically and economically, those who participated in the Robinson and Gallagher controversy tended to regard India as an eighteenth-century legacy and a minor part in the explanation of the British imperial expansion in the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> In this regard, Kiernan argued that if ‘British Africa was not much more than “a gigantic footnote to the Indian empire”’ as Robinson and Gallagher argued, ‘it merely throws the question of the real motives of empire one stage further back.’<sup>33</sup> He suggested that India should be given more attention in order to assess its real value for the British Empire.

#### 1.4. Cain and Hopkins and the Gentlemanly Capitalist thesis

In terms of its impact on the study of modern imperialism, the theory put forward by Cain and Hopkins was in line with that of Gallagher and Robinson, and their argument showed historians new aspects of British Imperialism. The ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ during the 1980s was their response to the trend of imperial history after the Robinson and Gallagher controversy, in which several historians tried to find the cause of British Imperialism within events on the periphery. They started their interpretation of the British Empire by focusing their attention on the metropolitan economy.

Cain and Hopkins contributed three important articles on British Imperialism to the *Economic History Review* during the 1980s. The first article was ‘The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914’, published in 1980.<sup>34</sup> In this article, they

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy, 1815-1914*, 1968, p. 259.

<sup>31</sup> A. G. Hopkins, ‘Economic Imperialism in West Africa: Lagos, 1882-92’ in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1968, p. 606.

<sup>32</sup> P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914*, pp. 318-319.

<sup>33</sup> V. G. Kiernan, ‘Farewell to Empire’ in *The Socialist Register*, 1964, p. 270

<sup>34</sup> Cain and Hopkins ‘The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914’ in *The Economic History Review*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser. Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, 1980, pp. 463-490.

offered a new interpretation of British imperialism although they did not propose the concept of gentlemanly capitalism yet. Their argument derived from their scanning of earlier studies. They tried to refute the prevailing notion of British imperial expansion, which tended to focus on the peripheral areas of the empire. First, they devalued the significance of the Industrial Revolution for Britain's economic hegemony.<sup>35</sup> They insisted that 'The rise of modern manufacturing was a more protracted process than current theories of imperialism suppose.'<sup>36</sup> As a source of wealth, even after the nineteenth century, the agricultural sector occupied a significant position in Britain. Secondly, they assumed that the influence of the non-industrial sector on Britain's imperial policy was superior to that of provincial manufacturing interests and attempted to explain how effectively the landed and City interests excluded manufacturing interests from the national politics. The economic interpretation of British Imperialism that the British imperial expansion was led by the manufacturing interests failed to convince. Cain and Hopkins, instead, gave their attention to non-industrial capitalists in order to conceptualise their version of British Imperialism.

Several significant works contributed to the conceptualisation of their 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis'. Traditionally, Britain had been regarded as an industrial society. One pioneering study which revised this view was by Perry Anderson during the 1960s. He pointed out the peculiarity of British society, that is to say, its political structure dominated by the aristocracy and landed interests which co-existed with an economy in which industrial capitalism played a main role.<sup>37</sup> While he emphasised the characteristics of British society, during the 1970s, other scholars, such as Nairn and Longstreth, gave their attention to the peculiarity of the British economy.<sup>38</sup> In their theoretical arguments, these two scholars put the City of London or the financial capitalists in a polarising position against the industrial capitalists. The former as a political entity held a large advantage and victimised the latter in the formation of British economic policy. For example, Longstreth regarded Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform campaign for the manufacturing interests during the turn of the nineteenth century as the first significant attempt of industrialists to

---

<sup>35</sup> They referred to the following studies: A. E. Musson, *The Growth of British Industry*, 1978, G. N. von Tunzelmann, *Steam Power and British Industrialization to 1860*, 1978, as well as R. Samuel, 'Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in Mid-Victorian Britain' in *History Workshop*, III, 1977, pp. 6-72.

<sup>36</sup> Cain and Hopkins 'The Political Economy', p. 465.

<sup>37</sup> P. Anderson, 'The Origin of the Present Crisis' in *New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1964, pp. 26-53.

<sup>38</sup> T. Nairn, 'The Twilight of the British State' in *New Left Review*, Jan.-April, 1977, pp. 3-61 and F. Longstreth, 'The City, Industry and the State' in C. Crouch (ed.) *State and Economy in Contemporary Capitalism*, 1979, pp. 157-190.

challenge the dominance of the City (or financial capitalists) on British economic policy.<sup>39</sup> The campaign was eventually unsuccessful mainly because the campaigners could not overcome the internal divisions within the industrial sectors. Thus some sectors, such as shipbuilding, and the working class, who demanded cheap foods, still supported free trade.

These theoretical arguments were supported by statistical studies on the geographical and occupational distributions of wealth in the U.K. by Rubinstein and Lee during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>40</sup> Rubinstein's analysis of wealth holders in the nineteenth-century U.K. and income tax records revealed that two different types of middle classes existed in Mid-Victorian Britain: those who were connected with the commerce and finance based in London and those who were related to the manufacturing industry located in the North of England. In number, the wealthiest group in the nineteenth-century U.K was the great aristocratic landowners.<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, their economic importance relatively declined after the second half of the nineteenth century. Apart from the landed interests, the largest group of the wealthiest during this period was not those who were related to the industrial sectors in the North of England but the commercial and financial sectors in London.<sup>42</sup> This economic supremacy of London in terms of wealth is supported by the figures of income tax levied on persons whose annual income was more than £150 (equivalent to the middle-class) during the period 1879-1880.<sup>43</sup> This statistical evidence also confirmed that compared to the provincial towns in the North, a disproportionately large size of wealth were located in London. Ten London boroughs with 3,453,300 population was assessed for £87,674,000 whilst twenty-eight provincial towns with 5,577,300 population were assessed for £78,106,000 (including Liverpool for £11,014,00, Manchester and Salford for £10,800,000 and Birmingham for £4,016,000).<sup>44</sup> From these facts, he argued that 'The industrial elite was much the weakest of the three, less wealthy either collectively or individually... than the commercial elite and vastly less influential than the landowners.'<sup>45</sup>

Lee reached a similar conclusion. In his research, he analysed information from the Census of Population during the Victorian period for 52 regions with 27 industrial sectors

---

<sup>39</sup> Longstreth 'The City, Industry and the State' pp. 162-163.

<sup>40</sup> W. D. Rubinstein, 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain' in *Past and Present*, LXXXVI, 1977, pp. 991-112, 'The Victorian Middle Classes: Wealth, Occupation and Geography' in *The Economic History Review*, New Seri., Vol. 30, No. 4, 1977, pp. 602-623, *Men of Property*, 1981, *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain 1750-1990*, 1993, and C. H. Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 34, No. 3, 1981, pp. 438-552.

<sup>41</sup> Rubinstein, 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure', pp. 102-104.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-107.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 108-112.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

in the U.K. He argued that economic growth all over the country during that period was not homogenous but regional differences existed in the type of industrial sectors, employment structure and population growth.<sup>46</sup> Then, he pointed out that:

... There were three major types of growth regions, as well as the large group of rural areas which had little or no growth. These were the groups comprising Durham, Northumberland, Glamorgan and Monmouth; that most consistently represented by Lancashire and the West Riding; and finally the greater London area, best defined by the Home Counties.<sup>47</sup>

Lee identified the first group and the second group as the regions whose economic growth was largely dependent on the industrial sectors, i.e. coal-mining and textile manufacturing respectively, whilst the third type of economic structure in South-east England consisted of services, plus consumer and market orientated manufacturing trades.<sup>48</sup> He explained that London and the Home Counties were the leading population growth area in the Victorian period, and that service and construction industries occupied 52 per cent of the net increase of new jobs nationally during the period 1841-1911.<sup>49</sup> South-east England was particularly associated with this type of economic activity. He concluded that London and neighbouring areas with the service/consumer industries held a superior position to other regions with export-orientated manufacturing industries in the British economy.

These studies on the economic supremacy of South-east England were further developed by other historians who gave their attention to the commercial and financial activities of the City of London. For example, S. D. Chapman extensively used the records of the Rothschilds and the Barings and other merchant-bankers.<sup>50</sup> He analysed in detail their historical development and their activities in merchant-banking business, such as trade financing and capital export, in the context of the growth of the international economy before the First World War. L. E. Davis and R. A. Huttenback's study also revealed London businessmen's preference of overseas investment over investment in domestic industry.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Lee, 'Regional Growth and Structural Change' section II-III.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 447.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 447-449

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> S. D. Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking*, 1984.

<sup>51</sup> L. E. Davis and R. A. Huttenback, *Mammon and The Pursuit of Empire: The Economics of British Imperialism*, 1988, Chapter 7.

In their articles of 1986 and 1987, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas', Cain and Hopkins defined British capitalism as gentlemanly capitalism, in which non-industrial sectors, i.e. landed, financial and service sectors, played the main role in Britain's overseas expansion since the late seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup> Later their arguments developed further in two volumes of their work, *British Imperialism*.<sup>53</sup> Although they admitted the importance of considering peripheral areas in the study of imperialism, they argued that it was more significant for historians to return their attention to metropolitan factors. In other words, they reassessed the relationship between economic development in the centre and the overseas extension of Britain's informal or formal control. At a first glance, their emphasis on the metropolis and financial sectors was similar to Hobson's or Lenin's theory. However, on the one hand, Hobson and Lenin thought of imperialism as the mature stage or the 'highest stage of capitalism' in Lenin's words. On the other hand, Cain and Hopkins found the cause of British imperialism in the continuous development of gentlemanly capitalism over three hundred years since the end of the seventeenth century. In addition, they paid attention not only to modern capitalism, but also to 'the fact that capitalism was under the social and political direction of older elites' for the explanation of imperialism.<sup>54</sup> In this sense, their argument was also influenced by Schumpeter.<sup>55</sup>

The characteristic of gentlemanly capitalists was that they were non-industrial economic interests. After the Glorious Revolution in 1688, a new politico-economic system in Britain dominated by aristocrats and gentry, whose power came from land, was established in Britain. Because this system depended on patronage and national debts, the landed interests needed strong financial support. Therefore, they allied with the financial sector in the City of London which largely developed after the financial revolution of the 1690s (including the establishment of the Bank of England and the creation of the national debt) ahead of the Industrial Revolution in the middle of the eighteenth century. As the state could raise necessary funds by issuing national bonds in the City, the City interests increased their political influence. When this old gentlemanly capitalism faced the crisis of huge national debt in the continuous wars after the French Revolution, the system needed reformation. This change was gradually achieved by the top of the state, and the policy

---

<sup>52</sup> Cain and Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas I. The Old Colonial System, 1688' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXXIX, 4, 1986, pp. 501-525, and 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas II, new imperialism, 1850-1845' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XL, 1, 1987, pp. 1-26.

<sup>53</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and expansion 1688-1914., and British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction 1914-1990*, 1993.

<sup>54</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-1914*, p. 14.

<sup>55</sup> J. Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes*, 1951.

makers chose a balanced budget and free trade, instead of dependence on the national debt and protectionism. They were aware of the rapid growth of financial and service sectors in free trade. Although its free trade policy forced the landed interests to decline after the second half of the nineteenth century, gentlemanly capitalism was reborn with the superiority of financial and service sector to the agricultural sector. Those who worked in this sector shared the same sense of values with the aristocratic landed interest as the result of their social and cultural merger. Gentlemanly capitalists shared similar educational backgrounds, lifestyle and morals based on the aristocratic values. Cain and Hopkins' view of the continuity of gentlemanly capitalists' superior position in the British economy and their social and cultural assimilation to the landed elite contrasted with the argument of such historians as M. J. Wiener, who insisted that Britain was an industrial society and that the 'gentrification of industrialist' led to its decline after the 1870s.<sup>56</sup>

This close relationship between the two interests gave gentlemanly capitalists a strong influence on Britain's economic and foreign policy. Britain's free trade policy based on the gold standard created the multilateral trading system in the world economy, and London established itself as the hub of this system. This was significant to primary producing countries, which were integrated into the international economy, since they had to export in order to repay their debts to British investors. The large surplus of Britain's invisible trade enabled the country to make up the deficit on the balance of trade. This fact also gave the financial and commercial interest groups of the City a strong influence on Britain's economic policy. The reflection of the City's interests to Britain's political and economic decision-making led to the relatively weak influence of manufacturing interests on state policy. Cain and Hopkins argued that:

... The number of fortunes amassed by industrialists did not compare with those derived from land and from the financial and service sector, and industry's direct political influence remained limited long after the reform of 1832, not least because the Bounderbys of the midlands and the north of England... had neither the time nor the social connexions to shape national policy, which was directed by the "landcracy" and its allies in London.<sup>57</sup>

The manufacturing interests acquired benefits from the economic and foreign policy as

---

<sup>56</sup> M. J. Wiener, *English Culture and The Decline of The Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*, Second Edition, 2004, p. 154. He argued that 'Over the past century, then, high among the internal checks upon British economic growth has been a pattern of industrial behavior suspicious of change, reluctant to innovate, energetic only in maintaining the status quo. This pattern of behavior traces back in large measure to the cultural absorption of the middle classes into a quasi-aristocratic elite, which nurtured both the rustic and nostalgic myth of an "English way of life" and the transfer of interest and energies away from the creation of wealth.'

<sup>57</sup> Cain and Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly capitalism I', p. 512.

long as their view was matched with that of the financial and service sector.

### 1.5. The Gentlemanly Capitalism Controversy

The introduction of the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ by Cain and Hopkins led to large historical debates. First of all, their argument that the industrial sector located in the north played a less important role in Britain’s imperial expansion than had been traditionally assumed by other historians became one of the main points of this controversy. For example, Daunton insisted that ‘the industrial north’ created demands for the financial and service sector in south-east England; the City played a role in accepting bills of exchange, providing shipping services, insurance and banking for exporting British manufacturing products and importing raw materials and foods from overseas.<sup>58</sup> Landowners were involved in industry to increase the profits from their land, too. Dumett also pointed out that the aristocratic landowners and gentry families invested in or owned mines and factories.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, in Daunton’s words, ‘industrial growth and the development of the financial and commercial services of the City were intimately related rather than independent’.<sup>60</sup> H. V. Bowen also explained the economic influence of the East India Company (EIC), the typical example of the gentlemanly capitalists’ institution in the eighteenth century, over the domestic manufacturing industry through the Company’s demand for export goods.<sup>61</sup> In his recent work, he argued that ‘In general, it can be argued that for the period before 1850 Cain and Hopkins have given too much weight to metropolitan factors within the dynamic imperialism, and they downplay the importance of the British provinces in overseas expansion.’<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Cain and Hopkins suggested a model in which the prominence of the power of the City partly came from ‘one single voice’ while disagreements among the industrial interests weakened their own influence over state policy. However, Cannadine argued that ‘the City was never a unified lobby that the authors’ [Cain and Hopkins] argument requires it to have been: it was a bewilderingly diverse place, in which the few great dynasties like the Rothschilds and

---

<sup>58</sup> M. J. Daunton, ‘Home and Colonial’ in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1995, pp. 356-357.

<sup>59</sup> R. E. Dumett (ed.) *Gentlemanly capitalism and British Imperialism*, 1999, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup> Daunton, ‘Home and Colonial’. p. 356. D. Cannadine also has a similar argument in ‘The Empire Strike Back’ in *Past and Present*. 147, 1995, pp. 190-191.

<sup>61</sup> H. V. Bowen, ‘Sinews of trade and empire: the supply of commodity exports to the East India Company during the late eighteenth century’ in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. LV, 3, 2002, pp. 466-486.

<sup>62</sup> Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833*, 2006, pp. 27-28.

Barings were quite untypical of the whole'.<sup>63</sup> In addition, in *British Imperialism*, they hardly mentioned the role of the non-English British in the British Empire. Cannadine pointed out that 'Cardiff exported its coals (and its miners) all over the world. The Scottish were especially important in the affairs of Canada and India. And so were (and are) the Irish in Australia...'<sup>64</sup> In Cain and Hopkins' model, the gentlemanly capitalist society had a similar social background and was exclusive. Therefore, it was difficult for even English industrialists to enter it, to say nothing of Celtic elements.

The second point at issue in the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' concerned the formation of British political and economic policies. In their work, Cain and Hopkins stressed the close relationship between the City and Whitehall. In their model, the gentlemanly capitalists and British policy-makers always had a consensus of political and economic views based on sharing an aristocratic sense of values. Therefore, it was always difficult for outsiders such as industrialists to break into this interlocked and closed society, and the City's interests always reflected the governmental policies. In this respect, Y. Cassis developed a similar argument in his analysis of bankers in the nineteenth century.<sup>65</sup> He pointed out that after the period between 1820 and 1840, bankers assimilated into the circle of aristocracy by sharing education at major public schools and Oxbridge and the pattern of social life with them and creating a genealogical network through the repetitions of inter-marriage within these two groups. This resulted in 'the identity of views between political and banking circles'.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, according to Dauntton's argument, in the first half of the nineteenth century the main objective of the British government's social and economic policies was to protect industrial interests by achieving domestic social stability. He argued that the protectionism in the 1810s to guard the old landed interests led to a shortage of food for industrial workers and the social unrest represented by Chartism and radicalism, and that the change of economic policy toward free trade in the 1820s aimed to increase the import of cheap food and raw materials for industrial interests.<sup>67</sup> Cannadine had the same view of the formation of imperial policy and indicated that Cain and Hopkins coyly admit that one can find some disagreement between the City and policymakers in the process of imperial policy-making.<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Cannadine, 'The Empire Strike Back', pp. 190-191.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. pp. 191.

<sup>65</sup> Y. Cassis, 'Bankers in English Society in the Late Nineteenth Century' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1985, pp. 210-229.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>67</sup> Dauntton, 'Home and Colonial'. p. 354.

<sup>68</sup> Cannadine, 'The Empire Strike Back'. p. 191.

The third point of their controversy is the validity of the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ for the explanation of the three-hundred-year history of British overseas expansion. The ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ works best in explaining British Imperial activities during the second half of the nineteenth century. But adapting their thesis to other periods has led to greater debates. For instance, A. Webster has recently questioned the validity of their thesis for the first half of the nineteenth century by examining the London East India agency houses and the provincial pressure groups after the total abolition of the East India Company’s monopoly in the East India trade in 1833.<sup>69</sup> His research showed that the relationship between gentlemanly capitalists in London, British private traders in the East and provincial commercial and manufacturing interests during this period was not as simple as Cain and Hopkins argued. The gentlemanly capitalists in London failed to unify their opinion in the debates over Indian bank schemes and the lobbying activities of provincial commercial and manufacturing interests effectively prevented these plans from being realised. In his conclusion, he suggested that a modified version of the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’ is necessary for the explanation of British imperialism in the East during this period.<sup>70</sup>

Fourthly, several critics of their thesis argued that they tend to give too much emphasis to the economic dominance of London-based gentlemanly capitalists over Britain’s formal and informal empires in order to explain the expansion of British influence. L. Davis cast doubt on their definition of informal imperialism by using the case of Latin America and the United States.<sup>71</sup> He insisted that Cain and Hopkins shared a similar view to Platt that ‘British governments intervened in South America’s international affairs only when international law had been broken or when British lives and property were at risk’.<sup>72</sup> However, he argued that what Cain and Hopkins described as British informal imperialism could be normal economic activities in the world economy based on free trade and free movement of capital. He gave examples of similar economic ‘punishment’ which local governments of the United States, which was the largest debtor in British investment but Cain and Hopkins never regarded as the part of British Informal Empire, and those of Latin American countries suffered from when they defaulted on their debts. Moreover, he argued that the flow of capital from Britain to Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United

---

<sup>69</sup> A. Webster, ‘The strategies and limits of gentlemanly capitalism: the London East India agency houses, provincial commercial interests, and the evolution of British economic policy in South and South East Asia 1800-1850, in *The Economic History Review*, LIX 4, 2006, pp. 743-764.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 762.

<sup>71</sup> L. Davis, ‘The late nineteenth-century British imperialist: The specification, qualification and controlled conjectures’ in Dummet, *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Empire*, pp. 84-94.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibis*. pp. 84.

States can be attributed to pull factors (their domestic demands for British capital) in these four countries rather than push factors (British policies).<sup>73</sup>

R. Kubicek also suggested an alternative view of the relation between Britain and the white dominions.<sup>74</sup> For example, in the Canadian case, he emphasized the importance of the role of the Canadian government and local investors as well as British investments in the economic development of Canada. His view of the relationship between the metropolis and the dominions was based on interdependence for mutual advantage and the dominions' economic policies aimed to minimise their dependence on the mother country rather than being a result of the dominance of British capital over the dominions. Similarly Cain and Hopkins' London-centred view of nineteenth and twentieth-century Asia was criticised by some Japanese scholars, such as S. Akita and K. Sugihara.<sup>75</sup> Both insisted on the significance of the rapid development of intra-Asian trade in the second half of the nineteenth century. The rapid expansion of intra-Asian trade was triggered by Asian factors, namely the establishment of a modern cotton industry in both India and Japan, but the western impact was also necessary for the development of intra-Asian trade. In this model, Asian countries needed to import capital and manufactured products from Britain and other western countries in order to construct infrastructures for the further continuous expansion of the trade, while the City's financial and service sector benefited from the growth of trade. Therefore, Akita and Sugihara insisted that the growth of intra-Asia trade and the gentlemanly capitalists in Britain were complementary.

The fifth point of Cain and Hopkins' controversy was that they explained the cause of British imperial expansions by focusing on the expansion of the gentlemanly capitalists' activities over the world. In other words, they identified the economic interests based mainly on London as the main engine of expansion of Britain's formal and informal dominance. However, some scholars have criticised their view for the narrow Anglo-centred and economic-determined view. In *British Imperialism*, Cain and Hopkins stressed the economic factors within Britain, although they admitted the role of military, naval and strategic elements for the development of Britain's world hegemony in the nineteenth century. Some critics argued that this point, especially the role of the Royal

---

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 94-104.

<sup>74</sup> R. Kubicek, 'Economic power at the periphery: Canada, Australia and South Africa, 1850-1914' in Dumett, *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism*. pp. 113-114.

<sup>75</sup> S. Akita, 'British informal empire in East Asia, 1880-1939: a Japanese perspective' in Dumett, *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism*. pp. 141-147 and K. Sugihara, 'British Imperialism, the City of London and Global Industrialization: Some Comments on Cain and Hopkins, British Imperialism' in *Keizaikenkyu*, Vol. 49, No. 3, 1999, pp. 277-281.

Navy in the peripheries, should be emphasised more than the two scholars did in their work. In order to integrate these peripheral areas into the metropolitan economy and maintain them, Britain often employed its supreme naval power. According to B. Gough, the navy played a part in territorial acquisitions and the defence and maintenance of Britain's overseas assets related to the financial and service sector, and British governments' policy-making.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, at the same time, he insisted that between 1815 and 1890 on many occasions the actions of the Royal Navy primarily depended on the assessments of crises in peripheries by commanders on the spot. This means that in these events the reactions of the navy were independent from the metropolitan elements related to the 'gentlemanly capitalists' in the metropolis and derived from consular activities and local financial considerations in peripheries.

### 1.6. The East Indies and the gentlemanly capitalist thesis

As one of the major instruments of British Imperialism, the East India Company has attracted historians' interest. When the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' was applied to the context of British dominance over India through the EIC, Cain and Hopkins argued that the company embodied the old type of 'gentlemanly capitalists'.<sup>77</sup> Then, they emphasised that the company's decline and demise was due to the gentlemanly capitalists' attempts to overcome the 'old corruption' based on patronage and national debts within the company, and to maintain and enlarge the structure of overseas remittances from India to Britain. For a long time, the abolition of the EIC's monopoly had been regarded as the result of the increase of political influence of provincial ports and manufacturing towns in the progress of the Industrial Revolution, but Cain and Hopkins tried to refute this traditional view. This thesis examines the validity of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' by analysing the lobbying activities of the provincial commercial and manufacturing interests against the renewal of the EIC's charter because their free trade campaigns were serious challenges to the dominance of the gentlemanly capitalists over the East India trade.

As has been mentioned, the debates over the renewal of the East India Charter in the first half of the nineteenth century have received attention from several historians. In his classic work, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, C. H. Philips described the progress of

---

<sup>76</sup> B. Gough, 'Profit and power: informal empire, the navy and Latin America' in Dummet, *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Empire*, pp. 68-81.

<sup>77</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-1914*, Chapter 10.

the negotiation between the state, the EIC and the general deputations of the provincial ports and towns in the debates over the renewal of the East India Charter of 1813 and that of 1833.<sup>78</sup> Webster's study of 1990 examined the motives of the government in the case of renewal of the East India Charter of 1813, and briefly explained that provincial ports and manufacturing towns had different interests during the movement.<sup>79</sup> He argued that both the City of London and provincial manufacturing towns and outports failed to exercise their decisive influence on the state. Instead, he stressed the Government's role. He explained that the decision on the renewal of the charter was made because of 'changing government economic priorities, resulting from the pressures of war'.<sup>80</sup>

However, little detailed research has been conducted on the lobbying activities of each provincial port or manufacturing town for the opening of the East India trade. In his PhD thesis on the abolition of the EIC's charter, D. Eyles briefly examined the economic interests of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Exeter and Sheffield and their lobbying activities during the 1820s and the early 1830s.<sup>81</sup> Another case study was conducted by J. Moss in 1976.<sup>82</sup> He analysed Birmingham's campaigns against the Orders in Council and the East India Charter during the period 1812 to 1813. He argued that the case of Birmingham indicated the rise of provincial towns and the growth of 'the power of organised public opinion' there. In respect to Liverpool, a few studies have been done. Regarding the free trade movement of 1812-1813, Checkland described Liverpool's campaign in a part of John Gladstone's biography.<sup>83</sup> Although he described Gladstone's roles in the campaign and his views on the East India trade, he did not examine Liverpool's lobbying organisation in detail. In addition, Checkland as well as Tolley very briefly described its campaign in the context of the debates over the Orders in Council.<sup>84</sup> K. Charlton also studied the campaign of the Liverpool merchants against the EIC's monopoly in the 1820s and the early 1830s.<sup>85</sup> In this article, his argument focused on the

---

<sup>78</sup> C. H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834*, 1940.

<sup>79</sup> A. Webster, 'The political economy of trade liberalization: the East India Company Charter Act of 1813' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, XLIII, 3, 1990, pp. 404-419.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>81</sup> D. Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 184-198.

<sup>82</sup> J. Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders in Council and East India Company Charter 1812-1813' in *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. XI, Issue 1, 1976, pp. 173-188.

<sup>83</sup> S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851*, 1975, pp. 59-62 and pp. 71-71.

<sup>84</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'Economic Attitude in Liverpool' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1952, pp. 58-75, and B. H. Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Orders in Council and the War of 1812', in J. R. Harris, (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside*, 1969, Chapter. 5.

<sup>85</sup> K. Charlton, 'Liverpool and the East India Trade' in *Northern History*, Vol. VII, 1972, pp. 55-72.

significant roles of the anti-slavery feelings of its merchants and the shift of their economic interests from the West Indies to the East Indies in their campaign.

In this thesis, two campaigns organised by merchants and manufacturers in Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester against the renewal of the East India Charter during 1812-1813, and 1829-1833 will be examined, although because of the lack of historical sources, Manchester's case will be confined to the later period. As the result of the renewal of the East India Charter of 1813, the India trade was opened to all British subjects, and then after the next renewal of the charter of 1833 the company's monopoly of the China trade was abolished. In a traditional view, these events have been regarded as the result of the increase of political influence of provincial ports and manufacturing towns in the progress of the Industrial Revolution. Those three cities formed a core part of the lobbying activities of several outports and provincial manufacturing towns. During that period, Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester had different local economies; Liverpool was largely dependent on commercial activities based on its port; Manchester was the centre of the cotton manufacturing industry in Lancashire; and Glasgow played roles as both a trading port and a manufacturing centre. This thesis will explore how these three cities with their different economic interests organised their free trade campaigns.

The five points of issue raised by historians over the 'gentlemanly capitalists thesis' have already been explained. This thesis will mainly contribute to the first point, that is to say, the historical debate over the position of the provincial commercial and manufacturing interests in the formation of the British Empire. This research will re-examine the degree of influence of provincial commercial and manufacturing interests in the formation of Britain's imperial policy by analysing the extensive primary sources on the provincial campaigns against the EIC's monopoly, especially the records of the Glasgow East India Association stored at Glasgow's Mitchell Library, which rarely attracted historians' attention until Webster's recent work. As has been described, since the introduction of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis', the devaluation of the roles of British industrialists in the creation of the British Empire has been one of the main debates on Cain and Hopkins' model. On the one hand, they emphasised the failure of provincial industrialists to unify their opinions for political influence over national politics. On the other hand, this thesis will show the effectively organised campaigns of provincial interests against the renewal of the EIC's charter during the first half of the nineteenth century in spite of their different economic interests. This thesis will also examine the division between the gentlemanly

capitalists in London and the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests, and will show the closer relationship between the provincial commercial and manufacturing interests and the gentlemanly capitalists of London than Cain and Hopkins argued, especially after the opening of the India trade in 1813. This research will also give some answers to the question of how the Scots contributed to the formation of the British Empire by focusing on the lobbying activities organised by Glasgow's merchants and manufacturers. Cain and Hopkins' Anglo-centred view failed to give attention to the role of Scotland in British Imperialism, whilst the previous studies on the debates on the renewal of the EIC's Charter tend to emphasise the political influence of manufacturing interests in Lancashire. This thesis will reveal that in the campaigns for free access to the East, Glasgow played a very significant role, along with Liverpool.

In the following chapters, first the conditions of the EIC and the East India trade will be explained. Then, the campaigns of the provincial lobbying groups in Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester during the periods 1812-13 and 1829-1833 will be examined.

## Chapter 2. The East India Company

### 2.1. Introduction

In the context of British imperialism, the century after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 is a significant period for scholars, who emphasise the significance of the Industrial Revolution and the development of industrial capitalists which they regarded as major changes in British politics and economy. During this period, the EIC changed its status from trading company to ruler of the Indian Subcontinent and gradually lost its monopolistic trading activities and eventually its political operations too. For those who follow the Marxist tradition with respect to the British economy, this period was one of the victory of industrial capitalists over the old landed interests' symbolised by the establishment of free trade. According to Marx, the EIC was a symbol of old mercantilism, and the growth of British industry was a significant factor in bringing about changes in the economic and political relationship between Britain and India, which had been defined by the monopolistic company for over two hundred years.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, although they emphasise peripheral elements in their later works, Gallagher and Robinson, who attempted to refute both Marxist and the older western views, began their argument by presupposing that 'British industrialisation caused an ever-extending and intensifying development of overseas regions'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, though Cain and Hopkins proposed the continuity of the dominant position of 'gentlemanly capitalists' in the formation of British imperial policy after the Glorious Revolution, they also argue that the period was critical for British imperialism because the old type of gentlemanly capitalism which was rooted in the world of 'Old Corruption' faced a 'crisis' by the end of this period. It eventually reproduced itself by the merger of landed and financial interests after the 1850s.<sup>3</sup> The economic and administrative policies of the EIC and the state on the East Indies were largely influenced by these changes in the metropolitan economy. Many historians have considered peripheral factors, such as the roles of 'the men on the spot', important for British colonial expansion over India. At the same time, as Cain and Hopkins emphasised, the metropolitan factors are also influential.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, first, the social and economic backgrounds of the directors, stockholders and civil and military servants of the EIC after the second half of the eighteenth century will be analysed in the context of gentlemanly

---

<sup>1</sup> T. Kemp, *Theory of Imperialism*, 1967, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Gallagher and Robinson, 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism; 1688-1914*, chap. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

capitalism through consulting the previous works of Cohn, Parker, Bourne, Bowen and other historians. Second, the EIC's territorial expansion and the gradual changing of the EIC's function will be described. Third, economic relationships between trade, shipping and remittance under the company's monopoly after 1757 will be explained. Fourth, the growth of critics against the EIC's monopoly will be described.

## 2.2. Social and economic background of the EIC's directors, stockholders and civil and military servants

According to Cain and Hopkins, 'The East India Company was undoubtedly the most impressive manifestation of the alliance between land and finance in the eighteenth century.'<sup>5</sup> As the establishment of Britain's economic and political dominance over India rested on the company until 1858, Britain's imperial policy in India was largely influenced by those who were involved in the company. The economic backgrounds and social origins of these individuals are the most significant elements of gentlemanly capitalism. The analysis of those who made up the EIC from the view of these two points will help to reveal the nature of the company. Earlier works had referred to the economic backgrounds and the social origins of the company's directors and the stockholders prior to Cain and Hopkins' development of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis'. Philips described the formation of Britain's Indian policy and the relationship between the company and the state in the period from the passing of Pitt's India Act in 1784 until the cessation of the company's trading activities in 1834. He focused on the rise and fall of different economic interests within the proprietors and directors of the EIC, and the members of Parliament.<sup>6</sup> His work provided analytical foundation to the studies conducted by Cohn, Bourne, Parker and Bowen.<sup>7</sup> Cohn and Bourne mainly focused on the patronage of EIC's civil and military servants, while Parker's study revealed in detail the individual career of each director of the company in the second half of the eighteenth century. Bowen also conducted work on the social background of the company's stockholders during the second half of the eighteenth century. As will be described in the following, their studies

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 320-321

<sup>6</sup> Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, 1940.

<sup>7</sup> B. S. Cohn, 'Recruit and Training of British Civil Servants in India, 1600-1860', in R. Braibanti (ed.) *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, 1966, Chap. 3, J. M. Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage of the East India Company', PhD thesis, Leicester University, 1977, and J. G. Parker, 'The Directors of The East India Company 1754-1790' PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977, H. V. Bowen, 'Investment and empire in the late eighteenth century: East India stockholding, 1756-1791' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, vol. XLII, 1989, No. 2, pp. 186-206.

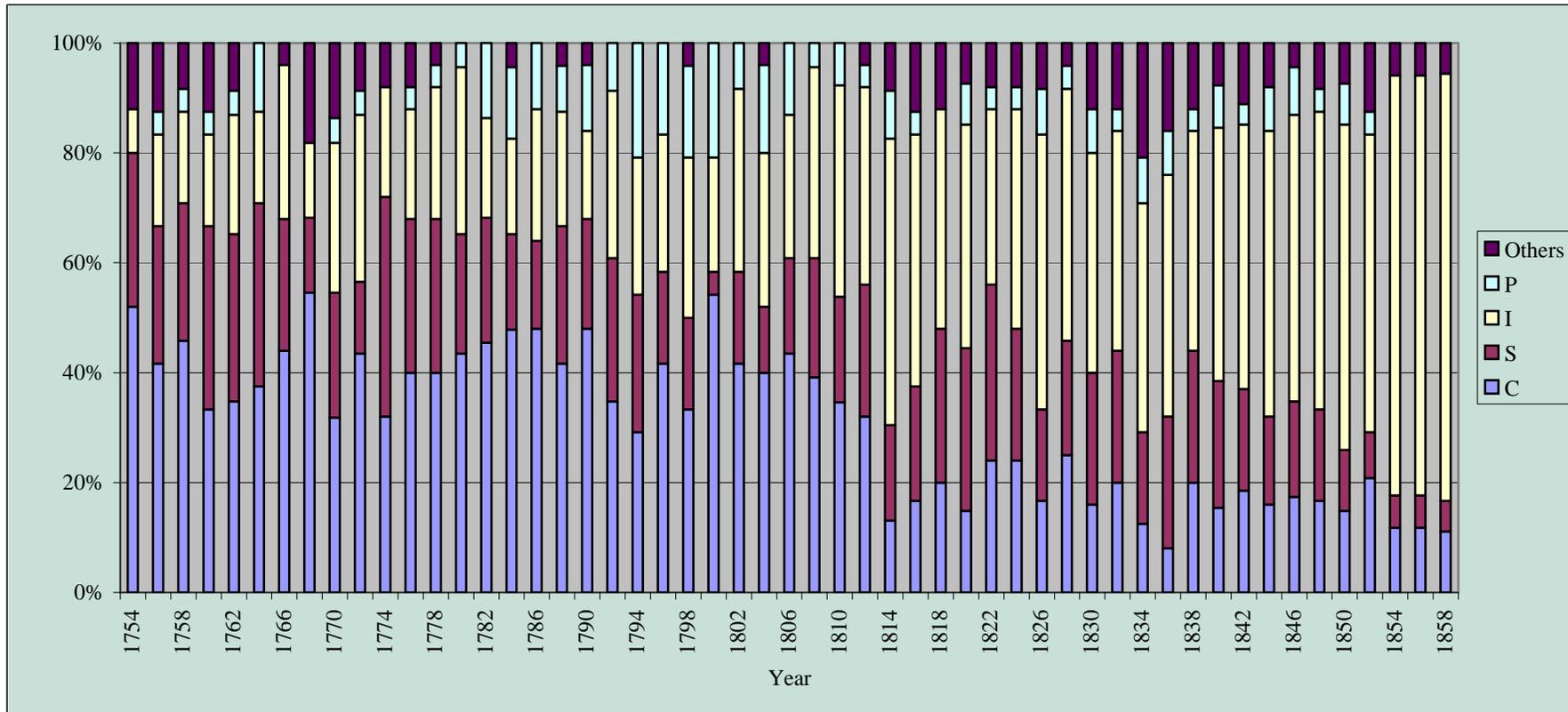
generally supported the view that there existed important connections between the EIC and gentlemanly capitalists.

The Directors of the Company had several different occupational backgrounds. Bourne identified seven main backgrounds: bankers, ship-owners, so-called 'free merchants', City merchants, retired servants of the EIC, the maritime service of the EIC and the Indian bar.<sup>8</sup> Figure 2-1 shows Imai's data based on works of Bourne and Parker to show the composition of the Court of Directors by their occupational backgrounds and its change during the period between 1754 and 1858. The figure shows the connection between the gradual development of the company's political function and the decline of its commercial activities, and the change in the nature of the Court of Directors. Before Clive's conquest of Bengal in the second half of the 1750s and the first half of the 1760s, 80 per cent of the directors were merchants or financiers in London (mainly based in the City) and those who were related with the shipping businesses, such as ship owners, captains and shipbuilders. Their occupations were strongly related to the company's commercial activities. The merchants of the City were involved in sales of East India produce in Britain and other European countries and the supply of merchandise for exporting to India. The financiers provided capital and insurance to the company's trading businesses. Meanwhile, those who were related to the shipping businesses supplied the company with the ships and personnel necessary for voyages. In spite of its fluctuations, the share of shipping businesses was relatively stable until the 1840s, compared with that of merchants and financiers, which dramatically declined after the opening of the India trade in 1813.

---

<sup>8</sup> Bourne, 'The Civil and Military', pp. 38-49. He defines 'free merchants' as "Merchants who had secured the EIC's permission to proceed to India (necessary before 1833), but who did not belong to the Company's service." They are also often called 'Private merchants'.

**Figure 2-1. The Composition of the Court of Directors by Occupational Groups and its Change (1754-1858).**



Note: C = Merchants and financiers of the City, S = Shipping businesses, I = Those who had worked as Company civil or military servants and P = Private merchants. A category, 'Others', includes Directors whose economic interests are unknown.

Source: S. Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to Syokuminchi Indo*, p. 94, Table 2-3. He calculated from Parker, 'The Directors of the East Company', Section 1 for figures in the period between 1754 and 1790, and Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage', pp. 313-23 for between 1790 and 1858.

After the EIC's acquisition of Bengal, the share of those who had worked as Indian civil or military servants gradually increased, and in 1814 they became the majority in the Court of Directors for the first time. The reduction of the share of directors whose businesses were related to the EIC's commercial activities and the increase of directors who had experience of working in India seems to have been related to a change in the nature of the company from a trading company to an administrative institution. Around the 1800s, merchants and bankers of the City who began to show their preference towards free trade, such as Francis Barings, gradually lost interest in the company's monopolistic trade with the East Indies.<sup>9</sup> The opening of the India trade in 1813 lessened the significance of the company for the commercial activities of the City merchants and bankers, and the result was a reduction in the number of directors who conducted commercial and financial businesses in the City. In the meantime, as British territories rapidly expanded over India after the second half of the eighteenth century, the EIC's role as a governing body of India increased in significance. Consequently, this reflected the increase in the number of directors who were related to the political dimension of the EIC. In spite of these changes, the positions of the EIC's directors were occupied by those whose economic backgrounds were compatible with those of the gentlemanly capitalists. Although the Directors' occupational backgrounds were varied, their residences concentrated in certain areas. For example, Cohn explains that:

Of the thirty directors of the company in 1816, twenty-four lived in London; of these twenty-four, fourteen lived within an area one mile by one-half mile in Marylebone, on Banker Street, Harley Street, and the square of this area. Nineteen of the twenty-four, including the above mentioned, lived within a mile and a half of Regents Park.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, he mentions that all the six directors who did not live in London actually resided in Surrey, Essex, Hertfordshire and Kent. So London and the Home Counties dominated.<sup>11</sup>

As can be seen, the main source of the EIC's directors was wealthy upper-middle class merchants, bankers, and professionals (including retired Company civil and military servants) who resided in London and its surrounding areas. These non-industrial capitalists were significant for Cain and Hopkins' concept of gentlemanly capitalism.

---

<sup>9</sup> H. Furber, 'The Beginning of American Trade with India, 1784-1812' in R. Roach (Eds.) *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th Century*, 1997, Chap. II, pp. 257-259.

<sup>10</sup> Cohn, 'Recruit and Training', p. 109. The seats of the EIC's directors (fixed at 24) were virtually held by 30 people in rotation.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

However, the aristocratic landed interest showed only minor direct involvement in the company.<sup>12</sup> Among a number of directors, those whose blood relations with the aristocracy were certainly limited. There were such men: Josias du pre Alexander (nephew of the Earl of Caledon), William Bensley (his wife was a grand-daughter of the Duke of Somerset), William Fullarton Elphinstone (son of Lord Elphinstone), Hugh Lindsay (fifth son of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Balcarres), W. H. L. Melville (son of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Leven & 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Melville).<sup>13</sup> Although the aristocracy had a strong interest in the company, as their several attempts to divert the EIC's profits from its commercial activities and Indian landed revenue to the Treasury indicated, they avoided being involved in the company's management directly. Of course they may have exercised their influence on the EIC indirectly through private connections with the directors who were strongly linked to gentlemanly capitalists or through the Board of Control.

**Table 2-1. The composition of those who held the EIC's stocks valued over £1,000 by titles (April, 1809).**

	£10,000~	£6,000~	£3,000~	£1,000~	Sum	
Lord (and higher)	3	6	9	36	54	2.4%
Baronet / Knight	4	1	18	45	68	3.0%
Esquire (Dame)	28	40	188	809	1065	47.8%
Clergymen	1	3	4	50	58	2.6%
Military Service	4	8	27	127	166	7.4%
Mr. (Mrs)	14	12	118	675	819	36.7%
Sum	54	70	364	1742	2230	100.0%
	2.4%	3.1%	16.3%	78.1%	100.0%	

Source: S. Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to syokuminchi Indo*, p. 96, Table 2-4. The figures have been calculated from A list of the Members of the United Company of the Merchants of England, Trading to the East Indies, Who Stood Qualified as Voters on the Company's Books, the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1809.

Imada's study showed some characteristics of the company's stockholders 20 years later. Table 2-1 shows the composition of those who held over £1,000 of the company's stocks by titles. In other words, these were the proprietors who were qualified as voters in their meeting at that time. In the table, nearly 50 per cent of such stockholders used titles, and over 35 per cent used 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.'<sup>14</sup> With the examination of only these titles, it is difficult to identify occupational backgrounds and social class. However, when the fact that 74.4 per cent of the 2,230 stockholders of this table had addresses in London and surrounding counties is taken into consideration, it is probable that those who could afford

<sup>12</sup> The aristocratic interest's limited involvement in the Company is argued by Bowen as well as Bourne. Bowen, 'Investment and empire in the late eighteenth century', pp. 195-196.

<sup>13</sup> Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage', pp. 63-64.

<sup>14</sup> It seems that his categorisation 'Esquire and Dame' is not adequate because 'dame' should be classified as the same category with 'Baronet' and 'Knight'. However, this failure seems to have little influence on this analysis.

to invest over £1000 in the Company's stocks were wealthy merchants, financiers and a part of the professions and gentry.<sup>15</sup> Bowen's very recent work confirmed this. His research revealed that over 60 per cent of the total amount of the East India stocks were owned by investors with their addresses in London and the Home Counties after 1790, and he concluded that 'the Company retained the major defining characteristic... a close association with the merchant, financial, professional, titled, and gentlemanly classes who lived in and around the metropolis.'<sup>16</sup> The table also shows that only 2.4 per cent of the total stockholders were those who had 'lord' or higher titles, and that the total value of stocks which they held was small. This implies that the tendency of little direct involvement in the Company which the aristocracy had shown in the second half of the eighteenth century continued in the early nineteenth century. In addition, regarding the geographical location of investors, Bowen also pointed out that the East India stocks scarcely attracted investments from North-West and North-East England, and that there is no evidence that the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests exercised their influence through their possessing its stocks in order to access the East Indian markets.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, the company's stockholders were also strongly linked to gentlemanly capitalists.

---

<sup>15</sup> Imada. *Pakusu buritanika to shokuminchi Indo*, p. 97.

<sup>16</sup> H.V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833*, 2006, p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

**Table 2-2. Occupation of Fathers of Appointees to Haileybury.**

	1809-1810		1819-1820		1829-1830		1839-1840		1849-1850		Total	%
	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%.	No.	%	No.	%		
Company service	18	27	26	30	25	26	46	46	33	43	148	34.74
Gentlemen	12	18	7	8	12	13	3	3	5	7	39	9.15
Merchant, manufacturing, banking	9	13	10	11	15	16	10	10	9	12	53	12.44
Clergy	6	9	7	8	10	11	10	10	7	9	40	9.39
Royal military and naval service	4	6	8	9	22	23	8	8	5	7	36	8.45
Civil Service	3	4	2	2	4	4			2	3	11	2.58
Medical	2	3	2	2	4	4	5	5	1	1	14	3.29
Legal			4	5	3	3	5	5	3	4	15	3.52
Member of Parliament	1	1			1	1	1	1			3	0.70
No information	12	18	22	25	10	11	12	12	10	13	66	15.49
Farmer									1	1	1	0.23
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>426</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: B. S. Cohn, 'Recruit and Training of British Civil Servants in India, 1600-1860', in R. Brailbanti (ed.) *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition*, 1966, p. 107.

**Table 2-3. Fathers' Occupations of Recruits to the East India Company's Military Service, 1796-1854 (%)**

	1796-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1854	Average Total
Company service	5.6	8.4	16.8	15.3	35.6	29.9	36.1	21.0
Gentlemen	2.7	2.8	9.1	4.0	7.7	8.3	5.2	5.6
Merchant, manufacturing, banking	0.9	7.5	6.9	6.5	7.7	6.4	5.2	5.8
Clergy	7.3	8.7	9.1	4.4	6.7	11.8	12.1	8.5
H. M. Military and naval service	5.4	6.8	11.2	15.2	18.3	15.2	10.3	11.7
Medical	4.6	1.9	4.2	2.2	7.7	3.4		3.3
Legal	5.4	2.8	5.6	9.5	4.8	7.4	12.1	6.8
Government Service	4.6	1.9	3.5	3.3	2.9	2.9	1.7	2.9
Member of Parliament	5.4	1.6	1.4	1.1				1.4
Tradesmen	0.9	4.4	5.6	4.0	1.9	0.5	5.2	3.2
Other	1.8	5.2	4.9	5.8	4.8	3.9		4.5
No information	63.8	48.0	21.7	28.7	1.9	10.3	12.1	25.5
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: J. M. Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage of the East India Company', unpublished PhD thesis, Leicester University, 1977, p. 187.

Along with the directors and proprietors, the company's civil and military servants were a component of the EIC. The appointments of both civil and military servants depended on the company directors' patronage. Tables 2-2 and 2-3 show the occupations of fathers of appointees to Haileybury and of recruits to the company's military service, in other words, the social origins of the company's civil and military servants. Haileybury was the company's college where students were trained to become its Indian civil servants. After 1813, those who finished the college were exclusively appointed to the posts of the Company's civil service. Those who wanted to go to college had to be nominated by the directors. Table 2-2 indicates that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the most common source of the company's civil servants was the families of company servants, which supplied nearly 35 per cent of the total appointees. This category increased its share during the period of the cessation of the company's commercial activities (26 per cent in 1829-30 and 46 per cent in 1839-40). The company's and King's civil and military service and other professions including 'Clergy', 'Medical', 'Legal' (and probably some of 'No information') occupied the large majority in the total. The description as 'Gentlemen' in this case again needs to be handled with caution.<sup>18</sup> However, even if 'Gentlemen' was regarded as only the landed interest, their share is relatively small. Although those who were from the families of merchant, manufacturing, banking families occupied the range between 10 per cent and 16 per cent during the period, they were less significant than those from professional families. In spite of some elements in the landed interest of the professions, the appointees were drawn from less wealthy middle-class strata rather than the City's merchants and financiers and the aristocratic landed interest.<sup>19</sup> Bourne argued that:

The recipients of the East India patronage were drawn from the 'pseudo-gentry', from the genteel poor and from the sons of East India Company servants who were effectively barred, by their lack of connexions and lack of cash, from access to the traditional area of gentlemanly employment.<sup>20</sup>

By such men, the EIC service was regarded as an opportunity to satisfy their ambitions to achieve both higher economic and social status which gentlemen enjoyed in their life.

---

<sup>18</sup> Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage', p. 193.

<sup>19</sup> For example, it is likely that a student from the family of clergy had the connection with the landed interest as a number of the clergy were second sons of large landowners. See, Cohn, 'Recruitment and Training', p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage of the East India Company', p. 172.

**Table 2-4. Place of Birth or Place of Residence of Parents of Appointees to Haileybury, 1809/10-1849/50.**

	1809-1810		1819-1820		1829-1830		1839-1840		1849-1850		Total	%
	No.	%										
London	20	30	27	31	28	29	22	22	19	25	116	27.23
Rest of England	26	39	19	22	31	33	22	22	17	22	115	27.00
Scotland	10	15	11	13	9	9	15	15	9	12	54	12.68
Ireland	2	3	7	8	3	3	4	4	4	5	20	4.69
Wales					1	1	1	1			2	
India	4	6	21	24	18	19	34	34	22	29	99	23.24
Other	4	6	1	1	3	3	2	2	4	5	14	3.29
No information	1	1	2	2	2	2			1	1	6	1.41
Total	67	100	88	100	95	100	100	100	76	100	426	100.00

Source: Cohn, 'Recruit and Training of British Civil Servants in India', p. 108.

**Table 2-5. Place of Birth of Recruits to the East India Company Military Service, 1796-1854 (%).**

	1796-1800	1801-1810	1811-1820	1821-1830	1831-1840	1841-1850	1851-1854	Average Total
London	21.8	20.4	25.8	22.3	24.1	17.2	13.2	20.7
Rest of England	32.7	33.3	32.7	32.1	19.6	31.0	25.0	29.5
Scotland	18.2	22.4	13.6	15.3	8.9	8.6	11.8	14.1
Ireland	11.8	8.2	8.8	9.6	8.0	5.6	5.9	8.3
India	2.7	9.8	12.9	14.2	29.5	27.2	36.8	19.0
Other	4.6	4.3	1.4	2.6	7.2	8.2	7.3	5.0
No information	8.2	1.7	4.8	4.0	2.7	2.2		3.4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Bourne, 'The Civil and Military Patronage', p. 174.

Table 2-4 shows significant characteristics of the geographical origins of the company's civil servants. Again there is the relative concentration of the appointees' birthplace and their families' resident places in London: some 27 per cent of the total appointees of the table were from London. However, the share of the appointees who were born in India or whose families resided in India increased rapidly from only 6 per cent in 1809-1810 to 29 per cent in 1849-1850. These features reflected the directors' patronage. Their exercise of patronage was largely influenced by the connection between the directors and appointees (although their connection was not necessarily a direct one). Many directors were wealthy merchants and bankers of London and most lived in and around the capital. In this connection, those who were from London had a geographical advantage for the appointment. Again, directors who had worked as the company's Indian servants tended to nominate the offspring of those who had worked in India for Haileybury. As the number of such directors increased in the first half of the nineteenth century, the number of the appointees with Indian backgrounds also increased.

Tables 2-3 and 2-5 on the recruits to the company's military service show similar tendencies to the case of the civil servants, although Table 2-3 has large unknown elements in the earlier periods. However, it is very likely that during the first half of the nineteenth century, the share of the recruits whose fathers had worked as company servants rapidly increased, especially in the 1830s as the case of Haileybury shows. A large proportion of recruits were drawn from the families of middle-class professions. In terms of the birthplaces of the recruits, London occupied 20 per cent of the average total. The share of those who were born in India rapidly increased from below 3 per cent during the period between 1796 and 1800 to 37 per cent a half century later.

Consequently, the change of composition of the Court of Directors reflected the change in the company's nature from a trading company to a territorial power. In spite of this change, the company continued to be composed of those who were related to gentlemanly capitalists. Although the company's directors had several occupational backgrounds, they were mainly drawn from the wealthy upper-middle-class merchants, bankers and professions, particularly company servants, and resided in and around London. Meanwhile, the aristocratic landed interest showed little direct involvement in the company's management. Similar characteristics can be seen in the company's stockholders. A large part of company civil and military servants were from the families of the middle class professions, i.e., the EIC's and King's civil and military servants and

professionals and they were geographically significantly connected to either London or India. They looked for the means of achieving a gentlemanly status and lifestyle. Their social and economic status was lower than that of the directors, but their social status was not far from that of the gentlemanly capitalists. Moreover, the directors and the company servants were significantly connected by the patronage system.

### 2.3. The changing of the EIC's functions

The history of the EIC can be divided into two different phases. In the first hundred and fifty years, the nature of the company was a commercial organisation for the East India trade with limited political and military functions. In the rest of the period, the company gradually developed its roles as an administrative institution for India, and at the same time ceased its commercial functions. The effective acquisition of Bengal by the EIC after the battle of Plassey brought about changes in the company, and in its relationship with the state. With the expectation of huge revenues from the land, India was no longer only the company's private interest, but became the national interest of Britain. Therefore, after the acquisition of Bengal, the company's compatibility with a governing body of India became one of the main concerns in British politics.

The grant of *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Mughal Emperor in 1765 added a new role to the company's activities. They were to collect the landed revenues, expected to generate between two million and four million pounds annually to the company.<sup>21</sup> Because in the eighteenth century, the EIC was one of the main financial sources of the state, the state recognised that the military and political events in Bengal were significant for the Treasury.<sup>22</sup> Lord Chatham, the elder Pitt, who formed a cabinet in June 1766, regarded the revenues as 'a kind of gift from heaven' for the repayment of debts amassed during the Seven Years War.<sup>23</sup> However, the initial response of the state to the new situation in India was not an active one. First, because until the mid-eighteenth century, the intervention of the state into the company's commercial affairs had been minimal, the Ministry was not capable of dealing with Indian affairs, lacking adequate means and

---

<sup>21</sup> Bowen, 'Investment and empire', p. 187.

<sup>22</sup> Bowen, 'No Longer Mere Traders: Continuities and Changes in the Metropolitan Development of the East India Company, 1600-1834' in H. V. Bowen, M. Lincoln, and N. Rigby (Eds.) *The World of The East India Company*, 2002, p. 26.

<sup>23</sup> J. Keay, *The Honourable Company: A History of The English East India Company*, 1993, p. 379.

knowledge.<sup>24</sup> Second, there was a widespread belief in Britain that the company was the best means of exploiting India for the national interest.<sup>25</sup> However, it was soon proved that the traditional and successful framework in which the EIC had been operating its trading activities for many years was no longer expedient in the new phase and had to be reformed, since it was facing several crises in India and at home.

The state's intervention into the EIC began in the 1760s with attempts to divert a part of the landed revenues to the Treasury. Bowen explained that Lord Chatham intended 'to secure a share of the company's revenue for the state through a formal declaration of the British Crown's 'right' to those revenues.'<sup>26</sup> His aim was to obtain a new source of revenues for the state by arranging a new legal framework without accepting territorial and administrative responsibility for India, which would remain in the hands of the company.<sup>27</sup> However, he failed to obtain full support even within the Ministry and had to accept compromises during the negotiation because it was anticipated that there would be strong resistance to the violation of their chartered rights by the state from the City of London, which also had serious interests in other chartered companies.<sup>28</sup> As a result, after the negotiations between the company and the government, although Lord Chatham finally succeeded in agreeing with the company for an annual payment of £400,000 to the Treasury in 1767, he failed to make the legal status of the company's possessions clear.<sup>29</sup> This indicated the London mercantile community was powerful enough to resist the Ministry's attempt to intervene in the Indian affairs at that time.

In the following decades, the EIC suffered severely from the consequences of Clive's conquest of Bengal. The company showed its inability to cope with the new political and economic situations both in India and at home. The Court of Directors failed to control the rapid expansion of the company's territories in India against their wishes or to regulate the misconduct of company servants that became a target of criticism in Britain. As a result, the increase in war and administrative expenses greatly affected its trading activities. In his study, Imada pointed out that there was a correlation between the Company's financial standing in India and the size of its 'investment' in goods for export to the U.K. by contrasting the period of John Shore, the Governor General, who adopted a non-

---

<sup>24</sup> Bowen, 'British India, 1765-1813: The Metropolitan Context', P. J. Marshall (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, 1998, p. 532.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 537.

<sup>27</sup> Bowen, *Revenue and Reform: the Indian Problems in British Politics 1757 and 1773*, 1991, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Keay, *The Honourable Company*, p. 379.

<sup>29</sup> Bowen, 'British India', p. 537

intervention policy during the period between 1793 and 1798, and the period of Wellesley, who succeeded Shore and aggressively expanded the British territories until 1805.<sup>30</sup> The EIC also faced serious financial crises at home when they could not meet their obligation of annual payment to the State and the demands for clearing bills of exchange on London sent from the East during the period.

Since the 1760s, the company's rule from London over military adventurers in India weakened because the will of the company was not unified in the administrators' struggle for power.<sup>31</sup> The political instability of the company at home was the consequence of changing shareholders' views. After the battle of Plassey, they began to regard the EIC as more than a secure and profitable object for investment and dividends, and tried to seize the initiative in the company's politics for their own interests.<sup>32</sup> In an age when there was no means of swift communication over a very long distance, India was too far away for London to control 'the men on the spot'. Since few directors understood local matters of India, there was a gap between the perceptions of directors in London and the reality in India.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, orders from Leadenhall Street were often not adequate and too late, and men in India had to take action in response to local crises.<sup>34</sup> The directors tried to prevent further territorial conquests, but the local commanders often exploited fear of external intervention, especially from the French, and magnified the severity of local crises, as an excuse for a series of wars and conquests.<sup>35</sup> Once the company achieved its territorial possessions, it had to defend them and needed to ally with Indian neighbours. This did not allow the EIC to choose isolationism and resulted in further involvement in complicated local politics and wars.<sup>36</sup> As a result, the British territories under the company grew at a rapidly accelerating rate. The same can also be applied to the failure of the company to prevent its servants from accumulating private fortunes in a corrupt manner.

---

<sup>30</sup> Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to shokuminchi Indo* [Pax Britannica and the colonial India], 2000, pp. 43-57.

<sup>31</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, Introduction 1.

<sup>32</sup> Marshall argues that 'the most important single reason why the consensus of opinion within the Company broke down was that after the conquest of Bengal the value of service in India suddenly became very greatly enhanced.' Then he continued that 'Men began to buy India stock not as a conventional investment, but would obtain lucrative appointments in India.' See Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>33</sup> Lawson *The East India Company*, pp. 104-116.

<sup>34</sup> Principal-Agent problems were always concerned in the activities of early chartered companies. See Ann Carlos, 'Principal-Agent Problems in Early Trading Companies: A Tale of Two Firms' in *The American Economic Review*, vol. 82, No. 2, 1992, pp. 140-145.

<sup>35</sup> D. M. Peers, 'Between Mars and Mammon: The East India Company and Efforts to Reform its Army, 1796-1832' in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1990, p. 388.

<sup>36</sup> D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey from the Eighteenth Century*, 1982, pp. 167-168.

The series of wars in India seriously disrupted the company's commercial activities. Marshall pointed out that the civil and military costs of the EIC after the acquisition of Bengal increased from an average of approximately £300,000 during the period between 1756 and 1760 to £2.7 million in 1770.<sup>37</sup> The rising war and administrative expenses in India prevented the company from diverting the landed revenues to their importing trade. A shortage of capital for purchasing goods for return cargoes was usually offset by borrowing in India. This borrowing often took the form of issuing bills of exchange on London to those who wanted to send their private fortunes from India to Europe, which resulted in the company's further financial obligations to make repayments for the bills in London, and was one of the main factors of the company's default in 1772.<sup>38</sup>

The EIC's financial crisis at home was a really ironic event for both the company and the state which expected huge profits from the newly acquired revenue source because the decision at the Court of Proprietors of the EIC to increase the regular dividends to 12.5 per cent and the agreement of annual payment of £400,000 to the state had been made.<sup>39</sup> The state was not willing to establish an alternative institution for the British territories in the East Indies since it was widely believed that the EIC was only a means to transfer Indian fortunes from India to Britain. By this time, the company had so much influence on both British politics and economy that the state could not let it go bankrupt and had to take some relief measures for this financial crisis. Finally the government helped the company by offering a loan of £1.4 million, but the EIC had to pay a painful price for it by accepting reforms to its commercial and administrative activities both at home and in India.<sup>40</sup> In Bowen's words, 'This [the Company's default] represented a reversal of long-established creditor-debtor roles, and it marked the beginning of a heated period of debate about the Company's methods, strategy, and general worth to the nation.'<sup>41</sup>

By this time, the Ministry recognised the necessity of broadening its knowledge of the EIC's activities as the importance of Indian affairs for Britain's national interest increased. Its efforts at rapid accumulation of knowledge through two parliamentary committees of inquiry during the period between 1772 and 1773 paid off in the introduction of North's

---

<sup>37</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, p. 84, and Parliamentary Papers, *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons 1715-1801: East Indies 1772-1773*, vol. 4, p. 72.

<sup>38</sup> Marshall, *Problem of Empire*, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> T. Hamauzu, *Sekai saikyo no shosha* [The world strongest trading company], 2001, p. 94

<sup>40</sup> Bowen, 'Investment and empire', p. 190.

<sup>41</sup> Bowen, 'No Longer Mere Traders', p. 27.

Regulation Act of 1773 (13 Geo. III, c. 63).<sup>42</sup> According to Marshall, the Acts had two main purposes: first, the Act contained some clauses to reform the company by solving its organisational shortcomings both at home and in India.<sup>43</sup> Second, the other provisions aimed to give the state a responsibility to supervise the Company's administration in India. First, in domestic terms, the Act attempted to alter the continuity of authority of the Court of Directors by extending the directors' tenure of office from one year to four years and electing only one quarter of the members annually.<sup>44</sup> The provisions also tried to improve defects such as the practice of 'splitting' stocks, in the company's voting system, by increasing the stocks for the qualification for voting from £500 to £1,000 and limiting the qualification to those who held stocks for twelve months before voting in the General Court.<sup>45</sup> These changes gave the Court of Directors stronger leadership the stockholders and servants in India, and ultimately strengthened the ability of the state to influence the company through the directors.

Second, in the Indian context, the Act created in Calcutta the Supreme Council, which consisted of the Governor General and four councillors with limited executive authority over two other Presidencies in Madras and Bombay.<sup>46</sup> The Supreme Court of Justice was also established in Calcutta and a chief justice and three judges were appointed by the Crown.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the Act regulated commercial activities conducted by company servants in India.<sup>48</sup> These organisational reforms in India reflected the state's intention of separating the company's administrative and judicial functions from its commercial functions.

In terms of the relationship between the company and the state, the significant meaning of the Act was that this event formed a precedent of overcoming the charters.<sup>49</sup> Previously, the Ministers had restrained themselves from intervening into the company's affairs for fear of being accused of violating the right of ownership, but they had to do it in order not only to rescue the company from the financial crisis for the national interest, but also to respond to the widespread critics of company servants' immoral and corrupting behaviour, represented by the 'nabobs', newly rich with the Indian fortunes.

---

<sup>42</sup> For details, see Bowen, *Revenue and Reform*, Chap. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Marshall, *Problem of Empire*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>44</sup> S. Mitra, *Indian Constitutional Acts: East India Company to Independence*, 2003, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Before voting, a large company stockholder often split up his stocks to his supporters for increasing the number of votes for him.

<sup>46</sup> Mitra, *Indian Constitutional Act*, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Hamauzu, *Sekai saikyo no shosha*, pp. 102-3.

However, in spite of its significant historical meaning for the relationship between the company and the state, the Regulation Act and some minor alterations were far from perfect and showed defects at several occasions both at home and in India. For instance, under the new system arranged by the Act, neither could the Court of Directors check the company's aggressive territorial expansion over India under the Governor-General, Warren Hastings in the 1770s, nor could the EIC avoid another serious financial embarrassment in the first half of the 1780s. The Governor-General and the Councillors in the Supreme Court also often experienced deadlocks over their decisions. Marshall explained that when the company was in financial difficulty and in a weak position, regulations were imposed on it by the state.<sup>50</sup> After the failure of two attempts made by Henry Dundas and Charles James Fox, a new bill to replace the Regulation Act, that is to say, Pitt's India Act (24 Geo. III, c. 25) was finally passed by Parliament in 1784.<sup>51</sup> The most significant point of the Act was the foundation of the dual control over India by the company and the state. By the Act, the State obtained a right to interfere in the political activities of the company. The Board of Control was established in London and it consisted of six members, i.e. a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and four Privy Councillors, by the appointment of the King.<sup>52</sup> The main role of the Board of Control was to supervise the company's political and diplomatic functions. By the Act, it was given the authority to inspect and amend the company's correspondence between London and India. Before the India Act, the General Court had had a right to veto a decision made by the Court of Directors, but after 1784, the General Court could not overturn a decision approved by the Board of Control. As a result, the power of the company's proprietors over Indian affairs was significantly weakened.

The EIC's commercial functions and right of patronage remained in its hands. Nevertheless, since its commercial and political operations largely overlapped, it was impossible to distinguish between these two clearly. During the debates over the military expenses of the King's army in India, Henry Dundas insisted that:

Under the Bill of 1784, the Board of Control were warranted in applying the revenues of the Company's territorial acquisitions, to the expense of transporting and maintaining the four regiments, which Government thought it necessary to send out

---

<sup>50</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> About Dundas and Fox's bills, see Marshall *Problems of Empire*, Document 5 and 16 for Dundas' and 6 and 17 for Fox's.

<sup>52</sup> Mitra, *Indian Constitutional Acts*, p. 17

to India. And so fully were they authorized to do this, that if it should appear to ministers necessary for the security of those territorial possessions, they had the power to apply the whole of the revenues of India to that purpose, without leaving the Company a sixpence for their investment.<sup>53</sup>

As this example shows, the state tended to broaden interpretation of the Act and intervene in the company's affairs beyond the purely political matters afterwards.

The India Act also included clauses related to the reforms in India. In order to improve the efficiency of administrative functions in India, the power of the Governor-General both within the Supreme Council and over the subordinate Presidencies was strengthened. The number of Councillors was reduced from four to three, and later by the amended Act of 1786, the Governor General was given authority to veto the decisions made by all Presidencies. Respecting these reforms, many historians agree that the new framework provided by the India Act showed a certain measure of success. For instance, Sutherland argued that as a result of these reforms 'the confusion of the past twenty-five years had come to an end and a new era had begun in the Government of India and in the relations of state and company.'<sup>54</sup> Bowen also explained that:

Pitt's Act was not without its weakness, and contemporary critics complained... From the government's view, however, the India Act represented a reasonably successful attempt to eradicate some of the failings of the system established by North in 1773.<sup>55</sup>

In contrast to the fundamental changes of framework of the East India trade which were brought about in 1813 and 1833 when the monopolistic trade with India and then China was repealed, this new administrative framework was basically the same until the company's administrative role was taken over by the Crown after the Mutiny, although several minor modifications were made, such as a Regulation Act of 1786 and a Declaratory Act of 1788.

Pitt's India Act reflected the basic policy of the British government after the conquest of Bengal and the grant of *diwani*. That is to say, the policy was made in order that the EIC should be exploited in the best way for the national interest without increasing the burden on the state. At the same time, the state expected that the company should play a main role

---

<sup>53</sup> *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, Vol. XXVII, 25 February 1788, pp. 69-70.

<sup>54</sup> L. S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics*, 1952, p. 414.

<sup>55</sup> Bowen, 'British India', p. 545.

as a channel of remittance from India to Britain in the form of East Indian commodities, and for this purpose the EIC had to maintain and develop their trade with Asia. These two policies were closely connected, but contrary to each other. The company's commercial activities were often disrupted by the increase of its administrative and military costs in India, which the state would have had to bear if it were responsible for governing the British territories there. The rapid increase in the national debt, resulting from the series of wars with the U.S. and France in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, did not allow the state to afford further debts, which would rise from the direct political responsibility for India. It needed the company to share its financial burden for the national interest. In fact, Robert Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, argued in his letter to the Chairman of the EIC that 'the maintenance of the monopoly of the East India Company is EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO THE POLITICAL INTERESTS of the State, than it is to the COMMERCIAL INTERESTS of the Company.'<sup>56</sup>

One good example to show the state's intention to avoid the financial expenses for Indian affairs was the conflict between the state and company over the expenses for sending the King's army to India, which led to the establishment of the Declaratory Act of 1788, i.e. 'An Act for Removing Any Doubt Respecting the Power of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to Direct that the Expenses of Raising Transporting and Maintaining such Troops as may be judged Necessary for the Security of the British Territories and Possessions in the East Indies, should be Defrayed out of the Revenues Arising from the Said Territories and Possessions.'<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, the development of the company's trade and the increase in its commercial profits were significant for the state as they would help to stabilise the system of remittance and allow the company to continue to pay their debts at home, which were institutionalised as 'Home Charges' in the nineteenth century. The framework that the India Act established contained such a contradiction. As Imada argues, as long as the State depended on the EIC playing a role as its political agency in India in order to avoid the increase in the financial burden on the State, the former had to take the commercial activities of the latter into consideration in the formation of its imperial policy because the maintenance of this administrative system in India basically relied on the realization of certain profits from the commercial activities of the Company.

---

<sup>56</sup> An Impartial Reporter, *The Parliamentary Debates at the East India House on Tuesday, the 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1813, on the Negotiation with His Majesty's Ministers Relative to a Renewal of the Charter*, 1813, p. 61, Appendix No. VIII, 'Extract of Letter from Lord Melville to the Chairman dated 21<sup>st</sup> March 1801'.

<sup>57</sup> 28 Geo. III, c. 6. See Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 57-60.

<sup>58</sup> This is the reason why the British government did not choose the immediate and complete abolition of the Company's right of monopolistic trade till the 1830s in spite of strong and increasing criticisms of its monopoly from several parts of Britain. As will be explained in the following chapters, the EIC exploited this argument in the debates over the renewal of the charter. The company stressed the significance of its trading monopoly for governing British territories in India for national interest.

#### 2.4. The economic relationship between trade, shipping and remittance under the EIC's monopoly after 1757

As noted above, the political framework of British rule over India, which was consolidated by North's Regulation Act and Pitt's India Act, was characterised by the avoidance of direct administrative control over India by the British government, and this framework was largely dependent on the commercial performance of the company in the East India trade. The maintenance and further development of the channel of Indian remittances through commodity exports from the East Indies to Europe was a primary concern in the formation of Britain's imperial policy for India after the second half of the eighteenth century. However, as the East India trade experienced structural changes during the same period, Britain needed to adjust its traditional trading pattern in which the EIC had been enjoying the monopolistic trade since the beginning of the seventeenth century, and this was the process through which the company's right of exclusive trade with Asia was gradually repealed. The East India trade was a keystone of the mechanism of British dominance over India based on the EIC. The following section will describe the change of the framework of the East India trade and Indian remittances under the company's monopoly, and how this framework became no longer adequate for Britain's domination of the East India trade and Indian remittances.

After the conquest of Bengal, although the EIC governed its territories in India, it remained a commercial company owned by its stockholders. This meant that the ultimate foundation of the company was still the realisation of commercial profits from its trading activities, i.e. importing Asian goods and making profits from these sales at home. In the 1750s, when the company emerged as a territorial power in India, its commercial activities in East Asia were still conducted within the long-established framework that had been completed

---

<sup>58</sup> S. Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to shokuminchi Indo*, p. 118.

in 1702 when the United Company had formed.<sup>59</sup> In this framework, the EIC was permitted to conduct trading activities exclusively with Asia on the ground of the Charter Act, and it held three main financial sources for purchasing East Indian products: shipping bullion from Britain; the use of profits from the sales of exported products to India; and borrowing from European or native merchants in Asia. However, as the result of granting of *diwani*, the company could use the surplus of landed revenues for financing their trade. After this event, the company was expected to play a role as a medium to transfer the surplus of landed revenues from India to Britain through the East India trade. However, after the 1770s, as a result of soaring administrative and military costs in India, the surplus of landed revenues was insufficient to meet the company's trading activities. Instead, the shortage of investment for its return cargoes was made up by borrowing capital from company civil and military servants through private merchants. Their salaries were paid out from the landed revenues, and this financial source was significant for the company's trading activities.

As the EIC's territories in India developed, the number of British subjects (company servants, soldiers, private merchants.) there also rapidly increased. According to Marshall, before the 1790s, if individuals wanted to transfer their savings to Britain, their remittance by the hands of the EIC took some a variety of forms: (1) purchase of privileged cargo space from company servants; (2) investment in precious stones, mainly diamonds; (3) purchase of bills of exchange from the company; (4) some exceptions applied to such as the captains of the company's vessels.<sup>60</sup> Among these channels, the use of bills of exchange was most significant. He roughly estimates the total amount of remittances sent from Bengal to Britain on behalf of individuals during the period between 1730 and the middle of the 1780s was approximately £18 million, and that out of this figure the amount of £12 million was sent in the form of bills of exchange issued by the company in Bengal and Canton.<sup>61</sup>

Such money was often moved among the company's East India settlements, for example from Calcutta to Madras and Bombay, searching for the best terms of remittance to

---

<sup>59</sup> The group of merchants who had been excluded from the 'Old' East India Company had formed a 'New' East India Company (or The English East India Company Trading to the East Indies) in 1698. These 'Old' and 'New' Companies finally merged into the United Company of Merchants of England to the East Indies in 1702.

<sup>60</sup> P. J. Marshall, *East India Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century*, 1976, pp. 220-224.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255. The total amount includes remittances made by foreign merchants and traders on behalf of British individuals.

Europe.<sup>62</sup> After 1769, the EIC's factory in Canton also supplied bills of exchange on London at better exchange rates in order to attract money from those who were looking for facilities to send fortunes from India to Britain, because the company needed to prepare ready capital for purchasing Chinese commodities, especially tea, as this trade grew. The remittance business was very successful and, for example, the EIC raised over £3 million between 1769 and 1783.<sup>63</sup> However, the supply of silver specie from India to China to purchase tea and silk resulted in the contraction of the money supply in Bengal and disturbance of the local economy.<sup>64</sup>

The use of bills of exchange as the means of remittance had advantages and disadvantages for the company and individuals. As an advantage, bills of exchange allowed British subjects in India to avoid the risk of losing their fortunes in the form of East Indian commodities on the voyage home.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, for the company, issuing bills was one of the important means of financing its commercial and other activities in India as the bullion exports to India, which had been a main export from Britain since the beginning of the East India trade, was virtually stopped after Clive's conquest.<sup>66</sup> However, since issuing the bills on London meant that the debts of the company in India were effectively converted into those of the head office in London, the total amount of bills which could be issued in India depended on its ability at home to clear these bills. If the supply of bills of exchange in Bengal exceeded the company's solvency at home, it brought about the company's financial difficulties at home like the event of 1772. In order to avoid such a crisis, a clause of the Loan Act of 1773 prohibited the EIC from issuing bills at more than £300,000 per annum without the consent of the Treasury, which was applied to all British East Indian settlements.<sup>67</sup>

The EIC's territorial expansion over India not only needed more human resources to maintain its administrative and military operations but also attracted traders and adventurers who looked for new opportunities for economic success. Consequently, the rise in the number of British subjects in India increased the demand for the remittances to their home. Although the company's bills offered British settlers more opportunities to

---

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>64</sup> For example, A. Siddiqi, 'Money and Prices in the Earlier Stage of Empire: India and Britain, 1760-1840', *The Indian Economic History Review*, vol. XVIII, Nos 3 & 4, 1981, pp. 233, and K. N. Chaudhuri (ed.), *The Economic Development of India under the East India Company: 1814-58*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>65</sup> Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 222.

<sup>66</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, p. 85.

<sup>67</sup> Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 223 and 13 Geo. III, c. 64., sec. xvi.

send their fortunes raised there to their home country than the use of the company's commodity trade, i.e. the purchases of the privileged cargo spaces or the investment in diamonds, the amount of bills was limited and it could not supply enough bills to such individuals. Making remittances from India to Britain under the monopolistic trading pattern was ultimately dependent on the company's ability to increase the volume of trade and the commercial profits from it.

Even if the facilities of the company were not available, its servants or private merchants still had a couple of alternative means of remittance. The first choice was sending East Indian goods to European ports using a false flag. Of course, during this period, this kind of conduct violated the Navigation Acts. The second choice was extending foreign traders credit, in other words, purchasing bills of exchange from non-British European or American merchants and clearing the bills through their agents in Europe. For an early example, when Clive left Bengal in 1760, he remitted £230,000 in Dutch bills out of a total over £300,000, and after his second office in India in 1767, he remitted £54,133 in Dutch bills and £20,000 by the French out of a total £165,000.<sup>68</sup> In Marshall's rough estimates, bills via the French and the Dutch from 1757 to 1785 amounted to £4,000,000, while £750,000 was remitted in Danish bills from 1778 to 1783.<sup>69</sup> When the £18 million of total British remittance during this period is taken in consideration, although the figures do not include Portuguese and other foreign bills, more than one quarter of the total was sent through foreign hands.<sup>70</sup> Furber also mentions the figures of foreign bills after the above period. After 1785, the London agents of the so-called 'new' French East India Company received bills of exchange amounting to £757,177 from India by 1790 and likely less than one million pounds by 1793.<sup>71</sup> In the Danish case, there is evidence that during the period between 1783 and 1793, £858,216 was remitted to England in the Danish East India Company's bills of exchange and approximately £2 million through Danish private merchants in the same period.<sup>72</sup>

However, after the second half of the 1780s, especially after the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars in 1792, American merchants were increasingly involved in the

---

<sup>68</sup> Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> H. Furber, *John Company at Work: A Study of European Expansion in India in The Late Eighteenth Century*, 1948, p. 50. The 'new' French East India Company was set up by the French businessmen in 1785.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123 and 135.

remittance of British subjects from India.<sup>73</sup> While many European countries were at war, American merchants took advantage of their neutral position to expand their trading activities in the East Indies. After 1796, article xiii of Jay's Treaty also gave them favourable conditions.<sup>74</sup> This article was very ambiguous in terms of the restrictions of American trade with the East Indies. It virtually permitted the American vessels to anchor in British possessions in the East Indies 'unrestrictedly' for their imports from India to the U.S. Neither did article xiii contain words to restrict American imports from India to their domestic consumption nor did it ban their circuitous trade through Europe. In regard to taxation, American ships were levied at the ports of British territories on equal terms with British ships. In addition to this, although the coastal trade of India carried out by American ships was prohibited, in reality this regulation was not rigidly applied until 1801.<sup>75</sup>

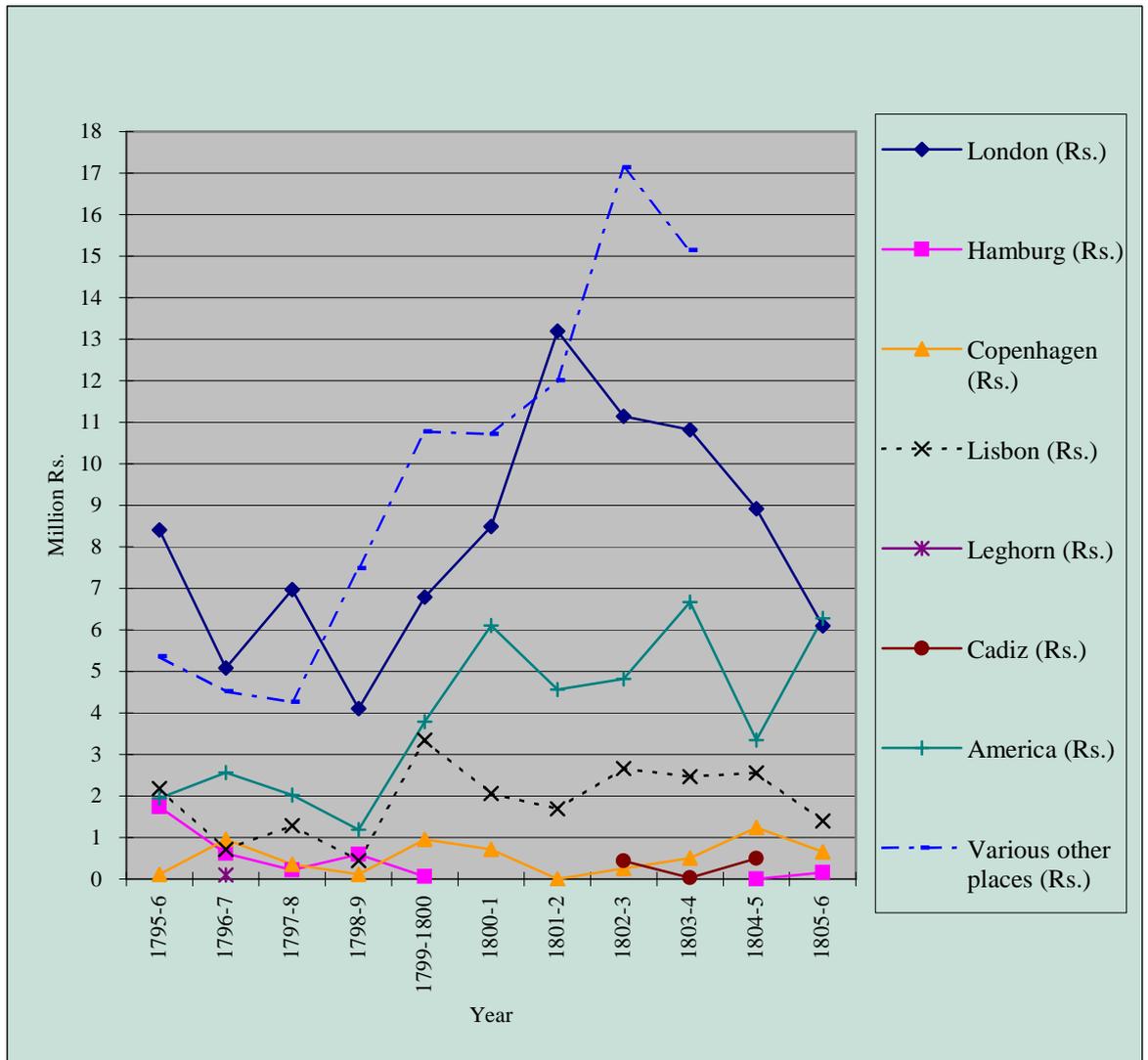
---

<sup>73</sup> On the growth of the American trade with India in this period, see H. Furber, 'The Beginnings of American Trade with India 1784-1812', R. Roach (ed.) *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th Century*, 1997, Chap. II. Originally published in *The New England Quarterly* 11, no. 2, 1938, pp. 235-265.

<sup>74</sup> Furber, 'The beginning of American Trade with India', pp. 243-45.

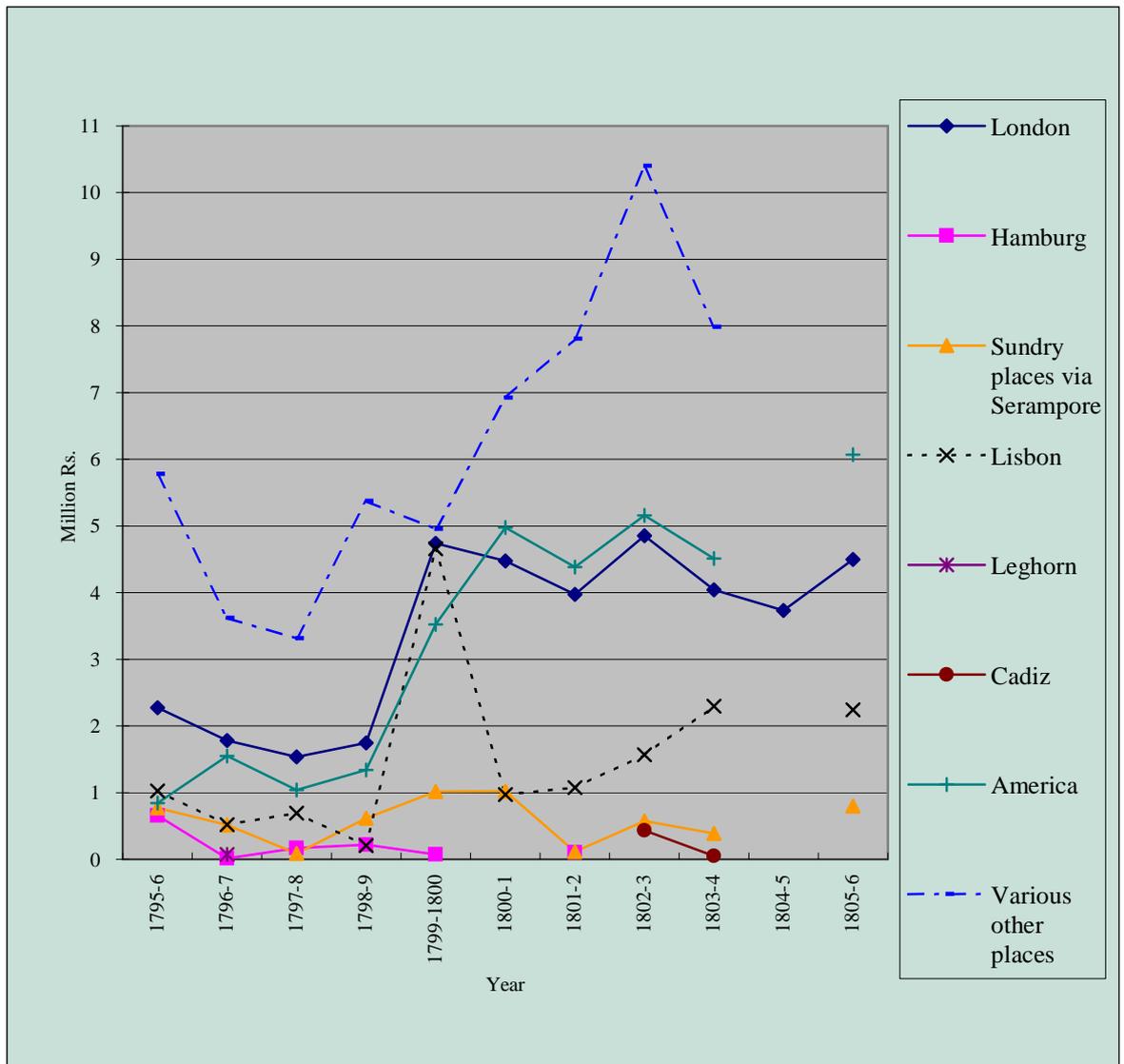
<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

**Figure 2-2. Exports from Bengal: Regional distribution (1795/1796-1805/1806).**



Source: K. N. Chaudhuri, 'Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments (1757-1947)' in D. Kumar (ed.) *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. 2: c.1757-c.1970, 1983, Chap. X, p. 820, Table 10.3A. The original source is Fourth Report on the Affairs of the East India Company, Parliamentary Papers, 1812, VI, Appendix 47. He has corrected the original figures of the above source using the Reports 1805-06. In the creation of this graph, these corrected figures have been used instead of the original figures.

**Figure 2-3. Import into Bengal: Regional distribution (1795/96-1805/1806).**



Source: see source for Figure 2-2.

Figures 2-2 and 2-3 show the growth of American trade during the period between 1795-6 and 1805-6 with Bengal, where the British most successfully established their political and commercial foundation in Asia. Figure 2-2 shows that the values of exports from Bengal to America grew rapidly from approximately 1.2 million rupees to 6.1 million rupees from 1798-9 to 1800-01, and then fluctuated between approximately 3.3 million rupees and 6.7 million rupees. In Figure 2-3, the value of imports into Bengal shows a similar trend. In the same period, imports dramatically increased from approximately 1 million to 5 million, then fluctuated. However, the value of the imports from America tended to be higher than those from London in the first half of the 1800s. The trend of trade between America and Bengal showed a contrast to those of ports in the European continent, which suffered from the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars. Furber quoted the figures reported to the Court of Directors by James Grant and Edward Parry, the directors of the EIC, in 1807. According

to them, during the period between 1795/6 and 1804/5, the remittances, which are indicated by an excess of exports over imports, from Calcutta to Britain by foreign ships amounted to one hundred and thirty-five *lacs* of *sicca rupee* (£1,351,699), of which fifty-nine *lacs* (£590,148) were sent by the Americans.<sup>76</sup> The remittance from India to Britain in foreign ships was strongly criticised in Britain because this was regarded as the supply of British capital to foreign merchants who competed with the EIC in the trade. In their memorials to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, merchants and agents for private merchants in India mentioned that:

... from the increased and increasing demand in Europe and America for Indian commodities, the produce and manufactures of British India have increased far beyond what the Capital of the East India Company, applicable to its investment, is capable of exporting...<sup>77</sup>

And then, in the later part, they continued to insist that:

... a large and undue proportion of the Indian Trade is at present in the possession of Foreigners, the Governor General [Wellesley] distinctly asserts and adds his deliberate opinion, that unless effectual means be instantly adopted to check them, the most serious mischiefs are to be apprehended. The people who for the present seem to have been most successful in their encroachments, are the Americans, who having but little Capital of their own, and few commodities applicable to Indian markets, carry on this lucrative traffic for the most part on British Capital and Credit...<sup>78</sup>

The structural defects of remittance under the monopolistic company which reflected the limited availability of its remitting facilities and the remittance of British savings in India by foreign merchants were significantly related to the growth of private merchants in the East Indies in this period. As Marshall described, the private British merchants had already existed in Asia long before 1756.<sup>79</sup> This private intra-Asian trade was called a 'country trade', in which the Company had less interest and so allowed them to operate with few restrictions. After some attempts the EIC recognised the difficulty of restricting such traders and its inability to engage efficiently in the trade, which was very different from the trade between Britain and India. Because Clive's conquest of Bengal provided

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>77</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Supplement to the Appendix to the Fourth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1812 (151) (182), p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 66-67.

<sup>79</sup> P. J. Marshall, 'Private British Trade in the Indian Ocean before 1800' in P. J. Marshall, *Trade and Conquest*, 1993, Chap. XIII, originally published in A. D. Gupta and M. N. Person (eds.) *India and the Indian Ocean 1500-1800*, 1987.

firmer foundations for the British private traders' commercial activities in Asia, India experienced rapid development of their trade in the second half of the eighteenth century.

As trade grew, the organisational structure of private trade developed. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, private trading organisations had usually taken the form of joint-stock or small partnerships with senior company servants.<sup>80</sup> For example, during this period, the governors of Madras, who not only had been in charge of the company's official trade, but also had operated the intra-Asian trade in their own accounts, had taken an initiative to organise a large group of investors to purchase shares in one or more vessels.<sup>81</sup> By the late eighteenth century, such organisations became far more solid and permanent, and were called the Agency Houses.

In the late 1780s, Charles Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, carried out several institutional reforms to improve the administrative activities and sweep away the corruptions of company servants. Among his reforms, one of the most important things was the prohibition of private trade conducted by its civil servants. Before the reform, company servants had been granted contracts to secure Indian produce for export by the Board of Trade under the contract system, which was a hotbed of corruption.<sup>82</sup> In the reform, this contract system was abolished and company servants could work for either the commercial or administrative branch of the company's institutions in India. Its servants of the commercial branch were still allowed to operate trade on their own account. Instead of earning higher salaries, those who worked for the administrative part were not allowed to do their own trade any more. As a result, in British trading activities in India, the private merchants who were developing as the agency houses replaced company servants, and increased their influence.

The activities of private merchants extended over the several types of financial and trading businesses.<sup>83</sup> After their private trade was banned, company servants who often earned high salaries and held savings in India needed alternative means of remittance. They used the agency houses as well as the company's bills of exchange as a medium of remittance.

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>82</sup> Chaudhuri, 'Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments', p. 816.

<sup>83</sup> Regarding the activities of the agency houses, see A. Webster, 'An Early Global Business in a Colonial Context: The Strategies, Management, and Failure of John Palmer and Company of Calcutta, 1780-1830' in *Enterprise & Society*, 6.1, 2005, pp. 98-133, S. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, 1992, Chapter 4, Marshall 'Private British Trade in the Indian Ocean before 1800', and A. Tripathi, *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833*, 1979.

They lent the agency houses money out of their savings and later received money from their agents in Britain. This capital was used by the private merchants for their businesses. They established their own networks of local trade by accommodating local European planters with loans and directly trading with the native merchants. Such Indian merchandise was not only used for their intra-Asian trade but also was an important source of the company's trading activities. The networks of agency houses provided the EIC with Indian products such as cotton textiles and opium which were exported to China in exchange for teas, and they also diversified the range of products sold in Europe. Moreover, the EIC was dependent on them for their acceptance of its bounds issued in India. Therefore, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the private merchants (the agency houses) established themselves as an indispensable element in the company's operation in the East India trade, and the relationship between the company and the agency houses was not competitive but mutually supportive. The position of the houses was crucial in Britain's trade with the East Indies.

## 2.5. Critics of the EIC's monopoly

By the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, as the East India trade grew, it was gradually recognised that the monopoly of the EIC was an obstacle to the development of the trade and a bottleneck on the flow of remittances, and so the anti-monopolistic campaigns were developed. The theoretical arguments of these campaigns were strengthened by contemporary British intellectuals often represented by the ideas of Adam Smith.<sup>84</sup> In his famous work, *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith argued for the negative consequences of the East India monopoly from two angles. First, he argued that the monopoly prevented capital from being distributed adequately among a nation's economic activities. In his view, by limiting available capital for the East India trade, the monopoly deprived the British of the substantial benefits raised from the further increase of British manufacturing exports to India and the general development of the trade that could be achieved under the condition of free trade. In order to argue this point, he used the example of the Dutch East India Company which could be applied to the British case too. He explained that;

---

<sup>84</sup> Also see Chapter 3 and 4 for the influence of Smith's idea on the campaign of Glasgow's merchants and manufacturers.

The limited stock of the Dutch East India Company probably repels from that trade many great mercantile capitals which would otherwise go to it... The trade to the East Indies, if it were altogether free, would probably absorb the greater part of this redundant capital. The East Indies, offer a market both for the manufacturers of Europe and for the gold and silver as well as for several other productions of America, greater and more extensive than both Europe and America put together.<sup>85</sup>

The second point was the incompatibility of the company's commercial and administrative functions. He expressed his opinion that 'the government of an exclusive company of merchants is, perhaps, the worst of all governments for any country what ever.'<sup>86</sup>

Although the EIC as the sovereign of India should have acted for the welfare of the Indian nation, its commercial function prevented it from doing so. In his view, not only could neither Britain nor India benefit from the East India monopoly, but also it actually damaged the economic interests of both countries.

While the theoretical arguments on the East India monopoly were getting more sophisticated, the actual campaigns against the company were organised by two main groups, i.e. private traders and manufacturing interests. Furthermore, these private traders can be divided into those in the East Indies and in Britain. The group which initially demanded free access to the East India trade was British private merchants residing in India. Their main concern was that the company failed to provide them with adequate shipping service for their exports to Britain.<sup>87</sup> The private traders regarded the shipping service provided by the company as too expensive and too inflexible and that the quota of space on its ships was too small to compete efficiently with their competitors in the British and European markets.

Historians have advanced several reasons for the company's high shipping cost. Because the ships employed by the company for the trade were designed to be able to be diverted to war use, they were too large and they were over-equipped for just carrying out trade.<sup>88</sup> In addition, far more ships were engaged in the trade than actually were needed.<sup>89</sup> Davis also pointed out that the monopoly discouraged the EIC from adopting new technologies which

---

<sup>85</sup> A. Smith, M. Cannan (ed.) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1904, p. 131.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>87</sup> Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to shokuminchi Indo*, chap. 1, especially 1-4.

<sup>88</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, p. 81.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* For instance, it was reported to a parliamentary committee in 1773 that although only 55 ships were actually required for the trade, the EIC possessed 87 ships and that 30 ships were actually sent to the East Indies in spite of the fact that 24 ships were enough to carry all cargoes.

would allow the company to reduce its freight rate.<sup>90</sup> Without competition the company did not need to improve its efficiency of shipping. Those who were exclusively engaged in the businesses related to the company's shipping such as ship-owners, shipbuilders and captains organised themselves as the 'Shipping interest' and could exercise significant influence in the formation of the company's policy.<sup>91</sup> As they largely benefited from the trading structure which kept the Company's shipping cost high, they always resisted any changes which would lead to the reduction of the company's shipping cost. These characteristics of the company's shipping became the target of criticism. One contemporary argued that 'It is the complicated abuses arising from patronage, from the collusion and confederacy of the builders, owners, and husbands of the Indiamen, that made me think it necessary to hinder, if possible, their mutual influence...'<sup>92</sup>

The EIC's high freight rate was thought of as the cause of transferring of British savings in India to Europe with foreign ships. Table 2-6 shows the extent to which the East India monopoly was exercised under the traditional trading framework in this period. In this table, the import and export trade conducted by foreign European companies occupied two fifths of the total, which indicates that they successfully intruded into this trade. They also largely benefited from English 'Clandestine trade' which occupied one fourth in both imports and exports. The trade conducted under the company's monopoly (the company itself, English private merchants licensed by the company and privileged goods shipped on the company's ships) occupied only one third of the total imports and exports. In the Indian imports from Europe, the company itself occupied less than 15 per cent, and in the Indian exports, just one fourth. In the meantime, the size of trade conducted in private accounts ('Clandestine', 'Licensed' and 'Privilege goods') overwhelmed that of the company's trade. In both the imports and the exports, such trade occupied one third of the total.

---

<sup>90</sup> R. Davis, *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 1962, p. 265.

<sup>91</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire*, p. 81.

<sup>92</sup> Anthony Brough, *Consideration on the necessity of lowering the exorbitant freight of ships employed in the service of the East-India-Company*, 1786, p. 35.

**Table 2-6. Trade between India and Europe, estimated annual average, 1780-90.**

	Imports into India		Exports from India	
	(£)	(%)	(£)	(%)
Foreign Companies: Dutch, French, Danish, Portuguese	992,640	41.5	2,757,763	37.6
Clandestine trade: English trade under foreign flags	615,300	25.7	2,000,000	27.3
English private trade: Licensed by the East India Company	439,600	18.4	403,565	5.5
East India Company	346,070	14.4	1,962,095	26.8
Privileged goods shipped on the Company's ships			208,146	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,393,610</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7,331,569</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Chaudhuri, 'Foreign Trade and Balance of Payments', p. 817, Table 10.1

The monopolistic trade of the company was originally designed to dominate the trading route between Europe and Asia for the economic interest of Britain. However, by the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century the company was unable to keep up with the further growth of the East India trade, and as a result, a significant amount of British capital flowed to foreign European and American merchants, which directly competed with Britain's re-export business of Asian products. In this period, the East India monopoly produced the opposite outcome against the original expectation.

The first significant statutory changes of the East India trade were made in 1793, when the East India Charter was renewed. In this reform, the intention of the State was not the total abolition of the company's monopoly, but its modification to increase the size of trade between Britain and India in order to meet the demands from the British commercial and manufacturing interests. Henry Dundas called this change 'a regulated monopoly'.<sup>93</sup> The new charter put the EIC under an obligation to provide private merchants with an annual capacity of up to 3,000 tons for their cargoes in the holds of ships at the discounted freight rates in both outbound and inbound traffic. Philips argued that the reason why the state was not willing to open the whole Indian trade towards the private traders at that time was the outbreak of war with France.<sup>94</sup> He concluded that this renewal of the monopolistic trading right gave an advantage to Britain because the armed convoy of the company was likely to prevent Britain's East India trade from suffering heavy losses by the French privateers and the British merchants and manufacturers were given an opportunity to

<sup>93</sup> Marshall, *Problem of Empire*, Document 38 'Henry Dundas to Francis Baring, 16 Feb, 1793', p. 215.

<sup>94</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 78-79.

establish themselves in the overseas market with the supremacy of its naval power during the war period.<sup>95</sup>

However, the renewed charter could not succeed in satisfying those who claimed free access to the East India trade since the services which the company supplied to them could not meet their demand. Therefore, the agency houses in India demanded that the company should permit the use of their own Indian-built-ships for their import trade to Britain. Against the wish of the directors of the company, especially those who belonged to the 'Shipping interest', the claims of private merchants were supported by Wellesley, who was in office as the Governor-General between 1798 and 1805.<sup>96</sup> The rapid growth of the British territories in India under his aggressive foreign policy resulted in the very familiar consequences for the second half of the company's history, an increase in its debts in India and a slump in the India trade. Moreover, the position of the company was worsened by two other factors; a series of wars in Europe and the growing demand for free trade from provincial merchants and manufacturers. As the growth of private trade and the decline of the company's India trade went on before his eyes, Wellesley tried to promote private trade and give it more responsibility for British trading activities in Asia. Wellesley, who had been appointed as the Governor-General thanks to his connection with the state rather than the company, chose such an economic policy in order to resolve his dilemma of the expansion of British territories and the deterioration of the company's commercial performance.<sup>97</sup> His view was supported by Dundas and the group of 'Private Trade interest' within the EIC.<sup>98</sup>

In spite of the failure to achieve the opening of the East India trade in 1793, the demand for free trade increased further by the time when the Charter Act needed to be renewed in the first half of the 1810s. The French blockade of Britain, particularly after they captured Holland, Westphalia and the North part of Germany in 1810, severely damaged British exports of manufactured goods and re-exports of American and West Indian merchandise to the European continent. The increase of political tension between Britain and the United States in a dispute over the Orders in Council, and the outbreak of war between these two countries also negatively acted on those who were involved in the American

---

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>96</sup> Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to shokuminchi Indo*, Chapter. 1

<sup>97</sup> According to Philips, Wellesley (Lord Mornington) was a friend of Pitt. He had worked as an Assistant Commissioner for the Board of Control under Henry Dundas before his appointment as the Governor-General of India. *The East India Company*, p. 93.

<sup>98</sup> Imada, *Pakusu Buritanika to shokuminchi Indo*, pp. 58-60 and p. 105

trade and the manufacturing industry which depended on raw materials from the U.S. As will be explained as a case study later in this thesis, those who took the initiative in the free trade movement at this time were provincial commercial and manufacturing interests. Private merchants in London, who had initially demanded the opening of the trade, changed their attitude in favour of the company because they feared that the claims of the provincial interests would go too far and end the special status of London.<sup>99</sup>

During the period between 1793 and 1813, provincial manufacturing interests in Britain, for instance cotton textile manufacturers, changed their perception of the India trade. Between the late 1790s and the early 1800s the rapid increase in customs duties on Indian cotton textiles resulted from the demands of British textile manufacturers in order to drive them out from the British market and this succeeded in doing so. After the exclusion of Indian goods from the British market and the growth of the industry, provincial manufacturers regarded India as a market for their products. These provincial manufacturers linked up with the merchants of outports who were excluded from the East India trade that was dominated by London merchants. The representatives from several outports and manufacturing towns in Britain and Ireland gathered in London in 1812 in order to organise their lobbying activities effectively for the abolition of the EIC's exclusive charter and for their direct participation in the East India trade.

## 2.6. Conclusion

The conquest of Bengal completed by the grant of *diwani* in 1765 marked a new phase of the history of the EIC and British Imperialism. After the event, the company gradually developed its role as a political institution of India. As the importance of the EIC's political department increased, the nature of its members also changed accordingly. In the Court of Directors, the number of those who had Indian elements, such as experience and connections, gradually increased, while the members who were related with the commercial activities of the company declined, especially after its monopoly of trade with India was abolished. Because the patronage for the posts of the company's civil and military service was held by the directors, the nature of company servants reflected that of the directors. Although the aristocratic landed interests were a minor element within the

---

<sup>99</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 182.

company, the company represented the gentlemanly capitalists in and around the metropolis.

After the acquisition of *diwani*, the main concern of the British imperial policy became the maintenance of the channel of remittance from India to Britain. Although the company and the state hoped to transfer a part of the surplus of Indian landed revenue to Britain after the company's territorial acquisition, its newly acquired political elements led the EIC into expensive political and economic turmoil both in India and at home. Facing these problems, the company and the state gradually recognised the need to reform the political framework in which the company governed India. The result was a series of statutory reforms, especially North's Regulation Act and Pitt's India Act during the 1770s and 1780s. These reforms, such as the establishment of the Board of Control, strengthened the intervention of the state into the company's businesses. The political frameworks created by the India Act remained generally untouched until the end of the company's administrative role of India.

Meanwhile, after the 1790s the EIC was gradually forced to abandon their privileges of monopoly trade with the East Indies in order to maintain and develop the channel of the remittance in the structural change of the East India trade. The company's trade as the means of remittance could not keep up with the growth of British private traders any more by the late eighteenth century. The EIC's insufficient facilities for remittances resulted in the supply of British capital to foreign European and American merchants. In other words, the company's monopoly of the East India trade created economic opportunities for its foreign rivals. In order to maintain Britain's dominance over the trade, the policy which the state chose was a so-called 'regulated monopoly'. However, the capacity which the company could provide to the private traders was still insufficient and inefficient. In spite of the several economic reforms in India and Britain, the company failed to adjust itself to the rapidly growing East India trade, on which the ability of Britain's remittance depended. The campaigns of the provincial merchants and manufacturers against the renewal of the EIC's charter developed under such a condition.

## **Chapter 3. The lobbying activities of the Glasgow East India Association against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, 1812-1813**

### 3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the lobbying activities of provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests in Glasgow between 1812 and 1813. With the approach of the expiry of the East India Charter, both the EIC and their opponents started lobbying. The Glasgow East India Association (GEIA), organised by mercantile and manufacturing interests in Glasgow, was one of a number of provincial lobbying groups against the East India monopoly, along with similar organisations in the outports of Liverpool and Bristol and in the manufacturing towns of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield.

Like other recent works on British Imperialism, studies on the formation of its imperial policies in the East have been influenced by the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis', and tend to devalue the political influence of provincial interests. Regarding the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814, Cain and Hopkins argued that:

The abolition in 1813 of the Company's formal monopoly of trade with India was essentially a wartime measure which was implemented principally to improve the flow of Indian Commodities to Britain. The decision was not taken at the behest of a lobby representing Britain's new manufactures..., but with one eye on placating provincial outports and the other on the ambitions of London merchants whose commercial interests had outgrown the bounds set by Company control.<sup>1</sup>

Their view has certainly supported Webster's argument. Regarding the opening of the India trade in 1814, he argued that the government's concerns, based on its economic strategy for resolving the problem of inflation and securing raw materials during the period, were more significant than the provincial interests' lobbying.<sup>2</sup> The case studies in this chapter and in chapter 4 will identify a more effective and influential campaign organised by the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests against the renewal of the company's charter than Cain and Hopkins or Webster supposed.

Cain and Hopkins gave little attention to the Scots as creators of the British Empire, but Devine and Fry's recent works stressed the contribution of Scots to the formation of the

---

<sup>1</sup> P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, 2001, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Webster, 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization', 2006, p. 417.

British Empire through their economic, political and social activities.<sup>3</sup> In terms of their commercial activities, as the following section will describe, for instance, during the second half of the eighteenth century, in the Chesapeake tobacco trade, the Glasgow merchants succeeded in creating their own trading network and overwhelmed the London merchants and other English rivals.<sup>4</sup> In the later period, they established themselves as one of the major players in the West Indian economy through their trading activities and possession of plantations.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in the traditional historical views, the slavery and the slave trade were linked to such English ports as Bristol and Liverpool, but Whyte's recent work illustrated how the Glasgow West India Association (GWIA), which he describes as 'the most powerful group representing slaving interests outside London', and its Scottish opponents lobbied for their interests in the national debates over the abolition of the slavery.<sup>6</sup> The contribution of Scots to the formation of Britain's imperial policy will be assessed in this chapter by examining the lobbying activities of the GEIA. The significance of the GEIA is that this lobbying group was one of the early efforts of Scottish overseas merchants and nascent manufacturers to gain access to the overseas markets from which they were excluded in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, at the national level, the Association succeeded in collaborating effectively with other U.K. lobbying groups for free trade.

In this chapter, firstly, the economic growth of Glasgow during the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century will be explained. Secondly, the problems of the East India trade under the charter of 1793 and the establishment of the GEIA in March 1812 will be explored. Then, the economic interests and political status of those who were involved in the GEIA's free trade movement will be analysed. These three aspects will provide essential evidence on the backgrounds to the Glasgow interests' campaign. Because of the development of the city as one of the country's major outports for overseas trade and as a centre of manufacturing industry (particularly the cotton industry) during the second half of the eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century, its merchants and manufacturers' interest in the opening of the East India trade was greater than many other British towns. Finally, the rest of this chapter will explore the

---

<sup>3</sup> T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 2003, and M. Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of The Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities*, 1975.

<sup>5</sup> T. M. Devine, 'An eighteenth-century business elite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c. 1750-1815', in *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 57, 1978, pp. 40-67.

<sup>6</sup> I. Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838*, 2006. p. 146.

Association's lobbying methods and their contribution to the debate over the renewal of the company's charter during this period.

The main primary sources for analysing the members of the GEIA and its lobbying activities are the Glasgow East India Association Minutes and Correspondence which have been microfilmed and stored at the Glasgow Mitchell Library.<sup>7</sup> These records show how the merchants and manufacturers of Glasgow attempted to influence Parliamentary decisions on the renewal of the East India Charter by co-operating with other associations having similar interest in local ports and manufacturing towns all over Britain and Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century. Supplementing these documents, contemporary articles from the *Glasgow Herald* and official documents of correspondence and proceedings in the negotiations between the company's directors and the Ministers which were published in the form of pamphlets by the company's supporters and its oppositions, have been used, together with other literature.

### 3.2. The growth of Glasgow in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century

Before the eighteenth century, Glasgow was a local religious and commercial centre in the West of Scotland, and already held a significant position in the coastal and the Irish trade among Scottish towns. However, it was only after the 1740s, when Glasgow's tobacco trade with the American colonies began to prosper, that the town obtained a truly important status in the British overseas trade. The tobacco trade was one example of the Scottish contribution to the expansion of British overseas trade. Glasgow's tobacco trade rapidly developed during the period between the 1740s and the first half of the 1770s. Between 1741 and 1752, Scottish imports of tobacco increased from 8 million lbs. to 21 million lbs., and in 1758 their imports exceeded those of London and other English outports.<sup>8</sup> Then in 1771, the imports reached to 47 million lbs.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Glasgow East India Association Committee Minute Book 1812-1813 (MS891001/1 The Glasgow Mitchell Library), Correspondence Incoming 1812-1813 (MS891001/3 The Glasgow Mitchell Library, and, Correspondence Outgoing 1812-1814 (MS891001/12 The Glasgow Mitchell Library).

<sup>8</sup> T. M. Devine, 'The Golden Age of Tobacco' in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow, vol. 1, Beginning to 1830*, 1995, p. 140.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

The pattern of the tobacco trade was that of a re-export trade to the European continent.<sup>10</sup> Devine pointed out that raw cotton used in the initial development of the cotton industry during the late eighteenth century was mainly imported from the Caribbean, not North America.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the importation of tobacco was not directly connected to the domestic economic activities in Glasgow and other parts of Scotland. Moreover, although several Tobacco Lords of Glasgow were involved in the establishment of such banks as the Ship Bank (in 1749), the Arms Bank (in 1750) and the Thistle Bank (in 1761) in Glasgow, direct investment by the banks in the industrial sectors were not a decisive element for the industrialisation.<sup>12</sup> However, because the consumer goods, such as linen and woollen goods, exported by the tobacco merchants from Scotland to the American colonists, the contribution of their exporting trade to the domestic industry was not irrelevant. At the same time, some of the tobacco traders who purchased estates became directly involved in mineral mining. Although the conversion of capital from the tobacco trade to the industrial sector did not happen to a significant degree in Glasgow, the trade made some contribution to Glasgow's peculiar economy in which its overseas trade and manufacturing industry were closely interwoven.

The collapse of the tobacco trade during the American War of Independence during the 1770s did not end Glasgow merchants' engagement in overseas trades. During this period, the West Indies became a hub of clandestine trade between the U.K. and America, and Glasgow's trade with that region rapidly grew. In terms of its share, in 1781, the West India trade counted 21% of the total official value of exports from Scotland, then 42 % by the end of the eighteenth century, and eventually 65% in 1813.<sup>13</sup> As noted above, the West India trade more significantly contributed to the early development of the Scottish cotton industry than the American tobacco trade by supplying vital raw materials to the industry and providing the manufacturers with a necessary market for their goods.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Glasgow prospered as a commercial town, but also experienced the rapid development of manufacturing industry. As happened south

---

<sup>10</sup> For instance, in 1771, when the import of tobacco reached to its peak, around 47.2 million lbs. of tobacco was imported to Scotland, and 45.6 million lbs. was re-exported to the European continent, mainly to France, Holland and Denmark and Norway. See H. Hamilton, *Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, 1963, pp. 416-419.

<sup>11</sup> Devine, 'The Golden Age of Tobacco', p. 171 and Hamilton, *Economic History of Scotland*, pp. 412 and 413.

<sup>12</sup> Discounting of bills was the more common method for their involvement in the industry. The colonial traders also preferred purchasing lands with profits from their commercial activities rather than investing in the manufacturing industry. Campbell, 'The Making of The Industrial City', p. 188 and Devine, 'The Golden Age of Tobacco', p. 172.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, 'The Making of The Industrial City', in Devine and Jackson, *Glasgow, vol. I*, p. 192.

of the Border, industrialisation led to the growth of urban population in Scotland during this period. In 1801, the population of Glasgow was already approximately 77,000; by 1821, the number was nearly doubled, and it reached 202,000 in 1831.<sup>14</sup> This rapid expansion of the town has mainly resulted from the inflow of labour from outside the town, such as the Highlands and Ireland, rather than to natural increase.

In the 1780s and 1790s, the centre of the development of the Scottish cotton industry was the countryside of Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Stirlingshire, and Ayrshire as the mills needed waterpower, but much capital for these mills was provided from Glasgow. Although the main financial source of the development of the Scottish cotton industry was the capital accumulated within the textile industry, the connection of Glasgow's colonial merchants, especially the West Indian traders, with the industry during this phase cannot be ignored.<sup>15</sup> After the 1790s, with the adoption of steam power, the cotton spinning industry became concentrated in Glasgow and Paisley.<sup>16</sup> The rapid growth of the Scottish cotton industry can be indicated from the dramatic increase of the importation of raw cotton. The import of raw cotton was 137,160 lb on the eve of the American War of Independence, 1,757,504 lb in 1790, and amounted to 11,114,640 lb by 1812.<sup>17</sup> To the cotton textile industry in Glasgow, looking for new markets and securing stable sources of raw cotton for their expanding production were big concern.

In terms of heavy industry, the modern production of iron in Scotland developed with the increase of demand for iron in Britain during the Seven Years War (1756-1763). However, as Table 3-1 describes, the Scottish iron industry before 1830 developed slowly. From 1788 to 1830, output increased by approximately thirty-thousand tons whilst during the period 1830-1840 it rose by more than two-hundred-thousand tons. Compared to the development of the cotton industry, the iron industry, which later became one of the engines of Scotland's economic growth, was less successful before 1830.

---

<sup>14</sup> B. R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics*, 1988, pp. 26-27.

<sup>15</sup> Respecting the internal accumulation of capital within the cotton industry, see Devine, 'The Golden Age of Tobacco', p. 170. In terms of the connection between the West India trade and the cotton industry, for instance, Robert Dunmore, who was involved in the tobacco trade and the West India trade, held a partnership with the Buchanan Brothers and founded cotton mills in Balfron, Stirlingshire, in 1790. He was also involved in the Duntocher Cotton Wool Company of Dunbartonshire in 1788 through his partnership with James Dunlop. Lythe and Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland*, p. 167.

<sup>16</sup> In 1839, out of 192 mills in Scotland, 98 were located in Glasgow. See Lythe and Butt *An Economic History of Scotland*, pp. 185-187.

<sup>17</sup> J. Butt, *The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland*, 1967, pp. 18-19.

**Table 3-1. Pig-iron output in Scotland (1788-1852).**

Years	Tons
1788	7,000
1796	16,086
1806	22,840
1823	24,500
1830	37,500
1839	196,560
1840	241,000
1843	238,550
1847	539,968
1852	775,000

Source: B. R. Mitchell, *British Historical Statistics*, 1988, p. 28.

In consequence, the success of Glasgow's merchants in the American tobacco trade and the West India trade helped Scotland to expand its commercial activities to the Atlantic Rim during the second half of the eighteenth century. At the same time, domestically, their activities contributed to economic prosperity of the town. Although significant capital transfer from the tobacco trade to the Scottish cotton industry did not occur, the colonial trade created demand for local manufacturers' products. Moreover, the initial development of the cotton industry was largely dependent on the importation of raw materials from the West Indies, and several West India merchants of Glasgow held stocks in the industry. As the result of the continuing prosperity of its mercantile interests and the newly growing manufacturing industry, represented by the cotton industry during this period, Glasgow had a more diversified economic structure than other major provincial towns such as Liverpool, where foreign trade and related commercial businesses dominated its economy, and Manchester and Birmingham, both of which were dependent on manufacturing industries. As will be illustrated in the rest of this chapter, the nature of Glasgow's economy influenced its lobbying activities against the renewal of the EIC's charter.

### 3.3. The Problems of the East India trade under the Exclusive Charter of 1793 and the Glasgow East India Association

As has been explained in the previous chapter, after 1793, under certain conditions, British private merchants were allowed to trade with India having been excluded on the grounds of the company's privileges for a long time. However, most private merchants and manufacturers, including those of Glasgow, were not satisfied with this relaxation and demanded more comprehensive freedom in the East India trade. In Glasgow, for instance,

the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers complained about the regulation of 1793 in their resolution that:

...the Private Trade which British Merchants were allowed to prosecute by the regulation of 1793, ..., is confined to the actual possessions of the Company; limited to their own ships, under all the disadvantages of uncertainty, expense and delay; restricted both in the kinds and quantities of the outward and homeward bound cargoes; removed from the controul of the proprietors, and conducted in a manner which seems to have been intended to insure that the failure of success;...<sup>18</sup>

The resolution indicates that firstly, in spite of the relaxation of the restriction on the trade in 1793, the traders were only allowed to trade within the company's territories in India. They were still excluded from direct trade with the rest of the subcontinent under native powers and from trading with other countries and areas between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, including the very lucrative trade with China. Secondly, space on the ships provided by the company for these private merchants' products was limited, expensive and inconvenient which limited profits from the trade.<sup>19</sup> Thirdly, because their cargoes had to be transported by the company's ships both inward and outward, the private merchants lacked flexibility in their trade. For example, the Report of the Committee of Chamber of Commerce & Manufactures described that:

... the merchant who wish to export was obliged to apply before the 30<sup>th</sup> of August for freightage of the goods which he meant to ship in the month of March or April of the following year; in the fifteen days after the application, he was bound to pay or secure to the Company the freight of these goods which were not to be shipped till six months afterwards; and if, by the end of October, he did not deliver to the Company a list of the different kinds of his goods, and the quantities of each kind, the freight became forfeited.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to these conditions, since no British subject was allowed to live within the area of the company's monopoly without their permission, a private merchant was not able to send his agents or servants there freely to manage his concerns.<sup>21</sup> Thus, private merchants not only needed to decide on the type of exported goods and their quantities long before

---

<sup>18</sup> The resolutions passed by the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures of Glasgow, held on 14 February 1812, in *Glasgow Herald*, 17 February, 'Trade to the East Indies'.

<sup>19</sup> Against the free trade supporters' view, the Company insisted that 'The Company were required to find them tonnage to a certain extent, which has always been allotted at a rate of freight cheaper outward, as well as for the returns, than the Company themselves pay, or as the Court think, than private ships could furnish it.' See 'Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas dated 13<sup>th</sup>, January, 1809' in *The East India Company, Correspondence and Proceedings in the Negotiation for a Renewal of the East India Company's Charter*, 1812, p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 2 March 1812, 'Report of the Committee Chamber of Commerce & Manufactures', p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

their shipment but also had difficulty in obtaining up to date and accurate information about demand for their goods in the East. The import trade from India was similar. As a result, private merchants were forced to take risks in estimating demand or lose commercial opportunities. The private merchants believed that they could hardly succeed in their trade with the East Indies under such restricted conditions.

In resolutions, the merchants and manufacturers of Glasgow also criticised the condition of the East India trade that ‘...by the Act 37<sup>th</sup> of the same Reign (George III), c.57, the Privilege of trading to those countries, although denied to British subjects, is permitted to Foreign Nations in amity with his Majesty’.<sup>22</sup> This contradictory condition made those who were excluded from the East India trade jealous, and many critics of this ‘misconduct’ of economic policy believed that the flourishing of American merchants in the East India trade at the expense of profits of British subjects partly resulted from British investment in American merchants as discussed in Chapter 2. Their capital could have contributed to Britain’s hegemony over this trade if it had been invested in their own commerce rather than with foreigners under the condition of free trade.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore, those who were dissatisfied with the company’s monopoly in the East Indian trade regarded the expiration of the charter on 1 March 1814 as another chance for them to obtain free entry into the trade. Early in the New Year of 1812, the question of the renewal of the Company’s charter began to be discussed seriously in Glasgow, as in other parts of the British Isles.<sup>24</sup>

The leading part in the free trade movement in Glasgow was its merchants and manufacturers. In February 1812, at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow, Kirkman Finlay, James Dennistoun, James Hopkirk, Francis Garden, James Robertson, David Connell, Alexander Campbell, James Buchanan, James Buchanan, junior, James Ewing and Dougald Bannatyne were appointed to a committee ‘to consider and report what steps ought to be taken upon the approaching expiration of the East India Company’s Charter’.<sup>25</sup> The Magistrates and Council also named John Hamilton (the Lord Provost), Andrew Templeton (a Merchant Baillie), James Black, Kirkman Finlay,

---

<sup>22</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 17 February 1812, ‘Trade to The East Indies’, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Anon., *Letters on the East India Monopoly, Originally Published in the Glasgow Chronicle, with Addition and Correction*, (1812), pp. 22-23.

<sup>24</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 29 October 1813, ‘Report of the Glasgow Committee to the Subscribers, for the object of obtaining a free Trade to India and China’, p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 10 February 1812.

Archibald Newbigging, and Samuel Hunter (all Councillors) to a committee for the same purpose.<sup>26</sup> Consideration of lobbying against the renewal of the EIC's charter by these two institutions representing Glasgow's local economy and its local politics indicated the significance of this issue for the commercial elite. These two committees were the direct antecedents of the GEIA. The GEIA's Incoming Correspondence contains a letter from Thomas Attwood, a High Bailie of Birmingham, dated the 21 February 1812, in which he wrote that:

... to request that we will urge to your Committee the propriety of their immediately obtaining private letters from different merchants of Glasgow, addressed to other correspondents in the manufacturing districts of Scotland, particularly in the towns round Glasgow, pressing the necessity of holding meetings in each town to propose petitions against the East India Monopoly.<sup>27</sup>

This is one of the earliest contacts between provincial towns that urged them to organise the national campaign. During this period, similar letters were sent from Birmingham not only to all its neighbouring towns but also Liverpool, manufacturing towns in Northwest England, Bristol, Edinburgh, Dublin and other Irish towns.<sup>28</sup> As a result, Birmingham, Bristol and Liverpool had already decided to send their deputation to London in April.<sup>29</sup> Compared with these towns, the start of Glasgow's lobbying delayed, but the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers of Glasgow presented their petition to Parliament on 19 March.<sup>30</sup> The petition from Magistrates and Councillors was also read in the House of Commons on 25 March, which indicates that they had already prepared their petitions prior to the establishment of the GEIA.<sup>31</sup>

The establishment of the GEIA was intended to unify and more efficiently organise Glasgow's lobbying for free trade with the East Indies. The Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers and the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow called a general meeting of merchants and manufacturers on 23 March 1812 in the name of the Lord Provost. It passed several resolutions.<sup>32</sup> The main points of the resolutions were: (1) the inexpediency and prejudice of the charter; (2) the unfairness of the charter for the exclusion of British ships

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, Letter from Thomas Attwood, dated 21 February 1812, letter no.1. It seems that 'Your Committee' in his letter was one of those two committees, most likely the committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXII, 19 March 1812.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 25 March 1812.

<sup>32</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 23 March 1812, 'Resolution of a general Meeting', pp. 1-2.

from East India trade and legal navigation of foreigners; (3) the determination of their resistance against the renewal of the company's monopoly by the use of every legal and constitutional means; (4) their objection to any regulation confining the trade to the port of London; (5) the preparation and submission of their petitions to Parliament; (6) the appointment of a committee [the General Committee of the GEIA] for the preparation of the petitions and the collection of subscriptions for this purpose. From that time onward, the committee appointed by the resolutions played a central role in this movement.

### 3.4. The economic interests and political status of the members of the General Committee and the subscribers of the GEIA

In the previous chapter, by consulting the previous researches conducted by Parker, Cohn, Bourne, Imada and Bowen, the EIC's stockholders, directors and officials have been defined as a part of gentlemanly capitalists and those who were related to them. The GEIA was founded in order to break their commercial dominance over the East India trade. Therefore, before analysing the debates over the renewal of the company's charter, it is necessary to understand what kind of economic interest groups were involved in this association. Assessing the characteristics of those involved in the association's lobbying activities can also give clues to know how the GEIA formed its lobbying strategies and organised its campaign. For this purpose, firstly, the characteristics of the members of the General Committee of the association will be examined. Although the committee took the initiative in the free trade movement of Glasgow, their activities reflected demands from the subscribers to the association. Therefore, it is also worth understanding the interests of the subscribers as a group.

In order to identify the characteristics of the GEIA's committee and subscribers, biographical information on those individuals has been collected. Some of the basic sources are the matriculation books of the Merchants' House of Glasgow, J. R. Anderson's *The Burgesses & Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846*, and Glasgow Postal Directories. The first two sources have similar information, such as an individual's occupation, his father's name and occupation, and, in *The Burgesses & Guild Brethren*, the names of his wife and her father can sometimes be found.<sup>33</sup> Although, as will be explained later, these sources present a problem with the definition of 'merchant' or 'merchants', they provide

---

<sup>33</sup> For example, J. R. Anderson, *The Burgesses & The Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846*, 1935. Merchants' House of Glasgow Matriculation Books (T-MH-17 Glasgow City Archives). *Glasgow Post Office Directories*, 1812-1814.

useful basic information for cross-reference. To extend the biographical information from those, several near-contemporary publications have been used.<sup>34</sup>

Appendix I shows the names of members of the General Committee and the secretary, those of firms in which members had an interest and descriptions of these companies. The General Committee consisted of forty-six people through almost all of the period 1812-1814.<sup>35</sup> Most were leading businessmen in the city in terms of the size of the firms in which they had an interest and their personal wealth. Because the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers and the Magistrates and Councillors took the initiative to establish the association, it was a natural outcome that most of those who had previously been appointed to the committees of these two different public bodies retained their posts in the newly established General Committee. Except for James Buchanan, junior, all of the members of the Chamber of the Commerce and Manufacturers committee were elected to the new committee. From the committee of the Magistrates and Councillors, four of six members, viz. John Hamilton (Lord Provost), James Black, Kirkman Finlay (who had also been on the committee of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers), and Archibald Newbigging were appointed.

From Appendix I, it is clear that the economic interests of the General Committee were varied: the West India and American tobacco trade, cotton spinning and manufacturing, sugar refining, iron manufacturing and so on. Nevertheless, two main economic interests can be identified among the committee members. The first notable characteristic is the presence of a significant number of Glasgow's Atlantic traders, that is American and West Indian merchants, especially the latter. This interest group was already well organised with social and political connections. In 1807, 'the Planters and Merchants in Glasgow interested in the trade with the British West Indies' had established the Glasgow West India Association (GWIA) had been established for 'the common good, and benefits which would naturally arise by their united action in all cases associating the West India Trade'. John Gordon was appointed to chairman of the Association, Robert Dennistoun, Francis Garden, Alexander Campbell and Robert Bogle junior were directors, and James Ewing was secretary.<sup>36</sup> In fact, as can be seen in Table 3-2, which shows the General Committee

---

<sup>34</sup> G. Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, 1881. J. MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, 1886, and A. Thomas, *The Old Country Houses of The Old Glasgow Gentry*, 1878.

<sup>35</sup> Only Andrew Reid was named a member of the Committee about a week after the foundation of the GEIA, and Alexander Oswald died on 8 June 1813. See Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 31 March 1812, p. 8, and SC36/48/8 (Scotlandspeople) the list of inventories of Alexander Oswald, dated 18 March 1814.

<sup>36</sup> Abstract of the Minute Book of the Glasgow West India Association, pp. 1-2.

members who also subscribed to the GWIA and their West Indian firms, all of these main figures of the GWIA were members of the General Committee of the GEIA. Moreover, fourteen names of the General Committee (including the said merchants) were identified as those who made individual subscriptions to the GWIA, and at least two committee members had stock in the companies listed on the company subscriptions.<sup>37</sup> This indicated the involvement of Glasgow's merchants who organised themselves as an interest group based on their engagement in one trading region in the GEIA.

**Table 3-2. The General Committee members who subscribed to the GWIA and their West Indian firms.**

Name	Company
Robert Bogle	Robert Bogle Jun. & Co.
James Buchanan	Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.
Alexander Campbell	John Campbell Sen. & Co.
Colin Campbell	John Campbell Sen. & Co.
David Connell	David & James Connell
Adam Crooks	Leitch & Smith
Robert Dennistoun	G. & R. Dennistoun & Co.
James Ewing	James Ewing & Co.
Francis Garden	Francis Garden & Co.
John Gordon	Stirling, Gordon & Co.
Robert Hagard	
(John Hamilton)	John Hamilton & Co.
(James Hopkirk)	Hopkirk, Cunninghame & Co.
John McCaul	
Charles Stirling	Stirling, Gordon & Co.
Alexander Wighton	Watson, Wighton & Co.

Note: a name in brackets means he has been identified as the member of the GWIA from a company subscription.

Source: Appendix II and the list of subscribers to the GWIA in the Minute Book of the Glasgow West India Association.

Even when the West India trade held a dominant position in Glasgow's economy (although it was to a lesser extent than the American tobacco trade and lasted only a short period), those Glasgow's merchants who engaged in this trade were looking for new opportunities in order to diversify their business in order to spread their business risks. As Checkland and Devine described, the West India trade was risky.<sup>38</sup> According to Devine, 'The hazards of a speculative trade, dependent essentially on climatic influence were compounded by the effects of the American War of Independence and the Napoleonic

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., Company and Individual subscriptions, pp. 6-8.

<sup>38</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'Two Scottish West Indian Liquidation After 1793' in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 1957, vol. 4, pp. 127-143, and Devine 'An eighteenth-century business elite', p. 50.

Wars on the Caribbean economy.<sup>39</sup> A series of bankruptcies of major West India firms actually happened during this period. Alexander Houstoun & Co, which had dealt with between one-third and one-half of sugar cargoes imported to the Clyde in the 1770s and 1780s, bankrupted in 1795. Other major failures were R. Bogle & Sons in 1772; Robert Dunmore in 1793; McNeil, Stewart & Co. in 1802 and John McCall & Sons in 1819.<sup>40</sup> In addition, as early as 1807, when the slave trade on which the West Indian economy significantly depended was banned in the British colonies, the anti-slavery movement seems to have thrown the promise of the West India trade into doubt. The attendance of a significant number of the West Indian merchants in the General Committee of the GEIA can be explained by their desire for diversification of their trading activities and spreading their business risks in the wartime period.

In the movement against the renewal of the East India Charter, the interest of the West Indian merchants was taken into consideration at both the national and the local level. On 22 April 1812, the General Deputation of provincial manufacturing towns and outports who gathered in London for their lobby passed the motion of Richard Spooner, representing Birmingham's interest, and seconded by Kirkman Finlay, that:

...in endeavouring to promote a free trade to the East, it is the opinion of this Meeting that due care should be taken to prevent any measures being adopted, which may prove prejudicial to the West India or manufacturing interests...<sup>41</sup>

From the fact that the above motion was seconded by Finlay, it is clear that the interests of the GEIA were consistent with those of the General Deputation in this respect. At the meeting of the GEIA's Sub-Committee of Correspondence on 18 December 1812, 'the danger which might rise from a free inspection of East India Sugars, and their interference with that produced by our West India Colonies in the home market' was placed on the agenda. They recommended that:

... instruction be given to the Delegation to London, to suggest and enforce such means as seem to them best calculated to protect the trade to the West Indies, without imposing undue restraints on the importation of the products of Asia.<sup>42</sup>

Although among the GEIA's minutes and correspondence letters during the period, only a

---

<sup>39</sup> Devine, 'An eighteenth-century business elite', p. 50

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, Instruction to London Deputation, dated January 1813, p. 32.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 18 December 1812, p. 25.

few directly refer to the interest of the West Indian traders, their interest certainly influenced the policy of the association. In Moss's research on Birmingham's free trade movement, because the town's economy was mainly based on manufacturing industry and its campaigners represented it, he failed to identify the West Indian interests as one of the key players in the national campaign.<sup>43</sup> On the national level, the interest of the West Indian merchants was embodied by the establishment of the different rates of duties between East and West India sugars. After the opening of the trade with India, the West India sugars succeeded in maintaining their advantage over the East India counterparts as the duty on the former was 27s. per cwt, while 37s. was levied on the latter.<sup>44</sup> This arrangement was reasonable for the West Indian interests who also joined in the GEIA's campaign. The GEIA and other similar provincial associations during this period lobbied for the removal of restrictions imposed on the East India trade, but these events indicated that the provincial lobbyists needed to sacrifice their East Indian interests in favour of the existing economic interests in the provincial towns. In the long-term this arrangement worked negatively for the East Indian interests. As the later chapters will show, fewer of the West Indian merchants actually entered the East India trade after 1814 than the West Indian interests who subscribed to the association, and most of them remained as the West Indian merchants. In the 1820s and the 1830s, the West Indian interests and the East Indian interests conflicted with each other over the equalisation of the sugar duties.

Another significant economic group in Appendix I is those with interests in the manufacturing sector, especially in the cotton industry. Many held stocks in overseas trade. This reflected the duality of the town's economic activities, which was different from other major provincial towns. Of the forty-seven members of the General Committee plus the secretary in this table, at least twenty-eight members were directly related with several kinds of manufacturing industries. Among them, at least twenty-one held stocks in cotton spinning and manufacturing and other textile businesses, such as cloth manufacturing and linen drapery. Among the individuals and firms in Appendix I, for instance, in the New Lanark Cotton Company during the period 1812-1814, Robert Dennistoun took four shares (£28,800 in value), Alexander Campbell three shares (£21,000) and Colin Campbell also three shares alongside Robert Owen ten shares (£70,000) out of the total 26 shares.<sup>45</sup> Kirkman Finlay, Archibald Buchanan, and John Gordon were the partners of James Finlay

---

<sup>43</sup> J. Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders in Council and East India Company Charter 1812-1813' in *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. XI, Issue 1, 1976, pp. 173-188.

<sup>44</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 250-251. Also see Chapter 5, pp. 171-174 of this thesis.

<sup>45</sup> I. Donnachie, *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony*, 2000, p. 102

& Co., another famous cotton manufacturing firm. In 1800, out of the firm's stock of £65,000, Kirkman Finlay held £16,000, the house of Leitch & Smith £10,000, Alexander Gordon £2,000 and John Gordon £8,000.<sup>46</sup> In their cotton manufacturing business, the firm bought the Ballindalloch mills on the Endrick in 1798, Catrine mills on the Ayr in 1801, and Deanston on the Teith 1806.<sup>47</sup> In the operation of these mills, Kirkman Finlay exploited his family connection with the Buchanan cousins. James Buchanan was a close friend of Sir Richard Arkwright, and his younger brother, Archibald, had trained under Arkwright and obtained know-how to operate cotton mills before he entered the firm of James Finlay & Co.<sup>48</sup>

In the early 1810s, Britain was suffering from a general economic depression, and Glasgow and its surrounding areas were not exceptions. This coincided with the intensification of the Napoleonic War. After the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, Napoleon shifted his tactics against Britain from direct military invasion to economic warfare. He assumed that the dominance of French merchants and manufacturers over the continental economy and the reduction of Britain's bullion reserves and inflation would make Britain's financial support to its foreign coalitions more difficult. These goals were to be achieved by blocking Britain's manufacturing goods and colonial re-exports to the European continent.<sup>49</sup> In November 1806, the Berlin decree was introduced, which prohibited vessels from the U.K. and its colonies from entering any ports controlled by France and its satellite countries. Under the Milan decrees of November and December of 1807, the restrictions were extended to the confiscation of British or British-borne goods carried by neutral vessels which had called at British ports before entering territories under the French control.<sup>50</sup> British exports to the continent were further limited in 1810, when France annexed Holland, Westphalia and the Northern Germany and defeated Austria, which shut the door on British manufacturing products. The history of James Finlay & Co. describes how Kirkman Finlay made successful effort to break the economic blockade through establishing a commercial network over the European continent during the war.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, as explained below, in the dislocation of overseas trading activities,

---

<sup>46</sup> James Finlay & Co. Balance book, 1789-1800 (UGD91/1/4/1/3/1 Glasgow University Archives).

<sup>47</sup> C. Brogan, *James Finlay & Company Limited*, 1951, Chapter X and XI.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6 and pp. 61-62.

<sup>49</sup> Ellis, *The Napoleonic Empire*, 2003, pp. 110-112. While Napoleon attempted to exclude British exports to the European continent, its imports were less restricted as France needed to obtain cash. For instance, grain was largely exported from France to Britain during the bad harvest of 1810.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> C. Brogan, *James Finlay & Company Limited: Manufacturers and East India Merchants, 1750-1950*, 1951, Chapter III. According to his testimony in the Select Committee, the company had about 700 correspondents in the Continent in 1803. See *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Glasgow's local economy suffered economic depression.

At the same time, the relationship between the U.K. and America was gradually deteriorating after the issuing of the Orders in Council of 1807, which insisted that the ships of neutral countries, including the U.S. trading with Europe call at British ports. The Orders and the Milan decrees put U.S. vessels into a difficult position as they had to risk detention or confiscation by either Britain or France.<sup>52</sup> The Americans strongly opposed these regulations and retaliated with the Embargo Act and the Non-Intercourse Act, and eventually declared war against Britain in June 1812. Thus, during this period, Glasgow's cotton manufacturers needed to seek new markets for their produce and the stable supply of raw materials.

One of their attempts to solve the problem was diversification of their trade to other countries and regions. Nevertheless, the end of the speculative trades with South America, the West Indies and the Iberian Peninsula worsened the difficulties of British manufacturers in 1810.<sup>53</sup> In Parliament, the Select Committee on the State of Commercial Credit reported on economic conditions during this period that:

... the extent of the difficulties experienced by those engaged in trade and the expediency of any assistance being afforded by Parliament. Memorials were presented to the Treasury stating the distress felt among manufacturers in the cotton trade in Glasgow and Paisley and asking for public assistance. The Committee attributed the distress to extensive speculations started when the South American markets were opened up to British merchants. As a result of the slackness in trade, many manufacturers were obliged to cease production, the price of produce fell and it became extremely difficult for merchants to obtain credit from banks.<sup>54</sup>

Kirkman Finlay was well positioned to know the economic situation of Glasgow as he had been a director and the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and he was engaging in both manufacturing and mercantile business. He commented in 1811 on the considerable depression in Glasgow and its neighbouring manufacturing districts since the end of 1810:

I really cannot say exactly, but as compared with 1809 and the former part of 1810, which were years of uncommon and unnatural extent; the falling off must have been very considerable, and the falling off must have been very considerable if there had been no impediment to the trade; but the falling off is certainly very considerable from those causes... The trade was at the worst probably, about the month of May

---

<sup>52</sup> H. Hamilton, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, 1966, pp. 134-135.

<sup>53</sup> E. F. Heckscher, *The Continental System: An Economic Interpretation*, 1922, pp. 176 and 239-240.

<sup>54</sup> *State of Commercial Credit. Report from the Select Committee*, 1810-11, Vol. II, p. 7.

and June 1811, and probably July; but from that period it has gradually, but very slowly continued to improve.<sup>55</sup>

Although the economic condition of manufacturers in Glasgow was showing a little improvement after the middle of 1811, the recovery was still very slow and Britain's long-term war with France was having a negative impact on trade with the European continent around the period when the GEIA was established in 1812. Glasgow's cotton and other manufacturing interests wanted to seek new overseas markets in the East Indies.

The urban middle-class was concerned that social unrest could result from unemployment and the low wages of the working-class who were engaged in the rapidly-growing-manufacturing industry in the town and surrounding areas. In the petition of merchants and manufacturers of Glasgow, it was argued that:

... it is of the utmost importance to secure the peace of the community, by affording full work and fair wages to operative classes...the skill, industry and capital of the manufacturing are inadequately occupied and consequently a part of the population remains unemployed.<sup>56</sup>

They hoped that the opening of the East India trade would improve demand for their manufacturing goods and secure raw materials as well as solve the problems of unemployment and low wages in manufacturing industry, which would help to maintain public order during the difficult time of war.

Previous historical studies pointed to different motives for which provincial manufacturing towns and outports joined the free trade campaign. For instance, on the one hand, Moss said that:

Collaboration with other towns did not prove difficult and Birmingham was joined by Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth, Glasgow and Sheffield. Unhappily only Sheffield shared Birmingham's conception of problem; the others were chiefly concerned with commercial and shipping rivalry with London rather than the export market per se.<sup>57</sup>

On the other hand, Webster explained that 'Birmingham industrialists and Liverpool merchants saw India as a potential market, while Hull, Bristol, and Plymouth wanted a

---

<sup>55</sup> Brogan, *James Finlay & Company*, p. 21

<sup>56</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, Petition 'to the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom', p. 28.

<sup>57</sup> Moss, 'Birmingham and The Campaigns', p. 180.

share in the shipping and import trade of the E.I.C.’<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, Glasgow’s case indicated that even within one city, lobbyists’ motives for joining the campaign were different. Because of the city’s economic structure, the Glasgow Association represented both commercial interests who wanted to enter a branch of foreign trade where the London interest had a monopoly and manufacturing interests who were looking for a new market for their manufactured goods.

---

<sup>58</sup> Webster, ‘The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization’, p. 405.

**Table 3-3. List of the Magistrates & Town Council of Glasgow (1811-1814).**

Offices	1811-12	1812-13	1813-14
Lord Provost	<b>Hamilton, John</b>	<b>Finlay, Kirkman</b>	<b>Finlay, Kirkman</b>
Merchant Baillies	Gaithrie, John Heywood, Joshua Templeton, Andrew	Heywood, Joshua Parker, Charles S. Leckie, William	Parker, Charles S. Hunter, Samuel <b>DalGLISH, William</b>
Trades Baillies	Ferrie, Robert Tennent, Robert	Tennent, Robert Rodger, William	Rodger, Eilliam <b>Newbigging, Archibald</b>
Dean of Guild	<b>Mackenzie, Daniel</b>	<b>Mackenzie, Daniel</b>	Guthrie, John
Deacon Convener	<b>Ronald, Basil</b>	<b>Ronald, Basil</b>	Ferguson, Walter
Treasure, Councillors ex officiis	Brown, Nicol	Austin, Robert	Berry, John
Master of Works, Councillors ex officiis	Smellie, Richard	Smellie, Richard	
Baillie on the River and Firth of Clyde	Leckie, William	<b>Newbigging, Archibald</b>	Templeton, Andrew
Depute do.	Hunter, Samuel	Burns, James	Heywood, Joshua
Principal Baillie of the Barony of Gorbals	Rodger, William	<b>DalGLISH, William</b>	Hood, Robert
Resident Baillies	Jamieson, Robert Barclay, Arthur	Lancaster, Thomas Cross, James	Niven, David <b>Richardson, Ebenzer</b>
Baillie of Provan	Morison, John	Morison, John	Morison, John
Baillie of Port- Glasgow	Falconer, Archibald	Johnston, David	
Visitor of Maltmen	Tennent, Hugh		
Councillors From the Merchant	<b>Black, James</b> Glen, William Rutherford, George <b>Monteith, Henry</b> Berry, John Eccles, William <b>Dennistoun, James</b> Hunter, Samuel Parker, Charles S. Leckie, William <b>Finlay, Kirkman</b> <b>Dalgleish, William</b>	Rutherford, George <b>Monteith, Henry</b> Berry, John Guthrie, John <b>Hamilton, John</b> Eccles, William <b>Dennistoun, James</b> Templeton, Andrew Hunter, Samuel DalGLISH, William <b>Mackenzie, Daniel</b> Ryburn, John	Heywood, Joshua Guthrie, John <b>Hamilton, John</b> Eccles, William <b>Dennistoun, James</b> Templeton, Andrew Leckie, William <b>Mackenzie, Daniel</b> Ryburn, John <b>Dennistoun, Robert</b> <b>More, John</b>
Councillors From the Trades	Austin, Robert Ferguson, Walter Brand, William Graham, John Mirrlees, William <b>Newbigging, Archibald</b> Rodger, William Cleland, James Machen, John Burns, James Hood, Robert	Ferrie, Robert Brand, William Graham, John Mirriees, William <b>Newbigging, Archibald</b> Cleland, James Machen, John Burns, James Hood, Robert <b>Ronald, Basil</b> Jamieson, Robert	Tennent, Robert Graham, John Mirrlees, William Cleland, James Machen, John Burns, James Hood, Robert <b>Ronald, Basil</b> Jamieson, Robert Mitchell, William Hunter, James

Note: Names in bold type indicate that they were the members of the General Committee of the GEIA. Sources: *Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1811, 16 October 1812 and 15 October 1813, 'List of the Magistrates & Towns Council of Glasgow'.

In terms of local politics, members of the General Committee held several significant offices. Table 3-3 lists the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow during the GEIA's campaign; names in bold type indicate the committee members. As has already been

mentioned, John Hamilton (Lord Provost/Councillor), James Black (Councillor), Kirkman Finlay (Lord Provost/Councillor) and Archibald Newbigging (Bailie of the River and Firth of Clyde/Councillor) transferred from the committee of the Magistrates and Councillors into the General Committee. In addition to them, Daniel MacKenzie (Dean of Guild/Councillor), Basil Ronald (Deacon Convener/Councillor), William Dalgleish (Principal Bailie of the Barony Gorbals), Ebenzer Richardson (Resident Bailies), James Black, Henry Monteith, James Dennistoun, William Dalgleish, Robert Dennistoun and John More (all Councillors) were also appointed to the committee. Many other members of the General Committee later had experience of such offices at some point in their life. For example, committee members who had experience of holding the office of Lord Provost were James Black (elected in 1808, 1809, 1816 and 1817), Henry Monteith (in 1814, 1815, 1818 and 1819), Robert Dalgleish (in 1830 and 1831) and James Ewing (in 1832). In addition, some of the committee members were elected as MPs. Apart from Finlay, who represented the city in the Parliament during the second half of the campaign, Henry Monteith, James Ewing and James Oswald were to be MPs in the 1820s and the 1830s. This indicated the strong connection between the GEIA and the centre of local politics. In his work, Moss identified Richard Spooner and Thomas Attwood, who led Birmingham's lobbying group, as members in the council of Birmingham, and the latter was High Bailiff at that time.<sup>59</sup> This connection enabled the association to get full support from the local corporation easily and exploit its authority as the examples of the petition from the Magistrates and Councillors to Parliament and the Lord Provost's attendance at the General Deputation showed.

In terms of number, the General Committee was dominated by businessmen who belonged to the Merchants' House, in which political power was concentrated in pre-reform Glasgow as the result of the long-term contribution of the overseas trade to the economic development of the city.<sup>60</sup> Out of the forty-six members of the General Committee plus the secretary, thirty-five were members of the Merchants' House, only three were from the Trades' House, and another nine did not belong to either institution or are unknown. The apparent dominance of the Merchants' Houses over the Trades' House does not mean that the political influence of those who engaged in domestic industry was weak. By the early nineteenth century, following the rapid growth of the city and its economy, occupational status of burgess membership did not accurately describe the type of business which was

---

<sup>59</sup> Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against Orders-in-Council', p. 175.

<sup>60</sup> I. Maver, 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City: Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century' in Devine, *Scottish Elites*, 1994, Chap. 5.

actually conducted there.<sup>61</sup> Many overseas merchants who belonged to the Merchants' House had developed their interest in the rapidly-developing manufacturing industry in the process of diversifying their business, and their interests were well-represented in local politics.

Appendix II is the list of subscribers to the GEIA, the sums of their payments in the first and second subscriptions, and the descriptions of their main businesses. The table has been created from the Glasgow business directories. Some care is needed in using this contemporary source. In the Glasgow business directories (and also other sources), both individuals and companies are very often described as 'merchant' or 'merchants'. In the description of the subscribers' business quoted from the directory, out of 145 individual and company subscribers, 35 are described as 'merchant' or 'merchants', and they are the largest group in terms of the descriptions of their businesses. According to Nenadic's work, in nineteenth-century Glasgow, 'merchant', especially 'overseas merchant' was regarded as an occupation with high prestige.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, occupational titles describing manufacturing sectors were less prestigious in the contemporary city than they may have been regarded in other British industrial towns.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, as has already been explained, many of Glasgow's Atlantic traders held both mercantile and manufacturing interests. For these reasons, in Glasgow, the titles, 'merchant' and 'merchants' were often used by various types and size of businesses, that is to say, not only very wealthy foreign traders, but also small shopkeepers and even manufacturers described themselves as 'merchants'. For example, in the directories, James Finlay & Company is described as 'merchants' although Kirkman Finlay's firm was known as one of the most successful cotton manufacturing companies in Scotland.

In order to solve such a problem, the descriptions of the subscribers' businesses from the business directory are supplemented by additional information from the sources used for Appendix I, although the information in the table is still incomplete. Conversely, it seems to be reasonable to say that occupational titles other than 'merchant' and 'merchants' in the directory can be regarded as indicating the main businesses of listed individuals and companies. Taking this point into consideration and then looking at the table, it is known that the types of business in which the subscribers were engaged were varied. The range of

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>62</sup> S. S. Nenadic, 'The structure, value and influence of the Scottish urban middle class Glasgow, 1800 to 1870' unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986, pp. 57-58.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

activities were similar to those in which the GEIA's General Committee were involved: The West India trade, the American trade and other overseas trades, cotton spinning and manufacturing, iron manufacturing, banking, and so on.

**Table 3-4. The relationship between the subscribers who paid more than £15.15s to the GEIA and the General Committee members**

Name of subscribers	Name of the General Committee (1)	Name of the General Committee (2)	Name of the General Committee (3)
James Finlay & Co.	A. Buchanan	K. Finlay	J. Gordon
Henry Monteith & Co.	H. Monteith		
New Lanark Co.	C. Campbell	R. Dennistoun	R. Owen
John Campbell, Sen. & Co.	A. Campbell	C. Campbell	
Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.	J. Buchanan	J. Dennistoun [possibly]	
Stirling Gordon & Co.	J. Gordon	C. Stirling	
William Stirling & Co.	W. Stirling		
Leitch & Smith	A. Crooks		
John McIlwham			
Findlay, Duff & Co.			
William Scott & Co.			
G. & R. Dennistoun & Co.	R. Dennistoun		
Corbett, Buchanan & Co.			
Blair, Steven & Co.			
Neilson & Hunter			
Alexander & James Crum	J. Crum		
D & J Connell	D. Connell		
Douglass, Brown & Co.			
James Ewing	J. Ewing		
Thomas & James Edgar			
J. & G. Buchanan			
John McCaul	J. McCaul		
John McCall & Co.	J. McCall		
M & J. Preston			
Hopkirk & Cunningham	J. Hopkirk		

Source: created from Appendix I and II.

If Appendix I and Appendix II are compared, those who volunteered more subscription than others significantly match the firms where the General Committee members had stocks or the members themselves. For example, Table 3-4 created from these appendices shows the relationship between the subscribers who paid more than £15.15s to the GEIA and the General Committee members. Among all twenty-five subscribers on the list, fifteen of them were the firms where the committee members had stocks or the committee members themselves. Because subscriptions were voluntarily collected, it can be said that the members of the committee were not only those who were most economically and politically powerful but also were those eager for the opening of the East India trade in the

city.

As their presence was remarkable in the General Committee, the Atlantic traders, especially the West Indian merchants, were again a significant group in the subscribers to the GEIA. Out of one hundred and forty-five individual and company subscribers, at least twenty-three are identified as West Indian and American merchants. Moreover, among fifty-two subscribers paying more than £10, at least twenty-two engaged in trade with the West Indies and America. If twenty-six subscribers, who paid more than £15, are looked at, half of them were Atlantic traders. In value, Atlantic traders contributed £373.16s. of the total subscription of £1410.19s. (including £315 from the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers). Therefore, in terms of the number of subscribers and the size of their subscriptions, the contributions of the Atlantic traders, especially the West Indian merchants, were more than the average. As the involvement of a large number of the Atlantic traders in the General Committee showed, this also indicated the East India question mattered more to this economic interest group than others.

Meanwhile, by analysing Appendix II, at least fifty-three subscribers are identified as those who held their main economic interest in several types of manufacturing industries and businesses related to them.<sup>64</sup> Among them, at least twenty-one subscribers definitely engaged mainly in cotton/linen manufacturing industry and its related businesses. This figure may be a minimum since many businesses described as ‘manufacturer’ or ‘manufacturers’, some unknown businesses and those described as ‘merchant’ or ‘merchants’ in the business directories appear to have been cotton/linen manufacturers.

In the first and second subscriptions, the top three subscribers were leading cotton manufacturers in Scotland, that is to say, James Finlay & Co., Henry Monteith, Bogle & Co., and New Lanark Cotton Company. In the General Committee, shareholders of all three companies were included. Apart from the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers, which subscribed £315 in these two collections, the total subscription of £155.10s. made by Kirkman Finlay’s James Finlay & Co. was exceptional. As has been described, although Finlay and his firm operated both mercantile and manufacturing businesses like many West Indian merchants, his business was more strongly connected with the spinning and manufacturing of cotton (and trade with the European continent) during this period than many of the other leading mercantile families and their firms. According to his

---

<sup>64</sup> ‘Business connected to manufacturing industry’ here includes such businesses as ‘cotton-brokers’ and ‘(cotton/iron) warehouses’.

testimony in Parliament, his cotton manufacturing business employed about two to three thousand people, which was matched to the number of employees at New Lanark mills.<sup>65</sup> Henry Monteith of Henry Monteith, Bogle & Co., was the third son of James Monteith, a weaver in Anderston. He was involved in his father's business and became one of the most successful cotton manufactures in Scotland. As an extensive cotton manufacturer, he carried on cotton spinning, weaving and bleaching, and later extended his business to turkey red dyeing and calico-printing.<sup>66</sup> Most of the big subscribers who had paid in the first collection, including many West India magnates, reduced their payment by half in the second collection or did not make any payment, while the three cotton textile firms increased their subscriptions or paid the same amount in the second collection (with the exception of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers). As will be explained in the following section, the timing of the second collection was not favourable to the lobbyists as the public started to lose their interest in the East India question. Excluding the subscription from the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers, the collection of the second subscriptions amounted to £427.2s., and subscriptions from these top three firms reached £149, in other words they paid more than one thirds of the total subscriptions. From the fact that they did not reduce their subscriptions in the second collection, it is clear that the leading cotton manufacturers remained the keenest part of the anti-monopolist group in Glasgow throughout the whole campaign period.

In consequence, those who were appointed to the General Committee were the most notable businessmen and politically most prominent figures in Glasgow. In particular, several members of the committee had interests in the local cotton manufacturing industry as well as of the West India trade. Therefore, the Glasgow Committee represented the interest of local 'merchants', with long experience in foreign trade with the West Indies and America, who were seeking new opportunities to expand their trade to the East Indies. It also represented local 'manufacturers' who were experiencing difficulty in their export to Continental Europe due to Napoleon's economic blockade and were looking for alternative markets. The group of subscribers showed a similar range of economic interest. The lobbying activities of the GEIA were largely supported by both mercantile and manufacturing interests. Finlay's enthusiasm for the campaign against the renewal of the East India Charter has already been mentioned, but along with him some of other leading cotton manufacturers showed their great eagerness for free trade.

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 17, and I. Donnachie *Robert Owen; Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony*, 2000, p. 98.

<sup>66</sup> G. Stewart *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, 1881, p. 113-114.

According to Cain and Hopkins, who support the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’, the provincial interests’ inability to influence the state’s policy partly resulted from the diversity of their interests and the lack of unity. For instance, they argue that the failure of the Fair Trade movement and the Tariff Reform, anti-free trade campaigns during the 1880s and 1900s, when the British domestic industry were facing strong competition from other European countries, resulted from the lack of unity within the provincial interests.<sup>67</sup> Such industries as iron, steel and engineering were for protectionism, whilst the cotton industry and shipping industry remained to support the free trade. The involvement of a large number of the West Indian interests in the free trade campaign during this period and their demand for protecting their own interests by sacrificing the East India trade appear to support these claims. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to measure the degree to which the diversification of provincial lobbyists’ interests affected their campaign. In fact, as the rest of the chapter will illustrate, in spite of the diversity of their interests, the lobbying of provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests maintained its unity.

### 3.5. The methods of lobbying activities of the GEIA

The main activities of the GEIA against the renewal of the EIC’s charter for its monopoly in the East India trade consisted of (1) collecting signatures for petitions and subscribed money from the citizens of the town, (2) printing circulars and pamphlets and writing letters which were forwarded to cities and towns all over the U.K., and publishing resolutions and other related articles in the newspapers, and (3) sending their deputation to London for collaborating with other delegates from all over the U.K. to lobby the Ministry and MPs. In this section, the first two activities will be described. Then, in the following section, the lobbying activities of their deputation in London will be examined because their activities were more complicated than the other two, and it seems easier to understand their activities and influence if they are described in the context of the course of the debates over the renewal of the charter.

#### 3.5.1. Subscribing activities

The GEIA needed to collect as many signatures for the petitions as possible in order to prove that their activities represented the collective opinion of the citizens of Glasgow against the renewal of the East India Charter. At the same time, in order to maintain their

---

<sup>67</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-1914*, Chapter 7.

lobbying activities, the association had to secure financial resources. Their lobbying activities totally relied on the voluntarily subscribed money which was the weakest point of the Association. Throughout the period between 1812 and 1813, how to secure their financial resources was one of the association's prime concerns.

Although two members were appointed to 'a committee for the special purpose of procuring subscriptions to defray the expenses' in the first meeting of the General Committee on 24 March 1812, the GEIA recognised that 'the subscription of the petitions to Parliament, proceeded very slowly' and decided to extend the number of the sub-committee members to eleven.<sup>68</sup> After the extension of the sub-committee, they started to collect subscriptions at local banks and counting houses.<sup>69</sup> The association also set up the opportunity to collect signatures from the public for petitions to Parliament in the Tontine Coffee Room and some other places.<sup>70</sup> The money was subscribed not only by Glasgow's citizens. Subscriptions from Port-Glasgow, which amounted to £73.19s, were added to the GEIA's funds.<sup>71</sup>

However, as the Report of the Sub-Committee of Correspondence dated 23 April 1812 described, their lobbying activities, especially sending their delegates to London, involved heavy expense. How to meet such expenses was often on the agenda of the meetings of the General Committee and the Sub-Committee of Correspondence and of Subscription.<sup>72</sup> In order to collect subscriptions more efficiently, the members of the Sub-Committee of Subscriptions were divided into five, and 'each division taking a different range, or class of inhabitants...' was given lists of potential subscribers by the secretary.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, regarding the second collection of subscriptions, as the secretary remembered in his letter that '... I before signified to you the backwardness experienced among almost all classes of people here when subscription was proposed...', the collection of subscriptions was again not an easy task at all for the GEIA.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, on 1 March 1813, the sub-committee decided to postpone the collection of subscriptions for their lobbying activities

---

<sup>68</sup> Committee Minute Book, 1812-1813, 31 March 1812, pp. 6-7.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 2 April 1812, p. 9.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, p. 52. Cash from Archibald Falconer, a Baillie of Port-Glasgow (£3.19s) is included in this amount.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 23 April 1812, p. 12-13.

<sup>73</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 27 November 1812, p. 24.

<sup>74</sup> Outgoing Correspondences 1812-1814, Letter to Charles Stirling and James Oswald dated 16 March 1813, letter no. 45.

because at the time ‘the subscriptions for the Russia sufferers’ was progressing and they wanted to avoid interrupting this activity.<sup>75</sup>

In this difficult situation, the GEIA made some attempts. They decided to divide the city into five districts. Each division of the Sub-Committee of Subscriptions would be in charge of each district and set the date for their collection of subscriptions in advance.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, it was agreed in the General Committee that each of those who attended this meeting would subscribe half the amount of his former subscription, and that they would also encourage absent members and former subscribers to do so.<sup>77</sup> In spite of such encouragement for subscriptions, only one third (33 of 95) of the first subscribers (which exclude the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers) made their second subscriptions, and it seems that even some of the members of the sub-committee or their firms did not subscribe money because of losing their interests. As a result, their subscriptions amounted to just £313.10s. Significant contributions from James Finlay & Co. and the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers, which doubled their previous subscriptions (from £52 to £105 and £105 to £210), enabled the association to raise the total amount of £637.2s. which allowed them to sustain their lobbying activities.<sup>78</sup>

As can be seen, the GEIA’s financial sources, which largely depended on the voluntary subscriptions, was unstable and it faced the problem of collecting the subscriptions for its lobbying during the campaign. Moreover, these events were an actual example showing the Glasgow lobbyists’ difficulty in keeping the same level of public enthusiasm after the second half of the 1812, when the economic conditions gradually improved. Nevertheless, the GEIA’s activities were financially maintained by strong efforts of certain Glasgow businessmen represented by Kirkman Finlay and the Chamber of Commerce, which were closely connected to the association, as its establishment indicated.

### 3.5.2. Letters, and printed circulars and pamphlets

In order to stir up public opinion in Glasgow and other Scottish towns and persuade influential politicians to join their movement against the renewal of the EIC’s charter, the GEIA instructed Archibald Buchanan, its secretary, to send several letters to those

---

<sup>75</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 1 March 1813, p. 35.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 March 1813, p. 36.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

concerned with the debate and also to print circulars and pamphlets. During this period, Glasgow was the centre of the free trade campaign in Scotland.

Following the letter from Thomas Attwood in Birmingham, in which he urged Glasgow to persuade its neighbouring towns to present their petitions against the East India monopoly to Parliament, the Glasgow Association's Sub-Committee of Correspondence ordered the secretary to print 'circular; together with Resolution of General Meeting [held two days ago], and forward copies to every Towns of United Kingdom of any note... and the Noblemen and Members of Parliament...' on 25 March 1812.<sup>79</sup> 'The Noblemen and Members of Parliament' to which the association sent its circulars and resolutions included the Marquis of Douglas, the Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Landsdown, the Marquis of Wellesley, the Earl of Bathurst, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Lauderdale, Viscount Melville, Lord Dundas, Lord Archibald Hamilton, Spencer Perceval, George Rose, Thomas Turton, Bart and other nine MPs.<sup>80</sup> This is an example of the provincial interests' attempts to lobby influential politicians for obtaining their supports. In his article, Webster identified the Board of Trade as one of the main players in the government's decision on the renewal of the company's charter, but he failed to show evidence for the provincial lobbyists' contact with the Board of Trade.<sup>81</sup> However, the list of politicians contains the President and Vice-President of the Board, that is the Earl of Bathurst and George Rose. This is clear evidence for the communication between the Board and the provincial lobbyists.

The names of the towns to which GEIA's secretary sent the letters and the copies before the summer of 1812 are unknown. However, as the economy of Glasgow's neighboring towns such as Paisley and Port Glasgow had close ties with the city, their interests were almost identical with that of Glasgow. During the period between March and June, several neighbouring towns of Glasgow (Paisley, Port Glasgow & Newark, Kilmarnock, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Lanark, and Rutherglen) presented their petitions to Parliament.<sup>82</sup> In addition, Greenock, which was a main port for Western Scotland and had large interests in overseas trade, had already sent its petition to Parliament in February 1812 before the GEIA started its lobbying. During the period, approximately fifty-five U.K. towns and regions submitted petitions against the renewal of the charter. Scottish towns apart from Glasgow

---

<sup>79</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 25 March 1812, pp. 3-2-4.

<sup>80</sup> Outgoing Correspondences 1812-1814, Letter to Marquis of Douglas dated 28 March 1812, letter no. 2.

<sup>81</sup> Webster, 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization', p. 407.

<sup>82</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXI-XXIII.

and its surrounding areas were Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Arbroath, Leith, Edinburgh, Perth, Dumfries, Dunfermline, Stirling, Montrose, Linlithgow and Aberdeen. Taking the fact that 22 of the 55 places which petitioned Parliament were in Scotland into consideration, the significance of the Scottish free trade movement during the period is evident.

Prior to and after the opening of the new Parliament in the winter of 1812, the GEIA again delivered their letters and circulars to other Scottish burghs, such as Peebles, Paisley and Lanark, to encourage new petitions or deputations to London.<sup>83</sup> During the campaign, none of its neighbours dispatched a deputation to London along with Glasgow, but Paisley, Port Glasgow and Newark, Greenock, and Rutherglen did hand their petitions to Parliament.<sup>84</sup>

The letters were often accompanied by printed pamphlets and circulars. Printed forms of protest were conventional among the middle-class in Britain for more than a century, and in the debate over the renewal of the East India Charter, the publication of pamphlets was one lobbying activity that was widely employed by the EIC and their opponents.<sup>85</sup>

According to Philips, during the period 1812-13, more than thirty pamphlets were published in which the East India monopoly was criticised.<sup>86</sup> One of the most widely circulated pamphlets against the renewal of the East India Charter published in Glasgow during the period was *Letters on the East India Monopoly*.<sup>87</sup> Articles originally published in the *Glasgow Chronicle* were republished in the form of a pamphlet in Edinburgh, London and Liverpool as well as Glasgow. During their stay in London, Glasgow's deputation asked Mr. Watson, the editor of the *Edinburgh Correspondent*, to print 1,000 copies of the pamphlet, which seems to have been this title, and send to London in April 1812. The GEIA ordered a further 200 copies in 1813, and 300 in 1814, after the new charter was passed in Parliament.<sup>88</sup>

Resolutions of the General Meeting were also often published in Glasgow's newspapers, such as the *Glasgow Courier* and the *Glasgow Herald*, and also in papers in Edinburgh and

---

<sup>83</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, Letter to James Kerr dated 22 November 1812, letter no. 28, to John Orr, Chief Magistrate of Paisley, 27 November 1812, No. 30, and to Provost Lanark, 19 January 1813, No.34.

<sup>84</sup> *The Parliamentary Debate*, Vol. XXIV. In this time, other Scottish cities and towns which presented their petitions were Edinburgh, Perth, Montrose, Dumfries and Elgin.

<sup>85</sup> S. Nenadic, 'Political Reform and the 'Ordering' of Middle-Class Protest', T. M. Devine (ed.) *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society 1780-1850*, 1990, Chapter 4, pp. 68-69.

<sup>86</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 182.

<sup>87</sup> Anon., *Letters on the East India Monopoly*, (2<sup>nd</sup> Edit.), 1812.

<sup>88</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, pp. 51, 59, 60, 84 and 85.

even London.<sup>89</sup> Payment for pamphlets, the publication of resolutions and other form of advertisements was the second largest category in the GEIA's expenditure, exceeded only by the expenses for their deputation to London.<sup>90</sup> Together with sending its deputation and petitions to London, the GEIA's activities were not confined within the local area, but played a major role through using these lobbying networks spread throughout the U.K.

### 3.6. Glasgow's deputation in London and the proceedings of the renewal of the East India Charter

Examining the activities of Glasgow's deputies and their allies in London is a touchstone for measuring the influence of the provincial lobbyists over Britain's Imperial policy and the significance of GEIA's activities in this nationwide campaign.

The GEIA prepared its petition to Parliament while communicating with similar public bodies throughout Britain, such as those in Liverpool and Birmingham. According to the resolution of the General Committee of 24 March 1812, they decided to send their deputation of John Hamilton, Kirkman Finlay and Robert Dennistoun to London at the beginning of April. They were part of the General Deputation with other delegates from principal cities and towns of the U.K. that lobbied Parliament to oppose the renewal of the EIC's charter.<sup>91</sup> The deputation to London was given a letter of instruction by the General Committee for negotiation with the Government:

... you are to be guided ...not to argue on any Consideration to abandon the undoubted right of all British subjects to a free Trade to all these countries [India China and the other countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope] on an equal footing, you will also direct your particular attention to those provisions which may relate to residence in India, China & so it being our decided opinion that no advantage can be derived from a free trade if Merchants are prevented from sending their own Agents and Servants to India in the some way as to other British possessions.

You are further directed to insist on the right of all ports in the United Kingdom to trade with those countries on the same footing as the port of London, and invert to consent to any arrangement which shall not secure their exercise of this right.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 25 March 1812, p.3-2-4. Other newspapers were '[Glasgow] Chronicle, Journal, Packet & Scotchman- the Edinburgh Courant, Correspondent & Caledonian Mercury, the London Times, Day, Courier, Globe, Traveller & Morning Chronicle'.

<sup>90</sup> The total expenses of the Association for their activities amounted to £1778.18s.3d., and £303.17s.7d. was paid for the publications and the costs for their deputation to London amounted to £1279.6s.90d. See Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, pp. 51-52 and 59-60.

<sup>91</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 24 March 1812, 'Resolution of the Committee', p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., Meeting of the Glasgow Committee on the 31 March 1812, pp. 6-8.

This instruction was based on the resolutions of the General Meeting on 23 March 1812. Three main objects can be identified: (1) the entire abolition of the EIC's commercial monopoly in trade with India, China and other countries and areas, which were specified in the charter; (2) freedom of residence in India, China and other countries and areas for their agents or servants; and (3) the removal of restrictions confining both exports from and imports to the port of London.

Before gathering in London, the representatives of the outports and provincial manufacturing towns already had some positive expectation of the opening of the Indian trade through their knowledge of several communications between the company's directors and the Ministers.<sup>93</sup> Although in an 1800 communication relating the renewal of the charter, Henry Dundas expressed his satisfaction for the 'propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hand of the East India Company', the Government's attitude to the renewal of the EIC's charter gradually changed by 1812.<sup>94</sup> In 1808 and 1809, Robert Dundas, Henry's son and the President of the Board of Control, pointed to the necessity of an enlargement of the private trade with British India and proposed the admission of private merchants into the India trade under necessary regulations.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, in a communication between the Board of Control and the company, Dundas confirmed that:

... it is now... the fixed intention of His Majesty's Government, to withhold their concurrence from any proposition which might be submitted to Parliament for continuing to the East India Company their privileges of exclusive trade on their present footing.<sup>96</sup>

In commercial terms, the continuity of the China trade and the opening of the export trade from outports to India were already agreed at this point, whilst it appeared that the import trade from India would be confined to the port of London.<sup>97</sup> According to Philips, the pressure of the agency houses and London merchants forced the EIC to recognise the necessity of the relaxation of the company's monopoly, and before the debates over the

---

<sup>93</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1812-1814, 3 March 1812, Letter to T. Attwood Esq. High Bailiff of Birmingham.

<sup>94</sup> An Impartial Reporter, *The preliminary debate at the East India House, January, 5th, 1813*, Appendix No. XII, pp. 59-61, 'Extract of a letter from Lord Melville to the Chairman dated 2<sup>nd</sup> April, 1800'

<sup>95</sup> The East India Company, *Correspondence and Proceedings in the Negotiation for a Renewal of the East India Company's Charter*, 1812, pp. 6-11, No. 4 'Letter from the Rt. Hon. Robert Dundas to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman dated 28<sup>th</sup> December 1808' and p. 39, No. 8 'Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melville to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dated the 17<sup>th</sup> December 1811'.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51, letter no. 10, 'Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melville to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, dated 21st March 1812'.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 11, 'Hints submitted to the Consideration of the Right Honourable Lord Melville by the Deputation of the Court of Directors, 4 March 1812, and his Lordship's observations thereon, dated 21 March 1812'.

new charter began, the chairmen of the EIC privately agreed with the Ministry that the opening of the export trade to India would be pursued.<sup>98</sup> Regarding the opening of the export trade to India, the lobbying of a part of the gentlemanly capitalists and their nexus, in other words, the private trading interests in London and the East, played a more significant role than the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests. This devalues the influence of the provincial lobbyists on the national politics. Nevertheless, as will be described below, the London interests' attitude in the debates over the renewal of the charter after April 1812 indicated that they did not wish for further relaxation of the East India trade beyond the opening of the export trade. The real debates between the provincial merchants and manufacturers and the London mercantile interests were over the remaining restrictions.

In April, the General Deputation of the provincial manufacturing towns and outports who gathered in London started their lobbying for the abolition of the EIC's trading monopoly, and during the session of the Houses of Parliament, they continued their negotiations with the Ministry. On 10 April, Glasgow's deputies held a meeting with Spencer Perceval, the Prime Minister, for the first time.<sup>99</sup> In this interview, the deputies found that there still remained the possibility of changing the Government's intention to confine the import trade to the port of London, rather than such other issues as the Company's monopoly in the China trade, if they could show evidence of securing collection of public revenues from the customs duties on imports at local ports. After this event, in their correspondence to Glasgow, they wrote that 'we suppose the Committee will consider the gaining this point as the virtual accomplishment of our wishes, and that consequently our time and attention ought to be particularly directed to remove these objections'.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, the possibility of secure and efficient collection of the public revenues at outports became the main question in the commercial aspects of the renewal of the charter.

On 15 April, the members of the General Deputation held an interview with Perceval, Robert Dundas and Lord Buckinghamshire.<sup>101</sup> These three statesmen were the key figures in the debates over the renewal of the charter. The details of this meeting are unknown because a letter dated 16 April, by which the deputies informed the association on the details of the interview, is unfortunately missing. However, according to other

---

<sup>98</sup> Philips *The East India Company*, p. 181.

<sup>99</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, 10 April 1812, letter no. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 15 April 1812, letter no. 9.

communication between them, the collection of the revenues in outports must have been discussed again: in reply to the deputies' letter of 16 April, the association's secretary informed them that the association had just found a person who could give the complete information on the collection of the revenues at the local port.<sup>102</sup> In their interview, Dundas showed his objections to the opening of the China trade and the import trade from India to the outports.<sup>103</sup> However, he was to be replaced by Lord Buckinghamshire as the former was appointed to the Admiralty in a cabinet re-shuffle. Therefore, in spite of Dundas' objections, it seems that the result of the meeting was very positive to the General Deputation, as Finlay expressed two days later that:

We have the greatest satisfaction in being able to say that the result of the canvass of the last two days tends more than ever to convince us of the great impression which has already been made of the sentiment of the Members of both Houses in favour of this great cause.<sup>104</sup>

As the results of these interviews with the Ministry, the provincial commercial and manufacturing interests understood that they needed to provide the Ministry with their evidence.

Their opponents also strongly lobbied the Ministry for their own interests. The company defended restriction of the import trade from India to the port of London by arguing that because their public auctions determined the values of commodities accurately under the present system, the revenue of *ad valorem* duties could be fairly collected.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, unlike the public auction in one place, private sales elsewhere would trouble the ascertainment of the values of these goods because the market values would be different among the ports, which could result in frauds.<sup>106</sup> Their arguments were supported by London's merchants who held interests in the sale of East India piece goods. As has been mentioned, the London mercantile interests had originally supported the opening of the East India trade. However, according to Philips' explanation, as they faced the strong lobby organised by the provincial interests, they changed their position and supported the company to protect their advantages over the outports.<sup>107</sup> They were in the circle of the gentlemanly capitalists. On 21 April, the London merchants, represented by Thomas

---

<sup>102</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1814, 15 April 1812, letter no. 9, and Outgoing Correspondence 1812-1814, 20 April 1812, letter no. 14.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 15 April 1812, letter no. 9.

<sup>104</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, 17 April 1812, letter no. 10.

<sup>105</sup> Anon. *Letters on the East India Monopoly, originally published in the Glasgow Chronicle, with Additions and Corrections, Second Edition*, 1812, pp. 82-94.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 182.

Brown, held a meeting at the City and sent their petitions to Perceval for the confinement of the return cargoes to the port of London and also requested an interview with him.<sup>108</sup> While they pointed out the advantages of the long-established system of collection of duties at the port of London, they also warned that cotton manufacturers in Glasgow, Manchester and other manufacturing towns would need to compete directly with the Indian cotton pieces if they were imported to the outports.<sup>109</sup> They clearly showed their opposing position against the provincial interest groups.

In order to convince the Ministers, the General Deputation called those who were familiar with the details and could bear witness to information on the secure collection of revenue at the local ports under free trade. They also presented their scheme for the collection of duties.<sup>110</sup> For instance, because Glasgow did not have a witness with this knowledge the General Committee sent to London Archibald Falconer, the chief magistrate of Port Glasgow, where the customs house revenue was collected.<sup>111</sup> He arrived at London on 26 April to assist the General Deputation.<sup>112</sup>

As explained, the GEIA sent their letters and the copies of resolutions to several influential politicians, including the President and the Vice-President of the Board, at the end of March 1812 before it sent the deputy to London. Webster referred to George Rose's intervention to the issue on the renewal of the company's charter on 3 April 1812 although he failed to give direct evidence indicating the connection between the Board and the provincial interests. If Rose's sudden intervention and the provincial lobbyists' contact with the Board of Trade in March are taken into consideration, it is reasonable to argue that the provincial lobbyists succeeded in persuading the Board to intervene on the issue. The records of the GEIA showed that the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests continued to lobby the Board of Trade. On 13 April, the General Deputation had a meeting with Rose.<sup>113</sup> In this meeting, Rose said that:

He had read with very great attention every written and printed paper which had been sent to him, that although he had opinions they led him to investigate farther and to

---

<sup>108</sup> Petition to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval dated 25 April 1812 and Resolutions passed at a meeting of the buyers & other interests in the sale of East India piece goods, held of the City of London, dated 21 April, 1812. (British Library, Add. MSS. 38410, f72).

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> Committee Minute book 1812-1813, 28 April 1812.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 April 1812 and Outgoing Correspondence 1812-1814, Letter to Archibald Falconer Esq., 20 April 1812.

<sup>112</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, 27 April 1812, letter no. 13.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 April 1812, letter no. 8.

induce him to wish more discussion of the subject, at the same time while he thought the Trade of India would be open, he said that the Company should not have an exclusive right to the trade of China.<sup>114</sup>

These records showed that provincial merchants and manufacturers strongly lobbied the Board of Trade and that information from the outports and manufacturing towns persuaded Rose, who had said that ‘the whole subject [the renewal of the charter] is new to me’ in his communication in early April, to form his favourable attitude to the opening of the East India trade.<sup>115</sup>

However, regarding reasons for the opening of the India trade, Webster gave more emphasis on the government’s economic strategy to ‘combat inflation and secure essential supplies of cheap raw materials, thus helping to maintain social stability’ than the provincial interest groups’ influence.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, the social stability and securing alternative sources of raw materials were also demands from the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interest groups. The provincial middle-class men were more sensitive to the instability of local society than any others as they employed a large number of workers. In fact, in the three midland counties of England, more than one thousand stocking frames had been destroyed by the Luddites by February of that year, and a considerable number of properties were also damaged in Northern manufacturing counties of England in social unrests.<sup>117</sup> Many petitions from the provincial interests expressed their concern about their working-class’ economic distress. For instance, a petition from Dudley expressed that:

... there was at this moment the greatest distress prevailing, from the very high price of provisions; that the higher classes of manufacturers in that town and neighbourhood... had always endeavoured to alleviate the distresses of the working men, by expending their capitals in giving them employment, in hope that the American markets would soon be opened, and the monopoly of the East India Company done away...<sup>118</sup>

At the same time, as has been described, the provincial interests were also seeking stable sources of raw cotton because of the deterioration of the political relationship between Britain and the United States. Furthermore, in his letter to the Earl of Clancarty, who succeeded the Earl of Bathurst as the President of the Board of Trade, John Gladstone, who

---

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Bathurst Papers (British Library, Loan 57), Vol. 5, 3 April 1812, Letter from G. Rose, which was passed to Lord Bathurst through Robert Dundas.

<sup>116</sup> Webster, ‘The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization’, p. 417.

<sup>117</sup> F. O. Darvall, *Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England*, 1969, p. 209.

<sup>118</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXII, 1812, pp. 421-422.

represented the Liverpool interests in the General Deputation in London at that time, strongly insisted that the American raw cotton imported to the U.K. should be replaced by Indian product.<sup>119</sup> What Webster called ‘the government’s economic strategy’ was in fact a response to the demands from the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests who suffered from the depressed economic conditions in wartime. In consequence, the influence of the provincial interests on the Board of Trade should not be devalued.

On 27 April, Glasgow’s deputation communicated to their hometown their optimistic views as they were indirectly informed that ‘the strong point will be the China trade and that all others will be cancelled probably with little difficulty.’<sup>120</sup> In fact, on the same day, following the meeting between the deputation of the EIC and the Ministry, Lord Buckinghamshire notified the EIC of the Government’s opinion that the import trade should not be confined to the port of London.<sup>121</sup> By this time, the Government and the company held different views over the effects of the opening of the import trade to the outports. The EIC thought that ‘It appeared in the conference [held on the 25<sup>th</sup> of April]... with the Chancellor of the Exchequer and your Lordship [Lord Buckinghamshire], to be his opinion that checks could be devised to prevent an indefinite extent of smuggling tea, ruinous to the Company, which we fear from opening the outports to the India trade’.<sup>122</sup> The company strongly opposed this sudden change, and the General Court of Proprietors passed their resolution that ‘this court has learnt with deep concern and surprise, that His Majesty’s Ministers have been induced to change the view...’.<sup>123</sup> The General Deputation maintained their direct access to the key figures of the national politics. On 9 May 1812, their deputies were interviewed by Perceval and Lord Buckinghamshire, again.<sup>124</sup> In this meeting, Perceval confirmed to them that he had given his consent to the opening of the import trade from the East Indies to the major ports of the country.<sup>125</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones, A Family Biography 1764-1851*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>120</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1814, 27 April 1812, letter no. 13.

<sup>121</sup> The East India Company, *Correspondence and Proceedings*, p. 80, No. 14, ‘Minute of a Secret Court of Directors held on Tuesday, the 28<sup>th</sup>, April, 1812’ and p. 81, No. 15, ‘Letter from the Right Honourable the Earle of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman dated 27<sup>th</sup>, April, 1812’.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85, No. 16, ‘Letter from the Deputation to the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire, dated 29<sup>th</sup>, April, 1812.’

<sup>123</sup> The East India Company, *Correspondence and Proceedings in the Negotiation ...*, ‘Resolution of a General Court of Proprietors, held on Tuesday the 5 May 1812’.

<sup>124</sup> Add. MSS. 38410, ff. 81-82, 12 May 1812, Minutes of Conversation, at Interview with the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, and the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Philips *The East India Company*, p. 184. In March 1812, Lord Buckinghamshire succeeded Robert Dundas as the president of the Board of Control.

<sup>125</sup> Minutes of the interview says ‘In answer to the Enquiry of the Deputation Mr. Perceval said, that the letter addressed by Lord Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated April 27, 1812, was written with his concurrence and contained the sentiments of His Majesty’s

However, the Ministry did not intend to lay any bills before Parliament ‘in consequence of the advanced state of the session, and various other important considerations’.<sup>126</sup> At that time, the priority of the Government was to resolve problems related to the Napoleonic Wars, especially those of the Orders in Council, against which the provincial commercial and manufacturing interests also lobbied strongly.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, Perceval was assassinated by John Bellingham on 11 May 1811. For these reasons, further progress of the measure was suspended. Eventually, the General Deputation was dissolved and each deputy returned home.<sup>128</sup> Consequently, in spite of the objection from the London mercantile community, the General Deputation’s lobby through their direct access to the key figures of the national politics, including Perceval, the Earl of Buckinghamshire and George Rose, and the supports from their hometowns succeeded in changing the Ministry’s opinion regarding the opening of the import trade to the outports.

Communications between the Board of Control and the EIC in November and December 1812 indicated that the opening of the import trade from the East Indies to outports had already been decided in May, although the Government thought that some modifications which would confine the import trade to those ports with adequate facilities would be necessary.<sup>129</sup> The claims of the provincial manufacturing towns and outports were supported by the answers of the surveyor of the King’s Warehouse and his Assistant to queries on the possible increase of frauds and smuggling to the U.K. under the condition of free trade with the East Indies.<sup>130</sup> Most of the officers supposed that the opening of the East India trade would increase smuggling to the country, but that it would not increase more than the growth of the whole East India trade. At the same time, they suggested that it would be necessary to confine the trade to the major outports, which had proper facilities, such as Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow. Moreover, in his letter dated 24 December, the Earl of Buckinghamshire referred to the effective lobbying of the provincial manufacturing towns and outports:

---

Government’ and also ‘That it had not been decided to what parts the ships from India shall be allowed to return, but the principal ports of England, Ireland and Scotland, would certainly included’.

<sup>126</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXIII (1812), 5 May 1812, pp. 41-42.

<sup>127</sup> D. J. Moss, ‘Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders-in Council and East India Company Charter, 1812-13’ in *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. XI, issue 1, 1976, p.p. 173-188.

<sup>128</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 29 October 1813, pp. 66-67.

<sup>129</sup> An Impartial Reporter, *The preliminary debate at the East India House*, p. 41 Appendix No. I ‘At a Select Committee of Correspondence, the 27<sup>th</sup>, November 1812’ and p. 42, Appendix No. II ‘Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire, dated 28<sup>th</sup>, November 1812’.

<sup>130</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Minute of Evidence Taken Before the Committee of the Whole House, and the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1812-1813, pp. 339-356.

They [the provincial interests] urged their claim to an equal participation in the general trade to India, and their conviction, that the ground upon which the exclusion in favour of the port of London was defended, viz. the additional danger of smuggling, could not be supported, and they were satisfied that the alleged danger might be obviated by revenue regulation. They also entered largely into the subject of the China trade, contending strenuously against the renewal of the Company's Charter; and stated their reasons for believing that measures might be adopted by which that trade could be opened, without injury to the revenue, and without hazarding the continuance of the intercourse with the Emperor of China's dominions.

The importance attached to these representations, induced His Majesty's Government to revise the arrangement which had been in contemplation; and although they did not see cause, under all the opinion they had entertained, of the propriety of continuing the existing restrictions upon the commercial intercourse with China, and of preserving to the Company the monopoly of tea trade, they nevertheless felt, that the merchants belonging to the outports had established a claim against an absolute restriction of the import trade to the port of London...<sup>131</sup>

He admitted the provincial lobbyists' claims regarding the extension of import trade to outports although he thought it would be proper for the company to maintain its monopoly in the China trade. In fact, his statement was regarded as the triumph of their campaign by the provincial lobbyists. They referred to the Earl of Buckinghamshire's decision that:

... ability and zeal of the Deputation of last year have produced a decided conviction on the minds of his Majesty's Ministers with regard to the propriety of permitting to the Outports a free exercise of the Import and Export Trade with India...<sup>132</sup>

In September 1812, Parliament was dissolved and the general election was held. From the constituency of Glasgow and other Clyde burghs, Kirkman Finlay was elected. The significance of having a Parliamentary member who directly represented the provincial interests can perhaps be indicated by an example of Birmingham's manufacturing interests having difficulty in the debates over the Orders in Council, which was described by Moss.<sup>133</sup> Like Glasgow, before 1832, Birmingham was not a single constituency but formed a country constituency of Warwickshire with other neighbouring towns. Nevertheless, the MP for Warwickshire disturbed the Birmingham interests' campaign by giving his unfavourable remarks in Parliament. Men whom Philips identified as the more prominent members in the first General Deputation were Gladstone, Brackenbury, Littledale and Waignwright from Liverpool; Macadam and Schonswar from Bristol;

---

<sup>131</sup> An Impartial Reporter, *The preliminary debate at the East India House*, p. 47, Appendix No. IX 'Letter from the Right Honorable the Earl of Buckinghamshire to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company dated 24<sup>th</sup>, December 1812'.

<sup>132</sup> Committee Minute book 1812-1813, January 1813, p. 33.

<sup>133</sup> Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders-in-Council', pp. 184-185.

Broadley from Hull; Spooner from Birmingham; Loudon from Edinburgh.<sup>134</sup> Among these leading members, only Kirkman Finlay became the MP. In the House of Commons, he played an important role in opposition to the renewal of the company's exclusive charter.

In this time, the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interest used their network again. With the approach of the opening of the new session, the GEIA prepared new petitions to Parliament and appointed Robert Dennistoun, Charles Stirling and James Oswald as their new deputation to London. This was in response to a request from the Liverpool Committee to reassemble the General Deputation, although it appears that only Stirling and Oswald actually left for London. The new deputies received similar instructions to those for the previous deputation from the General Committee, i.e. to insist on (1) their equal participation in the East India trade, (2) the residence of their agents and servants in India, (3) the opening of the China trade, (4) the safety of the state revenue from the customs duties collected at the outports, (5) the extension of export and import to the outports.<sup>135</sup> The two men represented Glasgow in the General Deputation in London till March 1813. After the Government's opinion shifted to the opening of the import trade to the outports, the China trade became the main agenda in the negotiation between the General Deputation and the Ministry although other topics such as the restriction on the size of ships for the trade with the East Indies still needed to be discussed further as their interview with Lord Liverpool indicates.<sup>136</sup> The provincial interests succeeded in bringing up this topic for discussion in their individual meetings with the Ministry and in Parliament, but their lobbying showed little success.

After the end of March, the two deputies expressed to the Glasgow Committee their opinion that 'the Business of the Deputation may be managed by one of us only'. So only Oswald remained in London to continue lobbying for his home town.<sup>137</sup> However, he expressed his desire to return to Glasgow in April for personal reasons, and, in spite of the request from the General Committee that 'he stays in London,' he left London before the end of April.<sup>138</sup> Following his resignation, the GEIA lost their representative in the General Deputation so it was urgent for them to appoint a replacement. Eventually, with James Ewing's appointment to the Deputation on 2 May 1813, Glasgow had a voice in the

---

<sup>134</sup> Philips *The East India Company*, p. 182.

<sup>135</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, January 1813, pp. 31-32, letter to Robert Dennistoun, Charles Stirling and James Oswald Esquires.

<sup>136</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, February 1813, letter no. 24.

<sup>137</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 29 March 1813, p. 39.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, 15 April 1813, p. 43, and Incoming Correspondence, 1812-13, 24 April 1813, Letter No. 33.

General Deputation again.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, during the absence of Glasgow's deputy, Kirkman Finlay was still in London as a representative for the city in Parliament and kept up a correspondence with the association.<sup>140</sup>

On 23 March 1813, Lord Castlereagh introduced the question on the renewal of the charter in the House of Commons and moved resolutions to that end. The main points were that the charter, including the exclusive right for the China trade, should be renewed, but the relaxation of the Indian trade should be allowed for the opening of both import and export trade between the outports and India.<sup>141</sup> By the end of the month, the Glasgow General Committee was very pessimistic about the opening of the China trade, including the tea trade, and gave its consent to the deputation to seek the possibility of shortening the duration of the company's monopoly to seven or ten years.<sup>142</sup> In terms of the China trade, in spite of the provincial interests' strong lobby and George Rose's opinion for the opening of the China trade, the Board of Control maintained its coherent opinion against these claims during the debates. Regarding this point, Philips and Webster's view that the advice for the continuity of the company's monopoly in the China trade from Sir George Staunton, who had worked as a supercargo at Canton and was familiar with the conditions of the China trade, influenced Buckingham's opinion, seems right.<sup>143</sup> In the Select Committee, a number of witnesses were called in the next two months by the EIC in order to argue the danger of the opening of the East India trade. The facts given by those who were called from a number of positions of the company's service were often biased in favour of the company's arguments. For example, Archibald Buchanan, the secretary to the Glasgow Committee, commented on the evidence given by Colonel Munro that:

I look upon as very important, & the more so that the Witness seems to have had a strong bias towards the Co....feelings of the gratitude or interest, or private friendship restrain'd him from giving that testimony, directly which has been apparently dragoon'd out of him that the native have no prejudices, but the very rational one of not choosing to pay too high a price for foreign article...<sup>144</sup>

In spite of their bias to the company, these testimonies failed to convince the Ministers and Parliament of the advantages of the continuing the EIC's exclusive privilege in the India

---

<sup>139</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 2 May 1813, p. 44.

<sup>140</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1812-1813, 29 April 1812 and 3 May 1813, letter no. 34

<sup>141</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 29 October 1813, pp. 67-68.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. 29 March 1813, Meeting of the General Committee.

<sup>143</sup> Phillips, *The East India Company*, p. 186, and Webster, 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization', p. 412.

<sup>144</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1812-1814, 24<sup>th</sup>, April, 1813, Letter to James Oswald Esq.

trade. Correspondence between the Glasgow General Committee and their deputies to London seem to imply that, although they regretted that the China trade would not open to the outports, they were optimistic about the influence of their evidence on the Parliamentary decision and they often thought that some testimonies practically supported free trade.<sup>145</sup> Although in the following two months, approximately fifty witnesses were called to the Committee of Whole House and the Select Committee, the Ministry's opinion remained same.

While the General Deputation was preparing evidence to support their claims, after May they began to fear that the final decision over the renewal of charter might be postponed until another session.<sup>146</sup> They knew that as the economic condition of the country gradually improved, the question over the charter attracted less attention from the public than before:

It will not have escaped your notice that the zeal manifested on the part of the Country, is much less ardent than it was last year at the close of the session, and if Parliament be again allowed to rise without passing the Bill, it is much to be fear'd the task will be more & more difficult & the result less & less beneficial in proportion to the time the question may be delayed.<sup>147</sup>

Regarding this situation, Webster explains that:

When trade with Europe became easier after 1812, the economic pressures which had forced the provincial interests together became less acute. From then on, it proved very difficult for the provinces to organize further campaigns which could replicate the breadth and unity of 1812.<sup>148</sup>

At this stage, the provincial interests were forced to admit that they needed to change their lobbying strategies. Lord Castlereagh, who also wished to finish this debate in this session as the Ministry wanted to concentrate on the war, suggested that the General Deputation not call their witnesses.<sup>149</sup> As these two parties had consensus on their best interests, the

---

<sup>145</sup> Webster explained that 'Even though Munro defended the E.I.C. monopoly, he claimed that free trade would reduce freight charges and stimulate greater involvement by British merchants in the Indian raw cotton trade, thus bolstering raw cotton prices in India and leading to increased production by Indian cultivators'. Regarding his testimonies, Archibald Buchanan, the secretary of the GEIA commented that 'The Evidence of Col: Munro is much more favor of the Open Trade than any hitherto ex'd.' See Webster 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization', p. 409, and Outgoing Correspondence 1812-1814, 24 April 1813, Letter to Robert Dennistoun.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 7 May 1813, Letter to Kirkman Finlay Esq.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 24 May 1813, Letter to James Ewing Esq.

<sup>148</sup> Webster 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization', pp. 416-417.

<sup>149</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 29 October 1813, pp. 68-69 and Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 188-191.

outports' deputies decided not to give their evidence and the resolutions were passed in the House of Commons on 31 May.<sup>150</sup> On the one side, in the first resolution, the EIC was empowered to continue the administration of the British territories in India for another twenty years, and in the second resolution the company's exclusive trade with China was approved. On the other side, the third resolution allowed the free entry of all licensed British merchants to the Indian trade.<sup>151</sup> Before the end of this session, the Bill was finally placed before Parliament. After several modifications were discussed and made, the new Bill passed both Houses, and the Royal Assent was granted on 21 July 1813.

The Report of the Glasgow Committee summarised the commercial terms of the new charter.<sup>152</sup> Firstly, after the expiration of the old charter on 10 April 1814, all British subjects equipping themselves with ships of 350 tons or more were to be legally permitted to participate in commercial intercourse with countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the eastward under the license granted by the Court of Directors of the EIC, with the exception of the Chinese trade where private traders were to be excluded. Secondly, with regard to the trading articles, the import of tea by private merchants remained forbidden, and the outports were allowed to import commodities manufactured of silks, hair and cotton wool only for the purpose of re-export. Thirdly, the same duties were imposed on the company's commodities as on private traders, and the company was to keep books at home and in India in order to show the separation between their political and commercial affairs. Moreover, the EIC was required to submit the accounts to Parliament every year for examination and to place all duties on their goods to the debit of the commercial branch. Fourthly, without the consent of the Board of Control, the appropriation of part of the revenue to commercial purposes was not to be allowed. Then, all residents in India were subject to the company's local governments. Finally, Parliament was to reserve powers for altering the Bill for proper reasons, and the Charter Act was to last for twenty years. Compared with the previous charter, most of the terms were favourable to provincial merchants and manufacturers in Britain. Although they failed to convince the Government of the merits of the opening of the China trade, the reversal of the Ministry's decision on the opening of the import trade to outports was the result of their successful lobbying, and this was their triumph over the gentlemanly capitalists.

After James Ewing returned to Glasgow at the end of October 1813, a General Meeting of

---

<sup>150</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1812-1814, 28 May 1813, Letter to James Ewing Esq.

<sup>151</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 190.

<sup>152</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 29 October 1813, pp. 70-72.

the subscribers was held on 2 November.<sup>153</sup> This was the last major event of the GEIA in the early 1810s. In this meeting, they celebrated the abolition of the company's monopoly in the India trade and resolved their thanks to Kirkman Finlay for representing the city in Parliament, to the members of the deputation and the secretary.<sup>154</sup> In the meeting, a new committee was set up 'for attending to the progress of the Bill to be introduced in the next session of Parliament, for regulating the important subject of the circuitous trade to and from India, and to communicate with other Committees', and Robert Dennistoun, Charles Stirling, James Buchanan, John More, David Connell, Henry Monteith, James Ewing and James Oswald were appointed to the posts.<sup>155</sup> The activities of this committee are unknown. What is clear is that after the opening of the India trade in 1814, some of Glasgow merchants started their trade with the East Indies. For instance, it is known that Kirkman Finlay sent the first ship named the 'Earl of Buckinghamshire' from the Clyde to Bombay directly in 1816, then in the following year, he sent the 'George Canning' to Calcutta.<sup>156</sup> Nevertheless, as will be explained in Chapters 4 and 5, Glasgow's East Indian interests failed to maintain their association. Because of this, after the opening of the India trade, their lobbying became inactive until 1829.

### 3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, GEIA and its lobbying activities in the early 1810s have been examined. The organisation represented both the mercantile and manufacturing interests of Glasgow, especially among the members of the General Committee and the subscribers to the association. The presence of those involved in the West India trade and the cotton spinning and manufacturing industry, which dominated the economic activities of city and its neighboring areas, was remarkable. On the one hand, the involvement of various different economic interests in the campaign indicated that the lobbying activities were widely supported by the business elite of the city. On the other hand, the case of the West Indian merchants, who demanded the protection for their existing trade at the expense of the East India trade during the campaign, shows that the provincial interests had some divisions. Nevertheless, it is difficult to argue that such divisions critically affected the provincial lobbyists' ability to organise their campaign. They formed effective groups and their lobbying was influential enough.

---

<sup>153</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 2 November 1813, pp. 78-79.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> J. MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, Chapter 21.

Before the lobbying activities of the General Deputation in London began in April 1812, the continuation of the monopoly in the China trade had already been agreed as a result of the negotiations between the EIC and the Board of Control. The Ministry had also decided to remove the restriction which prevented vessels from leaving U.K. ports for the East Indies except the port of London. After their initial negotiations with the Ministry, the Glasgow deputation and other provincial towns and outports recognised that the Ministry would change their opinion if they could prove that the opening of the import trade to the outports would not have negative impact on the secure and efficient collection of customs duties. Therefore, they set this topic as their main target and strongly lobbied the Ministry. In the debates over this subject, they could exercise their influence enough to persuade the Ministry to change its opinion. In the face of strong lobbying from the provincial interests, Lord Buckinghamshire decided the import trade would be opened to the outports and admitted their influence in his communication with the company. In this issue, the influential lobby of the provincial interests contrasted with the inability of the gentlemanly capitalists in the metropolis.

The case-study also shows that the limited influence of the provincial lobbyists and the significance of the opinion of the Board of the Trade in the East India question on which Webster insists also appear to be overstated. The records of the GEIA show the clear evidence that the provincial interests strongly lobbied the President and Vice-Presidents of the Board. Although Webster stressed the significance of the government's economic strategies more than the provincial lobbyists' influence, its wartime economic strategies were in fact a response to demands from the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests. Consequently, from Buckinghamshire's statements and the provincial lobbyists' influence on the Board of Trade, it is clear that the Ministry's change of its opinion on the import trade from India was the result of the strong lobby organised by the provincial interest groups.

During the Parliamentary sessions of 1812 and 1813, the contribution of Glasgow to the free trade campaign was significant. Although the GEIA made attempts to encourage other Scottish towns to join the campaign, their activities were not confined within Scotland. The association sent their letters to influential politicians, whilst their resolutions and pamphlets were widely circulated in the whole country. The GEIA's close communication with other major provincial towns helped them create their campaign strategies. In London,

the deputation of the GEIA formed the General Deputation with those from several other towns and strongly lobbied the Ministry and the Parliament. The GEIA was undoubtedly one of the most active institutions in the campaign.

## **Chapter 4. The lobbying activities of the Glasgow East India Association against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, 1829-1833**

### 4.1. Introduction

After the renewal of the EIC's charter of 1813, the East India interests in Liverpool, Manchester and other towns in North England organised during the 1820s further lobbying activities, such as petitioning Parliament for the equalisation of the duties levied on East Indian sugar and West Indian sugar. But the Glasgow interests were relatively inactive. However, their lobbying was revived by the foundation of the new Glasgow East India Association in 1829, five years before the expiry of the charter. Unlike the previous GEIA of 1812 and 1813, the new Association, which represented the East India interests of the city, was a permanent organisation established in order to promote free trade in the East Indies. That is to say, the association wrestled not only with the EIC's attempts to renew the charter, but with several other problems which British merchants and manufacturers were facing in this branch of overseas trade. For instance, the equalisation of the duties levied on the East and West India sugar and the heavy duties imposed on British manufactures in the Dutch possession of the island of Java. The organisation continued its activities after the EIC's charter was eventually renewed in 1833.

In terms of the opening of the China trade and the end of the EIC's commercial branch in 1834, Greenberg argued 'The decisive pressure against the East India Company's monopoly came not from Canton but from Manchester'.<sup>1</sup> The influence of the commercial and manufacturing interests in provincial towns and outports, especially those in Lancashire, has often been emphasised by many historians as in the case of the opening of the India trade two decades earlier. In his doctoral thesis, Eyles concluded that:

The decision to end the trade was influenced mainly by the noisy efforts of the free traders in Britain who were both numerous and vocal. The outports and industrial centres who were responsible for influencing Parliament, never really understood the real nature of the Canton trade, but their numbers and influence were enough to ensure that the Company's monopoly of the tea trade was destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

These historians argued that the industrialists' need to find new export markets for their manufactured goods and the increasing in demand for raw materials in their expanded

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42*, 1961, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> D. Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1955, p. 304.

production capacity after the Industrial Revolution encouraged them to put more pressure on the company's China monopoly. In contrast, more recently, some historians have emphasised a non-industrial element. Cain and Hopkins argued that 'The end of the Company's last monopoly was not the outcome of pressure exerted by Manchester's manufactures but the result of efforts made by merchants based in London and India who were keen to open markets for Indian cotton goods and opium in south-east Asia and Far East.'<sup>3</sup> Bowen also stressed that unprofitability of the EIC as a commercial organisation predated the abolition of its monopoly.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, Webster supported Tripathi's explanation on the provincial merchants and manufacturers' effective lobby during the 1829-1833 campaign.<sup>5</sup> But Tripathi's explanation failed to clarify the connection between the provincial lobbyists and the agency houses during the campaign.<sup>6</sup>

The free trade campaign during the period 1829-1833 was not a simple movement organised only by provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests. Nevertheless, it is also wrong to regard the opening of the China trade as a sole product of gentlemanly capitalists and their nexus. The records indicate not only that John Crawford, a former EIC servant and a Scottish Orientalist, acted as a general agent for the interest of the private merchants in the East Indies in the free trade movement, but also that the provincial lobbyists collaborated with some of the gentlemanly capitalists in London during the campaign. Therefore, this chapter emphasises the influence of the provincial interest groups over the policy-making process and the Scottish roles in the British Empire. It also supports Webster's model of a more complicated relationship between the province and the metropolis after the opening of the India trade.

In this chapter, the foundation of the GEIA in 1829 and the beginning of its lobbying activities against the renewal of the EIC's charter will be first described. Secondly, the economic interests and political status of the members of the GEIA during this period will be assessed. Thirdly, the Association's lobbying methods, and then the debates and proceedings of the renewal of the EIC's charter will be described.

---

<sup>3</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion*, p. 325.

<sup>4</sup> H V Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, 2006, pp. 252-259.

<sup>5</sup> Webster, 'The Strategies and Limits of Gentlemanly Capitalism', p. 749.

<sup>6</sup> A. Tripathi, *Trade and Finance in The Bengal Presidency 1879-1833*, 1979, pp. 198-199.

## 4.2. The re-establishment of the Glasgow East India Association

The renewal of the company's charter in 1813 represented a mixture of success and failure of the lobbying organised by Glasgow and other provincial merchants and manufacturers. Under the new charter of 1813, all British merchants were permitted to trade with both the company's and natives' territories in India after 10 April 1814. But the company succeeded in retaining its privileges in the trade of teas and the China trade. As a result, although the EIC continued its trade with India, it specialised in the China trade, which still produced large profits. As industrial sectors played a prime role in the growth of the national income during this period, the Industrial Revolution and the growth of urban population in the provincial manufacturing towns became the key factor in the growth of the consumption of tea in Britain.<sup>7</sup> Figure 4-1 shows profit and loss of the company on the India and China trade in the 15 years after the renewal of the charter. During this period, the profit from the China trade shifted between approximately £760,000 in 1822-23 and £1.4 million in 1814-15; the average profit was just above £1 million per year. Meanwhile, its India trade deteriorated.<sup>8</sup> After 1820-21, with the exception of 1824-25, the trade operated at a loss, which in 1828-29 amounted to approximately £555,000. Merchants in Glasgow and other outports were excluded from the lucrative tea trade. Adam Smith and other classical economists made arguments on free trade that the system of freely moving prices under the free economic condition can be beneficial for the consumers.<sup>9</sup> From the viewpoint of free trade supporters, the company's exclusive trading right for their tea trade was against the interest of all consumers in the United Kingdom. It was believed that the state's interference in the East India trade, by granting the charter of the exclusive trade to the company, resulted in higher prices of imported commodities.

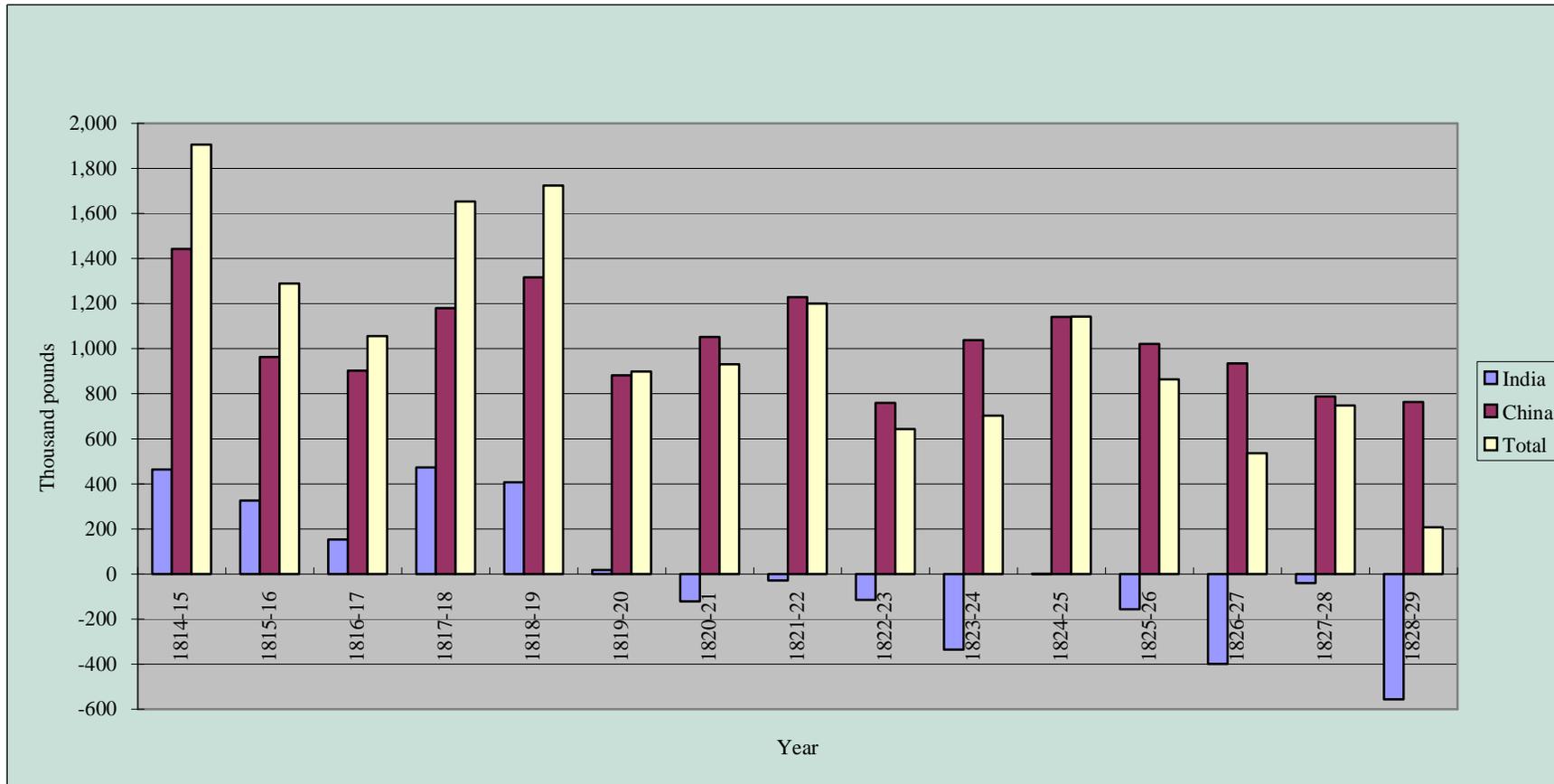
---

<sup>7</sup> J. R. Ward, 'The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750-1850' in *The Economic History Review*, New series, XLVII, I, 1994, pp. 44-65.

<sup>8</sup> Regarding the EIC's trade with India and China during this period, also see Bowen, *The Business of Empire*, pp. 252-259

<sup>9</sup> P. Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914*, 1969, p. 201.

**Figure 4-1. Profit and Loss of the EIC on India and China Trade between 1814-15 and 1828-29.**



Source: British Parliamentary Papers, *Minutes of Evidence taken before the select committee on the affairs of the East India Company; and also an appendix and index, II. Finance and Accounts-Trade, 1832*, Appendix No. 3, p. 45.

Moreover, the EIC needed to transfer capital from India to Europe in the form of their 'investment' in the Chinese produce in order to settle their financial obligations in England, especially, payments of dividends to the proprietors and interest on debts derived from the administration of India. Before the previous renewal of the charter of 1813, Lord Lauderdale had argued that 'it was the amount of the tribute collected, and of the fortune the EIC's servant wished to remit, and no consideration of the state of our European markets, that decided the quantity of exports from India...'<sup>10</sup> Similarly, J. R. McCulloch insisted that 'A Company which carries a sword in the one hand, and a ledger in the other- which maintains armies and retails tea, is contradiction.'<sup>11</sup> Tea was the most important single commodity for the company to operate the system of this international financial transfer between Europe and Asia during this period, and those who were opposed to the company thought that its price was distorted by political considerations, which harmed the interests of all British subjects. At the same time, it was expected that the opening of the China trade would give private traders an effective means of sending their returns from India, in which they were facing great difficulty resulting from the company's need to process government remittances. McCulloch argued that the institution which managed the remittance to England was not necessary, and that instead of remittance through the medium of 'investment' in Chinese produce, this could entirely be done by bills of exchange.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the import of tea, many British manufacturing interests regarded China as a potential market for their own manufactured goods. James Mill, who followed the views of Adam Smith, had argued before he accepted an executive position in the company that 'it would, indeed, be a matter of astonishment, if the acuteness and ardour of private adventurers should not find means of producing commodities to the taste of every people in the world who have enough to give for them.'<sup>13</sup> In the first sixteen years after the opening of the Indian trade, Indian exports in the hands of private traders (average £5,451,452 per year) overwhelmed the company's (average £1,882,718 per year).<sup>14</sup> Traditionally, the directors of the company and their supporters defended their exclusive trade with the East Indies by arguing that little increase in British exports to the East Indies would be achieved even if the trade was opened towards all British subjects because the

---

<sup>10</sup> J. Maitland, [Lord Lauderdale], *An Inquiry into the Practical Merits of the System for the Government of India under the Superintendence of the Board of Controll*, 1809, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> D. P. O'Brien, *J. R. McCulloch: A Study in Classic Economics*, 1970, p. 340.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 341.

<sup>13</sup> W. Barber, *British Economic Thought and India 1600- 1858*, 1975, p.134. Originally quoted from 'East India Monopoly' in *Edinburgh Review* (November, 1812), p. 476.

<sup>14</sup> R. Dutt, *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule*, 1956, p. 293.

local demands for British products were already satisfied by the Company's exports. Nevertheless, as the result of the growth of British exports to India after 1814 and the American merchants' success in this trade, such an argument became less convincing.

The opening of the India Trade to British private traders in 1814 created new East Indian interests in outports although some private traders had already engaged in 'country trade' or used limited facilities provided by the company.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, it seems that in Glasgow those who had interests in the East India trade failed to organise themselves to lobby the state for their own interests before the end of the 1820s. It is very difficult to answer why they failed to organise their lobbying during this period. However, one probable reason was Kirkman Finlay's gradual withdrawal from Glasgow's affairs during the same period.<sup>16</sup> As described in the previous chapter, he was a key figure in the previous free trade campaign. Nevertheless, he lost his parliamentary seat for the Clyde burghs in 1818, and was elected for Malmesbury, Wiltshire. He also bought a property in Cowal, Argyll, and developed the lands there. Although he became President of the Chamber of Commerce again during the period 1823 to 24, he was less active in both commercial and political affairs of the city than he had been during the 1810s. In contrast, as K. Charlton's work and the following chapters describe, Liverpool's East Indian merchants, who had already been represented by their own East India Association, and Manchester's manufacturers, whose Chamber of Commerce dealt with the matters of the East India trade, were more active than Glasgow's East Indian interests.<sup>17</sup> In particular, Liverpool played a central role in debates over the trade with the East Indies during the 1820s such as the abolition of the limitation of the tonnage of ships for the trade and the equalisation of duties on East India sugar and West India sugar. Moreover, the inactivity of Glasgow's East Indian interests contrasted strikingly with their West Indian counterpart who organised powerful lobby against the abolition of slavery during the same period.<sup>18</sup> If the year of the foundation of the GEIA is taken into consideration, the reason for its establishment is obvious. As the expiration of the charter was approaching five years later, it was essential for the merchants and manufacturers of the city to organise a lobbying group to promote their own interests effectively, that is to say, the abolition of the EIC's

---

<sup>15</sup> J. G. Parker, 'Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750-1914' in R. A. Cage (ed.) *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914*, 1985, Chap. 7.

<sup>16</sup> C. Brogan, *James Finlay & Company Limited, Manufacturers and East India Merchants, 1750-1950*, 1951, pp. 28-29

<sup>17</sup> K. Charlton, 'Liverpool and The East India Trade', pp. 56-63.

<sup>18</sup> I. Whyte, *Scotland and The Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838*, 2006.

remaining commercial monopoly and other restrictions imposed on the East India and China trade.

Kirkman Finlay remained a leading figure in the lobbying activities in Glasgow against the renewal of the EIC's charter in the late 1820s and early 1830s. He had played a key role around 1812-1813. In the 1810s and 1820s, he was the President of the Chamber of Commerce in the city at that time, so was in a position to be influential. On 16 April 1829, Finlay and eight other businessmen of Glasgow gathered to hold a meeting at the Tontine Hotel to discuss the foundation of the new GEIA.<sup>19</sup> A public meeting of those who had interest in the free trade with India and China then took place on 22 April.<sup>20</sup> In his speech at this meeting, Finlay reiterated his strong preference for free trade by referring to Adam Smith and heavily criticised the company's monopoly for its old-fashioned mercantilist character and prohibitive nature:

...some of the conductors of the public press, even in this city, regardless of the principles and demonstrations of the eminent man [Adam Smith] who had added celebrity to our University and to his City, and immortalized his own name by enlightening mankind with his admirable works; some of these gentlemen advocated the wildest and most confined views of mercantile monopoly, and did not blush to condemn every trade which carried from us gold and silver. These admirable supporters of antiquated, exploded, and absurd doctrine- these students of the balance-of-trade school, would not leave to mercantile prudence the care of not parting with their gold unless something more precious than gold could be given for it- they should interdict and destroy all trade that requires an export of the precious metals, virtually proclaiming by their strange and extraordinary doctrines that these are more valuable even than the necessaries of life. These same gentlemen, however, were never unwilling to take gold and silver in exchange for our produce; but if this island were surrounded by a brazen wall, and nothing were allowed to come into the country but gold and silver, what, in the name of common sense, would they make of their heaps of these metals? – they would not exchange it in the purchase of the first necessaries of life, and then where would be its values?<sup>21</sup>

In this meeting, they resolved that 'an Association be formed for the protection and furtherance of the general interests of the Trade with the East Indies under the designation of the Glasgow East India Association' and that 'all Merchants, Manufacturers and others residing in this City and neighbourhood interested in success of the Trade with India be insisted to become Members of this Association.'<sup>22</sup> Then, the GEIA was officially funded

---

<sup>19</sup> The Glasgow East India Association Committee Minutes, 1829-1847 (MS89001/2, Glasgow Mitchell Library), 16 April 1829, p. 1. The other eight participants in the meeting were, Charles Todd, Rowan Ronald, James Anderson, William Graham, Hugh Cogan, James Buchanan, John Weighton and Andrew Tennant.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 22 April 1829, pp. 1-3.

<sup>21</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 24 April 1829, 'EAST INDIA TRADE'.

<sup>22</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, p. 1.

by thirty-two gentlemen who signed up as members.<sup>23</sup> In order to achieve the purposes of this Association, it was also decided to establish a general fund by an entry subscription of five guineas and an annual subscription of half a guinea from each member.<sup>24</sup>

In this meeting, Finlay also referred to his receipt of a letter from the East India Association in Liverpool.<sup>25</sup> In this letter, the Liverpool Association expressed its intention to send a deputation to London in May in order to discuss with other deputations the proper means to oppose the renewal of the East India Company's charter.<sup>26</sup> They had been making an arrangement for a meeting with the Duke of Wellington through its MP, William Huskisson, who held the office of the President of the Board of Trade at that time, and invited other deputations to it.<sup>27</sup> The receipt of the letter from Liverpool indicated that the communication between Glasgow and Liverpool played an important part in the re-establishment of the Glasgow Association. Finlay shared the Liverpool businessmen's opinion that it was proper to persuade the Government to give its early attention to the subject of the renewal of the company's charter and to make the case the total abolition of its monopoly to the Ministers.<sup>28</sup> The meeting supported his view and resolved that 'it is the firm purpose and determination of this Meeting to claim by every proper and constitutional means the entire abolition of the East India Company's Commercial monopoly in every branch of the Trade to India & China and it is the earnest wish of this Association to further this object by meeting with other Mercantile Bodies associated for the same purpose'. Alexander Garden, the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and Robert Dalglish were appointed as deputies from the city to London.<sup>29</sup> Later, Robert Douglas Alston, George Stirling and James Ewing joined them.<sup>30</sup> On 6 May, in order to manage the affairs of the association, a committee of eighteen members was appointed and the offices of a chairman, a deputy chairman and a treasurer and secretary were set up. At the next day's meeting, Finlay and James A. Anderson were unanimously elected as chairman and deputy chairman, and William P. Paton, who had deep knowledge of the East India trade through his own experience of residing in the Malay Archipelago, was chosen as secretary and treasurer.<sup>31</sup> By the appointment of these office-bearers, the organisation was fully

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 3

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 2

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> M. Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42*, pp. 181-182.

<sup>28</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 24 April 1829, 'EAST INDIA TRADE'.

<sup>29</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 28 April 1829, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 7 May 1829, p. 8 and *Glasgow Herald*, 8 May 1829, 'EAST INDIA MONOPOLY'.

established to begin their lobbying activities against the renewal of the EIC's charter and deal with other aspects of the East India trade in earnest.

#### 4.3. The economic interests and political status of members of the GEIA

This section will analyse the economic interests and political status of the GEIA's members in order to understand the characteristics of the members of the Glasgow Association as a group, and how these influenced their lobbying strategies. Appendix III is the list of the 146 members of the GEIA between 1829 and 1833, their occupations and the firms in which they had interests. As has been explained in Chapter 3, the short-lived GEIA of the previous campaign consisted of both the mercantile and manufacturing interests of the city. This table indicates that the economic interests of the members of the re-established GEIA were also varied. Nevertheless, it also shows that the Association had some different characteristics from the previous organisation.

First of all, in the table, according to the information of advertisements of shipping in the *Glasgow Courier*, 100 Glasgow men and records of the GWIA and other sources, 23 members of the new GEIA were engaged in the overseas trade. The records of the GWIA and other sources on James Finlay & Co. and Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. also identified another 6 members as foreign traders. Therefore, in total, at least 29 members of the GEIA were clearly engaged in foreign trade and shipping businesses. Among them, 14 members were involved in the East India trade. Although the information in this table is limited and there is a possibility that the number of overseas traders, particularly the East Indian traders, could increase by conducting further research, what the table indicates is that whilst many of the foreign traders and shipping interests of the Association were engaged in the East India trade, the destinations of their trade were not confined to this area. They were also involved in other branches of foreign trade, including the West Indies, South America, British North America, United States, Europe. This shows that the existence of varied foreign trading and shipping interests within the association. Their varied trading destinations reflected the diversification of Glasgow's foreign trade during this period.

During the 1812-1813 campaign, the West Indian interests had been one of the largest economic interest groups which lobbied for the end of the East India and China monopoly in Glasgow, and influenced the association's strategies. Nevertheless, while such

mercantile firms as James Finlay & Co. and Walter Buchanan's Buchanan, Hamilton & Co. engaged in the East India trade, the presence of the West Indian interests in the trade and the new Association was limited. The names of the West Indian merchants who attended at general meetings, annual general meetings, and meetings of its directors can be found in the records of the Glasgow West India Association. Compared with Appendix II, in which at least 22 company and individual subscribers for the previous GEIA can be identified as the members of the GWIA, among those who attended at these meetings of the GWIA during the period 1823-34 (nearly fifty names can be identified), only James Bogle, Arthur Connell of D. & J. Connell and later A. & J. Connell, James Ewing and William Matheson of James Ewing & Co., and George Scheviz were on the list of the members of the new GEIA. In Appendix III, apart from them, James Buchanan of Downhill and his son, James, were also one of the leading West Indian firms of the town, partners of Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., which also engaged in the East India trade through Buchanan, Brown & Co.<sup>32</sup>

Some reasons can be identified for a small number of the West Indian merchants who actually carried on the East India trade after the opening of the India trade. The first reason was that the motives of the West Indian merchants for attending the previous campaign was their hardship during the dislocation of the West India trade caused by the Napoleonic Wars. As has been revealed in Chapter 3, although at the beginning of Glasgow's previous campaign its West Indian interests were one of the groups which most seriously pursued the opening of the East India trade, when economic conditions improved after the second half of 1812, Kirkman Finlay and some cotton manufacturers remained as the keenest part of the city's free trade movement rather than those who were involved in the West India trade.

The second reason was the different nature of the East India trade from the West India trade. For instance, according to one of the testimonies at the Select Committee:

... a ship which would go from Liverpool to the West Indies, and bring a good and sufficient cargo from thence, could not convey indigo, silk and saltpetre, with advantage to the ship-owner, on the terms at which the East India Company now engage that class of shipping... although a small leak would in no degree be detrimental to a West Indiaman, it may create a very considerable loss to a ship that has an East India cargo on board.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Minute Book of Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. Glasgow 1806-42 (MS Murray 605, Glasgow University Special Collection Department), 14 February 1825.

<sup>33</sup> Parliamentary Paper, *Minute of Evidence Taken Before the Committee of the Whole House, and the Select*

It seems that without altering vessels themselves or their outfits, vessels employed for the West India trade were not suitable to the East India trade with longer shipping routes and time. The West Indian interests also needed to obtain knowledge and establish trading networks to enter the East India trade, which had been monopolised by the company. Checkland's work describes that although John Gladstone, who had established himself as a prominent West Indian merchant after the 1810s, entered the East India trade, he struggled to make profits in the Indian market after the initial expansion of the trade in spite of his abilities of reducing risks in the longer distant trade with the East Indies.<sup>34</sup> These cases refer to Liverpool, but the principles also apply to Glasgow. These may have partly prevented Glasgow's West Indian interests from entering the East India trade to an extensive degree.

Thirdly, the East Indian traders and the West Indian traders showed the incompatibility of their interests after the opening of the India trade. Although the old GEIA had made attempts to defend the West Indian interests as well as to promote free trade in the East Indies during the period 1812-13, the new association did not do so. In fact, at national level, the East Indian interests and the West Indian interests had prolonged disputes over the equalisation of the customs duties between the East Indian and West Indian sugars during the 1820s and the 1830s. The annual report in 1824 by the chairman and directors of the Glasgow West India Association stated that:

Uniting with the party of Mr. Wilberforce they [the East India opponents] have struck a blow at the vital interests of the [West Indian] colonies and threatened their very existence with the most indefatigable industry they circulated statement through the whole country representing the conduct of the planters in the most hideous light denouncing the cultivation of sugar through the medium of Negro labour and calling on the whole people of Britain to come forward and petition the legislature for the immediate improvement and ultimate emancipations of the slaves.<sup>35</sup>

The West Indian interests in Glasgow showed their strong opposition to the alteration of the duty on East India sugars for home consumption, and they condemned the East Indian interests for their connection with the anti-slavery movements for this purpose. In

---

*Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1813. 24 November 1812 – 22 July 1813. Vol. VII, p. 397.*

<sup>34</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'John Gladstone as Trader and Planter' in *The Economic History Review*, New series, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1954, pp. 217-222.

<sup>35</sup> Abstract of the Minute Book of the Glasgow West India Association, Minutes (MS891002, Glasgow Mitchell Library), vol. 3 'Annual Report by the Chairman & Directors of the West India Association', dated 15 January 1824, pp. 481-482.

consequence, after the renewal of the company's charter of 1813, the interests of the East India traders deviated from those of the West Indian traders.

Consequently, in Glasgow, the majority of the West Indian merchants did not have serious interests in the East India trade during this period in spite of their significant participation in the previous free trade campaign. In case of Liverpool, Charlton mentioned that 'The campaign of the Liverpool merchants to 'free' the East India trade is an important part of the port's history, showing its ability to diversify its interests when a traditional one [the West India trade] was lost' and stresses the involvement of the West Indian interests, particularly John Gladstone, in the lobbying against the renewal of the company's charter.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, in Glasgow's case, although the opening of the India trade in 1814 and of the China trade in 1834 diversified Glasgow's overseas trading activities, it does not seem that its West Indian traders actually exploited or tried to exploit opportunities presented by the abolition of the company's commercial privileges.

---

<sup>36</sup> Charlton, 'Liverpool and The East India Trade', p. 54.

**Table 4-1. Manufacturing interests in the GEIA, 1829-1833.**

Categories	Number
Cotton manufacturing and related industries	45
Other manufacturing industries	8
‘manufacturer(s)’	24
‘merchant(s)’	26
Unknown	23
Others	20
Total	146

Note: the category of ‘Cotton manufacturing and related business’ includes spinners, weavers, calico-printers & bleachers, pullicate manufacturers, yarn warehouses, dyeworks, cotton works, calenderers and their equivalents, plus the members of Ellis, Bleaymire & Co. yarn warehouses are regarded as this category because warehousemen provided their yarns to hand-loom weavers in the putting-out system. ‘Other manufacturing businesses’ includes saddlers, engineers, drysalters, wholesale woollen drapers, and their equivalents. ‘Manufacturer(s)’ includes those who are identified just as ‘manufacturer(s)’, but if their businesses are known, i.e. those who belong to the first two categories, they are excluded from this category. ‘merchant(s)’ includes those who are identified just as ‘merchant(s)’ but those who belong to the first three categories, i.e. those who were clearly engaged in some kinds of manufacturing industries, are excluded. ‘Others’ includes foreign traders shipping agents, bankers, accountants and writers, wholesale stationers and other occupations, but those who belonged to the above categories were excluded.

Source: created from Appendix III.

Whilst the majority of Glasgow’s West Indian interests did not significantly contribute to the new free trade campaign, the table shows that the cotton manufacturing interests and their nexus kept a position as one of the major economic interest groups in the re-established association. Table 4-1, which has been created from Appendix III, shows, in the new association, the cotton manufacturing interests kept a position as one of the major economic interest groups. Among the members of the Association, at least 45 members, in other words nearly one-third of the total, were obviously engaged in cotton manufacturing and its related industries, including, spinning, weaving, calico-printing and bleaching, yarn-warehouse. However, their number was almost certainly much greater. From the comparison between the number of those who were involved in the cotton manufacturing and its related businesses and that of other manufacturing businesses, it can be estimated that the large majority of 24 members identified just as ‘manufacturer(s)’ were also engaged in these businesses. In addition, some of those who are identified just as ‘merchant(s)’ and a part of those whom this research has failed to identify must have belonged to these businesses. Therefore, approximately a half of the Association’s members were probably involved in cotton manufacturing and its related industries.

The attendance of a large number of the cotton manufacturing interests in the re-established association can be explained by their significant involvement in the East Indian

trade during this period. After the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814, the exports of British manufacturing goods to India increased, contrary to the company's arguments. Goods produced in the provincial manufacturing towns were largely sent to the East upon consignment by the London agency houses which specialised in the export of manufactures, as well as provincial mercantile houses like James Finlay & Co.<sup>37</sup> These agency houses provided such financial arrangements as advances to the manufacturing interests. It seems that the system of advances was particularly significant to those in Glasgow. According to George G. de H. Larpent's testimony before the Select Committee on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping:

... a very large proportion, probably to the extent of three-fourths, is conducted in that manner [advance by agency houses to manufacturers]... I believe from what I have seen of our own operation, that taking advances is not the system there [Manchester] to any considerable extent; at the same time, I believe that their shipments have not been upon so large a scale as the Glasgow ones.<sup>38</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain whether all members of the association who were involved in the cotton textile industry actually consigned their goods to the East, or not. Nevertheless, some evidence of involvement of the members of the association in the trade to the East Indies can be found. One of these manufacturing firms in Glasgow was Ellis, Bleaymire & Co. Septimus Ellis and William Bleaymire, both members of the GEIA, were among its partners. The firm, which liquidated in the early 1830s, manufactured cotton goods at Bankton mill and exported them to Calcutta, Bombay and Singapore as well as Lima and Trinidad.<sup>39</sup> Another example was the firm of Archibald McIndoe & Co., merchants and calico printers, in which Archibald McIndoe and Francis Brand were partners as Appendix III shows. The bankruptcy records of the firm of 1836 include information on the consignment of their shawls and handkerchiefs to Canton and the location of the firm's supposed creditors in Singapore, Calcutta and Batavia, which indicated the firm's large engagement in the East India trade.<sup>40</sup> A. & J. Connell, which manufactured cotton and linen goods at a factory in Anderston, also consigned their goods to agents in London and Liverpool for export to the East.<sup>41</sup> Such evidence supports Webster's emphasis on Scottish manufacturers' connection with gentlemanly capitalists in London. He refers to Thomas

---

<sup>37</sup> Webster, 'The Strategies and Limits of Gentlemanly Capitalism' p. 747, and Records of James Finlay & Co. Ltd., December 1818-December 1854 Book of overseas consignments of stock-monetary value and account (University of Glasgow Archives, UGD91/1/5/5), p. 21.

<sup>38</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Minutes of Evidence Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping*, 1833, vol. VI, p. 142.

<sup>39</sup> Scottish Record Office, *Court of Session productions c.1760-1840*, c1987, p. 461.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 502.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 503.

Speir and his brother Robert, who were partners in the manufacturing firm of R. & T. Speirs. Robert was an original member of the GEIA, and the brothers held a close connection with the London-based agency house, Cockerell, Trail & Co., which extensively engaged in the East India trade.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the table shows that thirteen members of the association who registered as a 'foreign merchant' in Merchant House engaged in manufacturing businesses. It is likely that they were also involved in the East India and other foreign trades.<sup>43</sup>

In consequence, the list of the re-established GEIA's subscribers indicates that the organisation represented the city's various economic interest groups, which reflected contemporary Glasgow's economy based on foreign trade and manufacturing industry. This was similar to the previous association's characteristics. Nevertheless, whilst the activities of Glasgow's foreign merchants and shipping interests who subscribed the GEIA's membership were not confined to the East Indies but extended to various countries and regions, the West Indian interests, who had played a major role in the previous campaign, became a minor part in the re-established association. Meanwhile, among the manufacturing interests in the GEIA, the cotton manufacturing interests and their nexus occupied the most significant position. Before 1814, goods produced by Glasgow's manufacturers may have been exported by the company or with the limited cargo spaces allocated to private merchants. Nevertheless, after the opening of the India trade, many manufacturing interests in Glasgow developed the trading pattern of consigning goods to the East Indies by the agency houses. As a result, whilst the East India trade became more significant to Glasgow's manufacturing interests than any previous periods, as Webster argues this also created the connection between the provincial manufacturing interests and the mercantile interests in London. Therefore, the presence of a large number of such manufacturing interests implies that there was a connection between the Glasgow Association and the gentlemanly capitalists in London.

In political terms, members of the GEIA held significant positions in the local council as they had done during the period 1812-13. Only a limited number of the West Indian

---

<sup>42</sup> Webster, 'The Strategies and Limits of Gentlemanly Capitalism', pp. 14-15.

<sup>43</sup> These 'foreign traders' were: David Bell (pullicate manufacturer), William Church (William Church & Co, manufacturers), A. S. Dalglish and Robert Dalglish (Dalglish, Falconer & Co., calico printers), Henry Dunlop (James Dunlop & Sons, cotton spinners), Alexander Fletcher (John Todd & Co., calico printers), Robert Freeland, Junior (manufacturer), Alexander Glasgow (Frew, Glasgow & Co., manufacturers), Henry Houldsworth (Henry Houldsworth & Sons, cotton spinners), Alexander Johnstone (Johnstone, Galbraith & Co., manufacturers & merchants), Mathew Perston, junior (M. & J. Perston, manufacturers), James Struthers (Thom & Struthers, yarn warehouse), and James Wright (Findlay, Connal & Co., the cotton department and yarns and calico manufacturing).

interests, who had held strong influences in local politics during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, were among the members of the association. But Appendix IV shows, during the period of the free trade campaign, that all Lord Provosts (Alexander Garden, Robert Dalglish and James Ewing) were members of the association. Moreover, members of the association occupied many positions in the Merchants Houses. That is to say, 7 out of all 15 baillies and approximately half of all councillors elected from the Merchants Houses were GEIA members. A large number of the GEIA's members in the Magistrates and Town Council which enabled the association to obtain the local authority's support easily. For instance, in order to decide the propriety of sending a petition to Parliament, they called a public meeting in the name of the Chief Magistrate on 5 May 1829.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, the petition sent from Glasgow would be claimed to represent the wish of whole inhabitants of Glasgow rather than that of the particular interest group.

The influence of the GEIA's members was not limited to local politics. As will be explained later, the association succeeded in having representatives in Parliament as the result of the victories of James Oswald and James Ewing in the General Election of 1832 as Kirkman Finlay had done during the 1812-1813 campaign. Consequently, the strong backup from the local authority and the city's MPs, who were involved in the national politics, helped the association organise their effective lobbying activities.

#### 4.4. The lobbying activities of the GEIA during the period 1829-1833

During the period between 1829 and 1833, the GEIA employed similar means to those of the previous movement in order to promote their free-trade arguments. Among the different lobbying activities, this section will explore their subscribing activities and their use of letters, printed circulars and pamphlets. Then, the next section will analyse the activities of the GEIA's deputation in London in collaborating with other East India associations and their supporters.

---

<sup>44</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 8 May 1829.

#### 4.4.1. Subscribing activities

The Achilles heel of the previous GEIA's lobbying activities against the renewal of the EIC's charter was its financial resources, since it was largely dependent on voluntary subscriptions from the public. In contrast, the financial resources of the free-trade movement during the period 1829-1833 came largely from the entry and annual subscriptions of its membership, plus a general fund raised for 'the especial purpose of opposing the renewal of the East India Company's Charter'.<sup>45</sup>

According to the resolution of the public meeting on 22 April 1829 and the rules and regulations agreed by its members on 6 May, the entry subscription of five guineas to be paid by new members and annual subscription of half a guinea by all existing members were fixed in order to raise the general fund for its lobbying activities.<sup>46</sup> At the end of March 1830, 137 members were counted in the association.<sup>47</sup> By calculating from the number of the members, the association must have raised £719.5s. from the entry subscriptions in the first year.

From the amount of the entry subscriptions, the sum of three hundred guineas was transferred to a general fund set up for 'the special purpose of opposing the renewal of the East India Charter'.<sup>48</sup> By the time of the first Annual General Meeting, the amount of subscription reached around £1,500, and during this meeting, 'A considerable sum' was raised by those who attended it.<sup>49</sup> With such resources the GEIA could afford to send nearly every year their deputation to London, whose large expenses were paid from the fund. In July 1830, a meeting of the subscribers to this fund approved to subscribe £300 from its fund in order to defray a part of expenses for the return of W. W. Whitmore, one of the most active free-trade supporters, to the House of Commons. Clearly the Association could procure enough subscribed money to maintain its lobbying activities.<sup>50</sup> In general the GEIA's subscription campaign went relatively well, securing stable financial sources. This reflected its membership of gentlemen who were willing to pay the entry and annual subscriptions with a sense of clear purpose.

---

<sup>45</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 9 February 1829, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 2 and 6 May 1829, p. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 25 March 1830, 'Report from the Committee of the Glasgow East India Association', p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 10 February 1830, p. 23.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 25 March 1830, p. 34, and *Glasgow Herald*, 26 March 1830.

<sup>50</sup> *Glasgow Courier*, 29 July 1830, 'East India Meeting'.

#### 4.4.2. Letters, printed circulars and pamphlets

As the free-trade interests of Glasgow had done in the previous movement, the GEIA employed a number of letters, circulars and pamphlets as their main vehicles to lobby against the renewal of the EIC's exclusive charter. In order to exchange their information and opinions, the GEIA regularly communicated by letter with provincial towns and outports in England, particularly with Liverpool, and less frequently with Newcastle, Manchester and so on. As the centre of the free trade movement in Scotland, one of the main tasks of the organisation at this time was again to stir up the public opinion of other Scottish towns against the EIC.

In early 1830, the Liverpool Committee urged provincial manufacturing towns and outports to send their petitions to Parliament in order that Parliament might be prepared to give a three-year advance notice to the company at the earliest possible period in 1831.<sup>51</sup> Following strong advice from the Liverpool Committee, the GEIA decided to petition Parliament, and to persuade the authorities of other Scottish towns to do so by exploiting the personal connections of individual members. For this purpose, the following members agreed to do this task: J. Buchanan of Dowanhill (to Perth, Port Glasgow and Dundee) J. A. Anderson (to Greenock), J. Davidson (to Stirling), J. Muir (to Hamilton), J. Wright (to Lanark), R. Gray (to Dumbarton and Rutherglen), W. Graham (to Dumfries) and J. Fleming (to Montrose, Banff and Stonehaven).<sup>52</sup> Further more, in April, 1830, J. Buchanan, J. G. Hamilton and A. G. Speirs agreed to use their connection to get the Counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew and Lanark to petition.<sup>53</sup>

Among the three counties mentioned above, in the case of the County of Renfrew, it seems that the association used its close connection with the free-trade interests in Greenock. The County of Renfrew decided to hold a public meeting on 24 April to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament on the China trade.<sup>54</sup> There, a motion to prepare a petition and transmit to Parliament was put forward by Mr. Bayne, one of the Magistrates of Greenock,

---

<sup>51</sup> Records of the Glasgow East India Association, Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830 (MS 891001/4, Glasgow Mitchell Library), 21 January 1830. letter no. 26. By the enactment, the East India Company's Charter could not be terminated before 11 April 1834, and in order to terminate the East India Company's Charter, three-year notice was needed. Therefore, giving the notice to the Company on 10 April 1831 was the most favorable to the free-trade advocates.

<sup>52</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 25 February 1830, p. 27 and 2 March 1830, p. 28.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 April 1830, p. 40. Renfrew Country Council Commissioners of Supply Minute 1819-1830 (CO2/1/5, Glasgow City Archives), No. 13, 24 April 1830.

<sup>54</sup> *Glasgow Courier*, 27 April 1830.

and seconded by Mr. Speirs.<sup>55</sup> This motion was passed and a petition of ‘Sir John Maxwell, Baronet Chairman of a Meeting of the Noblemen, Freeholders, Commissioners of Supply, Justice of the Peace, Magistrates of Towns, Landholders in general, Bankers, Merchants, Shipowners, Colonial Proprietors, and legal Practitioners of the Shire of Renfrew’ was prepared and submitted to Parliament.<sup>56</sup> In the case of the County of Lanark, the GEIA arranged an interview with Lord Belhaven, the Convener of the County of Lanark, on the subject of petitioning Parliament. Although no record of this meeting can be found, the result of the meeting between the representatives and the Convener must have been favourable to the association as the monopoly of the EIC was eventually discussed in the general annual meeting of the Commissioners of Supply for the county, and thereupon it was resolved to petition both Houses of Parliament.<sup>57</sup> For the County of Dumbarton, James Buchanan of Dowanhill made contact with his friend, Mr. Dennistoun of Dennistoun in April 1830.<sup>58</sup> Dennistoun replied to him that they would make their best efforts to bring the subject of petitioning Parliament before the annual meeting of the County of Dumbarton at the end of April 1830.<sup>59</sup> At the same time Dennistoun advised Buchanan to suggest that the deputy chairman or the secretary of the GEIA send a letter to Sir James Colquhoun, the Convener of the county, to address him on the matter.<sup>60</sup> Eventually, the GEIA received a ‘favourable letter’ from Colquhoun.<sup>61</sup> Although the County of Dumbarton did not send its petitions to Parliament, the GEIA’s efforts succeeded in urging the merchants and manufacturers of the county to pay attention to this subject and getting them to appoint the committee to ‘watch over the proceedings of Parliament’.<sup>62</sup>

In addition, while J. Buchanan was negotiating with the members of the County of Dumbarton, the latter suggested to him that the Glasgow Association should contact not only the Convener of the County of Dumbarton, but also that of every county in Scotland.<sup>63</sup> In the special meeting of the directors of the association held on 15 April, the propriety of this proposal was fully discussed by them, but the advice was rejected.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Journal of the House of Commons, Sess. 1830, p. 472.

<sup>57</sup> Lanark County Council, Commissioners of Supply Minutes (CO1/1/13, Glasgow City Archives) 30 April 1825 to 30 April 1835, No.13, 30 April 1830.

<sup>58</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 13 April 1830.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Records of the Glasgow East India Association, Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836 (MS 891001/13), 19 April 1830.

<sup>62</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 20 May 1830, p. 42.

<sup>63</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 13 April 1830.

<sup>64</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 15 April 1830, p. 41.

Although the details of the discussion were not recorded, probably because of the geographical adjacency of Glasgow and the three counties and the economic and personal connections between them, they thought that it would be more efficient and effective to confine their efforts to these three counties. Among a number of petitions against the EIC's monopoly sent to the House of Commons, no petitions from Scottish counties were recorded in its Journal of 1830 except the Counties of Renfrew and Lanark.

In consequence, the GEIA's communications with other Scottish towns and counties reveals the existence of the provincial lobbyists' network in Scotland based on their personal connections during the free trade campaign of 1829-1833. The Liverpool Association's advice on petitioning Parliament was spread to other Scottish towns through the GEIA. The association was a hub of the free trade movement of Scotland. In the previous studies on the debates over the renewal of the company's charter, Eyles and Greenberg referred to the communication between the major towns where the East Indian associations and the similar institutions actively organised their lobbying.<sup>65</sup> But this section shows the examples of how effectively they persuaded their neighbours to join in the campaign. Although the GEIA might have missed an opportunity to mobilise more support from distant counties, the Glasgow Association could exercise its influence on its neighbouring counties.

During the period 1829-1833, newspapers, printed circulars and pamphlets were employed for exchanging information and ideas with other associations all over the United Kingdom and stirring up public opinion. In general, the association used newspapers and circulars in order to provide other lobbying groups and the public with information about the proceedings and important resolutions of special and monthly meetings of the GEIA's directors, and of public meetings held by the Glasgow citizens on the subject of the opening of the East India Trade. Conversely, the GEIA received a number of circulars and pamphlets from other East India associations, especially the Liverpool Committee, often in order to redistribute them all over Scotland. For instance, in January 1830, the Association received 250 copies each of the Resolutions of the Liverpool Committee passed on 18 January 1830, of a statement of the reasons for the complete free trade with India and free settlement there as well as the opening of the China trade, and of the funds and finance of the EIC for the purpose of its use.<sup>66</sup> In addition, the newspapers were employed for the

---

<sup>65</sup> Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', Chapter 5, and Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China*, pp. 179-184

<sup>66</sup> Committee Minute Book 1829-1847, 27 January 1830, p. 20.

purpose of advertising public meetings to the inhabitants of the town in advance and pamphlets to be distributed by the association.

Although Philips has argued in his work that ‘Its [a Deputation from the provincial ports and towns] pamphlet campaign was not, however, to be compared either in size and virulence with that of 1812-1813’, this was still one of the most important vehicles for the free-trade interests to express their ideas to the Public.<sup>67</sup> Although in Britain there were several authors producing pamphlets in which they criticised the economic and political systems which operated under the company’s charter, the contribution of John Crawfurd to the free trade movement of this period was most remarkable, and the publication and distribution of his pamphlets were fully supported by the GEIA and other associations.

John Crawfurd was a famous Scottish Orientalist, who had originally been employed in a medical post in the Indian Army by the EIC, and then resided in several places in India and Southeast Asia, including India’s Northern Provinces, Penang, Java, Siam, Cochin-China, Singapore and Burma, before he returned to England in 1827.<sup>68</sup> In spite of his long service for the company, he was a strong advocate of free trade in the East Indies. For instance, when he was a resident of Singapore during the period 1823-26, he contributed significantly to the negotiations for a treaty with the Malay rulers to secure Britain’s permanent possession of Singapore in 1824, which Webster calls the ‘products of attempt to bolster the Bengal export economy [which was dominated by the agency houses and other private merchants]’.<sup>69</sup> After returning to his homeland, he put himself in the centre of the free trade movement and criticised the EIC’s privileges in the trade with the East Indies. As his career shows, Crawfurd did not have significant commercial interests in the East India trade but was a philosophical challenger against the company. However, in the General Deputation lobbying in London, he acted as a representative of the free trade interests in Calcutta who paid his annual salary of £1,500.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 288-289, K. Charlton, ‘Liverpool and the East India Trade’ in *Northern History Review*, vol. VII, 1972, pp. 55-72, and Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China*, p. 289.

<sup>68</sup> E. C. T. Chew, ‘Dr. John Crawfurd (1783-1868): The Scotsman who made Singapore British’ [Online] Available from <http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/landow/post/singapore/history/chew/chew11.html> [accessed on 10 May 2005], and K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Economic Development of India under the East India Company 1814-58*, 1971, p. 15.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. and A. Webster, ‘British Export Interests in Bengal and Imperial Expansion into South-east Asia, 1780 to 1824’ in B. Ingham and C. Simmons (eds.), *Development Studies and Colonial Policy*, 1987, Chapter. 4, p. 167.

<sup>70</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 15 May 1829, letter no. 9, and Report of Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and the trade between Great Britain and the East Indies and China 1830, 1970, pp. 295-312.

Originally, it seems that the instructions from Calcutta to him were concerned mainly with political aspects of the affairs of the company. When he was called to the Select Committee for the investigation on the China Trade in 1830, he expressed in regard to the interests of the inhabitants of Calcutta that 'It has no view to the mercantile pursuits of my constituents; it is for political question only.'<sup>71</sup> However, at the same time, he answered to the Committee that 'I have no recollection what ever of any mention being made in my instructions, public or confidential, of the China question; but I have no doubt that the China question is also embraced in them.'<sup>72</sup> The fact that the inhabitants of Calcutta were interested in the commercial aspects of the renewal of the company's charter can be confirmed by 114 British and natives' request to James Calder, the Sheriff of Calcutta, to hold a public meeting 'for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to throw open the China and India Trade, and to prove, on the expiration of the existing Charter of the East India Company, for the unfettered application of British skill, capital and industry, to the commercial and agricultural resource of India.'<sup>73</sup> Although for the British private traders in India, the equalisation of duties on the East Indian and the West Indian sugars was more significant than some parts of free trade supporters in the U.K., particularly those of manufacturing towns, these two groups had the same main purposes in their lobbying, that is to say, the opening of the China trade and the removal of legal restrictions on the residence of the British subjects and their acquisition of lands. In this General Meeting it was decided that petitions to both Houses of Parliament would be prepared and transmitted to J. Crawford, their 'general agent', to deliver them to the important Parliamentary members.<sup>74</sup>

In June 1829, the Central Committee on the East India and China Trade which had been set up in Liverpool decided to publish his pamphlet, *A View of The Present State and Future Prospects of The Free Trade and Colonisation of India*, and 5000 copies were distributed to Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds and Crawford himself.<sup>75</sup> 500 copies were allocated to the GEIA at its expense of £25, and 200 of them were distributed to the major booksellers in the city.<sup>76</sup> In order to promote its sale,

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> *Report of the Proceedings at a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, on the 15 December, 1829*, c.1829.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 13 June 1829, letter no. 13.

<sup>76</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 20 August 1829.

advertisements for this pamphlet were inserted in different newspapers.<sup>77</sup> Some of the remaining copies were forwarded to other Scottish towns and ports, such as Paisley and Greenock.<sup>78</sup>

In this pamphlet, Crawford argued that ‘A thorough freedom of commercial intercourse between the European and Indian dominion of the Crown, and an unrestricted settlement of Englishmen in India, are the grand and essential instruments for improving our Eastern Colonies, and rendering them useful to the mother country.’<sup>79</sup> After his brief descriptions of the growth of free trade and the stagnated condition of the Company’s trade with India after the opening of the India trade in 1814, he gave several examples of the ‘evil effects of the existing system’ by analysing the staple articles of trade between the United Kingdom and India.<sup>80</sup> For example, he argued that the value of woollen exports from Britain to India and China by the EIC declined by 49 per cent from £1,064,222 in 1814 to £539,732 in 1827 although his claim was actually exaggerated as the figures which he quoted were in nominal values.<sup>81</sup> According to Davis’ calculation, the valuation of woollens exported in 1824-1826 as a percentage of the 1814-1816 valuation was 75.4%.<sup>82</sup> In other words, although the exports of woollens to India and China declined by a half during the period, the valuation of woollens also fell by approximately one fourth. Therefore, the decline of the woollen export by the company seems to have been less significant than Crawford argued. Nevertheless, it was expected by free trade supporters that a potentially larger demand for British woollens existed in China, especially the Northern part, than India and Southeast Asia because of its cooler and drier climate. Crawford argued that this inability of the company to supply their woollen products to China provided commercial rivals with the opportunity to deprive the British of their market.<sup>83</sup> .

Another example was the production of cotton wool in British India. Out of the average annual consumption of cotton wool of 197,544,880 lbs. in the United Kingdom in 1827 and 1828, 141,834,180 lbs. was imported from the United States, while only 11,987,040 lbs. was Indian produce.<sup>84</sup> He criticised this condition for the dependence of the British manufacturers of staple goods upon a rival country and stressed the necessity of

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> J. Crawford, *A view of the Present State and Future Prospects of The Free Trade & Colonization of India*, 1829, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 8

<sup>82</sup> Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, p. 23.

<sup>83</sup> Crawford, *A view of the Present State*, p. 8

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

substituting India for the United States as a stable supplier of raw cotton.<sup>85</sup> He concluded that 'the chief remedy for the evil... is European settlement, or more explicitly introduction of European example- of European skills- of European enterprise, and of European capital' and blamed the inability of many Indian commercial crops with their inferior qualities to compete with the products of other countries in the international markets on the existing regulations by which the British were prevented from holding lands in India and investing capital freely.<sup>86</sup>

In 1833, the GEIA showed further support to Crawford: a special meeting of the GEIA decided to have 600 copies of Crawford's work, *Notes on the settlement or colonization of British subjects in India*, which had been sent to Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, printed off at its expense.<sup>87</sup>

Crawford also took a critical attitude towards the state of the company's monopoly in the China trade. In another work, *Chinese Monopoly Examined*, for instance, he compared the EIC's sales price of teas with American sales price, and claimed that British subjects had been paying nearly twice as much as those who had purchased in the American market during the period 1819-1829. In other words, that they made an unnecessary payment of over £1,700,000 to the company per annum during the period. He argued that:

... the whole amount thus taken from the pockets of the people is a profit to the East India Company, or applicable, as has been most absurdly pretended, to meet the political and territorial charges of the Indian Government. In fact, by the largest portion of this impolitic of all taxes is wasted in expensive freights and extravagant establishments, the real profits are scarcely sufficient for the payment of the dividends laid by the Company's capital stock.<sup>88</sup>

For the opposition to the EIC, Crawford's extensive knowledge of the East Indies and experience there were invaluable. His deep involvement in the free trade movement of this period and strong influence on it can be found in a number of the communications with GEIA. Nevertheless, compared with his activities in Southeast Asia, his significant contribution to the provincial mercantile and merchants' lobbying for the abolition of the EIC's monopoly has received little attention from historians. As will be described in the

---

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p. 40. During the period, British subjects were permitted to hold lands only in the towns of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Prince of Wales's Ireland, Singapore, and Malacca.

<sup>87</sup> Although the Special Meeting decided to publish 600 copies, the account of the Association indicates that 200 copies were actually printed off at its expense of £26.5s. in 1833.

<sup>88</sup> J. Crawford, *China Monopoly Examined*, 1830, p. 87.

next section, Glasgow's lobbyists' outgoing and incoming correspondence reveal that apart from its members and the Liverpool Association, Crawford was the person with whom the GEIA communicated most frequently during the debates over the renewal of the EIC's charter. This Scottish man played a significant role in the formation of the provincial interests' lobbying strategies.

During the campaign, while Crawford was very favourably regarded by members of the GEIA, the association showed a different attitude towards James Silk Buckingham, another famous Orientalist at that time, who was the editor of such journals as *The Oriental Herald* and *The New Quarterly Review*. Philips described him as one of the most influential free-trade advocates for provincial ports and manufacturing towns during the period, but he actually failed to obtain full support from the Glasgow Association, although his lectures were warmly welcomed by the public in the city and many other places in Scotland.<sup>89</sup> The GEIA's minute book and its correspondence with James Silk Buckingham show that they had different opinions in respecting of the abolition of the EIC's administrative functions.

After years of international travel, Buckingham had settled in Calcutta and established the *Calcutta Journal*. His fierce criticism of the EIC in the paper had eventually resulted in his exclusion from India by the company in 1823.<sup>90</sup> After his return to England, he continued to agitate against the company through his publications and his lectures. In January 1829, he started his lecturing tour and went around all over Britain in the next three years. On 2 August, he arrived at Glasgow and began his lectures the next day.<sup>91</sup> The appearance of a series of his lectures in local newspapers and two extra lectures which he held showed his popularity in Glasgow.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, the majority of the members of the GEIA considered that it was not necessary to support him as the association although it did subscribe to *the Oriental Herald*, of which Buckingham was an editor.<sup>93</sup> On the one hand, some members of the association supported Buckingham. A. G. Speirs and Laurence Hill attended at his lectures and praised him. For instance, the former applauded him that:

After the brilliant display of eloquence with which you have heard the subject of India and its administration treated today, . . . I am sure that I shall only be expressing the unanimous feeling of every one who hears me, when I beg to propose that we

---

<sup>89</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 289.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> W. W. Buckingham, *History of the Public Proceeding on the Question of the East India Monopoly*, 1830, p. 31.

<sup>92</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 10, 13, and 24 August 1829, and *Glasgow Courier*, 8, 11 and 15 August 1829.

<sup>93</sup> Committee Minute 1829-1847, 16 July 1829, p. 15.

tender to Mr. Buckingham our united and cordial thanks, for the vivid and convincing manner in which he has condensed and arranged the vast mass of information submitted to us today; and the triumph case which he has established against the East India Company; so as to satisfy the most scrupulous, that we ought to unite with the other great towns of the kingdom to prevent the renewal of their exclusive privileges...<sup>94</sup>

On the other hand, some members of the Association, such as Finlay, did not think of him so highly. Finlay described him as:

Mr. Buckingham who is beyond all compassion, the most confident and impudent Charlatan that has ever appeared in this Country. At the same time I think He has been of some use by enlisting many of the most noisy and ignorant in the [?] and we should not act wisely if we rejected their aid because they are brought forward by a selfish, vain and vengeful Pretender... I shall myself take his Review although I believe that like all his other publications, it will not contain much that is valuable and bring little that can be depended on.<sup>95</sup>

In November 1829, Buckingham informed the GEIA of the launch of his new journal, *The New Quarterly Review* and asked them to support the promotion of its sales. He proposed to the association his plan to reduce the posting costs of his journals by sending a packet of letters to each of the East India associations in the different parts of the country, from which they deliver them to their immediate neighbouring areas.<sup>96</sup> This proposal was rejected by the association, as they told him that they thought it was proper to avoid mixing up their activities as the associated body with those of any private individuals if they were not supported by the Central Committee in Liverpool.<sup>97</sup> More importantly, on the instruction of Finlay, the secretary to the GEIA wrote to him that:

... your objects and those of the Assoc[iatio]n cannot be made a common course of. You are opposed the East India Comp[an]y. The Assoc[iatio]n merely object to their Monopoly, you deprecated the Government of the Comp[an]y & the mode of its administration in India. The Assoc[iatio]n meddle not at all with the Government, neither praising nor condemning it, objecting merely to its union of Sovereign and Mercantile character and to its exclusive rights...<sup>98</sup>

This reply clearly reflected the personal opinion of Finlay as his correspondence with the secretary shows.<sup>99</sup> His view was supported by the majority of the members of the Glasgow

---

<sup>94</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 10 August 1829, 'MR BUCKINGHAMS LECTURES'.

<sup>95</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 25 November 1829, letter no. 25.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 November 1829. Letter no. 21

<sup>97</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 4 December 1829, letter no. 9.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 25 November 1829, letter no. 25.

Association.<sup>100</sup> Whilst Buckingham was interested in the political aspects of the East India question, the GEIA showed their little concern about it. This attitude of the GEIA towards the debates over the renewal of the EIC's charter was strongly criticised by Buckingham. He called the intention of the Glasgow Association an 'imagined "modification"' and argued that:

The leaders in this Association were gentlemen who seemed to think it quite possible to carry the measure of opening the trade to India and China, end entirely destroyed the exclusive commercial Monopoly, and yet leave the Government of India in the hands of the East India Company. They were for Free Trade only, but not for Colonization; as if it were possible for the benefit of the one to be fully reaped without the admission of the other; and they were for taking away the trading character of the India Company only, and leaving them all the revenues, patronage, and political power they possess; as if it had not been shewn, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the latter could not be supported by them at all, without profits derived from their Monopoly on Tea; and that on this issue must all stand or fall together.<sup>101</sup>

It is clear that the GEIA had a different attitude towards the two celebrated Orientalists. On the one hand, the Glasgow Association gave their full support to publishing Crawford's pamphlets and distributing them to Glasgow and its neighbourhoods. This was due largely to Crawford's personal influence on the provincial lobbying groups. His deep knowledge of the East Indies and experience there and his analysis and arguments for the complete abolition of the EIC's monopoly in the East India trade and the general free trade led him to establish his firm position in the free trade movement. On the other hand, although Philips and Eyles stress Buckingham's contribution to the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests' free trade movement, in fact, he failed to obtain the GEIA's full support because of their different views on how they should treat an issue over the administrative function in India in their free trade campaign, as well as his personal character.<sup>102</sup> Although Buckingham wanted to link the provincial lobbyists' campaign with the EIC's political issues, the GEIA was not interested in it. In respect of admiration for Buckingham's personal activities to promote free trade in the East Indies, there was a division between the public and the GEIA as an associated body in the town. Compared with Crawford, who contributed to the provincial interests' lobbying strategies, the significance of Buckingham's role in the free trade movement was that he could stir up public opinion through his popular lecturing tours and publications.

---

<sup>100</sup> Buckingham, *The Question of the East India Monopoly*, p. 31

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', pp. 198-199.

In addition, apart from the publications of John Crawford's works, in order to 'enlighten the public as to the complete freedom of the East India trade', the GEIA obtained a part of 1000 copies of the substance of the speech of W.W. Whitmore, and distributed them in Glasgow.<sup>103</sup> In March, 1831, acting on advice from the Liverpool Association, the Glasgow Association also decided to receive from London 500 copies of the articles on the China Trade, which seems to have been J. R. McCulloch's *Observations on the influence of the East India Company's monopoly on the price and supply of tea*, from the *Edinburgh Review* and distribute them all over Scotland.<sup>104</sup>

#### 4.5. The Glasgow Deputation and the proceedings of the debate on the renewal of the EIC's charter 1829-1833.

Following the resolution of the public meeting of 22 April 1829, the GEIA sent its deputation to London to organize a joint campaign with deputations from other provincial manufacturing towns and outports. The deputation consisted of Alexander Garden and Robert Dalglish; later Robert Douglass Alston, George Stirling and Robert Ewing were added to the posts.<sup>105</sup> From the free trade advocates' viewpoint, the timing of beginning their lobbying for the complete opening of the East India and China trade was favourable. For instance, W. W. Whitmore, one of their Parliamentary supporters, thought that 'the present period properly favourable not only as the Catholic question had been disposed of, and the public mind required some succedaneums of excitement, but as the prevailing distress in the commercial district afforded the most favourable opportunity of impressing the necessity of new market for British manufacture.'<sup>106</sup>

On 9 May, by appointment, the General Deputation from provincial manufacturing towns and outports held a conference with the Duke of Wellington at Downing Street, where the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Henry Goulburn) and the President of the Board of Control (the Earl of Ellensborough) also attended.<sup>107</sup> The deputies were supported by their Parliamentary friends, Whitmore and William Huskisson, who helped greatly in securing access to these key figures of national politics. In particular, the latter, who represented Liverpool in Parliament and held the office of the President of the Board of Trade, had a

---

<sup>103</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 16 July 1829, p. 14 and 17 September 1829, p. 17.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 17 March 1831, p. 56.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 22 April 1829, p. 2 and 28 April 1829, p. 4.

<sup>106</sup> Incoming correspondence 1829-1830, 4 and 5 May 1829, letter no. 2.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 1829-1830, 9 May 1829, letter no. 5.

strong influence on the course of British economic policy, which began to adopt free trade gradually in the 1820s.<sup>108</sup>

Prior to the conference, on 6 May, seven gentlemen from Glasgow, Liverpool, and other places held a meeting to agree the following points for the agenda of the conference, viz. (1) the abolition of restrictions on residence of British subjects, and the employment of British capital for produce in India, (2) the opening of the China trade to British subjects, and (3) the anticipation of benefit derived from abolition of the monopoly in the China trade by the reduction of the price of tea.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, they aimed to urge Ministers to agree with their opinion that an enquiry should be made into the East India Trade and that a committee should be appointed for this purpose.<sup>110</sup> In the conference between the joint-deputation and the Ministry, the Provost of Glasgow and other deputies from Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester and Bristol stated the distressing condition of each provincial manufacturing town and outport in detail, and urged the necessity of entering new markets in Asia. Then, John Gladstone from Liverpool explained the events of 1813 and the positive impact of the partial opening of the East India trade after 1814.<sup>111</sup> The statements of the deputies were concluded by James Cropper's argument on the negative effect of the tea monopoly on prices and supplies.<sup>112</sup> Although initially, at the meeting, the Duke of Wellington avoided an immediate answer, the Ministry later decided to set up a Select Committee to consider the renewal of the EIC's charter.<sup>113</sup>

This decision was regarded as a triumph of the lobbying activities of provincial towns and ports. On 15 May, the deputies from the above places plus Calcutta gathered at Fenton's Hotel in London.<sup>114</sup> In this meeting, they issued their statement that 'the strong opinion manifested in the manufacturing and commercial districts on the great question of the trade with India and China has, in the opinion of this meeting essentially contributed to the obtaining of his Majesty's Government's pledge that a Committee shall be appointed at a very early period of the next session of Parliament to enquire into the present state of the Trade with India and China and the whole questions connected therewith.'<sup>115</sup> If the fact that the Ministry's decision came only a few days after that meeting is taken into

---

<sup>108</sup> J. B. Williams, *British Commercial Policy and Trade Expansion 1750-1850*, 1972, pp. 451-453.

<sup>109</sup> Incoming correspondence 1829-1830, 6 May 1829, letter no. 4

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 May 1829, letter no. 5.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 May 1829, letter no. 9.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

consideration, the provincial lobbyists' view seems to be right. They also recommended the following points; (1) All provincial cities and towns interested in this subject should send their petitions to both Houses of Parliament at the beginning of the next session; (2) All major places should proceed their deputations to London again during the examination of the Select Committee; (3) A Central Committee should be set up in London during the time of the examination and in the meanwhile the Liverpool Committee should act as the Central Committee for their communication with those who were concerned with the subject of the renewal of the EIC's charter.<sup>116</sup> In Glasgow, the General Deputation's initial achievement and the efforts of Alexander Garden, James Ewing and Charles Stirling who had acted as its deputation in London were applauded by other members of the Association after they had returned.<sup>117</sup>

However, after the return of the deputation, the GEIA was not very active for the rest of the 1829. On the contrary, it seems that the public expectation of the association in the free-trade movement immediately after its foundation was so high that its first-year achievement could not come up to the expectation of some of the members. At the first annual general meeting, Finlay expressed his dissatisfaction that 'a report had come to his ears that some people imagined the Committee had not displayed so much activity as might have been expected during the past year [1829],' although at the same time he positively regarded it as a proof of the growth of public interest in the debates over the renewal of the EIC's charter in the town.<sup>118</sup>

After the interval, the lobbying activities organised by Glasgow and other provincial manufacturing towns and outports followed the recommendations of 15 May 1829. In January 1830, following the communication with the Liverpool Central Committee, the members of the GEIA agreed to take measures to obtain petitions from the authorities and citizens to Parliament against the renewal of the charter, and for this purpose a Sub-Committee 'to draw up the petition to Parliament to be submitted to the Public Meeting and to make the necessary arrangement as to that meeting' was appointed.<sup>119</sup> During the period between February 1830 and 23 July 1830, nearly one-hundred and ninety petitions against the renewal of the company's charter were submitted to the House of Commons by local authorities and other organisations.<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 16 July 1829, pp. 12-14.

<sup>118</sup> *Glasgow Courier*, 27 March 1830.

<sup>119</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 21 and 27 January 1830, pp. 18-20.

<sup>120</sup> The number includes petitions from British colonies such as Cape of Good Hope. *Journal of House of*

On 9 February 1830, following Robert Peel's proposal, the Select Committee was appointed to investigate 'the affairs of the Company and the trade between Great Britain and China' in the House of Commons.<sup>121</sup> Its members were selected from several quarters including the state, the EIC, and provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests. More than forty witnesses were called to testify before the Select Committee from the company's side and their oppositions. In Glasgow, on 11 February, at a public meeting of the inhabitants of the city, the Lord Provost (Alexander Garden), Kirkman Finlay and James Oswald were appointed to the second deputation to London from the city in order to provide the Select Committee with the necessary evidence and arrange the witnesses for them.<sup>122</sup>

One of the main points for the Select Committee was whether the present mode of the company's monopoly in the China trade was advantageous for other British merchants or not. In the Select Committee, some of the witnesses, mainly British private traders and American merchants who engaged in the trade with China and other parts of the East Indies, insisted that the present system of the China trade based on the EIC's monopoly provided them with no advantage for their trading activities there, and rather they complained about it.<sup>123</sup> In contrast, other witnesses, most of whom were from the company, insisted that the presence of the company in the local trade conducted by British private traders was protected by their presence. For example, the attempt by the Chinese Government to search its own country's ships were prevented by the influence of the company.<sup>124</sup>

However, the most significant part of the Select Committee's investigation was on the state of the purchase of tea by the EIC in China, and the system of importation and sales of tea in Britain. On the one hand, in the Select Committee, many of the witnesses, including both those who were connected with the company and the British private and American traders, stated that 'owing to the extent of the Company's purchases, to their system of contract, and to their great regularity, they buy the Teas, particularly the Black, at an

---

Commons, vol. 83, Sess. 1830

<sup>121</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, New Series, Vol. XII, pp. 271-305.

<sup>122</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 16 February 1830, letter no. 13.

<sup>123</sup> *Parliamentary Papers, Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China*, 1830 (644), p. viii.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

advance of price.<sup>125</sup> However, on the other hand, a group of mainly British private and American merchants gave their evidence that the company's monopoly in the tea trade led to a very heavy tax upon the public amounting to between around 1 million and 2.6 million pounds per annum.<sup>126</sup>

The high prices of tea in Britain were also pointed out in the comparison with other European countries and the United States. In this respect, the report of the Select Committee admitted that:

The Company relying, as it appears, upon the profits of the Tea Trade to enable them to fulfil the obligations which Parliament has imposed upon them in their two-fold political and commercial character; while foreigners, on the contrary, have no such obligations.<sup>127</sup>

In terms of British exports to China, many witnesses, mainly the private traders and the Americans, expressed their belief that the opening of the China trade would lead to a large increase in the exports of British manufacturing products. Notwithstanding, in the Select Committee, James Cosmo Melvill, an auditor of the company, expressed his views that a large increase of the British exports would be restricted by the company's obligation of the significant size of remittance from India to Britain, which was advantageously made through purchasing Chinese merchandise in his opinion.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, it was argued by Melvill and another company official that the large increase in British exports to India was achieved by fiscal regulations.<sup>129</sup> For example, while the British textile manufacturers' lobbying led the British government to prohibit or set the high rates of restrictive duties on the imports of cotton and silk manufacturing products of India in order to protect the British counterparts till the 1820s, while the British manufactures were sold in India in the system of free trade. The British held the political power in India, but the situation was different in China where the Chinese governed. Those who had interest in the EIC insisted that under the condition where British manufacturers did not have economic advantage deriving from Britain's political dominance of India, a large increase in the exports of British produce could not be expected after the opening of the China trade.

---

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvii. For example, Joshua Bates estimated that the extra financial burden on the public per annum in the case of monopoly was around £1.5 million; Thomas Thornely, £1.73 million; Robert Rickards, £2.59 million; and John Crawford, £0.98 million.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

During the investigation, a significant amount of time was devoted to the question of the opening of the tea trade with China. Kirkman Finlay reported daily on its progress to his hometown, and a large part of their early communication was focused on the need to procure adequate witnesses for the provision of evidence related to the China trade. The association also received from the Liverpool Committee a copy of John Crawford's letter to ask them to send up any witnesses to London prior to the examination of the China trade.<sup>130</sup> The communications between the GEIA, their deputation in London and other associations show that the GEIA had difficulty in obtaining witnesses in Scotland as it seems that in spite of the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814 the number of Scottish merchants who had their own personal experience in Asia, especially in China, was small. Even if the members of the association found such men, information which they could provide was sometimes too old. Nevertheless, from Glasgow and other parts of Scotland, in response to the requests from the association, two gentlemen, John Deans of Ayrshire, who had previously resided in the Eastern Archipelago as a merchant and agent for about twenty years, and Mr. Maxwell living near the city, who had also been engaged in the East India trade as a merchant and commission agent and had experience of visiting Singapore, Java and China, were asked to proceed to London.<sup>131</sup> In the Select Committee, for instance, to the question that 'Do you believe that tea could be supplied for consumption in this country at two thirds price it now bears, if the Company's monopoly no longer existed?', John Deans replied that 'Judging from the price in other countries, I should think certainly it might for less, and particularly if we pay for it in our manufactures by a free trade.'<sup>132</sup> He supported the advantages of the abolition of the tea monopoly. Furthermore, Deans supported the possible increase in the Chinese imports of British manufactured goods after the abolition of the EIC's monopoly. He expressed that 'In time, I have no doubt it would, because we should imitate the manufacture of their favourite fabrics, and greatly extend the consumption of our manufactures; but it would take time.'<sup>133</sup>

In order to make up for only these two witnesses from Glasgow and neighbouring areas, the directors of the GEIA suggested to Finlay in London some merchants who resided

---

<sup>130</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1829-1830, 15 February 1830, letter no. 33.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 February 1830, Letter no. 18, and *Report of Select Committee*, 1830, pp. 233-244 and pp. 245-253.

<sup>132</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China*, 1830 (644), Appendix, p. 240.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

there as potential witnesses.<sup>134</sup> Among the witnesses called to the Select Committee during this period, Joshua Bates of the house of Baring, Brothers & Co and Charles Everett, both American commission merchants having been engaged in the China trade were on the list of possible witnesses given by the association to Finlay. Bates was probably a familiar face among cotton manufacturing interests in the provincial towns as Baring, Brothers & Co. supplied American raw cotton to them as a part of their engagement in the North Atlantic trade.<sup>135</sup> The evidence of Bates before the Select Committee was regarded by the GEIA as of some value: 'it might not be more important than that of the others. Yet from the high station he has attained in the mercantile world... what is now stated by him will have more weight.'<sup>136</sup> The GEIA's correspondence indicates that the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests communicated with the partner of the famous house throughout the campaign although the details of their meetings were not recorded.<sup>137</sup> During the previous free trade campaign, few connections between the provincial outports and manufacturing towns, and the London East India houses could be seen, although some provincial manufacturing interest group which traditionally provided the EIC with commodities for its export supported the renewal of the company's charter. As Webster argues, after the opening of the India trade, the relationship between the provincial manufacturing interests and the gentlemanly capitalists became more complicated since some London East India houses developed closer relationship with the provincial interests by consigning their manufactures to the East Indies and providing them with financial advances.<sup>138</sup> In consequence, these two metropolitan and provincial groups could share more interests and collaborate more easily in the lobbying for free access to the Asian markets than previously. Eyles very briefly pointed out the collaboration between the London interests and the provincial lobbyists in his thesis. He described the establishment of a free trade committee called 'Association for Colonization to India, and free Trade to China' in London in 1828 and F. Ferguson's visit to Liverpool in October the same year, on the part of the committee, in order to give information on the renewal of the charter to the free trade interests of the city.<sup>139</sup> Detailed information on this association is not available, but from his reference to his petitioning the Treasury for the importation of teas from Holland, it seems that this committee was connected to the private trading interests of

---

<sup>134</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 22<sup>nd</sup>, February 1830, p. 26.

<sup>135</sup> J. Orbell, *Baring Brothers & Co., Limited. A History to 1939*, 1985, Chap. 5.

<sup>136</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 19 March 1830, letter no. 29.

<sup>137</sup> Records of the Glasgow East India Association, Incoming Correspondence 1833-1834 (MS 891001/6, Glasgow Mitchell Library), 22 April 1833, letter no. 37 and 27 April 1833, letter no. 38.

<sup>138</sup> Webster, 'The Strategies and limits of Gentlemanly Capitalism', pp. 747-748.

<sup>139</sup> Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', pp. 171-172, *Liverpool Mercury*, 10 October and 12 December 1828.

London.<sup>140</sup> The communication between the provincial lobbyists and Joshua Bates gives us further evidence of the connection between the province and the metropolis against the model of the ‘gentlemanly capitalist thesis’. These evidences support Webster’s argument.

In addition, Abel Coffin, who had the experience of commanding a ship in the China trade three times and was recommended to J. Crawford by the Secretary of the Association, also gave evidence.<sup>141</sup> The Report of the Select Committee revealed that many of the witnesses expected that the consumption of British manufactures would increase as a result of the opening of the China trade. This was based upon the experience of the exports of British manufactures to China by American merchants as well as the large increase of British exports to India after the opening of the India trade.<sup>142</sup>

As one of the deputies from Glasgow and the Chairman of the General Deputation in London, Kirkman Finlay’s effort to negotiate with other deputies, parliamentary members and others concerned with this subject, look for witnesses and provide necessary evidence to the Select Committee during the period were considerable. After his return to Glasgow, the members of the association showed their gratitude that:

Kirkman Finlay, who to a general and practical knowledge of business added an intimate acquaintance with all the details of this great national Deputation, who had been eminently serviceable in assisting to open to Indian Trade in 1813 its talented advocates, devoted his whole time, and gave all his energies to the promotion of the great measure, of throwing open the markets of India and China to the Inhabitants of this as they are already to those of every other country.<sup>143</sup>

Finlay’s efforts in this free trade campaign can perhaps be compared with Charlton’s account of James Cropper’ leadership of the Liverpool Association at that time. His leading position in the General Deputation symbolised the significant role of the GEIA in the national movement.

Although the investigation of the China question by the Select Committee was ended, the GEIA continued its efforts for the complete opening of the East India trade. During John Crawford’s visit to Glasgow in September, he insisted that Glasgow should continue to

---

<sup>140</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 12 December 1828.

<sup>141</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 19 February 1830 and *Report of Select Committee*, 1830, pp. 115-131.

<sup>142</sup> *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company. China Trade*, 1830, p. 47.

<sup>143</sup> Committee Minutes, 21 July 1830, p. 46.

petition Parliament from session to session until they achieve their ultimate object.<sup>144</sup> In November, when Grey's Government replaced Wellington's, the association began to prepare new petitions to Parliament and further lobbying activities in London although Charles Grant, who became the new President of the Board of Control, told the chairs of the EIC that the China monopoly was to cease.<sup>145</sup> As the result of its communication with the Liverpool Association and following the examples of Liverpool, in a monthly meeting held on 20 January, the directors of the GEIA set up a sub-committee to prepare a draft of Resolutions as the foundation of the petitions. They also agreed to send Oswald, Garden and Henry Dunlop as their deputies as soon as they could in order to 'bring prominently to the notice of the Ministry the importance of a Free Trade to India & China' in conjunction with the representatives from Merseyside.<sup>146</sup> The deputation left Glasgow to get to London in time for the joint-deputation's interview with Earl Grey on 5 February but, because of a snowstorm, their arrival was delayed and they missed Grey's personal invitation.<sup>147</sup> However, the House of Commons had appointed a Select Committee to examine the Indian branch of the question on the previous day. To this examination, J. Crawford and some of those who engaged in the East India trade, such as Mr. Bracken of the house of Alexander & Co., one of the major seven agency houses in Calcutta before the financial crisis of the early 1830s, were called.<sup>148</sup> The association expected most of these witnesses' evidence to support free trade with India.<sup>149</sup>

However, the question of the renewal of the EIC's charter failed to attract wider attention in the country as the debates on the Reform Bills dominated national politics. According to Philips, the Select Committee's reports could not give a clear guide on the India Bill to the Government, which could also not afford enough time to take the question of the administration of British India into consideration.<sup>150</sup> During the time of the heated debates on the Reform Bills in early 1832, the Glasgow Association made communication with Liverpool and J. Crawford in respect of the propriety of their agitations against the renewal of the charter.<sup>151</sup> The members of the Glasgow Association insisted that they should continue to make public demonstrations until the Reform question was settled.

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 10 September 1830, p. 48.

<sup>145</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 289.

<sup>146</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 20 and 25 January 1831, pp. 51-52.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 12 February 1831, pp. 53-54.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 'the Second Annual Report of the Committee of the Glasgow East India Association submitted to the Minutes' on 31 March 1831, p. 60, and Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 278.

<sup>149</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 'the Second Annual Report', p. 61.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., and Philips, *The East India Company*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>151</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 5 February 1832, letter no. 62 and 9 February 1832, letter no. 63, and Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 16 February 1832, p. 68.

Nevertheless, after their communications, it decided to suspend its appeals to the Ministry for a while and not to send any deputation to London in that year.<sup>152</sup>

Apart from the charter renewal, other subjects related to free trade were debated during this period. These included the heavy duties incurred on British manufactures in Java, Netherlands' India, and the objection against the exclusion of the American traders from Singapore. This confirms Webster's explanation that the British manufacturing interests related to Southeast Asia found their political voice through the East India associations.<sup>153</sup> The association's lobbying activities on these issues emphasises the strong influence of J. Crawfurd's opinion on these subjects. During the special meeting of the GEIA's directors with Crawfurd, they agreed to send the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs their memorials on the heavy duties on British manufactures in Java and on their desire to open the port of Singapore to the Americans.<sup>154</sup> Over the question of Singapore, the association insisted that the restrictions, which were excluding the Americans from Singapore, prevented the port from playing its role as the hub of commercial intercourse in this region, as instead the American ships were using the Dutch small free port of Rhio nearby.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, the GEIA's standpoint in respect of Britain's general foreign trade policies was clearly shown in these subjects. The GEIA's memorial to Earl Grey in regard to Singapore best shows the preference of the merchants and manufacturers in Glasgow and its neighbouring areas for the liberalisation of Britain's economic policies and the application of free trade to the international trade.

... it is most important to the interests of the Commerce and Manufactures of this country that the greatest possible extension should be given to the industry and enterprise not only of His Majesty's subjects but of the people of all other states, and in order to effect this desirable purpose, it is necessary that liberal concessions in regard to Commercial intercourse should be spontaneously made to Foreign States. It appears clear to the Memorialists that those who have the greatest quantity of commodities to sell, and require consequently to purchase largely in other articles must be the most high benefited by the growth & universal application of regulations favorable to the most free & open commercial intercourse.<sup>156</sup>

In February 1832, the Board of Control sent its letters relative to the Trade and Finance of India to the parties concerned with the East India question and requested their opinions on

---

<sup>152</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, letter no. 62 and Committee Minutes, 16 February 1832 and 29 March 1832.

<sup>153</sup> Webster, *Gentlemen Capitalists*, p. 117.

<sup>154</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 10 June 1831, p. 65.

<sup>155</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 'The Memorial of the East India Association of the City of Glasgow', 21 June 1831, letter no. 57.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

this subject.<sup>157</sup> The Chamber of Commerce of Glasgow was one of them, and their replies to the queries were drafted by the sub-committee of the association.<sup>158</sup>

In the summer of 1832, when the General Election of members to the reformed Parliament was approaching, the East India associations of manufacturing towns and outports discussed an appropriate measure to increase the number of parliamentary supporters against the EIC's monopoly. In July, in the special meeting, this subject came up for discussion.<sup>159</sup> After a long debates, the directors of the GEIA rejected the suggestions of some members of the Liverpool Committee that a declaration of opinions relative to the East Indies from the candidates or that their pledges should be asked for in order to clarify their attitudes towards the subject.<sup>160</sup> Their decision was more moderate: they agreed that 'it is proper for the Committee to address the public at present on the India & China Trade with reference to the expected Election for Members to Parliament', and their resolutions in which they appealed to the electors to consider this question were printed and circulated.<sup>161</sup> Although the association was not very active for the election, it appears that the East India question was one of the issues in the election. As the result of the Parliamentary Reform, two seats were allocated to Glasgow. James Oswald, John Crawford and James Ewing, who were related to the association, stood with other candidates for the election. Oswald and Crawford were politically liberal, whilst Ewing's stance was 'liberal' Tory. Apart from these three candidates, Daniel K. Sanford also made a long speech to support the abolition of the EIC's monopoly at the meeting of electors.<sup>162</sup>

While all of these candidates supported the complete abolition of the company's monopoly, Ewing's attitude to the free trade was more ambiguous than the others as his main commercial interests were located in the West India trade. During the period of the election campaign, his views on free trade were criticised in the following terms:

You are an opponent also, you say, of the East India and China monopoly- but what do you think of the West India monopoly?- Will you propose an equalizing duty upon the sugars from both countries, in order to place them upon the same footing?

---

<sup>157</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-47, 16 February 1832, p. 68.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 18 and 24 February 1832, pp. 69-76, and *Reports from Committees: 1831-2. East India Company's Affairs. II. -Finance and Accounts-Trade*. Vol. III-Part II. Appendix No. 4, pp. 504-590.

<sup>159</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-47, 10 July 1832, pp. 82-84.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Anon. *Speech of sir Daniel K. Sanford at a Meeting of Electors and inhabitants of Glasgow, in the Traders' Hall, Wednesday, September The 19th, 1832, 1832.*

This is another point on which you are silent, as well as upon the general principles of Free trade.<sup>163</sup>

Like John Gladstone in Liverpool, whose case will be explained in the next chapter, this criticism shows Ewing's contradictory position as a member of both the West India Association and the East India Association. Although he supported the opening of the East India and China trade, he also needed to defend the West Indian interests as one of the leading West Indian traders of the town. In December 1832, James Ewing and James Oswald, members of the association, were elected as MPs for Glasgow. Crawford's defeat indicates that the abolition of the restrictions imposed on the East India and China trade was not a decisive influence in the result of the election in Glasgow. Moreover, Ewing and Oswald had stronger local connections than Crawford. Nevertheless, these two MPs were the members of the association. As in the case of the 1812-1813, the GEIA had its own representatives in Parliament again.

In January 1833, on the eve of Parliament assembling, merchants and manufacturers of Glasgow started to prepare for their final battle for the abolition of the EIC's monopoly and the establishment of free commercial intercourse with the East Indies. In January and February, the GEIA discussed with Liverpool the propriety of sending their Deputations to London, but concluded at the beginning of March that it was too soon to proceed.<sup>164</sup> At the same time, the association and the two MPs reaffirmed the following points relative to the affairs of the East Indies: (1) the complete opening of the China Trade to British subjects, including the tea trade, should be achieved; (2) the association considered that it would be possible to secure large custom revenues from tea by changing the taxation system; (3) the abolition of the restrictions on British subjects travelling, purchasing and holding lands in India should be demanded; (4) the association also thought that the abolition of the restriction on direct travel from the U.K. to any ports in India except Calcutta, Bombay and Madras should be achieved; (5) it was proper for the GEIA not to interfere in the question of the best mode of the administration in India.<sup>165</sup> Prior to the arrival of the deputation, the situation in London relative to the question of the renewal of the East India Charter was regularly relayed to Glasgow by the two MPs as well as J. Crawford.

Although the association was confident that the China trade would be open, it thought that

---

<sup>163</sup> Anon., *Letter to James Ewing, Esq. L.L.D. of Dunoon Castle*, c. 1832.

<sup>164</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-47, 22 January 1833, pp. 86-87, 21 February 1833, pp. 88-89, and 2 March 1833, pp. 90-91.

<sup>165</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 22 January 1833, letter no. 71.

the other points were still uncertain.<sup>166</sup> Even the Government did not make their final decisions on some points. For instance, in the middle of February, Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, sent an inquiry to W. W. Whitmore about the opinion of provincial commercial and manufacturing interests in regard to the 'rules, restrictions and conditions under which they [the British subjects] should be allowed to settle in the interior of India.'<sup>167</sup> Then, copies of Grant's letter were sent to the parties concerned with this subject including the associations of Liverpool and Glasgow. In Glasgow, the directors agreed that it was more proper for them to send Grant a joint answer than a separate reply.<sup>168</sup> However, the Glasgow Association felt that 'it was rather beyond our province to become Indian law maker.'<sup>169</sup> Since the Glasgow Association were unable to prepare their own draft for this matter by themselves because of their lack of knowledge of the legal system in India, while they were waiting for John Crawford's notes on the inquiry from the Board of Control, they also asked the Liverpool Association to write up the draft and send it to Glasgow for their consideration.<sup>170</sup> Ewing, lobbying in London, was asked in the middle of March by Robert Gordon of the Board of Control about Glasgow's ability to act as a bonding port to secure the duties on tea.<sup>171</sup> In order to answer this question, the GEIA sent an inquiry to Greenock and Port Glasgow on the conditions of the bonded warehouses there.<sup>172</sup> Moreover, Oswald and Whitmore agreed that a deputation from Glasgow should be sent to London immediately, since the President of the Board of Control would be willing to hear from them on the bonded warehouses of outports before the Easter recess.<sup>173</sup> After observing the proceedings of the debates over the new India Bills in Parliament and the opinions of the Ministry, on 22 March, the GEIA appointed Kirkman Finlay, J. G. Hamilton, Henry Dunlop, Walter Buchanan and W. P. Paton as its deputation to London, who would act in conjunction with the deputation from Liverpool, and then acting on advice from Oswald and Whitmore, the association sent its deputation to London.<sup>174</sup> The Board of Control's inquires to the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests imply that for the Ministry not only the London mercantile interests and their alliance but also the provincial interests' views were significant criteria in the formation of Britain's imperial policies in Asia.

---

<sup>166</sup> Committee Minute 1829-1847, 21 February 1833, p. 89.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 March 1833, p. 91.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92 and Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 12 March 1833, letter no. 78.

<sup>169</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 12 March 1833, letter no. 78.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, and Committee Minute 1829-1847, pp. 91-92.

<sup>171</sup> Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 26 March 1833, p. 95.

<sup>172</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 25 March 1833, letter no. 84 and 85.

<sup>173</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1833-1834, 25 March 1833, letter no. 23.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.* and Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 22 March 1833, pp. 93-95.

In London, the deputation from Glasgow continued their lobbying with other Deputations before the introduction of the Bill. Finlay, one of the deputies, held discussions with the Board of Control daily, and he also privately submitted to the Government his opinions on the necessary arrangements for the opening of the China trade and the duties which should be levied on teas.<sup>175</sup> The Government estimated that the consumption of tea would be 30 million pounds, while in Finlay's personal view, it would amount to 40 million pounds.<sup>176</sup> He insisted that the Government's calculations on the consumption of tea after the opening of the China trade were underestimated in order to persuade them to open the China trade immediately and to levy moderate duties on the Chinese produce. The directors of the association supported his argument and left this matter to Finlay's discretion.<sup>177</sup>

Although the GEIA's lobbying activities against the discriminating duties on East and West India produce continued, its activities against the renewal of the EIC's charter almost ended by the time the India bill was introduced into Parliament by Grant on 13 June 1833. In terms of the clauses of the new Charter Acts with which the GEIA was concerned, they were favourable to the free-trade supporters. The company's monopoly in the China trade was to be abolished, including the tea trade. On 22 April 1834, the company was to abandon all of its commercial privilege and close their commercial business, and their commercial properties both in the homeland and abroad which were not retained for their Government in India were to be sold in order to settle its financial obligation. The restrictions on British inhabitants purchasing and holding lands in India were also abolished.

#### 4.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, the lobbying activities of the GEIA during the period between 1829 and 1833 have been analysed. After the opening of the India trade in 1814, the East Indian interests of Glasgow organised few lobbying activities until the end of the 1820s because they did not have a proper institution that could represent their interests. Nevertheless, the GEIA was re-established in order to organise their lobbying against the renewal of the company's charter and deal with other subjects connected to their interests.

---

<sup>175</sup> Incoming correspondence 1833-1834., 22 April 1833, letter no. 37 and 30 April 1833, letter no. 39, and Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 10 March 1833, p. 99.

<sup>176</sup> Outgoing Correspondence 1829-1836, 10 May 1833.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., and Committee Minutes 1829-1847, 10 May 1833.

In studies by Greenberg and by Eyles of the renewal of the EIC's charter during this period, the roles of the Lancashire merchants and manufacturers have often been emphasised. Nevertheless, it is clear that under the initiative of Kirkman Finlay, this Scottish organisation played a major role in this national campaign, although its policies often followed the opinions of Liverpool. The records of the GEIA indicate the significant influence of John Crawford, who connected with British private merchants in the East Indies, not only in the case of the Glasgow Association but also over the theoretical arguments and general lobbying tactics adopted by free-trade supporters of the provincial manufacturing towns and outports as a whole. Nevertheless, this Scottish Orientalist's importance in this campaign attracted little attention from historians, compared with Buckingham. In fact, Crawford was a man who linked the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests with the private traders in the East who had close connection with the London gentlemanly capitalists in the 1829-1833 campaign.

The means and general tactics of GEIA's lobbying activities followed their previous attempts of 1812-1813. The lobbying strategies of the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests were decided through close communication among the provincial lobbying groups and their supporters. Compared with Chapter 3, it is more difficult to measure the influence of their lobbying activities on the state's decision. The GEIA's deputies could access Ministers through Parliamentary supporters like Huskisson and Whitmore. The state's decision on the appointment of the Select Committee just after the meeting between the General Deputation and the Ministers implies the effective lobbying of the provincial interest groups. The records also indicate that the provincial lobbyists made significant efforts to find witnesses who could give favourable evidence for free trade, and their searching extended to the London mercantile community. Moreover, inquiries from the Board of Control to the provincial lobbyist groups indicated that the provincial interest groups were significant enough for the state to consider their opinions.

The analysis of the association's subscribers has revealed that their economic interests were varied as those of the previous association's subscribers had been. However, whilst the West Indian interests were not one of the largest economic interest groups any more, those who were involved in the cotton industry maintained their significant position within the re-established association. As Webster argued, their consigning manufactured goods to the East Indies by London agency houses, which developed after the opening of the India

trade, created their connection with the London interests. The development of the connection between them was a background of the collaboration between the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests and some of the gentlemanly capitalists in the metropolis and their nexus in Asia during this free trade campaign.

## Chapter 5. Liverpool's campaigns against the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, 1812-1813 and 1829-1833

### 5.1. Introduction

Through the examination of the GEIA's lobbying activities, the previous two chapters have argued that the provincial merchants and manufacturers exercised stronger influence on the formation of British imperial policies in the East Indies than the model of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' supposed. The main aims of this chapter are to reinforce the previous chapters' evaluation of the effective campaigns of provincial lobbying groups during the periods 1812 to 1813, and 1829 to 1833 through an analysis of Liverpool's lobbying activities, and to support a more general argument that provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests exercised stronger influence over this country's imperial policies than is suggested in the model of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis'.

The port of Liverpool has been raised to its present proud pre-eminence...., and, within my own time, has been elevated from the rank of a third or fourth-rate town to that of a second. Though Liverpool has a leg tied up, she is now running a race with the metropolis; they are neck and neck, and let but that leg be untied which now restricts the motion of one of the competitors, and we may venture to anticipate that the same enterprise which has carried Liverpool so far, will soon lead her beyond the port of London itself.<sup>1</sup>

The above speech made by Samuel Hope, one of the bankers in Liverpool, described the position of the city in the first half of the nineteenth century clearly. During the period, Liverpool participated in the general trend of the growth of Britain's overseas trade.<sup>2</sup> The port gradually established its significant position and overwhelmed the port of London in some branches of British overseas trade, notably the slave trade during the second half of the eighteenth century and then the import of raw cotton from the United States and other places during the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century Liverpool had a different economic structure from Glasgow. As described, Glasgow's economy was based on both foreign trade and manufacturing; in Liverpool, foreign trade and related sectors held a dominant position. The growth of its economy increased its political influence, and put it

---

<sup>1</sup> The Liverpool East India Association, *Report of the Public Meeting at Liverpool on Wednesday, January 28, 1829*, 1829, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> According to Davis' calculation, the annual average of total exports (excluding re-exports) from Britain increased from £12,690,000 in 1784-6 to £44,474,000 in 1814-16, whilst that of total imports rose from £20,386,000 to 64,741,000, respectively. See R. Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, 1979, pp. 88-89 and 92-93. The Irish trade is excluded from the values.

in the centre of the free trade campaign, and the Liverpool interests took a strong initiative to organize the two national campaigns from 1812 to 1813, and from 1829 to 1833.

Nevertheless, as will be described below, Liverpool's mercantile community reflected the diversity of their commercial and political interests. This chapter will explore how the character of Liverpool's economy influenced its lobbying about the EIC's monopoly and how Liverpool's lobbying group led its effective campaign in spite of internal divisions in its mercantile society.

In spite of Liverpool's important role, previous research on its campaigns against the renewal of the charter is surprisingly sparse. Regarding Liverpool's campaigns during the Napoleonic Wars period, its lobby in the debates over the Orders in Council attracted more attention from such historians as Checkland and Tolley than did the East India question.<sup>3</sup> As Moss explained, they described the Liverpool merchants' lobby for the opening of the East India trade as a part of dual campaign, but very briefly. Checkland also described the campaign in John Gladstone's biography, but was uninterested in the details of Liverpool's campaign. In terms of the second campaign, apart from Eyles' brief explanation of Liverpool's lobbyists' campaign in his doctoral thesis, Charlton has examined its lobbying activities.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, his work focused on the relationship between Liverpool's lobbying for the opening of the East India and China trade, and the West India trade and slavery. He did not explore the connection between provincial lobbying groups and the degree of their influence to any great extent. Moreover, in terms of the collaboration of provincial interest groups, although these historians have pointed out that they petitioned Parliament and sent their General Deputation to London, the range of their collaboration was actually wider than has been described.

In this chapter, the first four sections will examine Liverpool's first campaign. The development of Liverpool's economy after the second half of the eighteenth century and its economic structure will be described. The problems of the town, particularly its economic conditions during the Napoleonic War period and the internal division of the Liverpool merchants over the country's wartime economic policies, will be discussed. Then the

---

<sup>3</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'Economic Attitude in Liverpool' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1952, pp. 58-75, B. H. Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Order in Council and the War of 1812' in J. R. Harris (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside: Essays in the Economic and Social History of the Port and Its Hinterland*, 1969, Chapter 5.

<sup>4</sup> D. Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 188-191.

opening of Liverpool's lobbying activities and the commercial interests of its campaigners will be examined. Fourthly, the proceedings of Liverpool's movement will be analysed. Then in the remaining sections, the second campaign will be explored. The backgrounds of the city's lobbying activities, and then the economic condition of the city and the lobbying activities of the LEIA during the 1820s, especially the debates over the equalisation of sugar duties among the business society of Liverpool, will be dealt with first. Second, how the LEIA started their campaign against the renewal of the company's charter will be described. Third, an analysis of the economic and political interests of the members of the Liverpool Committee will reveal their diversity. Fourth, the proceedings of the second campaign will be examined from the Liverpool merchants' viewpoints.

The main archival sources for this chapter, which take up Liverpool's free trade campaigns, are articles from such contemporary newspapers as the *Liverpool Courier* and the *Liverpool Mercury*, plus other local archival sources, including Liverpool Town Books and John Gladstone's correspondence located at the Liverpool Record Office and the Flintshire Record Office respectively. Many of these materials have been used by other historians. Apart from these common sources, the analysis of this chapter draws on the GEIA's records, which contain correspondence between Glasgow and Liverpool and other towns.

This chapter shows that, in spite of their varied political and economic interests, the Liverpool Committee took the leadership in the two campaigns, and that it communicated with other towns closely in order to organise their lobbying effectively. For analysing how provincial merchants and manufacturers, with their varied economic interests and different political views, formed their overall lobbying strategies, the correspondence of the GEIA is very useful. This chapter also describes the significant role of their local parliamentary representatives for their lobbying that Cain and Hopkins' model failed to explain. The internal divisions within the Liverpool mercantile community did not affect their strong challenge to the dominance of the London mercantile elite over the East India and China trade.

## 5.2. Liverpool's development and economic structure during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century

Like other provincial manufacturing and commercial centres in England and Scotland, Liverpool experienced rapid economic social and demographic change in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the demographic aspect, the population of the town increased dramatically. Its population was estimated at approximately 7,000 in 1708, then 77,653 by 1800 and had increased to 116,000 by 1811, that is, its population rose more than fifteen times.<sup>5</sup> The economy of the city was dependent on its port. By 1760, Liverpool merchants overwhelmed their London and Bristol counterparts in the slave trade.<sup>6</sup> The triangular trade which connected Britain, the West African coasts and the West Indies was highly speculative and hazardous and needed a highly organised trading system, which contributed to the rise of banks in the town. The multilateral character of the South Atlantic trade contributed to the development of a trading settlement system based on bills of exchange. For remitting their profits to the home country from the West Indies, Liverpool slave traders could access the financial facilities of London West India interests, who dominated the West Indian economy.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, the port facilities and the networks of roads and canals which connected Liverpool with local manufacturing towns were significantly improved by the early nineteenth century.

Although Liverpool was famous for the slave trade before its abolition in 1807, its economic contribution to the growth of the town was significant but partial.<sup>8</sup> At the end of the eighteenth century, Liverpool emerged as the leading British port in the trade with the United States. The city became the hub of exports of manufacturing products from the North and the Midlands, and of imports of raw materials. Apart from the articles mentioned above, the cotton textiles of Lancashire, the woollen goods of the West Riding, the iron of South Yorkshire, the pottery of Staffordshire and the hardware of Birmingham were gathered to the port for export to the United States and the West Indies. In return, raw materials, especially raw cotton, were imported in order to meet increasing demand from

---

<sup>5</sup> R. Lawton, 'The genesis of population' in W. Smith and others (eds.) *A Scientific Survey of Merseyside*, 1953, pp. 121-2, and N. Collins, *Politics and Elections in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool*, 1994, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> B. L. Anderson, 'The Lancashire bill system and its Liverpool practitioners: The case of a slave merchant' in W. H. Chaloner and B. M. Ratcliffe, *Trade and Transport: Essay in Economic History in Honour of T. S. William*, 1977, p. 62.

<sup>7</sup> R. B. Sheridan 'The Commercial and Financial Organization of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1958, pp. 249-263, and Anderson, 'The Lancashire bill system'

<sup>8</sup> E. F. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey: An Economic History of Port 1700-1970*, 1971, Chapter 3.

English manufacturing towns.<sup>9</sup> During the period 1820-1850, over 80 percent of Britain's importation of raw cotton arrived at Liverpool every year.<sup>10</sup> Although the West Indian and American traders were dominant elements of Liverpool's overseas trade during this period, the city represented not only its own mercantile and shipping interests but was firmly connected with many manufacturing interests of the North and the Midlands. The rapid growth of Liverpool was the most successful part of the British economy during this period.

The city's political and social characteristics also help us to understand Liverpool's participation in the free trade campaign. In terms of the local politics of nineteenth-century Liverpool, the Corporation members were dominated by the Tory Party.<sup>11</sup> The conservative part of the town was best represented by the West Indian and the West African traders, who were the old part of the city's economic interests and deeply connected with the colonial trade. Nevertheless, S. G. Checkland argues that 'The typical Liverpool merchants of the last quarter of the eighteenth century' were 'a mercantilist, a materialist and an empiricist'.<sup>12</sup> On the one hand, they were inclined to believe that their trades benefited from England's traditional mercantile policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; on the other hand, they were critical of policies that restricted their trading activities.<sup>13</sup> In spite of the abolition of the slave trade and the relative decline of the West India trade in the early nineteenth century, the West Indian traders still maintained their strong influence in Liverpool's political life.

Meanwhile, such non-conformists in the city as the Unitarians, the Quakers and the Presbyterians were excluded from local politics. The descendants of the Scottish immigrants, many of whom were Presbyterians, were also outside the mainstream of local politics. Such groups included some highly successful and respected merchants who conducted their trade with the United States and the West Indies, notably William

---

<sup>9</sup> B. H. Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Orders in Council and the War of 1812', in J. R. Harris, (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside*, 1969, Chapter. 5.

<sup>10</sup> D. M. William, 'Liverpool Merchants and the Cotton Trade 1820-1850' in J. R. Harris (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside*, Table 1. The original sources which he used were T. Ellison, 'The Cotton Trade of Great Britain, 1886, p. 85 and E. J. Donnell, *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton*, 1873, *passim*. For instance, in 1820, the total import of raw cotton into Britain was 571,651 bales, and 458,693 bales out of them went to Liverpool in fact, and a decade later, as the total import increased to 871,487 bales, the import into Liverpool also raised to 793,870 bales.

<sup>11</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'American Versus West Indian Traders in Liverpool, 1793-1815' in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1958, pp. 141-142, and N. Collins, *Politics and Elections in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool*, 1994, Chap. 1.

<sup>12</sup> See S. G. Checkland, 'Economic Attitudes in Liverpool 1793-1807', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1952, p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

Rathbone, James Cropper and William Ewart.<sup>14</sup> Along with the group of professionals, such as William Roscoe and James Currie, in the Philosophical and Literary Society, these non-conformist elements were related to the Whig elements and the radicals of the town, and were critical of the privileged group of old mercantile and shipping interests and the Tory Corporation.<sup>15</sup>

As can be seen, Liverpool gained the status of the most important outpost by the end of the eighteenth century. The port was linked with the manufacturing towns of the North of England and the Midlands for the export of their manufacturing goods and the import of raw materials, and the contribution of the Liverpool merchants to the Atlantic trade was particularly remarkable. The port and its merchants established themselves as strong competitors against the port of London and its merchants. Politically, Tory dominance was increasingly challenged by the radicals during the early nineteenth century.

### 5.3. Problems of Liverpool before the campaign of 1812-1813

This section will explore Liverpool's problems which led its inhabitants into the free trade campaign of 1812-1813. At the same time, it will explore the internal division of the town's mercantile community over the wartime economic policies during this period because in Cain and Hopkins' model, the internal divisions of provincial interests were one reason for their failure of exerting their political influence on the state.

While Liverpool experienced the general trend of rapid economic growth, its merchants felt uncertainty over the future of trading activities. Foreign trade with the United States, the West Indies and the European Continent was damaged by the series of wars. In addition, domestically the West India traders were under pressure from the anti-slavery movement. According to Hyde and Parkinson, the initial outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars did not affect trade directly except its trade with Russia, but London's financial crisis was transmitted to Liverpool in 1793 via the bankruptcies of several commercial and banking houses in the metropolis.<sup>16</sup> The failure of Charles Caldwell and Co., one of the leading banking houses in Liverpool, damaged confidence and led to a ruinous contraction of

---

<sup>14</sup> S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851*, 1971, pp. 30-31.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, and Checkland, 'Economic Attitude', pp. 66-74

<sup>16</sup> F. E. Hyde and B. B. Parkinson, 'The Port of Liverpool and the Crisis of 1793' in *Economica*, New Ser., Vol. 18, No. 72, 1951, pp. 366-367.

circulating medium.<sup>17</sup> The crisis forced the Corporation to step in to rebuild confidence by obtaining an Act of Parliament to issue their own notes. In contrast, political events such as Napoleon's economic blockade of Britain after the Berlin-Milan Decrees of 1806 and 1807 followed by the annexation of Holland, Westphalia and Northern Germany and Britain's counter-blockade by the Orders in Council, directly caused a more serious disruption to Liverpool's economy.

This situation was worsened by the deterioration of Britain's relationship with the United States when the Orders in Council, which restricted the Americans' neutral trade, were issued and the Americans retaliated against the British by their counteracts. As the leading British port of the American trade, the disruption of the American trade was particularly serious to Liverpool merchants. According to William Rathbone's estimation, the American trade amounted to five-sixteenths of Liverpool's commerce in 1808.<sup>18</sup> Their trading operations under the disputes between the two countries were very high risk. When the embargo was imposed by the U.S. Government, merchants had to keep a large stock of goods in anticipation of its removal in the near future. When the embargo was temporarily lifted in May 1810, after raw cotton had hit the highest prices during the period 1808-09, the flood of American commodities to Liverpool and the huge accumulation of stocks, as well as the lack of demand from the manufacturing areas of Lancashire, caused a collapse of prices.<sup>19</sup> In the city, those concerned with trade with the United States were represented by the American Chamber of Commerce. Among its members, the Rathbones, Croppers, Bensons, Hodgesons, Thornelys, Martins, Richardsons, and Binns, who operated their trade primarily with America, were against the Orders in Council.<sup>20</sup>

The West India trade gradually lost its commercial importance after the late-eighteenth-century prosperity. The trade was dependent on tropical commodities and, unlike the United States, the small islands and their heavily indebted plantation economy could not offer a large market to British manufactures nor meet the increasing demands for corn or raw cotton from the rapidly growing manufacturing centres of Britain. Moreover, the slave trade, which was under pressure from abolitionists all over the country, declined at the turn of the century. The number of Liverpool's ships engaged in the slave trade reduced from one out of every twelve ships in 1792 to one out of every twenty-four by the time of its

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 367-368

<sup>18</sup> B. H. Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign', p. 102

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., and S. G. Checkland, 'American Versus West India Trade' in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1958, p.156

<sup>20</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'America Versus West Indian Traders', p. 150.

abolition.<sup>21</sup> Devine argued that in Glasgow the relative decline of the West India merchants led to the establishment of the GWIA in 1807 in order to maintain and promote their interest. The foundation of a similar association by Liverpool merchants in 1799, when the liquidity crisis occurred, may indicate their similar position at the turn of the century.<sup>22</sup> The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 did not directly lead to economic crisis in the town, but certainly this political event damaged the West India merchants' prospects.

The wars with France also hit the West Indian traders of Liverpool. In his research, Checkland pointed out the vulnerability of the West India trade in wartime conditions due to its more speculative nature than the American trade.<sup>23</sup> The main markets for the West Indian commodities were on the European continent. Although the Napoleonic Wars gave the West Indian interests an opportunity to exclude European rivals from this traffic, they needed continental markets, in which they could sell only small quantities at high prices under the French economic blockade.<sup>24</sup> In such a commercial environment, they could not expect stability or large profits. In this condition, it was essential for the West Indian interests to exclude the Americans from their trade. Therefore, while many of the prestigious Liverpool merchants engaging in the American trade were hostile to the Orders, the West India merchants and planters were the main supporters of the Ministry and the Orders in Council. For example, the political stance of John Gladstone, father of the later Prime Minister, William Ewart, had been a Whig at first. However, as his economic interest in West Indian trade and plantations increased during the 1800s, which was combined with his patriotic attitude and his Episcopal beliefs, he became a supporter of the Conservative Government and the Orders.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 162

<sup>22</sup> T. M. Devine, 'An eighteenth-century business elite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c. 1750-1815' in *Scottish Historical Review*, 57 and Checkland, 'American Versus West Indian Traders in Liverpool', p. 145.

<sup>23</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'American Versus West India Trade', p. 150.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones*. Chapter 8 and 9.

**Table 5-1. Trade and dock duties collected in Liverpool. (1810-16).**

	Number of Ships	Tonnage	Duties (£)
1808	5,225	516,836	40,638
1809	6,023	594,601	47,580
1810	6,729	734,391	65,782
1811	5,616	611,190	54,752
1812	4,599	446,788	44,403
1813	5,341	547,426	50,177
1814	5,706	548,957	59,741
1815	6,440	709,849	76,915
1816	6,888	774,243	92,646

Note: In 1812, a new mode of levying rates on goods and tonnage was introduced.

Source: T. Baines, *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool, and The Rise of Manufacturing industry in The Adjoining Countries*, 1852, pp. 6-7.

The difficulty of Liverpool merchants before the renewal of the EIC's charter is indicated in Table 5-1, which shows trade and dock duties collected in the port of Liverpool from 1808 to 1816. Between 1810 and 1812 (the events during the period included Napoleon's annexation of Holland and North Germany in 1810, the resumption of the Americans' non-intercourse in 1811 and the general depression all over the country), both the number of ships and the total amount of tonnage declined significantly. In addition, although the mode of levying Dock Duties was changed in 1812 and an annual revenue of around £60,000 had been expected, the figure was not achieved until 1815.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the *Liverpool Mercury* reported that 'Near 16,000 poor besides the Parochial Paupers, have in this town and within these last six weeks eaten of the bread of charity.'<sup>27</sup>

In consequence, Napoleon's economic blockade and the disputes between Britain and the United States over the Orders in Council were having a profound impact on Liverpool's economy before the beginning of their lobbying for the opening of the East India trade, as was the case in Glasgow. In the case of Birmingham, which has been examined by Moss, its manufacturers who dominated the local economy exported their goods to the United States, and also opposed the Orders.<sup>28</sup> In the case of Liverpool, the situation was more complicated because the strong West India interests existed along with the American trade interests. The Liverpool mercantile community displayed its serious divisions in the debates over the Orders in Council.

<sup>26</sup> T. Baines, *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool, and The Rise of Manufacturing industry in The Adjoining Countries*, 1852, p. 557.

<sup>27</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 February 1812.

<sup>28</sup> D. J. Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders-in Council and East India Company Charter, 1812-13' in *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. XI, Issue 1, 1976, pp. 181-12.

#### 5.4. The beginning of Liverpool's campaign against the renewal of the Charter

By the beginning of 1812, some merchants in Liverpool had started lobbying for the opening of the East India and China trade on an individual basis. In February, General Gascoyne, one of two MPs for Liverpool, stated in the House of Commons that the merchants of Liverpool had the expectation that 'a great alternation would be made in the arrangement of the carrying trade to and from India', and that they had suggested that a Select Committee be set up to examine the issue.<sup>29</sup> In March 1812, following requests from several inhabitants of Liverpool and other British towns, such as Birmingham, from where Thomas Attwood had written a letter to urge them to petition Parliament, the Mayor of Liverpool called a meeting to discuss the subject of the opening of the East India trade.<sup>30</sup> On 16 March, a Special Council and Meeting of the Trustees of the Dock was held by the Mayor and other council members in the Town Hall of Liverpool in order to discuss their petitioning Parliament against the renewal of the EIC's charter.<sup>31</sup> This was the first official meeting of the corporation on their petitions to Parliament against the East India Charter. In this meeting, two petitions were prepared by the corporation and the trustees, and then a committee was nominated to undertake their lobbying.<sup>32</sup> The petition of the Trustees of the Dock was one of the characteristics of Liverpool's campaign. The trustees insisted in their petition that after the Liverpool Dock Act had been passed in the previous session they had started several works to expand and improve the dock facilities to meet not only current need but also to provide for the future requirements of the East India trade.<sup>33</sup> On the next day, another petition was approved at a meeting of the merchants, ship-owners, tradesmen and other inhabitants of the town, which was led by the committee appointed in the previous day's meeting.<sup>34</sup> In this petition, they argued that free trade with the East Indies and China was 'the common birth right of all his Majesty's subjects' and 'subject only to such general regulations of trade as the policy of this country may require, or as may be necessary for maintaining the relation of these realms with foreign state, and securing to Government those revenues which may be required for its support.'<sup>35</sup> They attacked the monopoly of the EIC as 'highly injurious to the general interests of this at large as greatly discouraging the commercial spirit which from the nature and local

---

<sup>29</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXI, 6 February 1812, p. 676.

<sup>30</sup> Incoming Correspondence, 1812-1813, Letter No. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Liverpool Town Books (352 MIN/ COU I 2/8, Liverpool Record Office), 16 March 1812.

<sup>32</sup> The members of the committee were Aldermen, Thomas Earle, Henry Blundell Hollinshead, John Bridge Aspinall, Peter Whitfield Brancker, Thomas Molyneux, James Drinkwater, Thomas Hinde, Samuel Staniforth, Thomas Case, William Nicholson, William Rigg.

<sup>33</sup> Liverpool Town Books, 16 March 1812.

<sup>34</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 18 March 1812, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

situation of these Islands, is indispensable to their prosperity, and upon which their security at this moment essentially depends.’<sup>36</sup>

An event during this meeting indicated the desperation of Liverpool’s American traders. The proceedings were interrupted by William Roscoe, whose radical views were shared by some of the major American traders of the city.<sup>37</sup> He and his supporters went to the meeting to express to the public their argument against the Ministry’s foreign trade policy.<sup>38</sup> This clearly reveals the debates within Liverpool itself. He rejected the view that the opening of the East India trade would increase Britain’s resources for war with France. He argued that although such a hope seemed possible there were still two years left for the expiration of the company’s charter and several more years would be needed for the trade to be set up and eventually become fruitful.<sup>39</sup> From his and his followers’ viewpoint, the East India trade would not be able to provide Britain with enough resources to carry on the war; only their trade with the United States could do it.

Furthermore, Roscoe was sceptical of the argument that the abolition of the EIC’s monopoly would be a remedy for the depressed economy of the county. He argued that ‘It was not the East India Company that had brought our ruin. War was the foundation of the distress: and it was completed by the Orders in Council.’<sup>40</sup> Then, he continued his argument that ‘it was ridiculous to suppose that the opening of the East India trade would remove the present calamities of the nation. These had no connexion with present subject.’ His speech was interrupted by the Mayor, who insisted that the purpose of the meeting was not to discuss the Orders in Council but the East India trade. The Corporation were firm supporters of the government’s policy on the Napoleonic Wars and resented Roscoe’s criticism of the Ministry in the public meeting. In spite of the Mayor’s interposition, Roscoe received praise from some sections of the audience at the meeting. It was true that the depressed trading conditions of Liverpool led its merchants to their movements against the renewal of the EIC’s charter. However, for some of the American merchants and other inhabitants of the town their prior political issue was not the East India trade but the removal of the Orders, as they did not think the trade to East India and China would be able to replace the United States immediately as a supplier of raw materials and market for British manufacturing goods. Nevertheless, regarding their free trade campaign against

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

the renewal of the charter, in spite of their different views, there was no actual split between those who were in conflict with each other over the issue of the Orders in Council: in the long view, the East India and China trade, which had been enjoyed by London merchants under the EIC's monopoly, would also be attractive to them.

**Table 5-2. Membership of the committee appointed at the General Meeting held in Liverpool on 17 March 1812.**

Name	Designation (1811 Directory)	West India / American trader
William Roscoe	Banker	
John Gladstone	Merchant (John & Robert Gladstone)	W. I. (GD 1807)
Cyrus Morrall	Merchant	A. (Morrall & Boarland) (ACC)
William Barton	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
John Richardson		A. (John Richardson & Co.) (ACC)
George Irlam	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
Richard Pilford	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
Thomas Bourne	Swedish Consul	
Joseph Leigh	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
John Tobin	Merchant	
Thomas Fletcher	Merchant	WI (GD 1810)
Adam Lodge	Merchant	A. (Lodge & Tooth) (ACC)
Anthony Littledale	Merchant	
Charles Lawrence	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
Moses Benson	Merchant	W. I. * <sup>1</sup>
Charles Turner	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
Joseph Brooks Yates	Merchant	W. I. * <sup>2</sup>
Jacob Fletcher	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
Robert Bagott	Merchant	
William Ewart	Merchant	W. I. (GD 1807)
William Rathbourne	Merchant	A. (W. & R. Rathbone) (ACC)

Note. 'W. I.' = a merchant who was listed in the members of the West India Association. 'A.' = a merchant who was listed in the members of the American Chamber of Commerce. '(GD)' = in *Gore's Directories*. '(ACC)' = in 'The American Chamber of Commerce for the Port of Liverpool'.

Source: *Liverpool Courier*, 18 March 1812, p. 3. *Gore's Directories*, 1807 and 1810, and W. O. Henderson, 'The American Chamber of Commerce for the Port of Liverpool, 1801-1908' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 85, 1985, Appendix A and B. *Gore's Directories* of 1807 and 1810 contain the lists of the members of the West India Committees and those of the American Chambers of Commerce.

\*<sup>1</sup> Checkland, 'American Versus West Indian Traders in Liverpool', pp. 141-142.

\*<sup>2</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Minutes of Evidence before Committee of Whole House of Commons relating to Orders in Council* 1812, vol. III, p. 375.

At the same meeting, another committee was appointed to lead their free trade campaign. Table 5-2 shows the names of the members of the committee, their designations and economic interests. Compared with the committee who had been appointed only from the council members on 16 March, this committee reflected the wider economic interests of Liverpool's free trade campaigners more clearly as the members were elected from merchants, ship-owners and tradesmen of the city. Because of the city's commercial orientation, most members were merchants and no person whose main economic interest

was manufacturing was included. The table is incomplete as the economic interests of Tobin, Littledale and Bagott are unknown. Nevertheless, it shows that many of the members or the companies in which they held stakes, were featured on either the list of the members of the Liverpool West India Association or the American Chamber of Commerce. For example, John Gladstone and William Rathbone were prominent figures in the West India trade and the American trade respectively, and both of them held the office of chairman of each organisation during their lifetime. Although historians such as Checkland and Tolley have explained the collaboration between the West Indian traders and the American traders, it is clear that, among 21 members, 12 were West Indian merchants and only 4 were American merchants. In number, the West Indian interests clearly overwhelmed the American merchants. As the debates over the Orders in Council showed, the West Indian interests had a mercantilist view: they supported the state's intervention into trading activities for the national interest. Their involvement in the campaign for the abolition of the EIC was exactly characteristic of 'the typical Liverpool merchant of the last quarter of the eighteenth century [who was represented by the West Indian merchant]' to which Checkland pointed.<sup>41</sup> In spite of their mercantilist view, they supported free trade in the East Indies for practical reasons rather than their free trade beliefs based on Adam Smith's ideology. This also indicated the diversity of economic and political interests within the provincial lobbyists. Taking the number of the West Indian interests and the American traders' attitude towards the opening of the East India trade in the public meeting of 17 March 1812 into consideration, the core of the Liverpool lobbyists was the West Indian merchants and planters.

Thus the Committee of the Common Council and that of the Merchants, Ship-Owners, and Tradesmen were set up in Liverpool. These two committees together formed the United Committee, which represented Liverpool's interests in the opening of the East India and China trade. Thomas Earle, one of the Aldermen, and William Ewart were selected as its chairman and deputy-chairman, and J. M. Brackenbury was recruited to fill the post of secretary. The total sum of their campaign funds is not known, but the corporation decided that the necessary expenses for the purpose of opening the East India and China trade, up to £500, should be met from the Corporation Treasurer's account.<sup>42</sup> The rest of the expenses were made up by subscriptions from the public, which were collected at several

---

<sup>41</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'Economic Attitudes in Liverpool 1793-1807', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1952, p. 58.

<sup>42</sup> Liverpool Town Books, 16 March 1812.

banks and the public coffee-rooms throughout the town.<sup>43</sup> As Glasgow's case in the previous chapters and Birmingham's campaigns described by Moss show, Liverpool's lobby was also strongly supported by its local authority.

### 5.5. The proceedings of Liverpool's movement against the Renewal of the Charter

The mercantile community of Liverpool had clear internal divisions during this period. This section explains how the Liverpool lobbying group organised its campaign in spite of its differences. In fact, because of the city's significant political connection with the centre of national politics and other reasons such as its geographical advantage, its lobbying group led the national campaign.

In the first week of April, following a call from the Committee of Birmingham, John Gladstone, the member of the Liverpool West India Association, was sent to London as a deputation from Liverpool. He was later joined by John Bourne, who was then Mayor, in order to form the General Deputation with deputies from other outports and manufacturing towns.<sup>44</sup> The deputies from Liverpool attended several meetings with other deputies and the Ministry. The three petitions from the Liverpool Corporation, the Trustees of the Dock, and its merchants, ship-owners and other inhabitants were presented to the House of Commons by General Tarleton, MP for the city, on 23 March.<sup>45</sup> During the presentation of these petitions, he had a heated discussion with Thomas Creevey, a Liverpool-born radical Whig, and other members over the economic condition of Liverpool. Tarleton had claimed that Creevey had overstated the number of people who were receiving charitable aid: the Whig man had previously stated that the number of such people increased from 8,000 to 15,000.<sup>46</sup> As has already been noted, the *Liverpool Mercury* claimed a similar number, near 16,000 people. Creevey blamed this economic condition of Liverpool on the standstill of the American trade. General Tarleton put a counter-argument by quoting the report which was understood to have been issued by the Corporation of the city. He insisted that, although a number of Irish and Welsh workers who had worked for the construction of the dock were out of employment, no more than 3000 to 4000 people received aid from a soup committee for their relief.<sup>47</sup> After their argument, General

---

<sup>43</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 1 April 1812.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXII, 23 March 1813, pp. 111-118.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

Gascoyne, another Tory MP for Liverpool, stated that he would take a middle position. He took it for granted that the diminution of the trade with America led to the downturn of Liverpool's economy, but believed that it would be temporary.<sup>48</sup> He believed that the depression of the colonial trade was the real problem in the distress of Liverpool.<sup>49</sup> Alexander Baring, who represented the London interests and was against the Orders in Council, thought the actual state of the town's distress was distorted by the Liverpool Corporation, which were firm advocates of the Ministry's policy:

Mr. Baring was not disposed to place much reliance on the statement ready by the hon. General [Tarleton]; for it was known, that in all the petty corporate towns of the kingdom, the mayor and corporation were always eager, and mostly interested in supporting the measures of the ministers of the day, and were ready to proclaim them as the best possible for the interests of the country. But he could not help remarking, the great injury that must result from misrepresentations of topics of this nature, and from states of the flourishing state of our commerce, when the fact was notoriously the reverse.<sup>50</sup>

Their exchange of hot words over Liverpool's economic condition in the presentation of petition for the abolition of the EIC's monopoly was another example of the division of Liverpool community over the issue on the Orders in Council.

Nevertheless, in spite of the disagreement among Liverpool merchants over the government's policy related to Britain's counter-blockade against France, the campaign of Liverpool merchants against the renewal of the charter was very active. London merchants, traders and others held a meeting at the City of London on 23 April and passed their resolutions for the confinement of the East India trade to the port of London. The United Committee of Liverpool immediately held a meeting on 27 April and expressed their 'extreme surprise' at the London movement. Their resolutions were published in all local newspapers.<sup>51</sup> The merchants, ship-owners and manufacturers of London had two main arguments. The first point was that the opening of the East India and China trade to the outports would damage a number of London merchants, ship-owners, manufacturers and others who were currently engaged in the East India trade under the privileged position of the Port of London. Second, the extension of the East India trade to the outports would not be able to secure the revenues because of the lack of suitable facilities at these ports. The Liverpool Committee refuted these claims. First, as they argued in their petitions,

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 23 March 1812, pp. 114-115.

<sup>51</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 29 April 1812.

their demand for free access to the East Indies was grounded on the birth right of all British subjects, and all restrictions should be imposed on them on equal terms.<sup>52</sup> They claimed that ‘to debar any portion of them from carrying on trade with the same facilities and advantages as their fellow subjects, or deprive certain places of the right of trade, in order to confer it on other places, would be a new and dangerous innovation on the Constitution and Law of the Land.’<sup>53</sup> Then, in respect of the custom revenues, they insisted that ‘... it has, without monopolies or partial advantages, established a commerce which returns a very large proportion of the general revenues of the Majesty... such revenues are as faithfully paid as duly collected and accounted for in the port of Liverpool as in that of the Metropolis’.<sup>54</sup> They thought that Liverpool, as one of the major ports of the country, had long-time experience of overseas trade with English colonies and foreign countries, not only with European countries and the United States, but also such tropical areas as the West African coast and the West Indies, and their experience of overseas trade and the advanced facilities of its port could guarantee the customs revenues to be secured after the opening of the trade with the East. Although as described in Chapter 3, a part of the London merchants composing a part of the gentlemanly capitalists supported to a partial relaxation of the East India trade, the London mercantile community had a general consensus about the maintaining of its dominant position in the East India trade. The Liverpool lobbyists’ immediate response to the claim of the London interests indicated their strong rivalry against them in the competition for the position of Britain’s leading port and their serious engagement in the debates over the renewal of the charter.

After the General Deputation in London was informed that the Ministry had no intention of bringing the subject of the renewal of the company’s charter before Parliament in that session, the deputation was dissolved after their meeting of 11 May. In this meeting, the General Deputation requested the United Committee of Liverpool to take over their roles until their reassembly during the next session of Parliament.<sup>55</sup> The resolution referred to a geographical advantage that Liverpool was a ‘Town from its central situation being best adapted’ for the purpose of correspondence with the parties of London and provincial manufacturing towns and outports which were concerned with the renewal of the charter.<sup>56</sup> However, there were other reasons. The first reason is that, as has been described above, Liverpool was deeply connected with the major industrial areas of Britain. To say nothing

---

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 24 June 1812.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

of such neighbours as Manchester and other Lancashire manufacturing towns, even Birmingham's economy was deeply connected with the town. With its own merchants and ship-owners' desire to share the East India trade with their London rivals, it was expected that the Liverpool Committee would be able to execute their duties in the wider aspects of the renewal of the Charter. Secondly, the town had a strong political and economic connection with London. In fact, according to Checkland, Liverpool's overcoming of a series of liquidity crises in the 1790s was partly attributed to its close connection with the Bank of England and the Treasury.<sup>57</sup> In addition, in the meeting, J. M. Brackenbury, an agent to the American Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool and others, who had acted as the Secretary General to the General Deputation, was also requested to continue his role.<sup>58</sup> In consequence, Liverpool was presented as in the best position to know the opinions of all parties involved in this question. Indeed the Liverpool Committee was granted a power to request that all provincial towns and outports obtain consent from it before translating their ideas into action, whilst the Liverpool lobbyists could communicate with the Ministry whenever they thought it was proper.<sup>59</sup> Accordingly, the Liverpool Committee obtained the leadership in the free trade movement, despite the clear split in the Liverpool membership.

Before their lobbying for free trade resumed, another important event happened in Liverpool. When Parliament was dissolved in September, John Gladstone and other West India interests brought George Canning to the city as a candidate. Canning was a very able politician with his oratorical skills, and became the Prime Minister in his later life.<sup>60</sup> He had been the Foreign Secretary in the Ministry of Duke of Portland till he resigned over a duel with Lord Castlereagh in 1809. He also had a long-term personal relationship with Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister at that time, since studying together at Oxford.<sup>61</sup> He and General Gascoyne, both Tory candidates, defeated Brougham and Creevy, the Whig opposition. Because of their total defeat, the Whig supporters in the city became more determined in their opposition. For instance, for the purpose of lobbying Parliament more effectively for Liverpool merchants' commercial interests, in the same year, they set up the Liverpool office in London.<sup>62</sup> To maintain the office, such commercial interest groups of

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 147-148. In 1793, Liverpool merchants succeeded in petitioning Parliament for the Act to entitle the Liverpool Corporation to issue their own notes, whilst in the crisis of 1795 and 1799, loans of Exchequer bills were made to Liverpool's West India interests.

<sup>58</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 24 June 1812.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> For his biographical information, see W. Hide, *George Canning*, 1973.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>62</sup> Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p. 73.

Liverpool as the West India Association, the ship-owners and the Baltic Association decided to subscribe. The American traders refused to do so for political reasons.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, in terms of the debates on the renewal of the EIC's charter, the city acquired Canning as a powerful and able spokesman in Parliament for their campaign.

Little is known about the activities of the United Committee of Liverpool till November 1812. The correspondence between Liverpool and other towns suggests that they took few actions during the period. The Records of the GEIA do not contain any correspondence of this period between Glasgow and Liverpool except one letter regarding the General Deputation's records on the West India produce.<sup>64</sup> This is probably because of the Ministry's decision on the postponement of the debates on the renewal of the charter in Parliament till the next session and the dissolution of Parliament and the General Election in autumn. Moreover, the Bristol Committee criticised the Liverpool Committee for their 'inactivity' and John Gladstone and George Canning were personally condemned by their political rivals in the city. John Loudon MacAdam of Bristol told Gladstone that:

All our efforts however are paralyzed by the inactivity of the central Committee of Liverpool from whom we have had no communication since the separation of the Deputies and whose silence has occasioned some speculation here- This has been increased by the reports most industriously propagated by your political opponents at Liverpool and eagerly disseminated here by their partisans, that you and Mr. Canning had made the oppositions to the E. I. monopoly stalking horse of your ambition and that, having succeeded in carrying Mr. Canning's election, you and he have left the best interests of the Country to be made a property of by ministers and the East India Directors who they say are busily employed in the discussion of Patronage and the other valuable spoil.<sup>65</sup>

This indicated the continuity of political division in the city after the General Election. However, the United Committee of Liverpool became more active in December 1812. Immediately after the receipt of the above criticism, the United Committee of Liverpool exercised its leadership in preparing for the provincial lobbyists' new campaign. The committee circulated letters to other towns and outports in order to instruct them to prepare new petitions to Parliament as they regarded it proper to do so after the general election. The letter reminded these activists of the necessity of sending their deputation to London.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Glasgow East India Association Outgoing Correspondence, 1812-1814, 24 November 1812, letter no. 29.

<sup>65</sup> S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones*, pp. 71-72, and a letter from John Loudon MacAdam to John Gladstone, 4 December 1812 (Glynne-Gladstone MSS 288, Flintshire Record Office).

<sup>66</sup> Add. MSS. 38410 Liverpool Papers, f.183-184, dated 1 January 1812.

After the general election, George Canning had influence on the measures which the Liverpool Committee adopted during their renewed campaign. In late December, Canning suggested to them the necessity of sending a memorial to Lord Liverpool.<sup>67</sup> Prior to the General Court of the EIC that would be held on 5 January 1813, where they expected some communication from the Ministry would be submitted, they accepted Canning's advice and asked him to transmit their letter and his personal observations to Lord Liverpool.<sup>68</sup> In this letter, they expressed their desire that the trade to both India and China should be opened, and also insisted that, in respect of the China trade, if they were given an opportunity, they could prove the secure collection of the custom revenues.<sup>69</sup>

In the General Court of the EIC, it became clear that the Ministry desired that the India trade would be opened to the major ports of the country: London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Glasgow, Dublin and Cork. The China trade would remain in the hands of the company.<sup>70</sup> As has been described in Chapter 3, the priority of the provincial lobbyist groups was to gain the opening of the import trade to the outports, and their success in their lobbying for this purpose became obvious. As he knew the Ministry's intention, Canning started thinking that the free-trade-supporters would need to compromise on the part of the China trade. John Foster secretly communicated his intention to John Gladstone. He stated that:

There are three great parties in Parliament upon this question, viz. the Majesty, the East India Company, and the friends to the Outports and an open trade, and it was clear to him that any two of these parties uniting would beat the other.- That it was pretty certain Ministers were not prepared at present to concede on open Trade to China, and it was quite certain the East India Company would join the Ministers on this question, and according to his decided opinion these two parties would carry that point. It therefore become a matter of prudence to consider whether it was expedient for the Outports to contend for the China Trade but to rest satisfied at present with accepting what was proposed by Ministers rather than take any hostile line of conduct which might possibly produce the effect of being serviceable to those who under any circumstances wised to confine the Trade excluding to the Port of London-<sup>71</sup>

In fact, he personally thought that the company's monopoly in the China trade should not be abandoned:

---

<sup>67</sup> Glasgow East India Association Incoming Correspondence, 1812-1813, 1 January 1813, letter no. 20.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 2 January 1813, letter no. 21.

<sup>70</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 January 1813.

<sup>71</sup> Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p. 72, and a letter from John Fletcher to John Gladstone, 6 January 1813 (Glynne-Gladstone MSS 330, Flintshire Record Office).

As to the China trade, it had been said that it was necessary to the support of the government of India, but it remained to be proved, even if pecuniary aid were necessary, that it should be derived from this branch of trade, and not from some other source... He [Canning] did not wish that the trade should open at present...<sup>72</sup>

Checkland explained that 'This advice was accepted: the China trade was abandoned and all efforts concentrated upon India.'<sup>73</sup> Taking the result of debates on the East India Charter during this period into consideration, Canning gave sensible advice to the provincial lobbyists. However, on this issue, they rejected his view. As explained in Chapter 3, it is correct that the provincial lobbyists focused on the opening of the India trade more than the China trade in their lobbying campaign. However, they did not give up their lobby for the China trade at this point. Although the Ministry showed their clear intention on the renewal of the company's monopoly in the China trade, public opinion in Liverpool and other manufacturing towns and outports continued to insist on the abolition of the company's monopoly in this branch of trade. In the middle of February, three new petitions by the Corporation, the Trustees of the Dock and the merchants and others were again prepared and submitted to Parliament. The London correspondents of the *Liverpool Courier* also emphasised disadvantages of the EIC's monopoly under pseudonyms, MERCATOR and AMICUS referring to the common arguments of free-trade supporters.<sup>74</sup>

In spite of these attempts to stir up public opinion and lobby for the opening of the China trade, they failed to persuade the Ministry to change their mind, which became much clearer when the General Deputation in London held a meeting with the Ministry on 22 February.<sup>75</sup> Although Canning personally did not agree with the opening of the China trade, he supported the provincial lobbyists' efforts for the opening of this trade. In Parliament, after the introduction to the Bill for the renewal of the East India Charter, Canning and Ponsonby made attempts to win some last concessions in respect of the China trade. On 14 June, Ponsonby moved an amendment of the Bill for reducing the term of the charter from twenty years to ten years.<sup>76</sup> After his amendment was rejected, the House divided again on Canning's motion to limit the monopoly of China trade to 10 years.

---

<sup>72</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXVI, 1813, p. 637.

<sup>73</sup> Checkland, *The Gladstones*, p. 72.

<sup>74</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 18 January and 3 February 1813. MERCATOR criticised the following points: (1) Monopoly prices of goods imported by the Company, (2) Unfair competition under the confinement of import trade to the port of London, (3) The Company's insistence on the increase of smuggling and decrease of customs revenues under the free trade, (4) The admission of foreign traders to the trade from which British subjects were excluded, (5) The Company's argument on the possible troubles between private traders and the Chinese government. AMICUS mainly argued the increase of the India trade after the abolition of the Company's monopoly.

<sup>75</sup> Glasgow East India Association Incoming Correspondence, 1812-1813, letter no. 24.

<sup>76</sup> *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXVI, pp. 622-659.

When their attempt failed, the free trade supporters of outports and manufacturing towns needed to be satisfied with their access to the East from which the China trade was to be excluded.

Although the issue on the China trade was settled, Canning continued to defend Liverpool and other provincial interests in Parliament. At the end of the debates on the renewal of the charter in Parliament, on 14 June, in the House of Commons, Alexander Baring, who represented the London mercantile interests, made an attempt to limit the import trade to the port of London. In the debates, he argued:

He thought it much better that the proposed alteration in the trade as it present existed, should be effected gradually, and to this end he conceived the best course to pursue, in the first instance, would be, at the same time that vessels were allowed every port of the empire to India, that in their return they should be confined to the port of London.<sup>77</sup>

On the one hand, some members connected to the company and the gentlemanly capitalists in London, such as Pascoe Grenfell and Charles Grant, Senior, supported his amendment.<sup>78</sup>

On the other hand, Canning strongly objected to his amendment together with Finlay and other members: He argued that:

If the amendment were adopted, its direct operation would be to pronounce trade to be synonymous with the prosperity of London only. The out-ports would be doomed to wait like hand-maids upon the metropolis, and to receive, if he might use the expression, her cast off cloths as the gift of her bounty... It was not right that London should be allowed to prosper at the expense of the other ports of kingdom...<sup>79</sup>

Canning showed his ability as a very able orator in this debates. Regarding Canning's speech, Bargaen commented in his rhetorical analysis that:

His use of sarcasm as a mode of persuasion was most effective. He demonstrated an ability to cut through the various rationalizations presented on behalf of the Company, praising its patriotism and solicitude. Canning's speech was an outstanding example of nineteenth century parliament debating.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 681.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., pp. 682 and 687.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 695-696.

<sup>80</sup> S. J. Bargaen, 'An Historical Analysis of the Critical Parliamentary Debates on the Renewal of the Charter of the British East India Company in 1793 and 1813', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1974, p. 281.

Furthermore, as other members supported the original bill, eventually, Baring's amendment was rejected.

Regarding Canning's role in the provincial lobbying campaign, neither did he have a personal influence to reverse the Ministry's decisions in Parliament, nor such a decisive influence on the provincial interest group's lobbying strategies as Checkland described. Nevertheless, through him the provincial lobbyists were able to obtain precise information on the course of negotiation between the Ministry and the EIC as well as debates on the East India charter in Parliament. After the introduction of the East India Bill, he acted as an effective orator and defended the provincial lobbyists' interests from MPs who represented the company and other London gentlemanly capitalists' interests, although his personal view on the China trade was different from his constituents. It can be said that his significant role in the provincial free trade campaign was symbolised by the name of ship, the 'George Canning', which Kirkman Finlay sent to Calcutta after the first ship, the 'Earl of Buckinghamshire' for the direct trade from the Clyde to India, as described in Chapter 3.

#### 5.6. Liverpool and the Liverpool East India Association before 1829

After the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814, merchants in Liverpool lost no time entering this trade. Table 5-3 shows the number and the total tonnage of vessels that cleared from Liverpool for the East Indies during the period between 21 July 1813 and 9 June 1818. The figures indicate the initial expansion of Liverpool's trade with the East Indies. It is well known that the first ship sent from the port of Liverpool to the East was the 'Kingsmill' owned by J. Gladstone & Grant in 1814. However, this was the only vessel sent from Liverpool to the East Indies in that year. In 1815, Gladstone's vessel was followed by another ship jointly owned by Cropper, Benson & Co. and Rathbone, Hodgeson & Co. The following years saw the real expansion of the trade: the number of vessels increased from 2 in 1815 to 34 in 1817, and the total tonnage from 808 tons to 13,925 tons. Although the table shows the first half year of 1818 only and does not count the second half, the tonnage of this year already exceeded the level of the previous year. In spite of the exclusion of private merchants from the China and tea trade, the Liverpool merchants' involvement in the East India trade showed their initial success after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, which had created uncertainty about the future of the West India trade, in which many Liverpool merchants held large stakes.

**Table 5-3. The number and the total tonnage of vessels that cleared from Liverpool for the East Indies between 21 July 1813 and 9 June 1818.**

	No. of vessels	Total tonnage
1814	1 (0)	512 (0)
1815	2 (0)	808 (0)
1816	17 (1)	7410 (376)
1817	34 (5)	13925 (1827)
1818	33 (1)	14100 (453)
Total	87 (7)	36755 (2656)

Note: The figures include American vessels which cleared out from Liverpool, and their number and total tonnage are shown in the brackets. Most of these American ships were owned by Liverpool merchants, such as Humberstone & Co., W. & J. Brown and Rathbone & Co. The 33 vessels in 1818 include 7 vessels which entered for loading, but not cleared out at the point of the publication of this data.

Source: *Gore's Directory* 1818, pp. 140-141.

The East India interests in Liverpool were represented by the Liverpool East India Association (LEIA), whose name was changed to the Liverpool East India and China Association after the opening of the China trade. The records of the Glasgow Association noted that 'the Association in Liverpool has existed for many years, while this Association, is but yet in its infancy.'<sup>81</sup> However, it is not clear whether this association had continued since the last free trade movement against the renewal of the EIC's charter, or if it was re-established after a short interval. Webster's latest study mentions that the LEIA had continuously existed since 1813, but K. Charlton's earlier study stated that the association was established in 1818.<sup>82</sup> Both scholars fail to specify the source of the evidence. However, major Liverpool associations and institutions during this period were recorded in the series of *Gore's Directory*. Other major associations of the town's commercial interests, such as the Liverpool West India Association and the American Chamber of Commerce, appeared in the directories of the earlier years, but the LEIA was recorded only after 1818.<sup>83</sup> There is no evidence of the existence of the Liverpool Association between 1813 and 1817. Therefore, it is probable that the Liverpool Committee was organised in 1812, discontinued after the renewal of the company's charter in 1814 and after a short interval, the LEIA was established in 1818 with John Gladstone as chairman.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> MS 891001/2 Committee Minutes of the Glasgow East India Association, Special Meeting 23 March 1830, p. 37.

<sup>82</sup> A. Webster, 'Liverpool and the Eastern Trade 1800-1850: A Paper for the CLAMS Conference on Liverpool and Empire', 2006, p. 9 and K. Charlton, 'Liverpool and the East India Trade' in *Northern History*, Vol. vii, 1972, p. 56.

<sup>83</sup> *Gore's Directory*, 1818.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

The early 1820s was a period when the LEIA had been very active before the real debates of the renewal of the company's charter began in 1829. The association pointed out that the following problems remained after the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814:

- (1) The restriction as to tonnage.
- (2) The restriction of British ships to certain ports.
- (3) The system of licensing, both as to ships and persons.
- (4) The restriction which prevents British merchants from trading between China and the European continent.
- (5) The restrictions imposed upon the importation of sugar into this country from the East Indies.<sup>85</sup>

These points became agendas in Parliamentary debates, and a Select Committee was set up in order to examine the means of extending and securing foreign trade during the sessions 1820-1821.<sup>86</sup> A major gain for the free trade supporters during this period was the removal of the restriction on the tonnage of ships trading to the East Indies in 1823. The EIC's charter of 1813 had restricted the tonnage of British ships engaged in the trade between Europe and India to over 350 tons, but the size of ships owned in Liverpool did not normally exceed 200 tons. As explained in Chapter 4, the provincial merchants also needed to spend time to establish their new trading networks in order to enter the East India trade after 1814. Nevertheless, the size of ships was also one reason why only a few ships could proceed to the East Indies in the couple of years immediately after the relaxation of restrictions on the East India trade in 1814. However, the British trade with the western coast of South America and the success of the American merchants in the East Indies and China showed the capability of smaller ships for long distance overseas trade.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, they insisted that the smaller vessels availed themselves of more trading opportunities, and that although they tended to need comparatively greater expense they had the advantage of quicker and more flexible operations than larger vessels.<sup>88</sup> An argument that smaller size of vessels 'might be exposed to frequent depredation from pirates' was refuted by the experience of the American merchants and by the fact that there was no difference in

---

<sup>85</sup> *Report of a Committee of the Liverpool East India Association, appointed to take into consideration the Restrictions on the East India Trade*, 1822, pp. 3-4.

<sup>86</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Report [Relative to the Trade with the East Indies and China] from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Means of Extending and Securing the Foreign Trade of the Country, and to report to the House*, 1821.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5 and *Report of a Committee of the Liverpool East India Association*, 1822, pp. 6-7.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

insurance rates between large and small vessels.<sup>89</sup> As a result, the Select Committee admitted the inexpediency of the restriction upon the tonnage of vessels engaged in the East India trade with its recommendation for direct and circuitous trade ‘between any Ports within the limits of the EIC’s charter (except the dominion of the Emperor of China) and any Port or Ports beyond the limits of the said Charter, belonging to any State or Countries in amity with His Majesty’.<sup>90</sup>

While the removal of the restriction on the tonnage of vessels was achieved, their campaign, in collaboration with other manufacturing towns such as Manchester, against the discriminatory duties on East India sugar in favour of West India produce, encountered greater difficulties as they needed to get over the very influential lobbying of the West Indian interests in London and other places of the U.K. including Liverpool itself. The debates within Liverpool’s business community over the equalisation of the sugar duties were far more active than Glasgow. It seems apparent that this difference derived from the fact that in Liverpool both the West Indian and the East Indian traders had their own associations which could represent their own interests. In contrast, in Glasgow, while the West Indian interests organised a strong lobbying group, the East Indian interests did not have a means to express their views till the end of the 1820s.

Although the Report of the LEIA of 1822 explained the above five points, the argument about the restrictions imposed on the import of East India sugar occupied the largest part of the pamphlet. When the India trade was opened in 1814, the protecting duty of 10s per cwt. on East India sugar was established in favour of West India sugar.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, the former was allowed to sell only in the U.K. The latter was free to be sold in any part of the world. In 1821, the West Indian interests tried to increase the protective duty by an additional 5s on clayed sugar and its equivalents.<sup>92</sup> From the West India interests’ viewpoint, it was argued that the West India sugar should be protected from the competition of the East India sugar because the latter could be produced at lower cost than the former, and it was claimed that the equalisation of the duties would ‘ruin’ the West Indian planters, who had been suffering from the depression for some time past.<sup>93</sup> For

---

<sup>89</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Foreign trade*, 1821, p. 4.

<sup>90</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Second Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of the Improving and Maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country*, 1821, p. 4, and *Third Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of Improving and Maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country*, 1821, p. 208.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* and Charlton ‘Liverpool and the East India Trade’, pp. 56-57.

<sup>93</sup> See the addresses of such opponents as C. Ellis and W. Huskisson against Whitmore’s motion for the

instance, William Huskisson, who was one of the MPs for Liverpool and represented the interests of the West Indian merchants and planters although he was a principal advocate of the policy of free trade during the 1820s, insisted that 'if it was true that the production of slavery was more costly than that of free labour, that would be additional reason for not depriving him of the advantage of his protecting duty.'<sup>94</sup> The report of the LEIA condemned this protection because the public were forced to pay higher prices than they would under free competition while the West Indian interests obtained the tax concessions.<sup>95</sup> In fact, the association's arguments were largely put forwarded by James Cropper, one of the most successful merchants in Liverpool and an advocate of the anti-slavery movement. He linked the question of West and East India sugar with that of slavery although the LEIA tended to avoid entering debates on slavery.<sup>96</sup> During the 1820s and 1830s, he published several pamphlets in which he criticised the preferential treatments of West Indian planters and refiners, arguing that it actually encouraged their unhealthy and inefficient management.<sup>97</sup> In his view, without the preferential treatments, the West India sugar which was produced under the inefficient slavery system could not compete with the East India sugar produced by 'free men'.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, as the reduction of duties on the East India sugar would increase production in the East Indies and the consumption of sugar at home, it consequently would not affect the King's revenue.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, Thomas Fletcher, the member and the former chairman of the Liverpool West India Association, justified the advantages given to the West India sugar on the basis that the plantation systems and the sugar trade had been developed under the several trade restrictions. He argued that 'the colonialists have a right to their bargain, that is the exclusive supply of the British Dominions with sugar' and also that 'there is an urgent necessity to do something for the relief of the unfortunate proprietors of the sugar estates in our colonies'.<sup>100</sup> In this debate, John Gladstone, who held stakes in both the West and East Indies, failed to reconcile these competing interests. In a comparison between Gladstone and Cropper, Charlton summarised their arguments on the equalisation of sugar duties and

---

appointment of the Select Committee on the duties on East Indian and East Indian sugars in *The Parliamentary Debates*, New Series, Vol. IX, 1824, pp. 444-467.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 464-465.

<sup>95</sup> *Report of a Committee of the Liverpool East India Association*, 1822, pp. 17-58, and Charlton, 'Liverpool and The East India Trade', p. 58.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56-58, and K. Charlton, 'James Cropper and Liverpool's Contribution to the Anti-Slavery Movement' in *Transaction of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1971, vol. 123, p. 59.

<sup>97</sup> J. Cropper, *Relief for West Indian Distress shewing the Inefficiency of protecting duties on East-India Sugar*, 1823. (London: Ellerton and Henderson).

<sup>98</sup> Charlton, 'Liverpool and the East India Trade', p. 56.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. He originally quoted it from Thomas Fletcher, *Letter in Vindication of the Right of British West Indian Colonies... in Answer to Mr. James Cropper's Letter to William Wilberforce Esq., M. P.* (Liverpool, for the West India Association, 1829).

the abolition of slavery that 'Cropper's maintain throughout a cool style of argument, insisting always on the need for a public debate to be based on information and enquiry. Gladstone's, on the other had, are full of minor debating points...'<sup>101</sup> Gladstone supported the equalisation of the sugar duties on behalf of the East Indian interest, while he also defended the plantation system and slavery for the West India interest.<sup>102</sup>

The equalisation of duties between West India sugar and East India sugar was not directly related to the renewal of the East India Company's charter. Nevertheless a bottleneck of the East India trade was the shortage of product for return cargoes to the U.K. Under the condition in which the tea trade was still restricted to the company, sugar was one of the most promising agricultural products from the East which could solve this problem, along with indigo and raw cotton. The removal of the restrictions on East India sugar was significant for private merchants as they needed products to fill up the holds of their inward vessels. At the same time, although provincial manufacturers were not directly connected to the imports of sugar, they also had interests in this commodity because they needed the goods payable in exchange for their manufacturing products exported to the East. However, during the 1820s, facing the strong West Indian interests, the LEIA and other East India interests around the country failed to achieve the equalisation of duties between the West and East India sugars.

Consequently, before the debates over the renewal of the company's charter started in the late 1820s, Liverpool's East Indian interests had already led the free trade movements against some restrictions imposed on the East India trade. This was because their lobbying association existed from the 1810s and Liverpool's East Indian interests could organise their lobbying activities under it although it seems that there had been a short interval after the opening of the India trade until 1818. Liverpool's active lobbying during the 1820s was quite a contrast to the inactivity of Glasgow's East Indian interests. During this period, such liberalisation of the East India trade as the removal of the limitation of tonnage of British vessels in this trade and the legalisation of the direct and circuitous trade were achieved successfully, whilst facing the strong West Indian interests, the campaign led by James Cropper for the equalisation of sugar duties failed. Nevertheless, as will be described below, their long experience of lobbying activities allowed themselves to lead the free trade movement against the renewal of the EIC's charter between 1829 and 1833.

---

<sup>101</sup> Charlton, 'Liverpool and The East India Trade', p. 61

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-62.

### 5.7. The LEIA and the beginning of the debates over the renewal of the EIC's charter

As early as August 1827, the disadvantages of the renewal of the company's charter were argued in Liverpool's local newspaper, and the LEIA published their new report in 1828.<sup>103</sup> It was their first report since 1822 as they thought it was a proper time to warn the public of the approaching renewal of the company's charter. However, its campaign really started in early 1829 with the arrival of J. S. Buckingham and a series of his lectures as a part of his national tour, and a public meeting organised by the LEIA.<sup>104</sup> Philips and Eyles stressed that he was warmly welcomed by the public of Liverpool as in many other provincial towns and outports.<sup>105</sup> His relationship with the Liverpool Association seems to have been better than that with the Glasgow Association. On the one hand, in Glasgow, as has been described in Chapter 4, the GEIA did not support him, although individual merchants and manufacturers did and his lectures were very popular in the town. Moreover, there were differences in their opinions over the administrative system in India, and some members, notably Kirkman Finlay, did not regard him highly. On the other hand, in Liverpool, Buckingham's lectures were attended by the prominent figures of Liverpool's free trade movement, such as Nicholas Robinson, the Mayor, and James Cropper, and the details of his lectures and views were reported to the citizens of Liverpool extensively in the *Liverpool Mercury*.<sup>106</sup> In addition, the LEIA in 1830 subscribed to a fund to support Buckingham's plan to voyage round the globe by the route of the East Indies.<sup>107</sup> He showed his appreciation of this support from Liverpool merchants by donating £100 raised from his lectures to James Cropper, John Ewart and William Rathbone, leading Liverpool merchants, for the purpose of promoting free trade.<sup>108</sup>

A series of Buckingham's lectures inspired the enthusiasm of people in Liverpool for the opening of the East India trade. His lectures were an ideal prologue for the public meeting on 28 January called by the Mayor, who responded to the request from 'one hundred sixty of the most influential persons connected with the trade of the port' for 'the purpose of

---

<sup>103</sup> The Liverpool East India Association, *Report of the Committee of the Liverpool East India Association, on the subject of the trade with India: presented to the Association at a general meeting, 21st March, 1828*, 1828

<sup>104</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 August 1827.

<sup>105</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 289, Eyles, 'The Abolition of the East India Company's Monopoly', pp. 198-199.

<sup>106</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 2, 16 and 23 January 1829.

<sup>107</sup> J. S. Buckingham, *Subscribers to a public fund for effecting a voyage round the globe, by the route of India, China, Japan, and the pacific Isles*, p. 7.

<sup>108</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 January 1829.

taking into consideration of the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company'.<sup>109</sup> It seems that the members of the LEIA played a major role in organising this meeting, which was led by the two most influential figures in the mercantile society of Liverpool, John Gladstone and James Cropper. The resolutions were introduced to the public by these two and other major merchants of Liverpool, including William Rathbone, William Ewart, Henry Booth, William W. Currie, J. T. Alston, Robert Benson, Thomas Brocklebank and Samuel Hope.

Apart from the aspect of the moral improvement of natives by the free residence of British subjects, Liverpool merchants confined their arguments to the commercial aspects of the renewal of the company's charter and did not intervene in the debates on the administrative mode in India. Their ultimate aims in this campaign were the opening of free trade to China and the abolition of unnecessary restrictions imposed on the commercial activities of British merchants in the India trade. Liverpool merchants believed that the opening of the China trade would lead to a great extension of markets for British manufactured products. However, the restrictions imposed on British subjects by the charter prevented British manufacturing goods from being exported to the East. During the public meeting, Cropper pointed out that the import of raw cotton to Liverpool increased by 100 per cent in ten years while the export of plain calicoes to the East increased 93 per cent in thirty years.<sup>110</sup> They believed that there was a large demand for cotton manufacturing pieces from the huge populations of both India and China. The opening of the China trade would give a new opportunity to provincial manufacturers to increase the export of their products from England, which could extend employment in manufacturing industry and consequently increase tea consumption in Britain. In addition, Henry Booth introduced Cropper's view that the further relaxation of the East India and China trade would improve employment and income in the poor economic condition of Ireland.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> The Liverpool East India Association, *Report of the public meeting at Liverpool on Wednesday, January 28, 1829, for the purpose of taking into consideration of the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company*, 1829.

<sup>110</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1829.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, and see K. Charlton, 'The Present State of Ireland in the eighteen-twenties: James Cropper's Plan' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvii (67), 1971, pp. 320-39.

**Table 5-4. The Comparative Prices of English and Dutch teas in 1772 and 1827.**

	London prices. 1779	Dutch prices. 1772	London Prices. 1827	Dutch prices. 1827
Bohea	1s. 10 1/4d.	2s. 0 8/15d.	1s. 7d.	0s. 5 2/5d.
Congou	3s. 0 1/4d.	3s. 7 7/8d.	2s. 5 8/10d.	1s. 0 9/10d.
Hyson	7s. 0 3/4d.	6s. 8 11/16d.	4s. 11d.	2s. 7 1/8d.
Average	4s. 0 3/4d.	4s. 1 11/16d.	2s. 11 9/16d.	1s. 4 47/100d.

Source: The Liverpool East India Association, *Report of the Committee of the Liverpool East India Association, on the subject of the trade with India: presented to the Association at a general meeting, 21st March, 1828*, 1828.

Nevertheless, in terms of the China trade, the most significant point for the merchants of Liverpool was the opening of the tea trade. In the report of the LEIA of 1828, the subject had been exclusively argued, and then it was quoted at the public meeting again.<sup>112</sup> Entering the most profitable branch of the East India and China trade was a long-term desire of Liverpool traders. In 1828, an attempt to enter the tea trade was made by pointing out the difference in the price of tea in the U.K. and the European continent. Under the Parliamentary Act of 1745, the company was obliged ‘to keep the price of tea in this kingdom, upon an equality with the price thereof in other neighbouring countries of Europe, and if the EIC ‘shall, at any time, neglect to keep this market supplied with a sufficient quantity of tea, at reasonable prices, to answer to the consumption thereof in Great Britain’, the Lord Commissioner of Treasury had a power to issue licences to individual merchants to import tea from the European continent.<sup>113</sup> In the 1770s, there was little difference between the London prices of tea and the Dutch prices as Table 5-4 shows. However, by 1827, the difference in price was noticeable: In spite of the Commutation Act of 1784 prices of the Company’s tea fell by only 25 per cent, whilst Dutch tea prices fell by about 66 per cent. According to those provisions, in 1824 the merchants of Liverpool made an application to the Treasury to import tea from the European continent.<sup>114</sup> However it was rejected by Walpole, who claimed in his reply that the provisions had been repealed by the Customs Consolidation Act of 1825, and that other acts expressly banned the importation of tea, except from the place where the product was grown and imported by the company to the port of London.<sup>115</sup> At the public meeting, Robert Benson expressed his wish that the government would restore the statutes which had been repealed inadequately. At the end of the meeting, the Liverpool Committee was appointed for the purpose of obtaining support from the Mayor and the Common Council,

<sup>112</sup> The Liverpool East India Association, *Report of the Committee of the East India Association, 1828*.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6. 18<sup>th</sup> Geo. II. cap. 26, sec. 10 and 11,

<sup>114</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1829.

<sup>115</sup> Add. MSS. 38765, Huskisson Papers, f. 143. 4<sup>th</sup> Geo. IV. cap. 80, sec. 9 and 6<sup>th</sup> Geo. IV. cap. 105, sec. 1.

gathering evidence, corresponding with similar institutions in other towns and preparing petitions to the legislature. At the same occasion, they resolved that a subscription would be opened for these purposes.

Consequently, as Philips explained in his classical work, at the beginning of the campaign, a series of lectures conducted by Buckingham were largely welcomed by both the LEIA and the citizens of the town, in contrast to the case of Glasgow.<sup>116</sup> Immediately after his lectures, the first public meeting was held for the purpose of their opposing the renewal of the company's charter, in which the member of the LEIA took initiatives and showed their strong interest in the opening of the China trade, especially the tea trade.

#### 5.8. The economic and political interests of the members of the Liverpool Committee

During the previous campaign of 1812-1813, the Liverpool Committee had mainly consisted of West Indian and American traders although the former had held the majority. They had been seeking new overseas markets as they had been suffering from the dislocations of overseas trade caused by the Napoleonic Wars and the deterioration of Britain's relationship with the U.S. In this section, the economic interests of the members of the Liverpool Committee and their political stances during the period between 1829 and 1833 will be analysed to explore the economic and social backgrounds of the this campaign.

Appendix V shows the names and economic interests of the Liverpool Committee appointed at the public meeting. The table has been created from Gore's Liverpool Directory and Liverpool's local newspapers of 1829. In this directory, as was the case in other contemporary business directories, many Liverpool businessmen described themselves only as 'merchant' and did not specify what kind of merchant, and also manufacturers often called themselves 'merchants'. In addition, 'Gentleman' and such a title as 'Esq.' are not occupational descriptions. Therefore, in order to complement the information, shipping information recorded in the local newspapers has been used. The information on the imports to Liverpool in the *Liverpool Mercury* contains the names of countries and regions from which the ship returned and the owners of consignments. The lists of senior members of Liverpool's associations which were related to overseas trade

---

<sup>116</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 289.

have also been examined in order to identify their economic interests. Nevertheless, this table does not show all the economic interests of the committee members. For instance, according to his testimony in the Select Committee of 1830, although Thomas Thornely engaged in the East India trade and was ‘drawing bills from China upon houses of good credit in England,’ he does not appear.<sup>117</sup> Another problem is that the table does not show the economic interests of those who were not involved in trading and shipping activities directly, for example bankers and maritime insurance brokers. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the table still shows some characteristics of the Liverpool Committee.

First, although almost two decades had passed since the previous campaign during the period 1812-13, four out of twenty-one members of the Liverpool Committee of 1812-13 still remained as members of the newly appointed committee: John Gladstone, John Leagh, William Rathbone V, and Joseph Brooks Yates. In particular, Gladstone, who represented the free trade interests of the town, had played a central role in the previous movement as a deputy from the city. Their experience and know-how from the previous campaign was valuable to the Committee because a similar strategy was to be adopted for lobbying Parliament and the government and to stir up public opinion.

Secondly, although the table is not perfect, it indicates that the Liverpool Committee consisted of not only the East India interests, but also several other different trading interests. They actually engaged in different branches of overseas trade, i.e., trades with the West Indies, North and South Americas, European continent, Africa, and other regions. On the one hand, John Gladstone and James Cropper, who had held large stakes in the West India trade and the American trade respectively, entered the East India trade after 1814, and they were also regarded as East India traders thereafter. Alston, Finlay & Co., one of the five biggest ‘American Houses’ in Liverpool in 1829 along with Cropper, Benson & Co. (of James Cropper), was a Liverpool branch of James, Finlay & Co. of Glasgow, which was also engaged in the East India trade.<sup>118</sup> T. & J. Brocklebank, a shipping company, entered the trade after 1814, and soon it became one of the main branches of their commercial activities.<sup>119</sup> On the other hand, for example, J. B. Yates was regarded as a West India merchant, and merchants like John Bolton’s Bolton, Ogden & Co. and Charles Tayleur, Son & Co. had their main stakes in the Anglo-American trade

---

<sup>117</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *First Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China*, 1830, pp. 267-269

<sup>118</sup> S. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, 1992, p. 86 and 106.

<sup>119</sup> See J. F. Gibson, *Brocklebanks, 1770-1950*, 1953.

rather than trade with the East Indies.<sup>120</sup> This indicated that Liverpool's lobbyists had varied commercial interests.

Furthermore, Table 5-5 shows that many of the committee members were the senior members (the chairs, secretaries, treasurers or committee members) of merchants' associations in Liverpool or had experience of occupying these posts. Many of them belonged to two or more different associations. At least, apart from eight members who belonged to the LEIA, seven members were the senior members of the American Chamber of Commerce, two were those of the West India Association, three members were of the Mediterranean and Levant Association, another three were of the associations related to the South American trade, i.e. the Portugal and Brazil Association and the Liverpool, Brazil, South American and Mexican Association, and four members were of the Shipping Owners Association. There is a possibility that further research would reveal additional numbers of such committee members. This also confirms that Liverpool's lobbying campaign was organised by a group consisting of several different commercial interests.

**Table 5-5. The Liverpool Committee members who had senior posts in Liverpool merchants' associations.**

East India Association (East India and China Association)	J. T. Alston R. Benson J. Ewart	J. Garnett J. Gladstone T. Leathom	W. Potter D. Willink
West India Association	G. Grant C. Horsfall		
American Chamber of Commerce	E. Barclay R. Benson T. Leathom	R. Radcliffe T. Thornely D. Willink	J. A. Yates
Liverpool, Brazil, South American & Mexican Association	D. Willink		
Portugal and Brazil Association	G. Grant D. Heyworth		
Baltic Association	J. Gladstone		
Mediterranean and Levant Association	J. Garnett T. Leathom R. Radcliffe		
Ship Owners Association	J. Gladstone G. Grant C. Horsfall	J. B. Yates	

Source: created from Appendix V.

In terms of politics, the committee consisted of men who had different political views. The members who held office in the Liverpool Corporation, i.e. J. Bourne, W. W. Corrie, William Earle, C. Horsfall, N. Robinson and J. Ewart, were all Tory except for the last

<sup>120</sup> Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, pp. 104-106, and J. Killick, 'Bolton, Ogden & Co.; A Case Study in Anglo-American Trade, 1790-1850' in *Business History Review*, 1974, pp. 501-519.

named.<sup>121</sup> Gladstone and John Bolton were also Tory and had been great supporters of George Canning, who had pursued moderate Tory policies, whilst merchants, Cropper, Rathbone and T. Thornely stood on the Whig-radical line. Edward Baines, junior, who supported liberal policies (except notably, on factory legislation), was a son of Edward Baines, who was elected a Whig MP for Leeds after the Parliamentary Reform.<sup>122</sup>

The *Liverpool Mercury* best described the free trade interests in Liverpool in their article on the public meeting as following:

The requisition, in compliance with which the Mayor has called this meeting at the Town-hall, was most numerous and respectably subscribed, by Tories, Whigs, Radicals, and middle-course men, whose motto is “Medio tutissimus ibis.” So unusual an amalgamation of parties reminds us of Swift’s observation, that “Money is neither Whig nor Tory.”<sup>123</sup>

Like Liverpool’s committee of the previous campaign and the Glasgow Association, respecting both commercial and political interests, the Liverpool Committee was heterogeneous. During the 1820s, debates over British economic policies stirred up divisions in the Liverpool mercantile society as the question on the Orders in Council had done during the Napoleonic Wars of the 1800s and 1810s. The East India interests and the anti-slavery lobbying group, and the West India interests in the city were not reconciled in their debates over the equalisation of the duties between the West India and the East India sugars and the abolition of slavery. However, Liverpool merchants were again able to unite in the campaign against the renewal of the East India company’s charter. Disregarding the different commercial sections and political views, the campaign for the complete opening of the East India trade was supported by a large part of the commercial society of Liverpool in the wider context of the course of economic and political liberalisation during the 1820s.

### 5.9. The proceedings of the free trade campaign organised by the Liverpool Committee from 1829 and 1833

On 4 February 1829, in Liverpool the Common Council decided to deal with the subject of the East India trade at their special committee when they received the memorial from the

---

<sup>121</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 22 November 1833.

<sup>122</sup> A. G. Crosby, ‘Baines, Edward (1774-1848)’ in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1089>, accessed 29, May 2006].

<sup>123</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 January 1829.

committee appointed at the public meeting, and also unanimously agreed to contribute up to £500 to the subscription.<sup>124</sup> Ten days later, the members of the committee held a meeting with James Cropper and Samuel Hope, the representatives from the committee appointed at the public meeting, and after discussion the Common Council decided to set up a separate committee, which acted closely with the Liverpool Committee.<sup>125</sup>

In April, the Liverpool Committee decided to send their deputation to London. In order to urge other outports and provincial manufacturing towns to cooperate with a deputation from Liverpool for their interview with Ministers as to the East India and China trade, they sent circulars to them. The Liverpool Committee's communication with Manchester was particularly close because of their geographical proximity and economic connection between the two cities, which will be explained in the next chapter.

Liverpool's free trade movement against the renewal of the company's charter was largely owed to William Huskisson, MP for the city. He had served as the President of the Board of Control under Lord Liverpool's Ministry, and was a key person in the economic reforms in the 1820s. Under his (and George Canning's) directions, Britain adopted such liberal economic policies as the relaxation of the Navigation Acts and tariffs, and the reciprocal treaties with other European countries. Liverpool businessmen succeeded in recruiting such an able man for their own representative in Parliament after Canning, and then could exploit his strong influence on the national politics. On 12 May, the Liverpool petition was presented by him with a similar petition from Manchester by the Marquis of Lansdowne to the House of Commons.<sup>126</sup> He also made arrangements for the interview of the deputations from several outports and manufacturing towns by the Ministry. When the Liverpool Committee wrote him to arrange the interview, he replied that the government had no intention of objecting to W. W. Whitmore's motion for a Select Committee of inquiry, and that he personally agreed with the Liverpool Committee that it was a proper time to start their lobbying activities.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, he insisted that the Liverpool Committee should stir up public opinion across the whole of British society. He advised them that:

---

<sup>124</sup> 352 MIN/COUI 2/8, Liverpool Record Office, Liverpool Town Books, 4 February 1829, and *Liverpool Mercury*, 6 February 1829.

<sup>125</sup> Liverpool Town Books, 14 February 1829.

<sup>126</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 15 May 1829.

<sup>127</sup> Incoming Correspondence, 1829-1830, 4 May 1829, Letter no. 2.

They are not the interests alone of the commerce and industry of the country but those of the whole community which are involved in the considerations connected with the Charter of the East India Company, and it is therefore material that all classes should be made sensible that they have an interest in obtaining their relaxations which are more immediately called for by the commercial and manufacturing towns.<sup>128</sup>

This advice persuaded the Liverpool Committee to urge free traders in other outports and manufacturing towns to attend the interview. During the period of the free trade movement, assembling the deputies from the main commercial and manufacturing towns of the U.K. and petitioning Parliament (as well as the publication of several pamphlets, but in a smaller scale than in 1812-13) were adopted as the main strategies by the free trade interests. At the interview, Huskisson assisted the General Deputation with Whitmore.<sup>129</sup> Later, James Cropper acknowledged his contribution to the lobbying activities for 'promoting an extension of trade with East India and the opening of that with China.'<sup>130</sup> The Liverpool lobbyists were able to exploit Huskisson's connection with the Ministry for their lobbying.

A few days after the interview, just before the dissolution of their meeting in London, the deputies held a meeting at Fenton's Hotel, and as they had been appointed during the previous campaign in 1812 and 1813, the Liverpool Committee was again requested to act as the Central Committee for the purpose of communicating with all other associations.<sup>131</sup>

In early 1830, the Liverpool Committee, as the Central Committee, decided to petition Parliament as a part of their lobbying activities, and to instruct the outports and manufacturing towns to petition Parliament. It was necessary for the free trade interests to urge the Ministry to set up the Select Committee for inquiring into the East India questions in order 'that Parliament may be prepared to give the notice [to the Company] at the earliest possible period in 1831.'<sup>132</sup> Petitioning Parliament was more widely adopted by provincial outports and manufacturing towns than in the previous campaign. According to Philips, 257 petitions were laid before Parliament during the period 1829-1830, whilst there had been 135 petitions in 1812-13.<sup>133</sup> When the Select Committee for 'the affair of the Company and the trade between Great Britain and China' was set up in February, the

---

<sup>128</sup> M. Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42*, 1969, p. 182, quoted from Minutebooks of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, pp. 146-7, 30 April 1829.

<sup>129</sup> Incoming Correspondence, 1829-1830, 9 May 1829, Letter no. 5.

<sup>130</sup> Add. MSS. 38758, Huskisson Papers, f. 210.

<sup>131</sup> Incoming Correspondence, 1829-1830, 15 May 1829, Letter no. 9.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 January 1830, letter no. 26.

<sup>133</sup> C. H. Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834*, 1940, p. 289.

Liverpool Committee expressed their dissatisfaction with the selection of the committee members. In the *Liverpool Courier*, they argued that ‘these [select] committees so constructed, that the commercial community, -the party, in fact, most vitally interested in the question, were not adequately represented being favourable to the interest of the East India Company.’<sup>134</sup> The Liverpool Committee argued that the chairs of the Select Committee had strong views in favour of the company. At the same time, the committee organised direct lobbying in London under their leadership. Liverpool urged other towns and outports to send their deputations to London again in order to lobby Parliament and the Ministry. Glasgow, Calcutta, Manchester, Bristol, Leeds, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Hull, the Staffordshire Iron Trade, Plymouth and Darlington responded.<sup>135</sup> Although the purpose of the General Deputation in London of the provincial commercial and manufacturing interests was lobbying Parliament and the Government, as Eyles argues, the significant point of this assembly was that they succeeded in demonstrating in the political centre of the country that all major commercial and manufacturing places of the country were in favour of the complete opening of the trade and that the abolition of the monopoly was the general wish of the British nation.<sup>136</sup>

In January, 1831, a public meeting, called by Thomas Brancker, the Mayor, was held in the Session House, Chapel-street, Liverpool in order ‘to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament’ against the company’s charter and the China monopoly.<sup>137</sup> In this meeting, the report prepared by the Liverpool Committee on the proceedings of the debates over the company’s charter since the beginning of their campaign in January 1829 was read. In spite of the unfavourable selection of the Select Committee and the report produced by them, it seems that Liverpool merchants had an optimistic view on the opening of the China trade after the investigation. As in December 1830, Kirkman Finlay had already expressed his opinion in Manchester that ‘it [the China Trade] was considered a closed case in favor of the opening ...’ and by January, it was expected that the China trade would be opened.<sup>138</sup> But they still thought it was necessary to push their opinions. Cropper expressed his opinion in the meeting that:

... after the full and conclusive evidence there adduced on that subject, he could hardly have supposed it necessary for the people of Liverpool again to assemble to assert their rights, for they might naturally have expected that after such conclusive

---

<sup>134</sup> *Liverpool Courier*, 3 March 1830.

<sup>135</sup> Minutebooks of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, 31 March 1830, p. 202.

<sup>136</sup> Eyles, ‘The Abolition of The East India Company’s Monopoly 1833’, pp. 177-178.

<sup>137</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 21 January 1831.

<sup>138</sup> Minutebooks of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, 17 December 1830, p. 241.

evidence of the injurious effects of the monopoly of the China trade, and the advantage which would attend its abolition, the question would at once have been given up to the country; but though the people of Liverpool knew so much of the advantage of free trade that they required no further evidence to convince them that free trade was better than monopoly, this was not the case with the inhabitants of other towns and places in the empire; and therefore it was the duty of the people of Liverpool to exert themselves, and to impress upon the minds of the country at large the necessity of a strenuous and unanimous opposition to the renewal of the charter of the East India Company.<sup>139</sup>

There was nothing particularly new in their statements and resolutions in this meeting, but as Cropper addressed it, this was the last public meeting in Liverpool for the purpose of opposing the renewal of the EIC's charter.

After the public meeting, few articles on the renewal of the charter were published in local newspapers before 1833, but the Liverpool Committee continued their efforts. On 21 January, after considering John Crawford's opinion, they took initiative to send their deputation to London and called on other towns to do so in order 'to influence if possible by strong representation to the minister [Earl Grey] the nomination of a Sub-Committee or of the new members who may be required to complete it, and which on the former occasion he [the Duke of Wellington] considered to have been as hostile to our views, as decency would permit.'<sup>140</sup> On 5 February, the deputations from Liverpool, Calcutta, Manchester, Bristol and Birmingham held an interview with Earl Grey, Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of Exchequer, and Charles Grant, the President of the India Board.<sup>141</sup> In this meeting, Cropper explained the advantages of the opening of the China trade based on the positive consequences derived from the opening of the India Trade, and then insisted on the 'necessity of considering the China trade as quite distinct from the Government of India and their claim for the opening of the trade on the ground of their 'natural rights' and criticised the company's monopoly for the higher prices of teas imposed on the consumers for making up the huge expenses of their management.<sup>142</sup> Although the Minister avoided making any pledge to them as the Select Committee had just been reappointed the previous night, Crawford, who accompanied the Deputies, expressed his gratitude in respect of their selection in his letter that:

---

<sup>139</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 21 January 1831

<sup>140</sup> Cropper and Langton, from Liverpool, Crawford from Calcutta, Braidley and Ingleby from Manchester, Cave from Bristol and High and Low Bailiffs of Birmingham, accompanied by Patten, General Gascoyne, Ewart, and Whitmore, attended the meeting. Minutebooks of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, Letter from Mr. Braidley dated 5 February 1831, p. 252

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

The contrast between this audience [Earl Grey] and that granted by the Duke of Wellington and his associates was certainly great. The Committee is formed and consists of 40 - 13 of them being new performers of whom are Liberals... I have tried to exert heads - But of the 40 members 24 are I think with us and perhaps 16 against us - Majority 8.<sup>143</sup>

In the year of 1832, as the Parliamentary Reform question attracted the attention of the whole nation, Liverpool and other towns' committees agreed not to raise the East India and China questions before the Reform question was ended. Therefore, the free trade movement at the national level fell relatively silent. Nevertheless, in February, Liverpool and other towns' committees were contacted by the Board of Control for their opinions relative to India affairs. Although Eyles explained in his thesis that the Board of Control contacted only the Manchester Committee for answers to a questionnaire on the East India trade instead of the Liverpool Committee, the Records of Manchester and Glasgow as well as the Parliamentary Paper show that Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull, Birmingham and Bristol also received queries from the Board.<sup>144</sup> Although the Board of Control addressed eleven queries to them, they responded with similar answers as they communicated with each other to draw up the answers. Such questions as the positive and negative impacts on their business after the opening of the India trade in 1814 and the effects of 'the Union of Government with trade in India' were debated by many free traders on several different occasions, but probably the most significant point of their answers was one related to the company's commercial operations and the system of remittance from India to Europe. They argued that the company's large commercial transactions as an importer of Indian produce dislocated commerce. The Manchester Committee argued that:

To make heavy remittances, without regard to profit must, of necessity, unduly advance prices at certain periods as places, and as unduly depress them at others- and these functions will be found, to exceed, in extent, the amount of the disturbing cause- and will produce father injurious effects through the uncertainly & hazard they occasion, to the commerce pursued on other principles, by the private merchants.<sup>145</sup>

Liverpool and other towns responded that private agents were able to make remittances. For instance, in Liverpool's answers, they argued that they 'see no reason to doubt the practicability of effecting remittances to the country, bring through private agency and

---

<sup>143</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1831-32, February 1831, letter no. 5b.

<sup>144</sup> Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', p. 188. Glasgow East India Association, Incoming Correspondence 1831-32, April 1832, Answers of the Liverpool Committee, located between letter no. 37b and 38a. Glasgow's answers can be found in Parliamentary Paper, *Reports from Committees: 1831-2. East India Company's Affairs. II. -Finance and Accounts-Trade*, Vol. III, 1832, Appendix no. 4., pp. 504-590.

<sup>145</sup> Minutebooks of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, 23 May 1832, Queries proposed by the India Board, Answer to Query No. 6, pp. 383-404.

otherwise to the full extent of the Company's wants.'<sup>146</sup> Then for the methods of remittance after the cessation of the company's trade, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow all referred to drafts on India, export financing in India, transporting specie and bullion, or their combinations as the means of remittance from India to Britain conducted by natives and European agents.<sup>147</sup>

Matsumoto's study pointed out that, after the abolition of the EIC's monopoly, the company's sales of drafts on India in the U.K. and its exporting finance for Indian commodities became the main means for remitting from India to the U.K. as the free trade advocates had expected.<sup>148</sup> The annual average of the EIC's supply of drafts on India in the U.K. during the period 1834-39 was approximately £1.72 million, which rose to £ 3.37 million during the period 1850-1854.<sup>149</sup> This reflected the good performance of British exports to India during the period after the total abolition of the company's monopoly. In contrast, although the remittance through the export financing for Indian commodities initially performed well and its annual average during the period 1834-39 hit £1.4 million, this means of remittance virtually ended in 1849, mainly as a result of the criticism against the company's export financing.<sup>150</sup> In addition, the annual average of remittance in the form of specie was only approximately £ 69,000 during the period 1834-1857.<sup>151</sup> Although, after 1834, remittance in the form of drafts on India became the main means of remittance from India, it could not sufficiently make up the company's deficits in the home account. After the cessation of its commercial functions, its deficits were initially made up by the profits from selling its commercial assets during the 1830s, and capital raised by issuing its bonds in the U.K during the 1840s.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, after the 1850s, the Indian railway companies were required to make the instalments of capital to the Company's treasury under their respective Deeds of Contracts with the EIC, and although the expenses for construction and management of the railways were paid from the pool of this capital,

---

<sup>146</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1832, April 1832, Answers of the Liverpool Committee Q. 6<sup>th</sup>, located between letter no. 37b and 38a

<sup>147</sup> See each town's answer to Query 8, and Parliamentary Paper, *Reports from Committees: 1831-2. East India Company's Affairs. II. -Finance and Accounts-Trade. Vol. III*, 1832, pp. 542-543.

<sup>148</sup> M. Matsumoto, *Igirisu no Indo touchi* [India under the control of Britain], 1996, Chapter 3, Section 2. Advances to the exporters of Indian commodities were made by the company in India, and then repayments were made in the U.K.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>152</sup> According to Matsumoto's calculation, during the period 1834-1839, the average of annual profits from selling their commercial assets amounted to £2130,000, and during the period 1840-44, in the annual average, approximately £170,000 was raised from selling its bonds, and then the size increased to £323,000, 1845-1849.

the company could divert the surplus of the capital for repaying its debts.<sup>153</sup> Therefore, the remittance system which was proposed by the free trade supporters of outports and manufacturing towns in reality could not fully meet the increasing level of remittances from India to the U.K.

In July 1832, Thomas Langton, the secretary of the Liverpool Committee asked the Glasgow Association and the Manchester Committee, to consider the propriety of asking the candidates for their opinions in reference to the question of the East India monopoly in the General Election for the Reformed Parliament. In Liverpool, 'some [members of the Committee] think a pledge should be asked for, others see objections to this; some think an address to the Electors of the United Kingdom, signed with the names of Chairmen of the several towns would be the best form; some that resolutions in the style of the annexed would be preferable, whilst some doubt the propriety of taking any steps of the kind.'<sup>154</sup> Although both Glasgow and Manchester Committees recommended that the electors should take the significance of the East India and China questions into consideration in their votes, they did not take any further measures in this respect.<sup>155</sup> In contrast, the Liverpool Committee thought that it was proper to ask candidates for their opinions before they contacted other associations. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether in Liverpool the candidates were requested to declare for the complete opening of the East India and China trade or not. However, in the election, the candidates were asked for their attitude towards the equalisation of the duties on the West Indian and East Indian sugar at least. Thomas Thornely and William Ewart were in favour of the equalisation of duties, but Lord Sandon supported the West India interests, by insisting on the reduction of duties on their produce, and Sir Harold Douglas avoided replying to the question.<sup>156</sup> This indicated that subjects of communication between the provincial lobbying groups were not confined to timing of sending petitions and their deputies to London. Although they failed to reach consensus, they tried to exploit the opportunity of the General Election for their free trade campaign.

Although due to the limitation of the available sources, it is more difficult to know Liverpool merchants' lobbying activities in detail in 1833, especially after April, than the previous years, some of their activities can be known. As described above, after January 1833, the Liverpool Committee and the GEIA, and their parliamentary members closely

---

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., pp. 83-94, and Parliamentary Papers, *Return of Contracts with any Company for making Railways Public Roads, Canals, Works for Irrigation, or their Public Works in India*, 1859, Session 1 (259), Vol. XIX.

<sup>154</sup> Committee Minutes, 1829-1834, 10 July 1832, pp. 82-83.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., and Minutebooks of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, 11 July 1832, p. 411

<sup>156</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 December 1832.

communicated with each other in order to seek the proper time for sending the deputation to London. While they were waiting for detailed information of the Government's plan, they continued their activities in some agendas related to the East India trade. In the middle of March, according to Lord Sandon's letter to the Mayor of Liverpool, they knew that the Government had decided that the China trade would be opened.<sup>157</sup> Nevertheless, at the same time, it was their intention that the tea imported to the outports should be stored in warehouses within the wall of dock before auction sales in order to reduce the risk of smuggling and secure the customs revenues.<sup>158</sup> The members of the Liverpool Association showed their strong objections as they thought that these conditions were 'incompatible with that economical management of the China trade.'<sup>159</sup> The Liverpool Committee lobbied against this point through their MPs and Whitmore although the free trade supporters eventually failed to persuade the Government to change these conditions in the new East India Charter.<sup>160</sup>

Moreover, it may be reasonable to refer again to Charles Grant's inquiry in February to Whitmore about the opinion of provincial commercial and manufacturing interests in regard to the 'rules, restrictions and conditions under which they should be allowed to settle in the interior of India.'<sup>161</sup> In this event, as has been described, the Glasgow Association asked the Liverpool Committee to write up a draft for them because the former did not have their knowledge of the legal system in India.<sup>162</sup> The free trade interests of the outports and manufacturing towns tended to focus on the commercial aspects of the East India and China questions. Nevertheless, the Liverpool Committee showed an ability to deal with the wider aspects of the question than Glasgow could although the questions of the British settlement in India were significantly related to the commercial activities.

## 5.10. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the lobbying activities of the Liverpool merchants against the renewal of the charters during the period 1812 to 1813 and 1829 to 1833.

---

<sup>157</sup> Incoming Correspondence, 1833-1834, 15 March 1833, letter no. 18a.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 20<sup>th</sup>, March 1833, letter no. 16a.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Committee Minutes, 1829-1834, 12 March 1833, p. 91.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

During the first period, Liverpool's free trade campaign was organised by the two major commercial interests of the town of that time, the West India traders and the American traders. Although historians such as Checkland and Tolley have previously discussed their collaboration, it has been demonstrated here that the West Indian interests dominated the Liverpool Committee. Like other outports and manufacturing towns of the country, Liverpool merchants were struggling in the unstable commercial environment which had been mainly created by the Napoleonic Wars and the deterioration of the Anglo-American relationship as the result of their economic dispute over the Orders in Council: on the one side, the West India traders and planters, who held strong influence within the Corporation, were firm supporters of the Orders in Council, on the other side, many American merchants blamed the Orders for their difficulties and demanded that the state should repeal them. Their different views surfaced during their lobbying activities, like the debates over the economic condition of Liverpool in the House of Commons. George Canning's capture of a parliamentary seat for the city was also a result of the conflict between the two groups. Later this led to the American merchants' refusal to subscribe for the foundation of the Liverpool Office in London. Nevertheless, as far as the renewal of the East India Charter was concerned, in spite of their different views over the Ministry's wartime economic policy, these remained as minor obstacles to the Liverpool lobbyists. They could maintain their consensus on the opening of the East India trade, as both of them needed to look for new markets under the depressed economic conditions, and Liverpool could lead the provincial lobbyists' campaign. This study shows that except for the interval period of 1812, the Liverpool Committee maintained close communication with other parties for organising their effective campaign as Glasgow did.

Furthermore, the provincial interests' political connection to London should not be ignored as the case of Liverpool shows. In addition to the city's traditional political connection with the state, which was revealed in such an event as the financial crisis of 1793, it was fortunate for Liverpool, which was requested to play a role as a central committee for the campaign during the interval, to obtain a very able man like Canning as their representative in Parliament. As one of the best friends to the free-trade advocate, Canning, who was at the centre of national politics, could know the Ministry's intention on the renewal of the charter well. He played a role as one of the representatives for the provincial lobbyist groups in Parliament. His opinions had strong influence on their lobbying strategies, but not as strong as Checkland described. In fact, the provincial lobbyists rejected his advice that they should give up their lobby against the China monopoly in early January 1813.

Nevertheless, in spite of his personal opinion against the opening of the China monopoly, he sought for the best possible outcomes for the provincial interests in the debates over the renewal of the company's charter in Parliament.

In the campaign during the period 1829 to 1833, Liverpool merchants took the lead again. Within the town, while the West India interests and the East India interests were opposed to each other in the debates over the equalisation of the sugar duties and the abolition of slavery, Liverpool merchants in different trading branches and with different political views succeeded in uniting again to secure the complete opening of the East India and China trade. In the initial stage of the campaign for the total abolition of the company's monopoly, the Liverpool merchants largely owed their lobbying activities, such as arranging their meeting with Ministers in London, to Huskisson before he was killed in the railway accident. Although the main aims of their campaign were the opening of the China trade and the abolition of the licence system and free economic activities in India, Liverpool merchants especially showed their strong desire to enter the tea trade, probably more than any other British towns. The city's economic significance as the major British port along with the port of London and its 'long-established' East India Association gave its merchants strong initiative in the campaign. The records of the GEIA shows that they held their close communication with other outports and manufacturing towns as well as their Parliamentary supporters for not only organising the General Deputation but also sending more effective petitions and memorials to Parliament and the Ministry and attempting to exploit the opportunity of the General Election for their lobbying.

## **Chapter 6. The lobbying activities of the Manchester interests against the renewal of the East India Company's charter, 1829-1833**

### 6.1. Introduction

This chapter is the last of the case studies of the lobbying activities of British provincial towns against the renewal of the EIC's charter. In the following, the case of Manchester during the period 1829-33 will be investigated.

While it is much more difficult to reconstruct the lobbying activities of Manchester in the first movement in detail because of a lack of historical sources, the minutebooks of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers (MCCM) provide one of the most comprehensive historical sources, along with those of the GEIA, for researchers interested in lobbying activities of provincial merchants and manufacturers for free trade in Asia after 1820. The main difference between the records of the MCCM and those of the GEIA is that, apart from the minutebooks, the latter contains a large collection of corresponding letters between the GEIA and other associations and individuals including material from Manchester. Glasgow's materials can provide additional information to the previous studies of Manchester's campaign. Moreover, by examining these different towns' records, the similarities and differences of the lobbying activities of Manchester and other towns can be contrasted more clearly.

The MCCM's records were widely used in the previous studies of the free trade movements during this period conducted by such historians as Eyles, Greenberg and Redford.<sup>1</sup> Through examining the MCCM's lobbying for the abolition of the restrictions imposed on the tonnage of vessels for the India trade, Eyles pointed out Manchester's prime concern after 1814 was to remove the remaining restrictions imposed on the India trade rather than the opening of the China trade. Nevertheless, Eyles as well as the other two historians used these records for exploring the provincial lobbyists' campaign of 1829-1833 as a whole rather than specifically focusing on Manchester's lobbying activities. Therefore, focusing on Manchester's campaigners, this chapter will explore their collaboration with other provincial organisations and their contribution to the free trade movement of 1829-1833.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42*, 1969, D. Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1955, and A. Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade 1794-1858*, 1934.

In this chapter, first of all, as background to the MCCM's free trade movement, the growth of Manchester's economy, especially, the cotton industry and related businesses, during the period 1780 to 1830 will be described. Moreover, it will be explained that, although Manchester's economy was largely dominated by businesses related to the cotton textile industry, their economic interests and political ideologies were not coherent before the 1820s, and that the establishment of the MCCM was an attempt to collect these different economic interests of the town. Second, the Manchester business community and its lobbying activities before the beginning of the debates over the renewal of the company's charter will be discussed. Third, the lobbying activities of the MCCM during the campaign of 1829-1833 will be examined in detail. In this part, the economic interests of those who were involved in the lobbying activities will also be analysed as has been done in the previous chapters.

## 6.2. Manchester during the period 1780-1830

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Manchester became one of the largest provincial towns in Britain, along with Liverpool and Glasgow. Its population grew rapidly from about 24,000 in 1773 to 108,000 in 1821, and reached 142,000 by 1831.<sup>2</sup> Manchester was synonymous with 'cottonopolis' after the Industrial Revolution. The town became the very centre of the cotton industry in Britain after the 1780s. The first steam-powered mill was built by Richard Arkwright there in 1781. The success of his business was followed by the rapid growth of the cotton industry in the town and its neighbouring area, although in spite of the diffusion of the factory system, the putting-out system was not replaced immediately by this new system. In the weaving branch of the cotton industry, because of the technological limitations of the power-loom, which was not suitable to fine yarns before the 1820s, factories were slow to develop.

In terms of the size of firms, even during the 1830s, the cotton industry consisted of a large number of small firms.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, after the 1820s, the town experienced the rationalisation of the cotton industry, that is to say, the spread of the factory system and power-loom. Because the competitive condition of the market during the 1820s reduced

---

<sup>2</sup> D. Read, *Peterloo: The 'Massacre and its Background*, 1958, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> R. Smith, 'Manchester as a Centre for Manufacturing and Merchanting Cotton Goods, 1820 to 1830' in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, 1953-1954, pp. 50-51.

their profit margin, the firms needed to adjust their business structure by increasing their size of production and turnover.<sup>4</sup> Technological innovations enabled spinning and weaving branches to be integrated within a factory.<sup>5</sup> This concentration of industry resulted in an increase in the size of firms.

Historians such as R. Lloyd-Jones and M. J. Lewis, and M. Fores focused on the development of the commercial sector of the town in their studies during the 1980s.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, Smith argued by pointing out the development of the warehouse system during the period that Manchester as an entrepot for the local cotton industry emerged after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Lloyd-Jones and Lewis argued that the commercial activities played a more significant role in the economic activities within the town even before the 1820s. In their research, Lloyd-Jones and Lewis used data from the Manchester Poor Rate Assessment Books and reconstructed its business structure in the first half of the nineteenth century. In terms of the total value of property assets, warehouse businesses showed their much superior economic position to that of factories in the middle of the 1810s.<sup>8</sup> They observed that ‘Manchester in 1815 was a warehouse town’ and ‘Manchester’s symbolic role as the centre of the factory may best be understood in terms of labour rather than capital.’<sup>9</sup> From these studies on the structure of the Manchester’s economy, it can be understood that factory owners and warehousemen held a significant position in Manchester during the 1820s.

In respect to the local politics, the cotton merchants (warehousemen) tended to support the ‘Tory’ while most of the cotton manufacturers (spinners) were ‘Whig’ during the post-Napoleonic Wars period.<sup>10</sup> In spite of such a political difference, Manchester’s business community during this period was a firm supporter of the *laissez-faire* principle. However, their support for free trade and the *laissez-faire* principle derived from their practical interests rather than their blind pursuance of economic ideology. In fact, Lloyd-Jones and Lewis argued that in Manchester before the mid-1820s, hostilities and conflicts were observed between the economic interest groups over Britain’s foreign trade policy.<sup>11</sup> For example, a part of the Manchester business community, mainly a group of warehouse

---

<sup>4</sup> R. Lloyd-Jones and M. J. Lewis, *Manchester and the age of the factory*, 1988, pp. 110-111.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester*, and M. Fores, ‘The Myth of a British Industrial Revolution’, in *History*, vol. LXVI, 1981.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, ‘Manchester as a Centre’, p. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester*, p. 30, Table 3.5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32 and p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Read, *Peterloo*, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester*, chapter 5.

manufacturers, was against cotton spinners who exported their yarns to foreign countries and petitioned Parliament for its prohibition before 1820 because they thought the exportation of yarns could only benefit foreign cotton manufacturers and was against the interest of the domestic manufacturing industry.<sup>12</sup>

Manchester was a centre of the radical movement in Britain, and the maintenance of public order was one of the major concerns among its middle class. Social disturbances were usually caused by economic distress as the Peterloo massacre of 1819 showed.

Manchester's economy was dominated by the cotton industry and its related business, which increasingly depended on the international market. Its economic structure was vulnerable to the fluctuation of the market.<sup>13</sup> Trade depressions often severely damaged the living standards of a large number of cotton weavers and spinners and their families in the town, which resulted in popular riots. A lesson from the Peterloo massacre for Manchester businessmen was the necessity of organising an institution which could overcome conflicts between the different economic interest groups and unite the interests of the town's business community.<sup>14</sup> As a result, the MCCM was established in the following year. This institution represented the interests of the Manchester business community and lobbied the government and Parliament for liberation of their economic activities from such restrictions as the monopoly of the East India Company and the Corn Laws.

### 6.3. The Manchester business community and their lobbying activities before the beginning of the debates over the renewal of the company's charter

Before the nineteenth century, Indian cotton pieces with their superior quality and competitive prices were regarded as a threat to the domestic textile industry in Britain. Therefore, in the initial phase of the industrialisation, cotton manufacturers in Lancashire and South-Western Scotland demanded that the government protect their infant industry. In 1788, British cotton spinners criticised the EIC's importation of Indian cotton products for damaging the domestic industry, and demanded the company reduce the importation of piece goods and increase that of raw materials, instead.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, at the time of the

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> The vulnerability of the industry can be indicated by the number of business failures during this period. In fact, between 1815 and 1825, 60 per cent of the factory firms of the cotton industry failed (In the latter year new comers occupied 56 per cent of all factory firms). Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

<sup>15</sup> P. J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757-1813*, 1968, pp. 85-86 and document 35.

renewal of the company's charter in 1793, the cotton manufacturers organised their campaign against the company's importation of the finished products from India.<sup>16</sup> In January, 1791, 'Muslin and Cotton Manufacturers and Cotton Spinners' of the Manchester district in their meeting on the East India Company's competition argued:

That the cotton and muslin manufactures are of the greatest consequence to this kingdom, giving employment to nearly half a million of his Majesty's subjects. ... That the British manufacturers... are exposed to continual danger and immense losses by the importation of muslins and cotton goods from the East Indies, manufactured by persons- the price of whose labour does not exceed the amount of taxes paid to Government by individual labourers in Great Britain. That such importation of manufactured goods is highly injurious to the nation, by transferring the price of labour from this country to the inhabitants of the East.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, according to P. J. Marshall, when Lord Hawkesbury, the President of the Board of Control, made his inquiry to manufacturing towns in the same year as to 'what goods they expected to be able to sell in the area covered by the company's monopoly, if they were allowed to trade there on their own account', they failed to answer him.<sup>18</sup> These events indicate that the main interest of the British cotton industry at that time was still the protection of their industry from the import of cotton piece goods from India rather than the export of their own products to the East.

**Table 6-1. Labour Productivity in Cotton Spinning (Number of Operative Hours to Process 100lb. of cotton for 80's cotton yarn)**

Indian hand spinners	Over 50,000
Crompton's first mule in 1780	2,000
Mules with around 100 spindles	1,000
A pair of Power-assisted mules with 240 spindles driven at 2,250 rpm in 1795	300
The 600-spindle mules in 1825 at 3,000 rpm	135
Most efficient machine machinery in 1970	40

Source: S. D. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, p. 20, and H. Catling, *The Spinning Mule*, 1970, p. 54 (Original source).

However, in the next two decades, their position changed. Table 6-1 indicates the rapid increase of the productivity of spinning mules during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century, the productivity of a power-assisted mule was roughly one hundred and sixty times higher than that of Indian hand

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>17</sup> Redford, *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade*, pp. 108-109. He originally quoted from *Manchester Mercury*, 25 January 1791.

<sup>18</sup> Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India*, pp. 96-7.

spinners of the eighteenth century. Because of the increase in the productivity of machinery, and the diffusion of these technological innovations over the country, Lancashire's cotton industry became able to compete with its Indian counterpart, especially in the market for coarser goods, by the time of the renewal of the company's charter in 1813. Their view of India changed from one of strong competitors to that of potential market for British manufacturing products. At the same time, as has already been explained, because of the intensification of the Napoleonic Wars and the outbreak of the Anglo-American War, British cotton manufacturers faced difficulty in exporting their products to their traditional markets in the European continent and North America. Moreover, increasing competition from foreign rival manufacturers under protectionism curtailed demand for British manufacturing products. These political and economic factors encouraged British manufacturers to look for new markets for their products and alternative suppliers of raw materials in the East and Latin American countries.

In the first free trade movement of 1812 and 1813, Manchester joined the campaign of provincial merchants and manufacturers. They petitioned Parliament and sent their delegation to London in order to join the General Deputation for the abolition of the company's monopoly. Manufacturers in Manchester benefited significantly from the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814: exports of cotton cloths increased from about 0.8 million yards to over 43.5 million yards during the period 1814-1828, and of cotton twist from 121,000lbs. in 1823 to upwards of 4.5 million lbs. in 1828. The total exports in official values expanded from £ 1.6million in 1814 to £ 5.8 million in 1829.<sup>19</sup> The Asian market also increased its relative importance for the export of British cotton goods. During the period 1804-6, the Asian market (including China) occupied less than 1 per cent of the total exports.<sup>20</sup> However, two decades later, the share increased to 7.7 per cent, and three decades later, 10.8 per cent.

During the 1820s, the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester led by the newly established MCCM, organised their campaigns against the limitation of the tonnage of vessels from the U.K. to the East Indies, and the equalisation of duty on West India and the East Indian sugar, along with Liverpool and other provincial manufacturing towns and

---

<sup>19</sup> Huskisson Papers MSS 38765, f.175.

<sup>20</sup> Calculated from R. Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, 1979, pp. 96, 98 and 99, Table 43, 45 and 46.

outports.<sup>21</sup> In February, 1827, they set up a committee ‘to enquire into the state of our Trade and the East and to report thereon.’<sup>22</sup> In this report, they expressed their pleasure at the large increase in the exports of cotton goods, which occupied approximately two thirds of the total amount of British exports at that time.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, they expressed their concern about increased competition in the traditional foreign markets under protectionism that:

It could not be expected that other Countries would allow us to retain undivided, so important a branch of manufacture, and accordingly they have been straining equally with ourselves in promoting it backed by the efforts of their several Governments and are now advanced to great perfection in their production of the principal articles of Cotton Goods.<sup>24</sup>

In particular, competition from the rival manufacturers of the United States was a great concern among British manufacturers. In April, the MCCM drafted a petition to Parliament based on this report. In this petition, they argued that ‘in many of the old markets the demand for our Cotton Goods has been curtailed by the increasing competition of foreign rivals aided in some instances, and especially in the United States of America, therefore necessary to maintain the actual extent of that manufacture.’<sup>25</sup> Moreover, they referred to the equalisation of sugar duties. They insisted that if the discriminating duty on the East India products in favour of the West Indian counterparts was abolished, it would bring an increase in demand for British cotton goods from the East and make up for the reduction of their sales in other regions.<sup>26</sup>

However, although they sent their petitions and deputation to London in order to deal with the question of the sugar duties, compared to the lobbying activities organised by the Liverpool Committee, it seems that the MCCM’s lobbying activities tended to be passive and less enthusiastic. Its deputies and petitions were undertaken only in response to the requests from the LEIA. In addition, as far as can be known from Manchester’s minutebook of this period, the MCCM did not give any significant suggestions about the sugar duties to the LEIA in responses to their communication. Many merchants and manufacturers in Manchester recognised that the country needed to import agricultural

---

<sup>21</sup> M8/2/1 Minutebook of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufacture 1821-1827, 17 April 1822, pp. 63-65, Copy of petition against the Limitation of the Tonnage of Vessels from Great Britain to the East Indies, 24 April 1822, and pp. 66-67, pp. 81-82,

<sup>22</sup> M8 /2/2 Minutebook of the MCCM, 1827-1833, 28 February 1827, p. 6

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 14 March 1827, Report regarding the East India Trade, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 25 April 1827, pp. 38-39.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

products and raw materials in exchange for British manufacturing products, but unlike the East Indian interests of Liverpool and Glasgow, they were not directly involved in the trade. Therefore, while in their neighbouring port of Liverpool the duty on East India sugar was widely debated and several pamphlets on this question were published, Manchester's response to the question of the sugar trade was slower and weaker than the outport. Moreover, Manchester showed a similar response during the debates on the renewal of the company's charter during the period 1829-33.

#### 6.4. The MCCM and the debates over the renewal of the EIC's Charter

Although the MCCM supported such free trade movements as for the abolition of the restriction on the tonnage of vessels engaged in the East India trade and the equalisation of the duties during the early 1820s, it did not have significant activities against the renewal of the company's charter until 1829. Cotton piece-goods manufacturers in Lancashire during this period were disappointed by the company's sales of their products in China; the company's sales of cotton-pieces in this market could not increase as quickly as the private traders' sales achieved in the India market. The goods were sold in Canton at the company's loss until 1827, and moreover, British buying of nankeens recorded their highest point in 1828, and only afterward British exports of cotton goods to China exceeded their purchases.<sup>27</sup>

The cotton industry in Lancashire also had a problem within the supply side. Mr. Winter, one of Manchester's prominent businessmen, insisted on the necessity of acquiring new markets in the East Indies and China for manufactures because of technical innovations in manufacturing industry. He referred to a new self-acting mule invented by Richard Robert.

As a reason for finding new sources of employment to the working class, the great progressive improvement of machinery; and, as an illustration, stated that within these few weeks a mode has been invented of superseding manual labour hitherto necessary for Spinning frames, and that one child would now be sufficient for superintending 600 spindles.<sup>28</sup>

Technical innovation in the industry led to the improvement of productivity and increases of output, but at the same time, the factory owners needed to seek new markets in order to meet their increasing output and to maintain employment. As has been explained, middle-

---

<sup>27</sup> D. A. Farnie, *The English Cotton Industry*, p. 120.

<sup>28</sup> MS 891001/5 Incoming Correspondence, 1829-1830, letter no. 4.

class manufacturers were seriously concerned about the social unrest caused by unemployment of workers as well as high foods prices.

In April 1829, the free trade campaign against the renewal of the EIC's charter began in Manchester as in other provincial towns and outports. On 15 April, in a meeting of the Board of the Directors of the MCCM, they discussed the necessity of holding a public meeting of the inhabitants of the town in order to discuss the expiration of the charter.

Table 6-2 is a list of firms and individuals who signed for a petition along with the directors of the Chamber of Commerce to the town's Boroughreeve and Constables for the opening of the public meeting in the town to discuss the subject of the renewal of the company's charter. In fact, many of the directors were the partners of these firms. Therefore, it seems that they best represented Manchester's interests in the East India trade during the period. They were involved in all major branches of the cotton industry and its related mercantile businesses in and around Manchester, i.e., cotton spinning, manufacturing, calico-printing, smallware manufacturing, and warehouse business. Out of the 36 petitioners, at least 29 were engaged in these businesses. In terms of the size of their firms, the group represented Manchester's local economy. For instance, according to Chapman's study, the capital of Henry & James Barton was nearly four times as large as that of James Finlay & Co., the leading Scottish cotton manufacturers and their partner company.<sup>29</sup> Another example was Adam & George Murray employing over 1,000 workers, one of the largest factory owners in Manchester.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the core part of Manchester's East India interests reflected the town's local economy, especially to the cotton industry.

---

<sup>29</sup> S. D. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, 1992, p. 90 and p. 95.

<sup>30</sup> Lloyd-Jones and Lewis, *Manchester*, p. 6.

**Table 6-2. List of the firms and individuals who requested the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester for the Public Meeting along with the Directors of the MCCM.**

Name	Type of Business A	Type of Business B
Thomas & Robert Barns	fine spinners	cotton spinners
H. J. & R. Barton	merchants	merchants
Bindlosses & Preston	silkmen	
Birley & Kirk	cotton spinners & manufacturers by power	cotton spinners/ manufacturers or, & dealers in cotton goods
Joseph Clarke & Sons		cotton spinners/ manufacturers or, & dealers in cotton goods
Crewdson & Worthington	silk & cotton manufacturers	manufacturers of silk & cotton
Isaac Crewdson	gentleman	
Henry Fielding & Brothers	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
Gardner, Braidley & Co.		
Robert & William Garnett	merchants	cotton twist & weft dealers/ merchants
William Grant & Brothers	manufacturers & calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
Samuel Greg & Co.	spinners & manufacturers	cotton spinners/ manufacturers or, & dealers in cotton good
John Hall & Sons	muslin, gingham & silk manufacturers	manufacturers of muslin, &c.
Hardman, Powell & Hardman	merchants & calico printer	calico printers & print warehouses/ merchants
Hargreaves, Dugdale & Co.	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
Hole & Wilkinson	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
The Holywell & Douglas & Co.	merchants	cotton spinners/ merchants
H. Houldsworth Junr.	cotton spinner	
Hoyle & Newbery	silk, & cotton manufacturers & furrier	manufacturers of silk & cotton/ manufacturers of smallware
Loyd & Price	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
McConnel & Co.	cotton spinners	
Millington, Son & Bailey	merchants, manufacturers & printers	calico print warehouses/ merchants
Adam & George Murray	cotton spinners	cotton spinners
The New Bridge Mills & Twist Co.		cotton spinners
James Oughton & Co.	Manchester & Scotch warehousemen	
J. & N. Philips		
Philips & Lee	cotton spinners & merchants	cotton spinners
N. & F. Phillips & Co.	merchants & smallware manufacturers	manufacturers of smallwares/ merchants
Joseph Plant & Co.	fine spinners	cotton spinners
Potter, Mande & Co.	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
Richard Hole		
Simpson, Haign & Co.	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
Robert Smith & Brothers	spinners & manufacturers.	cotton spinners/ manufacturers or, & dealers in cotton goods
Thomson, Chippendall & Co.	calico printers	calico printers & print warehouses
Philips Wood & Co.	hat manufacturers & merchants	hat manufacturers/ merchants
Wright & Lee	manufacturers & spinners	

Note: 'Type of Business A' indicates businesses of the firms/individuals recorded in the main pages of the Postal Directory, and 'Type of Business B' indicates business in which the firms and the individuals were categorised in the section of the 'List of Trades' of the Postal Directory.

Source: *The Pigot & Son's General Directory, Manchester, Salford, &c., 1829.*

On 25 April, William Rathbone and John Garnett visited Manchester as a deputation from the LEIA and met the Board of Directors of the MCCM to inform them of their intention and request them to send a deputation to London.<sup>31</sup> This is one example that indicated the close communication between Manchester and Liverpool during the campaign. Two days later, merchants, manufacturers and other persons interested in the East India and China Trade held a public meeting at the Town Hall under the auspices of the MCCM.<sup>32</sup> At this meeting, as in the cases of Glasgow and Liverpool, an East India Trade Committee was appointed, and later the petitions to Parliament were prepared and the members of the deputation from the town were appointed to join the free trade campaign in London. The substance of the resolutions passed in the public meeting was almost identical to those of other towns: (1) The partial opening of the East India trade after 1814 proved itself to be beneficial to the British merchants and manufacturers; (2) They expected positive results which would derive from their free intercourse with the interior of India and China; (3) The company's monopoly in the tea trade was very injurious to the public and did not give any advantage to the State Revenue; (4) The capital investment and civilisation and the diffusion of Christianity in India would be promoted by the settlement of British subjects; (5) The committee (Manchester East India Committee) were to be set up and Petitions were to be prepared and sent to Parliament.

However, if the details of the public meeting are analysed, a couple of points which were particular to Manchester can be observed.<sup>33</sup> Firstly, compared with Liverpool and Glasgow, the Manchester merchants and manufacturers showed their relatively minor interest in the China trade, especially the tea trade. This was similar to the case of East India sugar. Of course, Manchester's merchants and manufacturers showed their strong interest in the export of their cotton yarns and pieces to China. However, most of their arguments on the tea trade were based on those of Liverpool. For instance, compared with the first public meeting for opposing the renewal of the charter held in Liverpool on 29 January 1829, many speakers in this meeting referred to the tea trade, whilst only G. W. Wood did so in Manchester.<sup>34</sup> This was reasonable if the economic interests of Manchester are taken into consideration. Because the primary interests of merchants and manufacturers in the town were the cotton industry and the commercial activities related to

---

<sup>31</sup> Minutebook of the MCCM 1827-1833, p. 135.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 April 1829, pp. 138-141

<sup>33</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 2 May 1829, p. 3 and *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicles*, 2 May 1829, p. 3

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Liverpool Mercury*, 30 January 1829.

it, few businessmen held a direct interest in the tea trade and they had little knowledge of this branch of foreign trade. In addition to it, although Ward's study revealed that the habit of consuming tea among the working class became common during the period of the Industrial Revolution, this product was a luxury grocery.<sup>35</sup> One anti-monopolist of Oldham mentioned in the *Manchester Guardian* that:

The plant may or may not, for aught I know, be deleterious in its effects, but it is certainly an article [of tea] more of luxury than necessity: and one which the operatives would be quite willing to give up. In fact, I could mention one extensive spinning establishment of this town, the operatives of which have expressed a willingness, and wish to acquiesce in this proposition.<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, unlike their hostility to the Corn Laws, Manchester's manufacturers, some of whom supposed the import of cheap food from abroad would reduce the labour costs and increase the competitive power of their manufacturing goods, were not very much concerned about the price of tea.

The second point was the reverse side of the first point, that is to say, Manchester businessmen showed their strong interest in the problems related to India, especially the free settlement of British subjects and the employment of British capital and skills in India. After the opening of the India trade in 1814, the Indian market had already proved itself as a significant market for British cotton goods, and free access to the interior would lead to its further growth. However, for the manufacturing interests of Manchester, the improvement and creation of commercial crops in India was as important as the creation of new markets for their own manufacturing goods. In the public meeting, William Garnett, the Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, argued that:

If there was one article of foreign product more interesting and important to Manchester than any other, it was cotton. The improvement that had been effected in the cultivation of indigo was well known; and it was impossible to hold the opinion that the culture of cotton could not be similarly improved. If English capital were transferred to Hindostan, we might obtain such a supply of cotton from that country as would render us independent of any foreign state in the world.<sup>37</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century, American raw cotton increasingly dominated in the British market. During the period 1806-10, 53 per cent of raw cotton was imported

---

<sup>35</sup>J. R. Ward, 'The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750-1850' in *the Economic History Review*, New series, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 44-65.

<sup>36</sup>*Manchester Guardian*, 27 February 1830, p. 4, 'Tea Monopoly'.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 2 May 1829, p. 3.

from the United States, and two decades later, its percentage increased further to nearly three fourths.<sup>38</sup> Like those of Glasgow and Liverpool, Manchester's merchants and manufacturers regarded the total dependence on the import of raw cotton from the U.S. as an unfavourable situation when they took into consideration the possible deterioration of their relationship with America or the natural failure of the crop. Their preference for a shift of the supply of raw cotton from America to India was further encouraged by American protectionism. Garnett suggested that 'When they saw what America was doing with her tariff, the object of which was to make her a manufacturing country, and by which British manufacturers were excluded and a bounty given to her own manufactures... it was a measure seriously affecting the [British] cotton trade.'<sup>39</sup> They did not think that it was desirable to import most of their raw materials from the country where their manufacturing goods were excluded by the protective policy. Their wish for the improvement of the cultivation of Indian cotton was materialised later by their petitioning the EIC for 'the better Cultivation of Cotton in India' in 1838.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the export of commercial crops from India would provide the means to import British manufacturing products.<sup>41</sup>

At the end of April and the beginning of May, in the meeting of the Manchester East India Trade Committee, a deputation from the town was appointed in order to form a joint deputation with representatives from other towns in London.<sup>42</sup> In the capital, the provincial deputies prepared for their meeting with the Ministers on 9 May. However, Manchester's lobbying activities there were disturbed by the social unrest at home. The outbreak of riots in Manchester forced the Constables, who formed part of the Manchester deputation, to return from London in order to deal with this crisis and they missed the meeting with Ministers although other members of the provincial deputation received a positive impression from them in this interview as explained in Chapter 4.<sup>43</sup>

The proceedings of Manchester's campaign for the opening of the East India trade were similar to those of Glasgow and Liverpool throughout the period because the 'East India associations' of the manufacturing towns and outports closely communicated with each other in order to act in concert with each other, as have been described in the cases of Glasgow and Liverpool. Manchester sent a relatively large size of deputation to London

---

<sup>38</sup> T. Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, 1986, p. 86, originally published in 1886.

<sup>39</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 2 May 1829, Garnett's speech.

<sup>40</sup> M8/2/3 Minutebook of the MCCM 1833-1839, 17 December 1838, pp. 613-616.

<sup>41</sup> Minutebook of the MCCM 1827-1833, 25 April 1829, pp. 139-140.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 April 1829, pp. 146-148, and 2 May 1829, p. 149.

<sup>43</sup> Incoming correspondence 1829-1830, 6 May 1829, letter no. 4.

for organising the General Deputation whenever the Liverpool Committee thought it was desirable for them to do so. In fact, the manufacturing towns and outports gathered in the capital four times during the period 1829-1833, and the Manchester Committee attended all these meetings.

However, compared with Glasgow and Liverpool, the free trade movements in Manchester displayed a relatively lukewarm attitude towards the opening of the East India trade. One of such events happened when they collected subscriptions. In early 1830, when their lobbying activities resumed, the East India Trade Committee of Manchester appointed a Sub-Committee (the Finance Committee) to collect subscriptions from the public to defray the costs of their lobbying activities in London.<sup>44</sup> Their funds for lobbying mainly came from two sources: the subscriptions from the Chamber of Commerce and the public. The Manchester Committee needed to raise at least £1,000 from the subscriptions, but the Finance Committee reported that by 24 February, apart from £170 from the MCCM, they collected only about £250 from the public.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, they decided to hold an urgent meeting. However, in spite of its very urgency, the meeting was postponed twice because on both occasions sufficient number of members failed to attend.<sup>46</sup> As a result, the President of the Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to the members of the Finance Committee in order to confirm the availability of their assistance as the Sub-Committee members.<sup>47</sup> It seems that consequently the Finance Committee managed to collect the target figure as they could afford their part of financial responsibility for the costs of its deputation in London. Nevertheless, it showed their less enthusiastic participation in the free trade campaign.

In general, Manchester's free trade campaign tended to be relatively passive, especially if their lobbying activities were related to the opening of the China trade. The Liverpool and Glasgow Committees made good efforts to identify proper witnesses for the Select Committees investigating the China trade, and their witnesses actually gave their evidence before them, whilst, according to the records of the MCCM, neither did they send any witnesses to London, nor were even serious discussions over the choice of the witnesses held in their meetings.

---

<sup>44</sup> Minutebook of the MCCM, 1827-1833, 23 January 1830, p. 171

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 24 February 1830, p. 187.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 27 February 1830, pp. 188-189.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

In contrast, as the details of the first public meeting of 1829 indicated, the Manchester lobbyists showed their strong interest in their freer access to India and made more constructive efforts for this purpose in their campaign. Manchester's merchants and manufacturers usually just followed the instructions from the Central Committee of Liverpool and did not take initiative. Nevertheless, in 1832 when Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, inquired of the manufacturing towns and outports about the 'rules, restrictions and conditions under which they should be allowed to settle in the interior of India,' the Manchester Committee completed their own answers to Grant's queries.<sup>48</sup> The answers of Manchester and those of Liverpool were similar, but a couple of differences can still be seen. First, the Liverpool Committee answered more fully to the queries than the Manchester Committee. Probably, this difference derived from the advantage of Liverpool merchants, many of whom were directly involved in the trade with the East and held a better position to access the information of the East than the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester. Second, for example, in their answers to Query No. 5 'What is the system pursued by the Company in the conduct of their commercial transactions in England and have their proceedings proved prejudicial or advantageous to the general interests of India commerce?', on the one hand, the Liverpool Association tended to link their answers to the China trade, more specifically the tea trade. They answered that 'The import of tea being the most important part of the Company's commercial transactions in England...'<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, the arguments of the Manchester interests focused on the India trade: 'As the Company are large importer of Indian produce to England, the market is very much ruled by their determination to sell or to hold...'<sup>50</sup> This supports the indication that Liverpool and Manchester held different main interests in their lobbying activities of this period.

Similarly, the Manchester interests showed their strong initiative when questions were directly related to the cotton industry. Their lobbying for the repeal of the duty on printed calicoes was one example. This duty, which was set up in the previous century, was 'one of the last arrangements of the wool raw material regime' and the object of this duty was

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 'Queries of the India Board and joint answers from the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and the East India Committee,' 23 May 1832, pp. 383-404.

<sup>49</sup> Incoming Correspondence 1832, April 1832, Answers of the Liverpool Committee Q. 5<sup>th</sup>, located between letter no. 37b and 38a

<sup>50</sup> Minutebook of the MCCM, 1827-1833, 'Queries of the India Board and joint answers from the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and the East India Committee,' 23 May 1832, pp. 383-404.

the imposition of the duty on the home consumption of printed calicoes.<sup>51</sup> Lancashire's cotton manufacturers thought that 'Your [the manufacturers of Yorkshire and Wiltshire] ancestors were unjust to our trade, in the imposition of tax which is pressing down and shackling our industry...'<sup>52</sup>

On 25 November 1830, a public meeting was held in the town 'for the purpose of considering the propriety of supporting the application of the printers for the repeal of the Excise on printed calicoes'.<sup>53</sup> In this meeting, George W. Wood, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, argued first that the imposition of this duty was unfair because neither were other textile industries, including woolen and silk, nor were other branches of the cotton industry subject to this kind of duty. In addition, the Irish industry was excluded from it.<sup>54</sup> Second, he insisted that the working class suffered most from this duty. The rate of the duty was fixed at 5s. or 5s. 6d. per square yard. This meant that the duty made up a larger part of the retail price in the case of cheap calicoes than expensive ones, and that the cloths used by more people were more heavily taxed. The merchants and manufacturers of Manchester employed this moral argument to attract support from the working class. Mr. Hindley declared in the meeting that 'he stood there to assert the claim of seven million of British females, ... because they could not speak to themselves.'<sup>55</sup> Manchester's mercantile and manufacturing interests emphasised that the removal of the duty would increase the consumption of the cloths, which would consequently give more opportunities for the employment of surplus capital and additional means for labour. Third, although the duty was levied on all printed calicoes, those for overseas consumption would get drawbacks of three fourths of the duty when they were exported. However, Wood pointed out that as this current taxation and drawback system for the exported calicoes was cumbersome and not efficient, the customs house needed more inspectors and ran more risk of individual frauds.

After the public meeting, on 4 December, in the meeting of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce, the repeal of the duty on printed calicoes was placed on the agenda.<sup>56</sup> They decided to send a memorial to the Treasury to urge the immediate and complete repeal of

---

<sup>51</sup>M. D. Whitaker, 'Raw Materials and the Division of Labor: Textile and Consumption in Urbanization from Manchester to Mohenjo-Daro, General Theory and Empirical Specification II' [www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mwhitake/files/rmadol\_ARTICLE2\_2-23-02.doc]

<sup>52</sup> *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle*, 27 November 1830, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> Minutebook of the MCCM, 1827-1833, 4 December 1830, p. 237.

this duty. At the same time, they resolved that they would send a letter to the LEIA, the Brazil and River Plate Association, the West India Association, the American Chamber of Commerce and the Levant Association in Liverpool asking for their assistance. Although the answer from the West India Association was negative as they were ‘not being so interested’, they received from David Gladstone, the President of the LEIA, a positive reply that they would also send a similar memorial to London.<sup>57</sup> In February, 1831, a petition for the repeal of the duty was transferred to London by the member of the Manchester Deputation. Their lobbying activities contributed to the repeal of the duty in the same year.

Finally, although Manchester’s merchants and manufacturers showed their strong interest in the further relaxation of restrictions imposed on the India trade and economic activities there, they avoided the political aspects of India. Like Glasgow and Liverpool, they accepted the political status quo as long as their economic activities were not disturbed by the restrictions.

Consequently, the MCCM and the Manchester East India Trade Committee’s lobbying activities against the renewal of the EIC’s charter strongly reflected the interests of Manchester’s local economy. Although the Manchester lobbying group fully supported the national campaign for free trade with the East Indies and China, their main interests were different from the outports. Whilst the LEIA and the GEIA showed their strong interests in the opening of the China trade, the Manchester interests were more concerned to the matters related to India in order to promote the country not only as a market for their products but also as a supplier of raw cotton.

## 6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the lobbying activities of the MCCM and the Manchester East India Trade Committee against the renewal of the EIC’s charter during the period 1829-33 were examined. In classical works, such as Greenberg’s *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800-42*, the significant contributions of the manufacturing interests of Lancashire to the opening of the China trade have been emphasised. He claimed that ‘the decisive pressure against the East India Company’s monopoly came not from Canton but

---

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 7 December 1830, pp. 239-240.

Manchester'.<sup>58</sup> In contrast, in their explanation of the gentlemanly capitalists in the East India trade, Cain and Hopkins argues that 'the end of the Company's monopoly [in the China Trade] was not the outcome of pressure exerted by Manchester's manufacturers...' in order to refute the traditional explanation of the contribution of Lancashire's manufacturers to the opening of the China trade.<sup>59</sup> As they show, the Manchester and other Lancashire manufacturing interests have been synonymous with those who lobbied for the opening of the China trade. It is true that Manchester's merchants and manufacturers held large interests in China as a potential market for their cotton goods and organised their lobbying activities to achieve this purpose. Nevertheless, although this short chapter has focused on the Manchester interests' lobbying activities during the 1829-33 campaign only, the diversity of provincial interests in the free trade campaigns can be seen. It seems that their prime interest in this campaign was not the Chinese trade, obviously not the tea trade, but the free settlement of British subjects and employment of British capital and skills in India for the further increase of the exports of British manufacturing goods to the country and the creation of the alternative source of raw cotton for their cotton industry. Compared with the opening of the India trade in 1814, the year of 1834 is often characterised by the opening of the China (or tea) trade. In this respect, as Eyles notes 'It is therefore not surprising that they [the free trade interests of Manchester] were not so intensely interested in the Charter monopoly as were Liverpool...', Manchester gave fewer contributions to the complete abolition of the company's monopoly in the China trade than Liverpool and Glasgow, where more merchants or merchant-manufacturers were directly engaged in overseas trade.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, in a broad sense, the Manchester interests' contribution to the provincial merchants and manufacturers' influential campaign for free trade with Asia was undeniable, particularly for further relaxation of restrictions imposed on the India.

---

<sup>58</sup> M. Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China, 1800-42*, 1951, p. 179.

<sup>59</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-1914*, p. 325

<sup>60</sup> Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly', p. 188.

## Chapter 7. Conclusion

This thesis has examined the lobbying activities of the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests against the renewal of the EIC's charter during the periods 1812-1813 and 1829-1833 in order to reassess Cain and Hopkins' explanation of British imperialism in Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The significance of Cain and Hopkins' 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' was that it re-balanced the economic interpretation of British imperialism against Robinson and Gallagher's accounts based on examination of peripheral events of the empire, which many historians had accepted as one of the best methodologies till the 1980s. Although Cain and Hopkins did not deny the importance of peripheral factors for the study of British Imperialism, they paid more attention to the metropolitan economy. The novelty of their account of British imperialism was that they devalued the significance of the Industrial Revolution and the role of provincial manufacturing interests in the expansion of the British Empire, and stressed the significance of non-industrial capitalists based in London and South-east England.

After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the development of a 'fiscal-military state' created the close connection between the landed aristocracy and gentries with political power and the merchants and bankers of the City of London with wealth.<sup>1</sup> Cain and Hopkins defined this group as the gentlemanly capitalists. In order to meet large military expenditure, the City financed the government through the issuing of national bonds. As a result, the commercial elite of the City increased its political influence on the state's economic and imperial policies. In their model, the position of provincial manufacturing interests was outside the gentlemanly capitalists' circle: economically, there was a split between the gentlemanly capitalists and the provincial manufacturing interests, and politically, the provincial interests could exercise minor influence on national politics.

In the 1980s and the 1990s, Cain and Hopkins' interpretations of British imperialism based on the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' were widely debated. As a result, the attention of historians in recent years has shifted from the political influence of the British manufacturing interests as a result of the Industrial Revolution to the economic and political supremacy of gentlemanly capitalists in British history. Nevertheless, in

---

<sup>1</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-1914*, pp. 71-84.

particular, the marginal role of provincial manufacturing interests was criticised by Daunton and Cannadine, and more recently, Webster and Bowen attempted to revise this model.<sup>2</sup> On the issue of free trade with the East Indies, Webster's works on the provincial interests' campaigns against the London interests' Indian central bank schemes, after the abolition of the EIC's monopoly, was particularly important. He suggested the application of a more complex relationship between the gentlemanly capitalists and the provincial interests to British imperialism in Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century than did Cain and Hopkins' original model. In this chapter, conclusions and implications will be drawn for the following three points of issue related to Cain and Hopkins' thesis, that is to say, (1) the degree of influence of the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests over Britain's imperial policies, (2) the relationship between the 'gentlemanly capitalists' in London and provincial interests, and (3) the Scots contributions to the formation of the British Empire.

Prior to the introduction of the 'gentlemanly capitalists thesis', some historians had already analysed the economic and social backgrounds of the EIC's proprietors, directors and civil and military servants, which were examined further by Bowen and Imada.<sup>3</sup> Chapter 2 has re-interpreted them in terms of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis', and shown that although the company gradually increased its administrative functions after the second half of the eighteenth century, it consisted in part of the gentlemanly capitalists and those who were connected to them. Chapter 2 also explained that the EIC's territorial acquisitions in India and a source of huge landed revenues led to a change in the contemporary British perception of India from just one of a monopolistic commercial institution to a significant national interest. As a result, while the company was suffering from political and economic turmoil both at home and in India, the state gradually intervened in Indian affairs during the 1770s and the 1780s through a series of statutory reforms, for instance North's Regulation Act and Pitt's India Act.

While the company developed its political functions, it failed to adjust to keep up the growth of the East India trade during this period. The company's import trade as a means

---

<sup>2</sup> M. J. Daunton, 'Home and Colonial' in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1995, pp. 344-358, D. Cannadine, 'The Empire Strike Back', in *Past and Present*. 147, 1995, pp. 190-191, H. V. Bowen, 'Sinews of trade and empire: the supply of commodity exports to the East India Company during the late eighteenth century' in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. LV, No. 3, 2002, pp. 466-486, and A. Webster, 'The strategies and limits of gentlemanly capitalism: the London East India agency houses, provincial commercial interests, and the evolution of British economic policy in South and South East Asia 1800-1850, in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. LIX, No. 4, 2006, pp. 743-764.

<sup>3</sup> Bowen, 'Sinews of trade and empire', 2002.

of remittance from India to Britain could no longer meet demand. As a result, Britain's dominance of the East India trade had been undermined by foreign rivals, particularly the Americans. As the necessity of relaxation of the restrictions imposed on the East India trade was recognised in Britain and in the East, the EIC's monopoly in the East India trade was heavily criticised. Nevertheless, in Britain, whilst a group of London merchants demanded the relaxation of the East India trade, the London mercantile community sought for a way to maintain its dominant position in the East India trade after the relaxation of the East India monopoly. From the provincial interests' viewpoint, the campaign against the renewal of the EIC's charter was their attempt to break not only the company's monopoly but also the London mercantile interests' dominance over the East India trade.

In respect of the degree of their influence over imperial policies, Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 have demonstrated that the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests organised effective lobbying activities for the opening of the East India and China trade and succeeded in exerting undeniable influence over the state's decisions in both the first and second campaigns. This is a clear contrast with Cain and Hopkins' argument on the gentlemanly capitalists' superior influence on the national politics. During the 1800s and the early 1810s, criticisms against the EIC's monopoly were intensified under the depressed condition of the domestic economy caused by Napoleon's economic blockade and Britain's disputes with the U.S. over the Orders in Council. In early 1812, while the EIC and the Government were negotiating about the renewal of the charter, in Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other provincial towns and outports, merchants and manufacturers who were looking for new markets and sources of raw materials in the East Indies started their lobbying against the renewal of the EIC's charter. They prepared for petitioning Parliament and sending their General Deputation to London for direct negotiation with the Ministry.

It is true that the EIC and the Ministry had already agreed on relaxation of restrictions imposed on the East India trade, including the opening of the export trade from the U.K., before the provincial lobbyists organised the General Deputation in London. Therefore, the main issues during the campaign of 1812-1813 were the opening of the import trade to outports and that of the China trade. As discussed in Chapter 3, the GEIA's records reveal that, in the initial negotiation between the General Deputation and the Ministry, the provincial lobbyists recognised the possibility of persuading the Ministry to change its

opinion on the import trade.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, the provincial interests set this issue as a main target, and continued their lobbying until they achieved it.

Regarding the Ministry's decision on the opening of the import trade from India to outports, Webster emphasised the significance of the opinions of the Board of Trade in its decision-making.<sup>5</sup> Although Webster assumed that provincial merchants and manufacturing interests had lobbied the Board of Control during the campaign, he failed to show clear evidence for this. He placed greater stress on the government's need to apply an economic policy of overcoming inflation and securing a stable source of cheap raw materials in order to maintain internal stability and carry on the war with France.<sup>6</sup> Chapter 3 provides clear evidence that the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests strongly lobbied the Board of Trade in order to get its support for the opening of the East India and China trade. The GEIA sent a letter and copies of resolutions passed at a General Meeting to the Earl of Bathurst and George Rose, the President and Vice-President of the Board respectively, in March 1812. Furthermore, in the following month, the General Deputation held a meeting with Rose, who expressed his opinion that both the India trade and the China trade should be opened. Moreover, maintaining social stability and securing raw materials were strongly demanded by the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests at that time, as the examples of petitions from Glasgow and Dudley to Parliament show.<sup>7</sup> Provincial manufacturers who employed a large number of workers at their factories were seriously concerned about social stability in their towns, and those who suffered from an unstable supply of raw materials, particularly raw cotton, were also provincial interests. Although he paid more attention to the significance of the government's wartime economic strategies for the decision on the opening of the import trade to the outports, these economic strategies were actually a response to the demands from the provincial interests. Therefore, it is appropriate to emphasise the significance of the provincial lobbying more than Webster has done.

Perceval's verbal confirmation for the opening of the import trade to the outports during his interview with the General Deputation in May 1812 was the outcome of their lobbying activities, although it was 'nullified' by his assassination. Moreover, Buckinghamshire

---

<sup>4</sup> Incoming Correspondence, 1812-1813, 10 April 1812, letter no. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Webster, 'The political economy of trade liberalization: the East India Company Charter Act of 1813' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XLIII, No. 3, 1990, pp. 404-419.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 407.

<sup>7</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, Petition to the House of the Commons of the United Kingdom, p. 28, and *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. XXI, 1812, pp. 421-422.

addressed the company in December 1812 to the effect that ‘The importance attached to these representations [from the provincial interests], induced His Majesty’s Government to revise the arrangement which had been in contemplation... the merchants belonging to the outports had established a claim against the absolute restriction of the import trade to the port of London...’<sup>8</sup> This clearly indicated that the arguments made by the provincial lobbying groups persuaded the Ministry to reject the EIC’s arguments and revise their view on the restriction of the import trade. These events contrasted with the failure of the company or London’s mercantile interests to have a significant impact on this question. In terms of the opening of the China trade, the provincial interests continued their lobbying for its opening during the first half of 1813, but the Ministry did not change its views, and the trade remained in the company’s hands. Despite this intransigence by the Government, the lobbyists had learned significant lessons in this period, and they were put to good use in the second campaign, when they succeeded in abolishing the company’s remaining monopoly.

In terms of the influence of the provincial merchants and manufacturers on the state’s decision on the total abolition of the company’s monopoly during the period between 1829 and 1833, Chapter 4 shows that it is more logical to regard the Ministry’s decision on setting up the Select Committee for enquiring into the state of the India and China trade in 1829 as a result of the provincial interests’ lobbying because their decision came just after the meeting between the Duke of Wellington and the provincial deputation. The Report of this Select Committee was an influential factor in the debates over the abolition of the company’s remaining monopoly in the China trade, and in fact, it supported those who claimed that the opening of the China trade would have more positive impacts on British overseas trade, such as increasing the consumption of British manufacturing goods there. As the records of the Glasgow Association show, the provincial merchants and manufacturing interests made strong efforts to find witnesses who could give evidence that would support their arguments before the Select Committee. For instance, the GEIA sent John Deans and John A. Maxwell, who had been engaged in trading activities in Java and Singapore respectively, to London as witnesses, and before the committee, they gave evidence related to the tea trade and opinions on the possible benefits from the abolition of the EIC’s remaining monopoly. Moreover, the fact that some inquiries regarding the opening of the trade were made by the Board of Control to the outports and provincial

---

<sup>8</sup> An Impartial Reporter, *The preliminary debate at the East India House*, p. 47, Appendix No. IX.

manufacturing towns during the time of the debates indicated that the state was taking their opinions seriously.

The economic and political interests of those who joined in these two free trade campaigns were varied. As examined in Chapter 3, in the campaign of 1812-13, the group which supported the lobbying of the Glasgow Association mainly consisted of West Indian and American merchants, as well as those who were related to the cotton textile industry. In his case study of Birmingham's campaign, Moss failed to point out the diversity of provincial lobbyists' interests within the town because the economic structure of Birmingham based on manufacturing industry was simpler than Glasgow whose economy was based on both overseas trade and the cotton industry.<sup>9</sup> In Liverpool's case, these Atlantic traders also collaborated with each other as Checkland and Tolley have pointed out. As Chapter 5 makes clear, however, the West India interests clearly outnumbered the American merchants in the committee appointed at the General Meeting.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the presence of such varied economic interests had some negative effects on the free trade campaign. For instance, the presence of a large number of West Indian merchants in the free trade campaign restricted the provincial lobbyists from maximising the merits of the opening of the East India trade as they needed to take the West Indian interests into consideration in order to prevent the opening of the East India trade from damaging the West India trade. No previous research has pointed out the influence of one particular economic interest group within the provincial lobbyists on their whole lobbying strategies. The necessity of their considering the merits of the West Indian interests led to the fixing of different rates of sugar duties, by which the East India sugar was disadvantaged against its West Indian counterpart, after the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814. Furthermore, whilst they demanded protection for their existing economic interests in the West Indies, Glasgow's case detailed in Chapter 3 and 4 showed that, in spite of a number of West Indian traders' contribution to the campaign of 1812-1813, few West Indian houses actually entered the East India trade. However, during the campaign, this issue did not affect the unity of the provincial lobbyists.

---

<sup>9</sup> J. Moss, 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders in Council and East India Company Charter 1812-1813' in *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. XI, Issue 1, 1976, pp. 173-188.

<sup>10</sup> S. G. Checkland, 'Economic Attitude in Liverpool' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1952, pp. 58-75, B. H. Tolley, 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Order in Council and the War of 1812' in J. R. Harris (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside: Essays in the Economic and Social History of the Port and Its Hinterland*, 1969, Chapter 5.

The case study of Liverpool in Chapter 5 also shows that the conflicts between the West Indian and American merchants over the abolition of the Orders in Council which resulted in the division of the mercantile community. This division prevented the American traders from supporting the establishment of the city's London Office during the period. Nevertheless, this was a minor incident in the course of their strong challenge against the London merchants' hegemony over the East India trade.

As described in Chapter 5, in the 1820s and the 1830s, there was a collision of interests between the West Indian and the East Indian merchants over the questions of the equalisation of the sugar duties and that of the abolition of slavery. Particularly, in Liverpool, James Cropper linked these two questions and led a campaign through publishing several pamphlets on them. The members of the local West India association defended the advantages given to the West Indian production and slavery in their West Indian plantations. The conflict between these two different economic interest groups over the equalisation of sugar duties continued after the total abolition of the EIC's charter. However, although a number of merchants in Glasgow and Liverpool held interests in the West India trade and the West Indian plantations, this division within the mercantile society of these provincial towns did not affect their lobbying for the abolition of the company's remaining monopoly generally. In fact, some of those who held economic interests in the West India trade, for instance James Ewing of Glasgow and John Gladstone of Liverpool, were also involved in the campaign of 1829-1833 although they were not in the major economic interest group, as they had been in the previous campaign. Furthermore, as the analysis of provincial lobbyists' economic interests shows, their lobbying activities were supported by a large part of the provincial commercial societies, including those that had little or no business interests in the East India and China trades. This indicated that the provincial lobbyists' campaign was organised not only for breaking the EIC's monopoly and the dominance of the London mercantile community in the East India trade, but also as part of a more general movement for economic and political liberalisation during this period.

In addition, the case studies in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 have shown that the economic structure of each town reflected its motives for being involved in the free trade campaigns. The lobbyists of Glasgow and Liverpool reflected their strong interests in entering the China trade, especially the tea trade, but those of Manchester gave more attention to the questions related to India in order to achieve further increase in the export of their

manufacturing goods and develop that country as a source of raw materials for its textile industry. Cain and Hopkins argued that one reason for the unsuccessful Fair Trade movement and Tariff Reform campaign organised by the provincial manufacturing interests during the 1880s and 1900s was the diversity of economic interests and their lack of unity.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of such conflicts among the different economic interest groups within the provincial towns and the different motives of those who joined in these two free trade campaigns, the provincial lobbying groups succeeded in uniting and organising their two campaigns against the renewal of the company's charter.

Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 have also described the ways in which the provincial campaigners employed different means of lobbying: they sent several letters and printed circulars to other British towns and influential politicians to stir up public opinion and to persuade them to support their campaigns; they published a number of pamphlets and distributed them throughout the country; the substance of their meetings and resolutions were published in several different newspapers. For instance, the resolutions passed in the General Meeting held in Glasgow were widely published not only in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but also in London's several newspapers.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, whilst a number of provincial manufacturing towns and outports sent petitions to Parliament repeatedly, the major provincial lobbying associations such as those of Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol organised their joint-deputation in London to lobby the Ministry and other influential political figures directly. In order to afford these lobbying activities, the provincial lobbyists organised subscription activities.

These two lobbying campaigns were largely dependent on close communication among the provincial towns. The timing of sending their petitions and deputies to London and the contents of their answers to the inquiries of the Board of Control were carefully decided by the provincial lobbying groups and their supporters after exchanging their views. Moreover, Chapter 5 has argued that the provincial lobbyists could receive effective support from their towns' Parliamentary members, like George Canning and William Huskisson, who were at the centre of Britain's national politics during the 1810s and 1820s. In Canning's case, he also had a personal connection with Lord Liverpool through their common educational background although he was then outside the Ministry. Such a prosperous provincial city as Liverpool with its wealthy and economically powerful mercantile community was attractive enough for those able politicians with political

---

<sup>11</sup> Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism 1688-1914*, p. 215.

<sup>12</sup> Committee Minute Book 1812-1813, 25 March 1812, pp. 3.2-4.

ambition to represent it in Parliament. They provided the provincial lobbyists with valuable information on the state's views and its negotiations with the company. In Huskisson's case, he also helped the free trade supporters to arrange interviews with the Ministers in London. The provincial lobbyists' direct negotiations with the Government were clearly a key factor in their successful lobbying. In addition, as Glasgow's case studies have shown, some provincial lobbyists such as Kirkman Finlay in 1812 and James Oswald and James Ewing in 1832 were elected as MPs for the city and directly represented the provincial campaigners' interests in Parliament. These factors indicate that there was a less clear cut division between those who were in the centre of national politics in Westminster and the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests than the model of gentlemanly capitalism has suggested.

Chapter 4 has shown that during the campaign of 1829-1833, the arguments of the provincial lobbying groups were strongly supported by such men as Crawford and Buckingham. Both of them had experience of staying in the East and held deep knowledge of the local conditions. The role of Crawford, who originally represented the interests of private merchants in Calcutta and later stood as a candidate in Glasgow for the Reformed Parliament, was particularly significant in the campaign. The arguments of the provincial lobbying groups for the opening of the East India and China trade largely depended on Crawford's contributions. His opinions often held decisive influence on the provincial lobbyists' overall strategies. In his pamphlets, he demonstrated the merits of opening of the East India trade and China trade. He explained that the abolition of the EIC's monopoly in the China trade (the tea trade) would increase the exports of British manufactured goods and reduce the price of tea.<sup>13</sup> He also criticised the dependence on the import of raw cotton from the U.S., and insisted that the introduction of skills and capital from Britain to India would improve the production of cotton wool, and would consequently contribute to the stable supply of raw materials to the British staple industry.<sup>14</sup> His pamphlets were distributed throughout the U.K. through the provincial lobbying networks. Compared with him, Buckingham gained popularity from the public and several provincial lobbyists through his lecturing tour as Philips and Eyles have described, but he failed to get strong support from the GEIA. Glasgow's lobbyists were not interested in his arguments on the EIC's administrative functions, as their lobbying strategies confined their campaign to the economic aspects of the East India question and

---

<sup>13</sup> J. Crawford, *A view of the Present State and Future Prospects of The Free Trade and Colonization of India*, 1829, pp. 6-8, and *Chinese Monopoly Examined*, 1830, p. 84

<sup>14</sup> Crawford, *A view of the Present State*, p. 26 and p. 40.

they avoided intervening in Indian politics. More significantly, examining the Glasgow records carefully, Crawford had much stronger influence on the provincial interests' overall lobbying strategies than Buckingham.<sup>15</sup> Like such men as Stamford Raffles, who established Singapore, Crawford's significant role in British Imperialism in Southeast Asia during the 1820s is well-known. Nevertheless, in spite of his significant influence over the provincial free trade supporters' arguments and their lobbying strategies, his presence in the campaign has attracted much less attention from historians than has Buckingham's. In fact, he was a key figure who linked the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests at home with British private mercantile interests in Asia in the campaign.

Regarding the renewal of the charter of 1813, Cain and Hopkins argued that 'The decision was not taken at the behest of a lobby representing Britain's new manufactures..., but with one eye on placating provincial outports and the other on the ambitions of London merchants whose commercial interest had outgrown the bounds set by Company control.'<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, this thesis shows that Cain and Hopkins' conclusion ignored the provincial interests' well-organised lobbying strategies, effective means of lobbying, and access to the centre of national politics through their influential parliamentary supporters. Similarly, their argument that 'The end of the Company's last monopoly was... the result of efforts made by merchants based in London and India who were keen to open markets for Indian cotton goods and opium in south-east Asia and the Far East' also undervalued the roles of the provincial lobbying groups in the total abolition of the EIC's monopoly.<sup>17</sup>

Second, regarding the relationship between the gentlemanly capitalists and the provincial interest, the conclusion of this thesis better supports Webster's more complex model of the relationship between the East India interests in London and the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially after 1814, than that of Cain and Hopkins.<sup>18</sup> There is no evidence that the provincial lobbyists and the mercantile interests of London collaborated in the free trade campaign of 1812-1813. Rather, the latter petitioned Parliament to protect the company's monopoly when the provincial lobbyists intensified their campaign as they feared the opening of the trade would harm their dominant position. Nevertheless, as Chapter 4 has shown, during the period between 1829 and 1833, the free trade campaign of the outports and provincial

---

<sup>15</sup> Philips, *The East India Company*, p. 289, and Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', pp. 198-199.

<sup>16</sup> P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, 2001, p. 282.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Webster, 'The Strategies and Limits of Gentlemanly Capitalism'.

manufacturing towns was joined by John Crawford whom the Calcutta interests asked to represent them in the U.K. In fact, the Calcutta agency houses, which dominated the mercantile community of Calcutta, were the nexus of the gentlemanly capitalists in the Metropole. Moreover, the GEIA recommended potential witnesses which included men from the London mercantile community, for instance, Joshua Bates of the house of Baring, Brothers & Co. The records of the GEIA also show that Kirkman Finlay had meetings with Bates during the campaign. Such evidence clearly shows the much more complex relationship than has previously been assumed between the gentlemanly capitalists in London and the provincial interests.

This change stemmed from the development of a new connection between the manufacturing interests of the provinces and the London mercantile community by establishing a trading pattern in which the provincial manufacturers consigned their goods to London agency houses for export to the East after the opening of the India trade in 1814. The records of the GEIA and other sources show several examples of the GEIA's manufacturing interests who actually consigned their goods to the East Indies. Furthermore, Larpent said before the Select Committee in 1833 that

... a very large proportion, probably to the extent of three-fourths, is conducted in that manner [advance by agency houses to manufacturers]... I believe from what I have seen of our own operation, that taking advances is not the system there [Manchester] to any considerable extent; at the same time, I believe that their shipments have not been upon so large a scale as the Glasgow ones.<sup>19</sup>

His testimony clearly shows that a large part of Glasgow's manufacturers consigning their products to the East were provided with advances by the London agency houses. Webster's study pointed out the provincial mercantile interests' alliance with some men of the City which successfully demolished the Indian central bank scheme pursued by other mercantile interests of London in 1836. This does not fit the model of Cain and Hopkins' thesis, in which the separation between the gentlemanly capitalists of the metropolis and the provincial manufacturing interests is stressed. This study has revealed that a similar trend of collaboration between the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests and a part of the London mercantile interests could also be seen during the provincial lobbyists' campaign against the renewal of the EIC's charter.

---

<sup>19</sup> Parliamentary Papers, *Minutes of Evidence Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping*, 1833, vol. VI, p. 142.

Thirdly, in terms of the Scots contribution to the formation of the British Empire, Devine and Fry's recent comprehensive works on the Scots experience in the British Empire emphasised the significance of the Scots' immigration, colonial governing, commercial activities and military service.<sup>20</sup> Devine's older works also focused on Glasgow's merchants' involvement in the tobacco trade and the West India trade during the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, Cain and Hopkins' Anglo-centred view paid little attention to it. Furthermore, in terms of research on the renewal of the company's charter, all previous studies conducted by Moss, Eyles, Charlton, and other historians have focused on the political influence of the mercantile and manufacturing interests in England.<sup>22</sup>

Part of the role of this thesis has been to address this imbalance. It has revealed that the Glasgow Association was one of the most active provincial lobbying groups for the opening of the East India and China trades along with the LEIA. As described in Chapters 3 and 4, because early-nineteenth-century Glasgow held an important position in both British overseas trade and manufacturing industries, especially those related to cotton textiles, its inhabitants' interest in the opening of the East India and China trade was high. Glasgow's merchants and manufacturers largely owed their two free trade campaigns to the leadership of Kirkman Finlay, who most keenly pursued the opening of this branch of overseas trade in the city and became the chairman of the joint deputation of 1829. During the two campaigns, Glasgow was the centre of the free trade movement in Scotland, and the GEIA made attempts to stir up public opinion not only within Glasgow but also in other Scottish towns, especially in its neighbouring areas. Whilst previous studies such as those of Moss, Eyles and Greenberg explained the communication between major provincial towns' lobbying institutions, Glasgow's case studies have demonstrated that the GEIA effectively persuaded its smaller neighbouring towns and counties to join the free trade movement.<sup>23</sup>

However, its influence was not confined to north of the Border. The GEIA held frequent communications with other provincial associations, particularly the LEIA, which acted as

---

<sup>20</sup> T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 2003, and M. Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, 2001.

<sup>21</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of The Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities*, 1975, and 'An eighteenth-century business elite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c. 1750-1815', in *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 57, 1978, pp. 40-67

<sup>22</sup> See Moss, 'Birmingham and Campaign', Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833', pp. 184-198, K. Charlton, 'Liverpool and the East India Trade' in *Northern History*, Vol. VII, 1972, pp. 55-72. S. G. Checkland, *The Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851*, 1975, pp. 59-62 and pp. 71-72.

<sup>23</sup> Moss, 'Birmingham and Campaign', pp. 179-180, Eyles, 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly', pp. 184-198, and M. Greenberg, *British Trade and The Opening of China 1800-42*, pp. 179-184.

the central committee for the whole provincial campaigners, and the opinions of the Glasgow Association were usually taken into consideration in the formation of lobbying strategies, including the timing of sending petitions and deputations to London and the choice of the witnesses for the Select Committees. In addition, before the summer of 1812, among the 55 places which petitioned Parliament for the opening of the East India trade, 22 were Scottish towns. This also indicated the Scots involvement in the free trade campaign.

After the partial opening of the East India trade in 1814, the East Indian interests of Glasgow did not have an organisation which could represent them. As a result, they failed to join in other provincial East Indian interests' campaigns in such debates as the equalisation of the sugar duties during the 1820s. Nevertheless, as the result of the revival of the East India Association in 1829, its merchants and manufacturers could play a major role in the free trade movement of the outports and provincial manufacturing towns again. As the GEIA's records show, the GEIA continued their lobbying activities in order to promote their trading with the East even after the opening of the China trade.<sup>24</sup> As soon as the EIC's monopoly was abolished, Kirkman Finlay sent the first ship from the Clyde to Canton in 1834.<sup>25</sup> During the nineteenth century, his firm gradually increased its stakes in the trade with Asia and tea and other plantation business.

This thesis has examined the provincial merchants and manufacturers' two free trade campaigns against the EIC's monopoly during the periods 1812-1813 and 1829-1833 in order to examine the three issues related to Cain and Hopkins' 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis'. First, regarding the degree of influence of the provincial mercantile and manufacturing interests on Britain's economic and imperial policies, in these two campaigns, the provincial lobbyists could exert stronger influence on the state's decision on its East Indian policies through their elaborated lobbying strategies, effective lobbying means and political connection to the centre of the national politics than Cain and Hopkins and Webster argued. Second, in terms of the relationship between the 'gentlemanly capitalists' in London and provincial interests, there is no evidence for the collaboration between the provincial interests and the London merchants during the 1812-1813 campaign. Nevertheless, as the connection between the provincial manufacturing interests and the London agency houses grew after the opening of the India trade, in the 1829-1833 campaign, the provincial lobbyists and some of the London mercantile interests showed

---

<sup>24</sup> C. Brogan, *James Finlay & Company Limited: Manufacturers and East India Merchants 1750-1950*, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

their collaboration. Therefore, this thesis supports the application of Webster's more complex model than the original model of the 'gentlemanly capitalist thesis' to British imperialism in Asia during this period. Finally, in respect of the Scots contribution to the formation of British Empire to which Cain and Hopkins paid little attention, during the two nationwide campaigns, the Glasgow lobbyists were very active, and the GEIA played a significant role in the opening of the East India trade.

## Appendices

### Appendix I. The General Committee of the GEIA (1812-13) and their economic interests.

First name	Last name	Company 1	Interest 1	Company 2	Interest 2	Company3	Interests3
Dugald	Bannatyne	Johnstone, Bannatine & Co.	Clothing Manufacturing				
James	Black		West India Trade				
Robert	Bogle	R. Bogle jun. & Co.	West India Trade	Shotts Iron Co.	Iron Manufacturing		
John	Brown						
James	Buchanan	Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.	West India Trade				
Archibald	Buchanan	James Finlay & Co.	Foreign Trade & Cotton-spinning				
Alexander	Campbell	John Campbell Sen. & Co.	West India Trade	Newark Sugar Refinery	Sugar	New Lanark Cotton & Co.	Cotton Manufacturing
Colin	Campbell	John Campbell Sen. & Co.	West India Trade	New Lanark Cotton Co.	Cotton Manufacturing		
Robert	Carrick	Carrick Brown & Co.	Commercial Financing	Henry Hardie & Co.	Linen Draper	Brown, Carrick & Co.	Muslin Manufacturing, Bleaching, etc.
David	Connell	David & James Connell	West India Trade				
Cunninghame	Corbett	Hastie, Corbett & Co.	West India Trade				
Adam	Crooks	Leitch & Smith	West India Trade				
James	Crum	Alexander & James Crum	Yarn Warehouse				
William	Dalgleish	William & James Dalgleish	Manufacturing				
Robert	Dalgleish	Dalgleish, Falconer & Co.	Calico-printer				
Robert	Dennistoun	G. & R. Dennistoun & Co.	West India Trade	Newark Sugar Refinery	Sugar	New Lanark Cotton Co., Robert Hamphreys & Co	Cotton-Spinning

First name	Last name	Company 1	Interest 1	Company 2	Interest 2	Company3	Interests3
James	Dennistoun [two possibilities]	Buchanan, Steven & Co., Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.	West India Trade	Sandyhills Coals Co., etc.	Coal Mining	Reynolds, Monteath & Co., etc.	Cotton-Spinning
		possibly, James & Alexander Dennistoun	Banking				
Thomas	Edington	Clyde Ironworks	Pig Iron Industry	Thomas Edington & Sons	Iron Warehouse		Coal Mining
James	Ewing	James Ewing & Co.	West India Trade				
Kirkman	Finlay	James Finlay & Co.	Foreign Trade & Cotton Manufacturing				
Francis	Garden	Francis Garden & Co., Garden, King & Co., etc.	West India Trade				
John	Gordon	Stirling, Gordon & Co., John McCall & Sons.	West India Trade	Sugar House Co.	Sugar	James Finlay & Co.	Foreign Trade & Cotton Manufacturing
Robert	Hagard		West India Trade				
John	Hamilton	John Hamilton & Co., Hamilton, Garden & Co.	West India Trade				
James	Hopkirk	Findlay, Hopkirk & Co.	Tobacco Trade	Hopkirk, Cunninghame & Co., Hamilton, Hopkirk & Co	West India Trade		
Peter	McAdam						
John	McCall	John McCall & Co.	West India Trade				
John	McCaul	John McCaul & Sons	West India Trade				
John	McIlwham	James & John Meikleham	Muslin Trade				
Daniel	Mackenzie		Commerce				
Henry	Monteith	Henry Monteith, Bogle & Co.	Yarn Warehouse				
John	More	Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland	Commercial Financing	Cotton Mill at Hutchesontown	Cotton Manufacturing		

First name	Last name	Company 1	Interest 1	Company 2	Interest 2	Company3	Interests3
Alexander	Newbigging	A. & J. Newbigging	Tobacco trade, Linen Industry	Archibald Newbigging & Co.	Calico-printer		
James	Oswald	Alexander Oswald & Sons	Commerce	Linwood Mill & Co.	Cotton Manufacturing	South Sugar House Co.	
Alexander	Oswald	Alexander Oswald & Sons	Commerce	Oswald, Dennistoun & Co.	Tobacco trade	Linwood Mill & Co.	Cotton Manufacturing
Robert	Owen	New Lanark Co.	Cotton-Spinning				
William	Penny		Manufacturing				
James	Pollock						
Andrew	Reid		Manufacturing				
Ebenzer	Richardson		Manufacturing				
Basil	Ronald		Clothing Manufacturing (Glover and breeches maker)				
William	Sterling	William Sterling & Sons	Calico & Linen Printing				
Charles	Stirling	Stirling, Gordon & Co.	West India Trade				
Robert	Thomson	Robert Thomson & Sons	Cotton Manufacturing				
David	Todd	Todd, Shortridge & Co., Todd & Stevenson	West India trade, Linen Printing, Cotton Spinning				
John	Wardrope		American Trade, Tobacco Trade				
Alexander	Wighton	Watson & Wighton	West India Trade				

Source: The Glasgow East India Association Committee Minute Book, 1812-1813, pp. 1-3-2. *Glasgow Postal Directories*, 1812, 1813 and 1815. Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. Glasgow 1796-42. *Glasgow Herald*, 11 October 1811, 16 October 1812, 15 October 1813, 'List of the Magistrates & Towns Council of Glasgow'. G. Stewart *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship*, 1881. The Rambling Reporter, *Reprint of Jones's Directory; or, Useful Pocket Companion For the Year 1787. With An Introduction, and Notes of Old Glasgow Celebrities*, 1868. J. MacLehose, *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men*, 1886. C. D. Donald (eds.) *Minute Book of the Board of Breen Cloth 1809-1820*, 1891. Scottish Record Office, *Court of Session Productions c.1760-1840*, 1987. J. R. Anderson *The Burgesses & The Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846*, 1935. T. M. Devine 'An eighteenth-century business elite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c. 1750-1815' in *Scottish Historical Review* 57, 1978, Appendix I and II. Devine, *The Tobacco Trade*, Appendix I and II.

**Appendix II. List of names of subscribers for the GEIA and the sums of their subscriptions in 1812 and 1813, and the descriptions of their main businesses. (£-s.-d.) .**

Name of Subscriber	1st sub	2nd sub	Total	Description of business from Directory	Description of business from other sources.
Chamber of Commerce	105-00-00	210-00-00	315-00-00		
Finlay, James & Co.	052-10-00	103-00-00	155-10-00	merchants	CM, foreign trade
Monteith, Henry, Bogle & Co.	021-00-00	025-00-00	046-00-00	yarn warehouse	
New Lanark Co.	021-00-00	021-00-00	042-00-00		CM
Campbell, John, Sen. & Co.	021-00-00	010-10-00	031-10-00	merchants	WI
Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.	021-00-00	010-10-00	031-10-00	merchants	WI
Stirling, Gordon & Co.	021-00-00	010-10-00	031-10-00	merchants	WI
Stirling, William & Sons	021-00-00	010-10-00	031-10-00	calico-printers	calico & linen printing
Leitch & Smith	021-00-00	010-10-00	031-00-00	merchants	WI
McIlwham, John	021-00-00	010-10-00	031-00-00	manufacturer	muslin trade
Findlay, Duff & Co.	021-00-00	005-05-00	026-05-00	brokers and commission merchants	WI
Scott, William, jun.	021-00-00		021-00-00		
Dennistoun, G. & R., & Co.	021-00-00		021-00-00	merchants	WI
Corbett, Buchanan & Co.	021-00-00		021-00-00	merchants	
Blair, Steven, & Co.	021-00-00		021-00-00		
Nielson & Hunter	021-00-00		021-00-00	merchants	WI
Crum, Alexander & James	021-00-00		021-00-00	print & muslin warehouse	
Connell, D. & J.	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	merchants	WI
Douglass, Brown & Co.	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	merchants	
Ewing, James	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	merchant	WI
Edgar, Thomas & James	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	merchants	WI
Buchanan, J. & G.	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	cotton-brokers	
McCauill, John	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	merchant	WI
McCall, John, & Co.	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	merchants	WI

Name of Subscriber	1st sub	2nd sub	Total	Description of business from Directory	Description of business from other sources.
Perston, M. & J.	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	manufacturers	
Hopkirk & Cunningham	010-10-00	005-05-00	015-15-00	*	WI
Shield, Thomas, & Co.	010-10-00	003-03-00	013-13-00	calico-printers	
Harley, William & Co.	010-10-00	003-03-00	013-13-00	manufacturers	
Watson, Weighton & Co.	010-10-00	003-03-00	013-13-00	merchants	WI
Tod, Shortridge, & Co.	010-10-00	002-02-00	012-12-00	calico-printers	linen-printing
Eccles, R., & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	merchants	WI
Richardson, Ebenzer	010-10-00		010-10-00	manufacturer	
Martin, James, & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	merchants OR iron mongers	WI (if they were merchants)
Muir, Brown	010-10-00		010-10-00	manufacturers	
Hunter & Wilkie	010-10-00		010-10-00	manufacturers	
Bartholomew, John	005-05-00	005-05-00	010-10-00	manufacturer	
Smith & Wardlaw	010-10-00		010-10-00	agents	
Dalgleish, William & James	010-10-00		010-10-00	manufacturers	
Thomson, Robert & Son	010-10-00		010-10-00	cotton works	
McGovern, Robert, & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00		
Garden, Francis & Sons	010-10-00		010-10-00	*	WI
Playfair, P., & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	merchants	WI
Leckie, William	010-10-00		010-10-00		Leckie, W. & Co., merchants
Bogle, R., & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	merchants	WI
Oswald, Alexander, & Sons	010-10-00		010-10-00		Alexander Oswald, merchant
Dalgleish, Falconer & Co.	005-05-00	005-05-00	010-10-00	calico-printers	
Gillespie, Colin	005-05-00	005-05-00	010-10-00	merchant	
Newbigging, Archibald	010-10-00		010-10-00	*	AT, linen, calico-printer
Black, James, & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	merchants	
Culcreuch Cotton Company	010-10-00		010-10-00	cotton-yarn-warehouse	
Campbell, Rivers & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	*	WI
Hamilton J. & Co.	005-05-00	005-05-00	010-10-00	merchants	WI

Name of Subscriber	1st sub	2nd sub	Total	Description of business from Directory	Description of business from other sources.
McCulloch, Penny & Co.	010-10-00		010-10-00	manufacturers	
Wardrop, John	005-05-00	003-03-00	008-08-00	merchant	AT
Leisslie, James, & Co.	005-05-00	002-02-00	007-07-00	*	
Reid, Andrew	005-05-00	002-02-00	007-07-00	manufacturer	
McGrigor, Peter, & Sons	005-05-00	001-01-00	006-06-00	calico-printers	
McHaffie, D.	005-05-00	001-01-00	006-06-00		
Eason, Alston & Co.		005-05-00	005-05-00	*	WI
Brown, George		005-05-00	005-05-00	*	
Rutherford, George & Co.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Smith, A.	005-05-00		005-05-00		WI
Hamilton, James, & Co.	005-05-00		005-05-00	tobacconists	
Crombie & Carnegie	005-05-00		005-05-00	cotton-printers	
Middleton & Tenent		005-05-00	005-05-00	manufacturers	
Muir, R. H.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
More, John		005-05-00	005-05-00	cashier, Royal Bank	
Dennistoun, J. & A.		005-05-00	005-05-00	merchants	foreign commerce
Russell, William		005-05-00	005-05-00		
Hall, John	005-05-00		005-05-00	wine & rum merchant OR merchant	
Duncan, John	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Thomson, Baily & Co.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Knox, John	005-05-00		005-05-00	yarn-warehouse OR writer	
Knox, William, & Co.		005-05-00	005-05-00		
Stewart, John	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Urie, Mathew	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Forster & Corbett	005-05-00		005-05-00	manufacturers	
Ure, John	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Houldsworth, Henry	005-05-00		005-05-00	cotton-spinner	
Kelly, William	005-05-00		005-05-00	Manchester warehouse OR cotton-yarn warehouse	

Name of Subscriber	1st sub	2nd sub	Total	Description of business from Directory	Description of business from other sources.
Sharp, J.	005-05-00		005-05-00	dry-salter (James S.) OR merchants (John F.S. & Co )	
Kippen, W.	005-05-00		005-05-00	manufacturer	
Edington, Thomas & Sons	010-10-00	005-05-00	005-05-00	Phoenix iron warehouse	coal mining
McAdam, P.	005-05-00		005-05-00	merchant	
Graham, T. & R., Stevenson	005-05-00		005-05-00	manufacturers	
Paterson, James, jun.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Grant, A.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Campbell, Colin	005-05-00		005-05-00	merchant (J. Campbell sen. & Co. OR Campbell Fraser & Co)	
Graham, James, jun.	005-05-00		005-05-00	yarn-warehouse	
Parker, C.	005-05-00		005-05-00	merchant	
Croil, James	005-05-00		005-05-00	merchants	
Wingate, James	005-05-00		005-05-00		Wingate, J., & Son, manufacturers
Cross, Hugh, & Co.	005-05-00		005-05-00	manufacturers	
Graham, William, & Bros.	005-05-00		005-05-00	*	
Lillie & Johnston	005-05-00		005-05-00	insurance brokers	
Scott, James, Jun.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Tassie, Walter	005-05-00		005-05-00	*	
Laird, James	005-05-00		005-05-00	merchant	
Wallace, Archibald	005-05-00		005-05-00	merchant	
Ellis, J.	005-05-00		005-05-00		
Adamson, Frederic	005-05-00		005-05-00	manufacturer	
Stupart, John		003-03-00	003-03-00		Stupart, John & Co., merchants,
Robertson Hastie		003-03-00	003-03-00	hosiers	
White Kerr		003-03-00	003-03-00	yarn-merchants	
Patt McMillan		003-03-00	003-03-00		
Robertson, Buchanan & Co.		003-03-00	003-03-00	merchants	

Name of Subscriber	1st sub	2nd sub	Total	Description of business from Directory	Description of business from other sources.
Spiers, Brown & Co.		003-03-00	003-03-00	stocking warehouse	
Senior, Joshua		003-03-00	003-03-00	wholesale Manchester warehouse	
Graham, Robert		003-03-00	003-03-00		
Forrester, Willis & Co.		003-03-00	003-03-00	hardware-men	
Croil, James		003-03-00	003-03-00	merchants	
Dickson & Stewart		002-02-00	002-02-00	wine and spirit-cellars	
McNair, James		002-02-00	002-02-00	sugar-refiner OR manufacturer	
M'Nab, M'Millan & Co.		002-02-00	002-02-00		
Pennie, D.		002-02-00	002-02-00		
Croil, William.		002-02-00	002-02-00	merchant	
Hamilton, A., Jun.		002-02-00	002-02-00	Bank of Scotland office	
Shand, W. & A.		002-02-00	002-02-00	manufacturers	
Brash & Reid		002-02-00	002-02-00	booksellers and stationers	
Dawson, Lewis, Jr.		002-02-00	002-02-00	manufacturer	
Anderson & Campbell		002-02-00	002-02-00	manufacturers	
Monteith, A.		002-02-00	002-02-00	grocer	
Duncan, Andrew		002-02-00	002-02-00		
Alston, Thomas, & Son		002-02-00	002-02-00	manufacturers	
Robertson, James		002-02-00	002-02-00	merchant	
Ferrie, Adam	002-02-00		002-02-00	merchant	
Smith, Thomas, J.		002-02-00	002-02-00	Saddlers (Thomas S. & Co.) OR spirit-cellar (Thomas S.)	
Sorley & M'Callum		001-01-00	001-01-00	iron-monger	
Struthers, Robert		001-01-00	001-01-00		Struthers, Robert, & Co., brewers
Brown, John		001-01-00	001-01-00		
Lowry, R. M.		001-01-00	001-01-00	merchants	
McNicol, Ronald		001-01-00	001-01-00	merchant	
Robertson, J. & J.		001-01-00	001-01-00	iron and nail merchants	

Name of Subscriber	1st sub	2nd sub	Total	Description of business from Directory	Description of business from other sources.
McClaren & Stalker		001-01-00	001-01-00	agents	
Gilmore, Morris & Co.		001-01-00	001-01-00	merchants	
Urea, Walter		001-01-00	001-01-00	calenderer	
Kirkland, Samuel		001-01-00	001-01-00		
Brown, A. & J.		001-01-00	001-01-00	grain-merchants	
Pinkerton, George		001-01-00	001-01-00	spirit-cellars	
McCulloch, Davidson & Co.		001-01-00	001-01-00	manufacturers	
Rutherford, Samuel		001-01-00	001-01-00	manufacturer	
Mitchell & Russell		001-01-00	001-01-00	watch-makers	
King, John		001-01-00	001-01-00	manufacturer OR cotton-spinner	
McCulloch, A., & Sons.		001-01-00	001-01-00		
Pollock, J. & M.	001-00-00		001-00-00	manufacturers	

Notes: WI=West India merchant, AT=American Tobacco merchant, and CM=Cotton manufacturer. Asterisk marks (\*) indicate names are listed in the directories but without the descriptions of their businesses

Source: Glasgow East India Association Committee Minute Book, 1812-13, *Glasgow Postal Directories*, 1812, 1813 and 1815, List of Company and Individual subscriptions in Abstract of the Minute Book of the Glasgow West India Association.

**Appendix III. List of members of the GEIA and the descriptions of their designations and main businesses (1829-1833).**

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
James	Graham	Adam		calico printer (1829)	calico printer (1838)	merchant (1844)			
John		Agnew		John Agnew & Co., merchants (1829)	merchant (1832)		John Agnew & Co. (EI, SA)		
Robert		Allan	103 Hutcheson	Robert Allan & Co., manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1830)	merchant, manufacturer, Commercial Court (1828)			
James		Allan						The Allan Line (shipping business) (Chap. 2)	
George		Alston		merchant (1829)	home trader (1813)	merchant (1801)			
Robert	Douglas	Alston		insurance broker (1829)	insurance broker (1813)	merchant (1808)			
John		Anderson		merchant (1829)	X		John Anderson & Co. (SA)		
James	A.	Anderson		merchant (1829) manager, Glasgow Union Bank (1833)	banker (1822)	weaver and then readmitted as merchant (1821)		The Glasgow Union Banking Company (Chap. 3)	
Robert		Bartholomew	Rothsay (1843)	J. Bartholomew & Co., merchants spinning works & weaving works (1829)	merchant (1832)	merchant (1830)			
John		Bartholomew		J. Bartholomew & Co., merchants spinning works & weaving works (1829)	home trader (1825)	partner of John Bartholomew & Co., merchants (1818)			
Thomas		Bartholomew		J. Bartholomew & Co., merchants spinning works & weaving works (1829)	merchant (1832)	merchant (1830)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
David		Bell		pullicate manufacturer (1829)	foreign trader (1821)	merchant manufacturer (qualified as merchant) (1818)			
Robert		Black			home trader (1825)	merchant (1821)			
James		Black	J B & Co.	at J. Black & Co., manufacturers. ratified as merchant(1832)	home trader (1825) or home trader (1825)			James Black & Co. (calico printers)	
William		Bleaymire		Ellis, Bleaymire & Co., manufacturers (1829)	X	merchant (1810)			
James		Bogle	Junior		merchant (1832)	merchant, of Michael Scott (1829)	Robert Bogle & Co. (WI)		WI (the GWIA)
Francis		Brand	Liverpool (1843)	at Archd. M'Indoe & Co. calico printers (1829)					
Henry		Brock		accountant (1833)	accountant (1834)	merchant (1832)			
Hugh		Brown	Linwood (1843)			merchant (1815)			
Alexander		Brown	Junior		X				
James		Buchanan	DH	Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., merchants (1829)					WI, EI (Dennistoun, Buchan & Co.)
James		Buchanan	Junior DH, Liverpool (1841)		X				WI, EI (Dennistoun, Buchan & Co.)
James		Buchanan	J F & Co	James Finlay & Co., merchants (1829)	X				cotton manufacturing, EI, EU, US (James Finlay & Co.)
John		Buchanan			X			Possibly, King & Buchanan, and the Western Bank	

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
Walter		Buchanan		merchant (1832)	foreign trader (1825)	merchant, of Buchanan Falconer and Co., manufacturers (1813)		Buchanan, Hamilton & Co. (est. 1824, East India traders) (Chap. 17)	
William		Buchanan			calenderer (1825)	merchant (1813) or merchant, by purchase (1813)			
John		Calder		A & J Calder, manufacturers (1829)		weaver (1828)			
Charles		Carnie		Thomas Shield & Co. calico printers (1829)		merchant (1808)			
William		Church		William Church & Co. manufacturers (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	merchant, of Harper & Church, manufacturers (1810)			
Hugh		Cogan		J. Bartholomew & Co., merchants spinning works & weaving works (1829)	home trader (1825)	partner in John Bartholomew & Co., merchants (1818)			
Robert		Cogan		John & Robert Cogan (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant, of J. & R. Cogan, manufacturers (1823)			
John		Cogan		John & Robert Cogan (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant (1818)			
Arthur		Connell		A. & J. Connell, merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1817)	merchant, of D. & J. Connell, merchants (1817)			WI (the GWIA)
James		Cook		James Cook & Co. engineers & machine makers (1829)	engineer (1825)	merchant, engineer (1829)			
Alexander		Couper				weaver, St. Rollox (1825)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
John		Cree		merchant and ship agent (1829)	merchant (1832)	merchant (1821)	John Cree (WI, EI, NA, SA, EU)		
John		Cross	S C & Co.	Stewart, Cross & Co., merchants (1829)		merchant (1833)			
John		Crum		J. & W. Crum, calico printer & bleachers (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1817)			
Andrew	Stephenson	DalGLISH		DalGLISH, Falconer & Co., calico printers (1829)	foreign trader (1825)	merchant (1824)		(DalGLISH, Falconer & Co. (calico printers) Chap. 25)	
George		DalGLISH		DalGLISH, Falconer & Co., calico printers (1829)	merchant (1843)	merchant, of DalGLISH, Falconer & Co. (1828)		(DalGLISH, Falconer & Co. (calico printers) Chap. 25)	
Robert		DalGLISH		DalGLISH, Falconer & Co., calico printers (1829)	foreign trader (1817)	weaver, then readmitted as merchant (1796)		(DalGLISH, Falconer & Co. (calico printers) Chap. 25)	
James		Davidson	Ruchill (1843)	James Davidson & Co., manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1841) or merchant (1844)			
John		Dempster		merchant (1829)	merchant (1832)	merchant (1823)	John Dempster (WI)		
James		Dennistoun		banker (1829)	possibly, home merchant (1790)	merchant (1817)		James & Alex. Dennistoun (trade in American cotton) (Chap. 26)	
John		Dennistoun	MP (1843)	Jas. & Alex. Dennistoun, merchants (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant (1845)		James & Alex. Dennistoun (trade in American cotton ) (Chap. 26)	

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
John		Denny		John Denny & Co., calico printers (1829)					
Alexander		Downie		A. & J. Dawnie, drysalters & merchants (1829)	drysalter (1826)	merchant, of Alex. & John Downie (1831)			
Richard		Duncan		cashier of Thistle bank (1829)	possibly, home trader (1817)	merchant (1804)			
Charles		Dunlop		James Dunlop & Sons, cotton spinners (1833)				James Dunlop & Sons (cotton spinners & weavers) (Chap. 29)	
Henry		Dunlop		James Dunlop & Sons, cotton spinners (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	merchant (1829)		(James Dunlop & Sons (cotton spinners & weavers) Chap. 29)	
William		Dunlop		James Dunlop & Sons, cotton spinners (1829)	merchant (1833)	tailor (1814) or merchant, serving apprentice with Malcolm Dun, weaver (1799)		James Dunlop & Sons (cotton spinners & weavers (Chap. 29)	
William		Dunn			foreign trader (1829)	hammerman in Glasgow, and then readmitted as merchant (1831)			
Septimus		Ellis		Ellis, Bleaymire & Co., manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1798)	merchant (1798)			
James		Ewing	Levenside (1843)	James Ewing & Co., merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1804)	merchant (1808)	James Ewing & Co. (WI)		WI (the GWIA)
David		Ferguson		Bogle, Ferguson & Co., yarn warehouse (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant, of Bogle, Ferguson and Co. (1825)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
Thomas	G.	Ferguson	91 Hucheson	Ferguson & Taylor, manufacturers (1829)					
James		Finlay		James Finlay & Co., merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1821)	merchant (1821)			cotton manufacturing, EI, EU, US (James Finlay & Co.)
Kirkman		Finlay		James Finlay & Co., merchants (1829)	home trader (1798)	merchant (1796)			cotton manufacturing, EI, EU, US (James Finlay & Co.)
John		Finlay	Deanston (1843)	James Finlay & Co. merchants (1829)	merchant (1831)	merchant (1824)			cotton manufacturing, EI, EU, US (James Finlay & Co.)
Matthew		Fleming		Matthew Fleming & Co., manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1808)	merchant (1797)			
John		Fleming			foreign trader (1817)		John Fleming (EI)		
Alexander		Fletcher		John Todd & Co., calico printers (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	merchant, of John Todd & Co., calico printers (1830)			
Robert		Freeland	Junior	Manufacturer (1829)	foreign trader (1829)	merchant (1815)			
Alexander		Garden		Henry Monteith & Co., bandana & yarn warehouse, dye works (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1810)			
Robert		Gilmour				merchant (1824) OR weaver, manufacturer (1825)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
William		Gilmour		William Gilmour & Co., wholesale woollen drapers (1829)	home trader (1819)	merchant (1798)			
Alexander		Glasgow		Frew & Glasgow, manufacturers (1829)	foreign trader (1826)	merchant (1817)			
Alexander		Graham		William Graham & Co., merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1829)			Wm. Graham & Co. (manufacturers) (Chap. 41)	
William		Graham	Junior	William Graham & Co., merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1817)	X	William Graham & Co. (EU)	spinner and weaver, Wm. Graham & Co. (manufacturers), The Lancefield Spinning Co. (Chap. 41)	
Robert		Gray	Junior		home trader (1817)	merchant (1807)			
John	G	Hamilton		Henry Monteith & Co., bandana & yarn warehouse, dye works (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant and writer (1816)			
James		Hamilton			home trader (1817) or foreign trader (1829)				
John		Henderson			home trader (1817)				
Robert		Henderson		R. & J. Henderson, merchants & drysalters (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1808)			
Laurence		Hill		writer (1829)	writer (1814)	writer, qualified as merchant (1814)		Writer (Chap. 44)	
Henry		Houldsworth		Henry Houldsworth & Sons, cotton spinners (1829)	foreign trader (1817)			H. Houldsworth & Sons (Chap. 45)	

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
William		Hunter		W. & M. Hunter, merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1825)	merchant (1816) or merchant (1808)	William & George Hunter (EI)		
Andrew		Hunter		Andrew Hunter & Co., manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1817) or home trader (1804)	X			
Duncan		Hunter				merchant (1815)			
William		Hussey	Junior	William Hussey & Son (1829)	merchant (1836)	merchant (1838)			
James		Hutchison		James Hutcheson & Co., manufacturers (1829) or bookbinder (1829)	manufacturer (1823)	merchant (1813) or merchant (1804)			
Alexander		Johnstone	MP (1843)	Johnstone, Galbraith & Co., manufacturers & merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	weaver, and then readmitted as merchant, J. G. & Co., merchants (1830)			
John		Ker		manufacturer (1829)	merchant (1831)	merchant at Ballantine & Ker (1821)			
Robert		Knox		shawl manufacturer (1829) or writer (1829)	home trader (1829)	merchant (1813)			
John		London			foreign trader (1829)	merchant (1817) or merchant (1817)			
James		Lumsden		James Lumsden & Son., wholesale stationers (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	merchant (1829)		James Lumsden & Son (stationery business) (Chap. 51)	

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
John		Lumsden	21 Queen st.	James Lumsden & Son., wholesale stationers (1829)		pocketbook maker, qualified as hammerman (1810)		James Lumsden & Son (stationery business) (Chap. 51)	
William		Mathieson		merchant, at James Ewing & Co.'s (1829)	foreign trader (1824)	merchant, at James Ewing & Co. (1823)	James Ewing & Co. (WI)		WI (the GWIA)
John		May		Ewing, May & Co., merchants (1829)	foreign trader (1817)	merchant, partner of Messrs. Ewing, May & Co., merchants			
John		McDonald			X				
William		McDonald							
Dugald		McFie	Dunoon (1843)	merchant (1829)	foreign trader (1829)	merchant (1824)	Dugald Macfie (US)		
Archibald		McIndoe		Archd. M'Indoe & Co., calico printers (1829)	calico printer (1834)	merchant (1817)			
Laurence		McKenzie		L. M'Kenzie & Co., manufacturers (1829)		weaver (1821)			
John	Gregory	McKirdy		Peter Bogle & Co. (1833)	merchant (1832)	merchant (1829)			
Robert		McLellan		Henry Monteith & Co., bandana & yarn warehouse, dye works (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant, of Messrs. Henry Monteith, Bogle & Co. (1816)		H. Monteith & Co. (Turkey-red, print works at Barrowfield) (Chap. 88)	
John		McNair			possibly, home trader (1790)	weaver (1786)	John M'Nair (EI, SA)		
John		McNair	Junior	commission merchant (1829)	foreign trader (1829)	merchant (1808)	John M'Nair (EI, SA)		
John		Miller	131 Ingram st	John Miller jun. & Co., merchants (1829)		merchant, of John Miller, junior & Co. (1829)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
William.		Milroy		Milroy, Turnbull & Co., manufacturers (1829)		merchant, of Milroy, Turner & Co., manufacturers (1828)			
William		Mirrlees		saddler (1829)	merchant (1834)	hammerman (1802) OR merchant (1844)			
Patrick		Mitchell		calico printer (1829)	calico printer (1825)	merchant (1823)			
Henry		Monteith	Carstairs (1843)	Henry Monteith & Co., bandana & yarn warehouse, dye works (1829)	possibly, home trader (1790)	merchant (1786)		H. Monteith & Co. (Turkey-red, print works at Barrowfield) (Chap. 88)	
Duncan		Morrison	95 Hutcheson	Duncan Morrison & Co., manufacturers (1829)	merchant (1833)	weaver (1812)			
Hugh		Morrison		manufacturer (1829)	merchant (1819)	merchant (1813)			
William		Morrison		merchant (1829)	merchant (1832)	merchant (1828)	William Morison (EI, SA, US)		
John		Muir		Muir, Brown & Co., manufacturers (1829)				Muir, Brown & Co. (Chap. 45)	
Thomas		Muir	Madeira (1844)						
James		Oswald	MP (1843)	Alex. Oswald & Sons (1829) James Oswald & Co. spinners, mill at Barrowfield (1833)	home trader (1813)	merchant (1808)			
James		Paterson			home trader (1790) or home trader (1817)				

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
William	Patrick	Paton		commission merchant and agent (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	merchant (1830)			
Mathew		Perston	Junior	M. & J. Perston, manufacturers (1829)	foreign trader (1830)	merchant, manufacturer (1823)			
John		Reid		gingbam & pullicate agent (1829)	X	merchant & agent (1817)			
James		Reid			merchant (1834)				
John		Robertson			manufacturer (1831)				
Laurence		Robertson		Royal Bank (1829)	banker (1829)	merchant, Royal Bank (1828)			
Rowand		Ronald							
Michael		Rowand		cashier, Ship Bank (1829)	banker (1817)	merchant (1808)		Ship Bank (Chap. 26)	
Thomas		Sammuel		merchant (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1815)			
George		Scheviz		merchant, at Campbell, River & Co. (1829)	foreign trader (1817)	partner of Campbell, Rivers and Co., merchants (1816)		Campbell, River & Co. (Shipping house) (Chap. 41)	
John		Scott	L.L.D. (1844) London (1843),						
William		Shand	49 Miller st.	W. & A. Shand, manufacturers (1829)		merchant (1808)	W. & A. Shand (EI)		
William		Shedden	111 Ingram st.	Shedden, William & Co., manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1821)	merchant (1808)			
John		Smith	Youngest Clutherland (1843)		X				

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
William		Snell	20 Ingram st.	sen. of William Snell & Co., manufacturers (1829)		merchant (1813) or weaver (1809)			
Robert		Speir		R. & T. Speirs, manufacturers (1829)	merchant (1832)	merchant, at R. & T. Speirs (1822)			
A.	G.	Speirs		Culcruch Cotton Co. (1829)					
George		Stevenson		Stevenson & Sons, cotton spinners (1829)	merchant (1833)				
George		Stirling		William Stirling & Sons, merchants (1829)	home trader (1827)	merchant, partner of Wm. Stirling & Sons, calico printers (1815)		William Stirling & Sons (printing & dyeing trade) (Chap. 88)	
John		Stiven		Stiven, Blair & Co., manufacturers (1829)	possibly, home trader (1790)	merchant, of Stiven Blair & Co. (1829)			
James		Struthers		Thom & Struthers, yarn warehouse (1829)	foreign trader (1829)	merchant (1808)			
Charles		Tennant		C. Tennent & Co. manufacturers of bleaching powder & drysalts (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1807)			
John		Tennant		C. Tennent & Co. manufacturers of bleaching powder & drysalts (1829)	home trader (1817)	merchant (1817)			
Charles	James	Tennant		C. Tennent & Co., manufacturers of bleaching powder & drysalts (1829)	home trader (1829)	Merchant, of Charles Tennant & Co. (1829)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
Alexander		Tennent		James Oswald & Co. (1833)	merchant (1832)	merchant, cotton broker (1828)			
Andrew		Tennent		merchant (1829)	home trader (1815)	merchant (1807)	Andrew Tennent (EI)		
Robert		Thom		spirit-dealer (1829) OR possibly, Thom & Struthers, Rothay yarn warehouse (1829)	wine merchant (1837)	merchant (1815)			
William		Thomson			X				
Robert		Thomson	Senior	Robert Thomson & Sons, Adelphi cotton works (1829)	(R. Thomson, jun.) home trader (1806)	merchant (1795) or merchant (1799) or merchant (1786)			
Robert		Thomson	Junior	Robert Thomson & Sons, Adelphi cotton works (1829)	(R. Thomson, tertius) home Trader (1817)	merchant, cotton spinner (1829)			
Charles		Todd	79 Queen st.	merchant (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant (1827)			
Daniel		Walkinshaw		Walkinshaw, Adam & Co., merchants (1829)	home trader (1825)	merchant, partner of Walkinshaw, Barlas & Co., merchants (1817)	Walkinshaw, Adam & Co., merchants (EI)		
Andrew		Whyte	W U & Co.	White, Urquhart & Co., manufacturers (1829)	(Andrew Whyte), home trader (1817)	weaver (1808) or merchant (1802)			

First name	Middle name	Family name	Other information (title, address, etc.)	Postal Directories (Designation/firm and year of Directory)	Merchant House Matriculation Book (Designation and year of registration)	Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow (Designation and year of registration)	Advertisements of shipping In Glasgow Courier 1829	100 Glasgow men (Description of business and Chapter number)	Records of the GWIA and other sources (Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co., James Finlay & Co.)
Andrew		Wingate		Wingate, Son & Co., silk & shawl warehouse (1829) or Black & Wingate, manufacturers (1829)	home trader (1804)	Merchant (1800)			
John		Wright	Junior	Walker & Co., Lanark Cotton yarn warehouse (1829)	merchant (1835)	merchant (1828)			
James		Wright			foreign trader (1823)	merchant, of Findlay, Connal & Co., merchants (1823)		Managed the cotton department of Findlay, Connal & Co. (having several brunches including the cotton department and yarns and calico manufacturing ) (see Chap. 22)	

Notes: In the column of 'Merchant House Matriculation Book' and that of 'Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow', X indicates that there are too many same names recorded in the book to identify. In the column of shipping advertisements in *The Glasgow Courier*, WI represents West India trade, EI, East India trade, NA, North American trade, SA, South American trade, US, U.S. trade, and EU, European trade.

Source: Glasgow East India Association List of Members from 1829 (MS 891001/16), Subscription Book from 1829 to 1833 (MS 891001/17), Postage Book from 1829- 1845 (MS 89001/18), *Glasgow Postal Directories*, 1829 and 1833, Merchants' House of Glasgow Matriculation Books, and Anderson, *The Burgess and Guild Brethren*, *The Glasgow Courier*, 1829 and J. MacLehose, *One Hundred Glasgow Men*, Abstracts of the Minute Books of the Glasgow West India Association. (The name of James Bogle appeared on 7 March 1823: Arthur Connell, on 17 December 1823 and 14 June 1827: James Ewing, during the period between 7 March 1823 and 14 June 1827: William Mathieson, during the period between 11 December 1832 and 23 January 1833: George Scheviz, on 24 January 1824), Minute Book of Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. Glasgow 1806-42 (MS Murray 605, Glasgow University Special Collection Department), 14 February 1825, and C. Brogan, *James Finlay & Company Limited: manufacturers and East India merchants, 1750-1950*, 1951, pp. 10-12.

#### Appendix IV. List of the Magistrates & Town Council of Glasgow, 1828-1833.

	1828-1829	1829-1830	1830-1831	1831-1832	1832-1833
Provost	<b>Alexander Garden</b>	<b>Alexander Garden</b>	<b>Robert Dalglish</b>	<b>Robert Dalglish</b>	<b>James Ewing</b>
Merchants rank bailie	William Gray Robert Paterson	Hugh Robertson <b>John Buchanan</b>	<b>Matthew Fleming</b> <b>John Smith, ygst.</b>	<b>John Smith, ygst.</b> <b>John May</b>	James Martin <b>Hugh Cogan</b>
Youngest merchants bailie	Charles Stirling, jun. (refused/declined the position)	<b>Matthew Fleming</b>	David Ferguson	James Martin	John Somerville
Crafts rank bailie	Archibald M'Lean, jun.	James Graham	Robert Ferrie	George Burn	William M'Lean
Youngest trades bailie	James Graham	Robert Ferrie	George Burn	William M'Lean	William Wilson
Eldest bailie of the town of Port-Glasgow and Newark	William Hamilton	David Gilkison	David Gilkison	James Barclay, eldest	Archibald Falconer, eldest
Councillors from the Merchants	<b>John Buchanan</b> <b>Robert Dalglish</b> Donald Cuthbertson <b>William Graham</b> William Hamilton Robert Hinshaw Alexander M'Grigor <b>John May</b> <b>John Muir</b> <b>George Scheviz</b> <b>John Smith, ygst.</b> Hugh Robertson	David Ferguson <b>Robert Dalglish</b> Donald Cuthbertson William Gray Robert Paterson Robert Hinshaw Alexander M'Grigor <b>John May</b> <b>John Muir</b> <b>George Scheviz</b> <b>John Smith, ygst.</b> Stewart Smith	<b>John Buchanan</b> <b>Robert Dalglish</b> Donald Cuthbertson William Gray <b>Hugh Corgan</b> James Martin Alexander M'Grigor <b>John May</b> <b>John Muir</b> <b>George Scheviz</b> <b>John Robertson</b> Stewart Smith		<b>John Buchanan</b> <b>Robert Dalglish</b> Donald Cuthbertson James Campbell David Ferguson <b>Matthew Fleming</b> <b>William Gilmour</b> John Leadbetter <b>John Muir</b> Henry Paul <b>Jon Smith, ygst.</b> Stewart Smith
Councillors from the Traders	John Alston George Burn William Craig Walter Ferguson Robert Ferrie William Frew John Fulton William M'Lean William M'Tyer	Archibald M'Lellan, Jr. George Burn William Craig Walter Ferguson James Paterson * <sup>1</sup> William Frew <b>William Snell</b> William M'Lean William M'Tyer	John Alston James Graham William Craig Walter Ferguson James Paterson * <sup>1</sup> William Frew <b>William Snell</b> William M'Lean Henry Taylor, Jr.		John Alston Joseph Brown Archibald M'Lellan Alexander Mitchell James Paterson * <sup>1</sup> John Niel <b>William Snell</b> John Small Henry Taylor, Jr.

	William Rodger Alexander Wood	William Rodger Alexander Wood	William Rodger Alexander Wood		William Rodger Alexander Wood
Dean of guild	Stewart Smith	Stewart Smith	<b>James Ewing</b>	<b>James Ewing</b>	<b>James Hutchison</b>
Deacon Convener	William M'Lean	John Alston	John Alston	Archibald M'Lellan	Archibald M'Lellan
Treasurer	Peter Mirrlees	William Hamilton	Archibald M'Lean	Laurence Craigie, jun.	Robert Ferrie

Note: \*<sup>1</sup> James Paterson on the list may be a member of the association. Names in bold type indicate that they were the members of the GEIA

Source: R. Renwick (ed.) *Extracts from The Records of The Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, Vol. XI, A.D. 1823-1833*, 1916, pp. 300-301, 345-346, 397, 401-402, 442-444, 498, and *Glasgow Herald*, 18th, October, 1828, 16th, October, 1829, 22nd, October, 1830, and 15th October, 1832

**Appendix V. List of the members of the Liverpool Committee in 1829 and their designations, the regions with which their firms traded, and Liverpool merchants' associations to which they belonged.**

Sir name	First name	Other name	Gore's Directory	Liverpool Mercury 1829	Liverpool's Associations (from Gore's Directory)
Alston	J(ohn)	T(homas)	merchant	Alston, Finlay & Co. (EI, SA, US)	EICA (1832)
Baines, Jun.	Edward		-		
Barclay	T(homas)	B(rockhurst)	merchant		ACC (1825, 1835)
Benson	Robert		merchant (Cropper, Benson & Co.)	Cropper, Benson (EI, US)	ACC (1818) EIA (1818, 1825)
Bolton	John		merchant	Bolton, Ogden & Co. (US)	
Booth	Henry		corn merchant		
Bourne	John		Esq. (J. Bourne & Co. coal proprietors & iron merchant)		
Brocklebank	Thomas		merchant	T. & J. Brocklebank (E, EI, SA)	EIA (1825)
Cropper	James		merchant	Cropper, Benson & Co. (BA, E, EI, US)	
Currie	W	Wallace	merchant & fire office agent		
Earle, Jun.	William		merchant	T. & W. Earle & Co. (E, US, WI)	
Earle, jun.	Hardman		broker (Salisbury, Turner. & Earle.)		
Earle, jun.	Willis		merchant		
Ewart	John		broker (Ewart, Myers & Co.)	Ewart, Myers & Co. (US, WI)	EIA (1818, 1827)
Garnett	John		merchant		EIA (1818) MLA (1825, 1829, 1832)
Gladstone	John		Esq.	J. Gladstone, Grant & Wilson (EI) Gladstone, Grant & Co. (WI)	BA (1818) EIA (1818) SOA (1818)
Grant	George		merchant	J. Gladstone, Grant & Wilson (EI) Gladstone, Grant & Co. (WI)	PBA (1818) SOA (1818) WIA (1834, 1835)
Heyworth	Ormerod		merchant (Ormond Heyworth & Co.)	O. Heyworth & Co. (SA, E)	PBA (1818)

Sir name	First name	Other name	Gore's Directory	Liverpool Mercury 1829	Liverpool's Associations (from Gore's Directory)
Hodgson	Adam		merchant		
Hope	Samuel		banker (Samuel Hope & Co.)		
Hornby	Joseph		merchant (Joseph, Thomas & William Hornby & Co.)	J., T. & W. Hornby & Co. (E, EI)	
Horsfall	Charles			C. Horsfall, Son & Co. (AF, EI, SA, WI)	SOA (1825, 1829, 1832) WIA (1834)
Leathom	Thomas		merchant		ACC (1818, 1829) EIA (1825) MLA (1825, 1829, 1832, 1834, 1835)
Leigh	Joseph		rope maker / Esq. (Russian Consul) (J. Leigh & Co)	Leigh & Co. (E)	
Littledale	Thomas		Esq. (Thomas & Harold Littledale & Co.)	T. & H. Littledale (WI)	
Maxwell	Alexander			W., A. & G. Maxwell (E, SA, US)	
Melly	A		merchant (Melly, Prevost & Co.)	Melly, Prevost & Co. (E, US)	
Myers	William		broker	Ewart, Myers & Co. (US, WI) W. Myers (US)	
Potter	William		merchant (Taylor &P.)	Taylor, Potter & Co.(EI, WI)	EIA (1825) EICA (1837)
Radcliffe	Richard		attorney		ACC (1825, 1829) MLA (1825)
Rathbone	William		gentleman	Rathbone, Brothers & Co. (AF, EI, US)	
Robinson	Nicholas		Esq.	N. Robinson (E)	
Roscoe	Edward		iron merchant (Mather, Roscoe & Co.)		
Rotherham	William		cutler/merchant (W. Rotheram &Co.)	W. Rotheram (E)	
Rushton	Edward		gentleman		
Smith	John				

Sir name	First name	Other name	Gore's Directory	Liverpool Mercury 1829	Liverpool's Associations (from Gore's Directory)
Tayleur	Charles		merchant (Charles Tayleur, Son & Co.)	C. Tayleur, Son & Co. (SA, US)	
Thornely	Thomas		(Thomas & John Daniel Thornely, merchants)	T. & J. D. Thornely (US)	ACC (1837)
Ward	William		merchant		
Willink	Daniel		Esq. merchant & consul for the Netherlands	D. Willink (E, EI, US, WI)	ACC (1818) EIA (1825) EICA (1829) LBSAMA (1825)
Willis	Daniel		Daniel & Thomas Willis	D. & T. Willis (E, EI)	
Yates	Joseph	B(rooks)	-	J. B. Yates & Co. (WI)	SOA (1827, 1834, 1835)
Yates	John	A(shton)	broker		ACC (1818, 1825)

Note: AF= 'Africa', BA= 'British America' and 'Newfoundland', E= 'Mediterranean', 'Holland', 'France', 'Spain', 'Portugal', 'Azores', 'Germany', 'Prussia', and 'Russia', EI= 'East India', SA= 'South America' and 'Brazil', US= 'United States', WI='West India' and 'Bahamas'.

ACC= American Chamber of Commerce, BA= Baltic Association, EIA = East India Association (late EICA= East India and China Association), LBSAA= Liverpool, Brazil, South American and Mexican Association, MLA= Mediterranean and Levant Association, PBA = Portugal and Brazil Association, SOA= Ship Owners Association, WIA= West India Association.

Source: *Gore's Liverpool Street Directory*, 1818, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1832, 1834, 1835, and 1837, 'Imports' in *The Liverpool Mercury* 1829 (EI- From 2/January till 25 December, and others from 2 January till 26 June).

## **Bibliographies**

### **Primary Sources**

#### **Manuscripts**

##### ***British Library***

Add. MSS. 38410 Liverpool Papers

Add. MSS. 38758, 38765 Huskisson Papers

Loan 57, Bathurst Papers, Vol. 5

##### ***Flintshire Record Office***

Glynne-Gladstone MSS 288, 330

##### ***Glasgow City Archives***

T-MH-17, Merchants' House of Glasgow Matriculation Books

##### ***Glasgow Mitchell Library***

Records of the Glasgow East India Association

Glasgow East India Association Committee Minute Book

MS 891001/1, 1812-1813

MS 89001/2, 1829-1834

Correspondence Incoming

MS 891001/3, 1812-13

MS 891001/4, 1829-1830

MS 891001/5, 1831-1832

MS 891001/6, 1833-1834

Correspondence outgoing

MS 891001/12, 1812-14

MS 891001/13, 1829-1830

List of Members from 1829

MS 891001/16

Subscription Book from 1829 to 1833

MS 891001/17

Postage Book from 1829-1845

MS/891001/18

Records of the Glasgow West India Association

MS 891002, Abstract of the Minute Book of the Glasgow West India Association.

***Glasgow City Archives***

CO1/1/13, Lanark County Council, Commissioners of Supply Minutes 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1825 to 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1835, No.13.

CO2/1/5, Renfrew County Council Commissioners of Supply Minute 1819-1830.

***Glasgow University Archives***

UGD91/1/5/5. Records of James Finlay & Co. Ltd., Dec. 1818 - Dec. 1854, Book of overseas consignments of stock-monetary value and account.

***Glasgow University Library Special Collection Department***

GB 0247 MS Murray 605, Minute Book of Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. Glasgow 1806-42.

***Liverpool Record Office***

352 MIN/COUI 2/8, Liverpool Town Books.

***Manchester Archives and Local Studies***

Minutebook of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester

M8/2/1, 1821-1827

M8/2/2, 1827-1833

M8/2/3, 1833-1839

**Parliamentary Papers**

*Reports from Committees of the House of Commons 1715-1801: East Indies 1772-1773*, vol. 4.

*State of commercial credit. Report from the Select Committee*, 1810-11 (52) Vol. II.

*Supplement to the Appendix to the Fourth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1812 (151) (182).

*Minutes of Evidence before Committee of Whole House of Commons relating to Orders in Council*, 1812.

*Minute of Evidence Taken Before the Committee of the Whole House, and the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1812-1813 (122) Vol. VII.

*Report [Relative to the Trade with the East Indies and China] from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Means of Extending and Securing the Foreign Trade of the Country, and to report to the House, 1821 (476), Vol. VII.*

*Third Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of Improving and Maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country, 1821 (535).*

*Third Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Consider of the Means of Improving and Maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country, 1821 (746), Vol. VI.*

*First Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies and China, 1830 (644).*

*Reports from Committees: 1831-2. East India Company's Affairs. II. -Finance and Accounts-Trade. Vol. III, 1832 (735-II)*

*Minutes of Evidence Before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Commerce and Shipping, 1833 (690), vol. VI.*

*Return of Contracts with any Company for making Railways Public Roads, Canals, Works for Irrigation, or their Public Works in India, 1859, Session 1 (259), Vol. XIX.*

### **Journal of the House of Commons**

Sess. 1830.

### **The Parliamentary History of England**

Vol. XXVII.

### **The Parliamentary Debates**

Vols. IX, XII, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVI.

### **Handsard's Parliamentary Debates**

New Series Vols. IX, XXII.

### **Newspapers**

*Glasgow Courier*, 1829, 1830.

*Glasgow Herald*, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1828, 1829, 1830, 1832.

*Liverpool Courier* 1812, 1813, 1830.

*Liverpool Mercury* 1812, 1813, 1827, 1829, 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833.

*Manchester Guardian*, 1829, 1830

*Wheeler's Manchester Chronicles*, 1829, 1830

## Postal Directories

*Glasgow Postal Directories*, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1829, 1833

*Gore's Directories*, 1807, 1810, 1811, 1818, 1825, 1829, 1832, 1834, 1835, 1837.

*The Pigot & Son's General Directory, Manchester, Salford, &c.*, 1829.

## Printed Contemporary and Near Contemporary Sources

An Impartial Reporter (1813) *The Preliminary Debates at the East India House on Tuesday, the 5<sup>th</sup> January, 1813, on the Negotiation with His Majesty's Ministers Relative to a Renewal of the Charter.* (London: Black, Parry, and Co.).

Anon. (1832) *Letter to James Ewing, Esq. L. L. D. of Dunoon Castle* (Glasgow).

Anon. (1832) *Speech of Sir Daniel K. Sanford at a Meeting of Electors and inhabitants of Glasgow, in the Traders' Hall, Wednesday, September* Anon. (1812) *Letters on the East India Monopoly, Originally Published in the Glasgow Chronicle, with Addition and Correction, Second Edition.* (Glasgow: D. Prentice & Co).

Anon. (c. 1832) *Letter to James Ewing, Esq. L.L.D. of Dunoon Castle.*

Anon. (c.1829) *Report of the Proceedings at a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Calcutta, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December, 1829* (London).

Baines, T (1852) *History of the Commerce and Town of Liverpool, and The Rise of Manufacturing Industry in The Adjoining Countries.* (London: Longman, Brown Green and Longmans).

Brought, A. (1786) *Consideration on the necessity of lowering the exorbitant freight of ships employed in the service of the East-India Company.* (London: printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson).

Buckingham, J S (unknown) *Subscribers to a public fund for effecting a voyage round the globe, by the route of India, China, Japan, and the pacific Isles.*

Idem (1830) *History of the Public Proceeding on the Question of the East India Monopoly, during the Past Year* (London: Hurst, Chance, and Co.).

Cleland, J (1816) *Annals of Glasgow* (Glasgow: E. Khull & Co.).

Crawfurd, J (1830) *China Monopoly Examined* (London: James Ridgway).

Idem (1829) *A view of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade & Colonization of India* (London: James Ridgway).

Cropper, J (1823) *Relief for West Indian Distress shewing the Inefficiency of protecting duties on East-India Sugar* (London: Ellerton and Henderson).

Donald, C D (ed.) (1891) *Minute Book of the Board of Green Cloth 1809-1820* (Glasgow: James MacLehose).

- The East India Company (1812) *Correspondence and Proceedings in the Negotiation for a Renewal of the East India Company's Charter* (London: Black Perry and Co.).
- The Liverpool East India Association (1829) *Report of the public meeting at Liverpool on Wednesday, January 28, 1829, for the purpose of taking into consideration of the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company.*
- The Liverpool East India Association (1828) *Report of the Committee of the Liverpool East India Association, on the subject of the trade with India: presented to the Association at a general meeting, 21st March, 1828.*
- The Liverpool East India Association (1822) *Report of a Committee of the Liverpool East India Association, appointed to take into consideration the Restrictions on the East India Trade.*
- MacLehose, J. (1886) *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men* (Glasgow: James MacLehose).
- Maitland, J [Lord Lauderdale] (1809) *An Inquiry into the Practical Merits of the System for the Government of India under the Superintendence of the Board of Controul* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable).
- Ministers of the respective parishes (1841) *The Statistical Account of Lanarkshire by The Ministers of the Respective Parishes.* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood).
- The Rambling Reporter (1868) *Reprint of Jones's Directory; or, Useful Pocket Companion For the Year 1787. With An Introduction, and Notes of Old Glasgow Celebrities* (Glasgow: Robert Graham).
- Stewart, G (1881) *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship* (Glasgow: James Maclehorse)
- Thomas, A (1879) *The Old Country Houses of The Old Glasgow Gentry* (Glasgow: James Maclehorse).

## **Secondary Sources**

### **Unpublished works**

- Bourne, J M (1977) 'The Civil and Military Patronage of the East India Company', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leicester University.
- Devine, T M (1971) 'Glasgow merchants in colonial trade, 1770-1815' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Strathclyde.
- Eyles, D (1955) 'The Abolition of The East India Company's Monopoly 1833' unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Nenadic, S S (1986) 'The structure, value and influence of the Scottish urban middle class Glasgow. 1800 to 1870' unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Glasgow.

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

### **Books**

Anderson, J A (1935) *The Burgesses & The Guild Brethren of Glasgow 1751-1846* (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society).

Barbar, W J (1975) *British Economic Thought and India 1600-1858* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Bowen, H V (2006) *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Idem (1991) *Revenue and Reform: the Indian Problems in British Politics 1757 and 1773* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Brogan, C (1951) *James Finlay & Company Limited: manufacturers and East India merchants, 1750-1950* (Glasgow: Jackson & Company).

Butt, J (1967) *The Industrial Archaeology of Scotland* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles).

Cain, P J and Hopkins, A F (2001) *British Imperialism: 1688-2000* (London and New York: Longman).

Idem (1993) *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914* (London and New York: Longman).

Idem (1993) *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction 1914-1990* (London and New York: Longman).

Catling, H (1970) *The Spinning Mule*. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles).

Chapman, S D (1992) *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Idem (1987) *The Cotton Industry and the Industrial Revolution* (Basingstoke and London: MacMillan Education).

Idem (1984) *The Rise of Merchant Banking* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.).

Checkland, S G (1971) *The Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Collins, N (1994) *Politics and Elections in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool* (Aldershot: Scholar Press).

Darvall, F O (1969) *Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England* (London: Oxford University Press).

- Davis, L E and Huttenback, R A (1988) *Mammon and The Pursuit of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Davis, R (1979) *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).
- Devine, T M (2003) *The Scottish Empire* (London: Allan Lane).
- Idem (1975) *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of The Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and Their Trading Activities* (Edinburgh: Donald).
- Donnachie, I (2000) *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press).
- Dumett, R E (ed.) (1999) *Gentlemanly capitalism and British Imperialism* (London and New York: Longman).
- Dutt, R (1956) *The Economic History of India under Early British Rule, from the Rise of the British Power in 1757 to the Access of Queen Victoria in 1837* (London: Routledge & K. Paul).
- Ellis, G (2003) *The Napoleonic Empire* (second edition) (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Ellison, T (1968, originally published in 1886) *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Frank Cass & Co.)
- Farnie, D A (1979) *The English Cotton Industry and the World Market 1815-1896* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Fry, M (2001) *The Scottish Empire* (East Loathian: Tuckwell Press; Edinburgh; Birlinn).
- Fieldhouse, D K (1973) *Economics and Empire 1830-1914*. (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson).
- Furber, H (1948) *John Company at Work: A Study of European Expansion in India in The Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press).
- Greenberg, M (1961) *British Trade and the Opening of China 1800-42*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Gibson, J F (1953) *Brocklebanks, 1770-1950* (Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons Ltd.).
- Hamauzu, T (2001) *Sekai saikyo no shosha* [The world strongest trading company] (Tokyo: Nihon keizai hyoron sha).
- Hamilton, H (1966) *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (New Impression) (London: Frank Cass & Co. LTD.).
- Hamilton, H (1963) *Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Heckscher, E F (1922) *The Continental System: An Economic Interpretation* (English Edition). (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

- Hide, W (1973) *George Canning* (London: Collins).
- Hobson, J A (1972) *Imperialism* (New York and London: Macmillan).
- Hyde, F E (1971) *Liverpool and the Mersey: An Economic History of Port 1700-1970* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles).
- Imada, S (2000) *Pakusu Buritanika to shokuminchi Indo* [Pax Britanica and the colonial India] (Kyoto: Kyoto daigaku gakujutsu shuppann kai).
- Keay, J (1993) *The Honourable Company: A History of The English East India Company* (London: HarperCollins).
- Kemp, T (1967) *Theory of Imperialism* (Dobson).
- Langer, W L (1935) *The Diplomacy of Imperialism 1890-1902* (London: Alfred. A. Knopf).
- Lawson, P (1993) *The East India Company: A History* (London: Longman).
- Lenin, V I (1982) *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Moscow: Progress).
- Lythe, S G E and Butt, J (1975) *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939* (Glasgow & London: Blackie).
- Louis, W R (ed.) (1976) *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York and London: New Viewpoints)
- Lloyd-Jones, R and Lewis, M J (1988) *Manchester and the age of the factory* (London: Croom Helm).
- Marshall, P J (1974) *East India Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Idem (1968) *Problems of Empire; Britain and India 1757-1813* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.).
- Mathias, P. (1969) *The First Industrial Nation: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1914* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.).
- Matsumoto, M (1996) *Igirisu no Indo touchi* [India under the control of Britain] (Kyoto: A-un sya).
- Mitchell, B R and Dean, P (1962) *Abstract of British historical statistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mitra, S (2003) *Indian Constitutional Acts: East India Company to Independence* (New Delhi).
- O'Brien, D P O (1970) *J. R. McCulloch: A Study in Classic Economics* (London: Allen & Unwin).
- Orbell, J (1985) *Baring Brothers & Co., Limited. A History to 1939* (London: Baring Brothers & Co., Limited.).

- Philips, C H (1940) *The East India Company, 1784-1834* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Platt, D C M (1968) *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy, 1815-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Read, D (1958) *Peterloo: The 'Massacre and its Background* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Redford, A (1934) *Manchester Merchants and Foreign Trade 1794-1858* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Renwick, R (ed.) (1916) *Extracts from The Records of The Burgh of Glasgow with Charters and Other Documents, Vol. XI, A.D. 1823-1833* (Scottish Burgh Records Society: Edinburgh).
- Robinson, R and Gallagher, J with Denny, A (1961) *Africa and the Victorians: the Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan).
- Rubinstein, W D (1993) *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain 1750-1990*. (London: Routledge)
- Idem (1981) *Men of Property* (London: Croom Helm).
- Schumpeter, J (1951) *Imperialism and Social Classes* (New York: Kelley).
- Scottish Record Office (c1987) *Court of Session productions c.1760-1840* (Surrey: List and Index Society).
- Smith, A and Cannan, M (ed.) (1904) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, vol. II, (London: Methuen & Co.).
- Sutherland, L S (1952) *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Tripathi, A (1979) *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press).
- Webster, A (2006) *The Debate on the Rise of the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Idem (1998) *Gentlemen Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia 1770-1890* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies).
- Wiener, M J (2004) *English Culture and The Decline of The Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Williams, J B (1972) *British Commercial Policy and Trade Expansion 1750-1850* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press).
- Whyte, I (2006) *Scotland and The Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

## Secondary articles

- Akita, S (1999) 'British informal empire in East Asia, 1880-1939: a Japanese perspective' in Dumett, R E (ed.) *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism*, pp. 141-156
- Anderson, B L (1977) 'The Lancashire bill system and its Liverpool practitioners: The case of a slave merchant' in Chaloner, W H and Ratcliffe, B M (eds.) *Trade and Transport: Essay in Economic History in Honour of T. S. Willan* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 59-97.
- Anderson, P (1964) 'The Origin of the Present Crisis' in *New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb., pp. 26-53.
- Bowen, H V (2002) 'Sinews of trade and empire: the supply of commodity exports to the East India Company during the late eighteenth century' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. LV, No. 3, pp. 466-486.
- Idem (2002) 'No Longer Mere Traders: Continuities and Changes in the Metropolitan Development of the East India Company, 1600-1834', Bowen, H V, Lincoln, M and Rigby, N (eds.) *The Worlds of The East India Company* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press), pp. 19-32.
- Idem (1998) 'British India, 1765-1813: The Metropolitan Context', Marshall, P J (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Chap. 24.
- Idem (1989) 'Investment and empire in the late eighteenth century: East India stockholding, 1756-1791' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 186-206.
- Cain, P J and Hopkins, A G (1987) 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas II, new imperialism, 1850-1845' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XL, 1, pp. 1-26.
- Idem (1986) 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas I. The Old Colonial System, 1688' History in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, pp. 501-525.
- Idem (1980) 'The Political Economy of British Expansion Overseas, 1750-1914' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, pp. 463-490.
- Campbell, R H (1995) 'The Making of The Industrial City' in Devine, T M and Jackson, G, (eds.) *Glasgow, vol. I, Beginning to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), Chapter 5.
- Cannadine, D (1995) 'The Empire Strike Back' in *Past and Present*. 147, pp. 180-194.

- Carlos, A M (1992) 'Principal-Agent Problems in Early Trading Companies: A Tale of Two Firms' in *The American Economic Review*, vol. 82, No. 2, pp. 140-145.
- Cassis, Y (1985) 'Bankers in English Society in the Late Nineteenth Century' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 210-229
- Charlton, K (1972) 'Liverpool and the East India Trade' in *Northern History*, Vol. VII, pp. 55-72.
- Idem (1971) 'James Cropper and Liverpool's Contribution to the Anti-Slavery Movement' in *Transaction of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 1971, vol. 123, pp. 57-80.
- Idem (1971) 'The Present State of Ireland in the Eighteen-Twenties: James Cropper' Plan' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xvi (67), pp. 320-339.
- Chaudhuri, K N (1983) 'Foreign Trade and Balance of Payment's (1757-1947), Kumar, D (Eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of India, vol.2: c.1757-c.1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chap. X.
- Checkland, S G (1958) 'American Versus West India Trade' in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, pp.141-160.
- Idem (1957) 'Two Scottish West Indian Liquidation After 1793' in *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 4, pp. 127-143.
- Idem (1954) 'John Gladstone as Trader and Planter' in *The Economic History Review*, New series, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 216-229.
- Idem (1952) 'Economic Attitudes in Liverpool 1793-1807', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 58-75.
- Cohn, B S (1966) 'Recruit and Training of British Civil Servants in India, 1600-1860', in Brailbanti, R (ed.) *Asian Bureaucratic Systems Emergent from the British Imperial Tradition* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press), Chap. 3.
- Daunton, M J (1995) 'Home and Colonial' in *Twentieth Century British History*. Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 344-358.
- Davis, L (1999) 'The late nineteenth-century British imperialist: The specification, qualification and controlled conjectures' in Dumett, R E (ed.), *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Empire*, pp. 84-112.
- Devine, T M (1995) 'The Golden Age of Tobacco' in Devine, T M and Jackson, G (eds.) *Glasgow, vol. I, Beginning to 1830*, Chapter 4.
- Idem (1978) 'An eighteenth-century business elite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c. 1750-1815' in *Scottish Historical Review*, 57, pp. 41-67.

- Fieldhouse, D K (1961) 'Imperialism: An Historiographical Revision ', in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 187-209.
- Furber, H (1938) 'The Beginnings of American Trade with India 1784-1812' in Rocher, R (ed.) *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th Century* (Aldershot: Variorum), Chapter II.
- Gallagher, J and Robinson, R E (1953) 'The Imperialism of Free Trade' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 1-15.
- Gough, B (1999) 'Profit and power: informal empire, the navy and Latin America' in Dumett, R E (ed.) *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Empire*. pp. 68-81.
- Henderson, W O (1985) 'The American Chamber of Commerce for the Port of Liverpool, 1801-1908' in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 85, pp. 1-61.
- Hyde, F E and Parkinson, B B (1951) 'The Port of Liverpool and the Crisis of 1793' in *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 72, pp. 363-378.
- Hopkins, A G (1968) 'Economic Imperialism in West Africa: Lagos, 1882-92' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 580-606.
- Kiernan, V G (1964) 'Farewell to Empire' in *The Socialist Register*, pp. 259-279.
- Killick, J (1974) 'Bolton, Ogden & Co.; A Case Study in Anglo-American Trade, 1790-1850' in *Business History Review*, Vol. 48, No. 4, pp. 501-519.
- Kubicek, R (1999) 'Economic power at the periphery: Canada, Australia and South Africa, 1850-1914' in Dumett, R E (ed.) *Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Imperialism*, pp. 113-126.
- Langton, J and Laxton P (1978) 'Parish registers and urban structure: the example of eighteenth-century Liverpool' in *Urban History Yearbook*, pp.74-84.
- Lawton, R (1953) 'The genesis of population' in Smith, W. and others (eds.) *A Scientific Survey of Merseyside* (Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool).
- Lee, C H (1981) 'Regional Growth and Structural Change in Victorian Britain' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, pp. 438-552.
- Longstreth, F (1979) 'The City, Industry and the State' in Crouch, C (ed.) *State and Economy in Contemporary Capitalism* (London: Croom Helm), pp. 157-190.
- Marshall, P J (1993) 'Private British Trade in the Indian Ocean before 1800' in Marshall, P J, *Trade and Conquest* (Aldershot, Hampshire; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum), Chapter XIII.

- Maver, I (1994) 'Politics and Power in the Scottish City: Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century' in Devine, T M (ed.) *Scottish Elites* (Edinburgh: John Donald), Chap. 5.
- Moss, J (1976) 'Birmingham and the Campaigns against the Orders in Council and East India Company Charter 1812-1813' in *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. XI, Issue 1, pp. 173-188.
- Nairn, T (1977) 'The Twilight of the British State' in *New Left Review*, Jan.-April, pp. 3-61.
- Nenadic, S (1990) 'Political Reform and the 'Ordering' of Middle-Class Protest' in Devine, T M (ed.) *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society 1780-1850* (Edinburgh: Donald), Chapter 4.
- Parker, J G (1985) 'Scottish Enterprise in India, 1750-1914' in Cage, R A (ed.) *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London: Croom Helm), Chap. 7.
- Peers, D M (1990) 'Between Mars and Mammon: The East India Company and Efforts to Reform its Army, 1796-1832' in *The Historical Journal*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 385-401.
- Plat, D C M (1973) 'Further Objections to an "imperialism of Free Trade," 1830-60' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 77-91.
- Idem (1968) 'The imperialism of Free trade: Some Reservations' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XXI, No. 2, pp. 296-306.
- Robinson, R (1975) 'Non-European Foundation of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration' in Louis, W R (ed.) *Imperialism*, pp.128-151
- Rubinstein, W D (1977) 'Wealth, Elites and the Class Structure of Modern Britain' in *Past and Present*, LXXVI, pp. 991-112.
- Idem (1977) 'The Victorian Middle Classes: Wealth, Occupation and Geography' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 602-623.
- Sheridan, R B (1958) 'The Commercial and Financial Organization of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 249-263.
- Siddiqi, A (1981) 'Money and Prices in the Earlier Stage of Empire: India and Britain, 1760-1840', in *The Indian Economic History Review*, vol. XVIII, Nos 3 & 4, pp. 231-62.
- Smith, R 'Manchester as a Centre for Manufacturing and Merchanting Cotton Goods, 1820 to 1830' in *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, vol. IV, 1953-4, pp. 47-65.

- Stokes, E (1969) 'Late Nineteenth-Century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity' in *The Historical Journal*, XII, 2, pp. 285-301.
- Sugihara, K (1999) 'British Imperialism, the City of London and Global Industrialization: Some Comments on Cain and Hopkins, British Imperialism' in *Keizaikenkyu*. Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 277-281.
- Tolley, B H (1969) 'The Liverpool Campaign Against the Order in Council and the War of 1812' in Harris, J R (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside: Essays in the Economic and Social History of the Port and Its Hinterland* (London: Cass), Chapter 5.
- Ward, J R (1994) 'The Industrial Revolution and British Imperialism, 1750-1850' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, pp. 44-65.
- Webster, A (2006) 'The strategies and limits of gentlemanly capitalism: the London East India agency houses, provincial commercial interests, and the evolution of British economic policy in South and South East Asia 1800-1850, in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. LIX, No. 4, pp. 743-764.
- Idem (2005) 'An Early Global Business in a Colonial Context: The Strategies, Management, and Failure of John Palmer and Company of Calcutta, 1780-1830' in *Enterprise & Society*, 6.1, pp. 98-133.
- Idem (1990) 'The political economy of trade liberalization: the East India Company Charter Act of 1813' in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. XLIII, No. 3, pp. 404-419.
- Idem (1987) 'British Exports interests in Bengal and Imperial Expansion into South-East Asia, 1780-1824: the Origin of the Strait Settlements' in Ingram, B and Simmons, C (eds.) *Development Studies and Colonial Policy* (London: Cass), pp. 138-174.
- Williams, D M (1969) 'Liverpool Merchants and the Cotton Trade 1820-1850' in Harris, J R (ed.) *Liverpool and Merseyside*, pp. 182-211.

### ***Conference Papers***

- Webster, A (2006) 'Liverpool and the Eastern Trade 1800-1850: A Paper for the CLAMS Conference on Liverpool and Empire'.

### **Online Sources**

- Chew, E C T 'Dr. John Crawfurd (1783-1868): The Scotsman who made Singapore British' [Online] Available from

<http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/landow/post/singapore/history/chew/chew11.html>  
[accessed on the 10th of May, 2005].

Crosby, A G (2004) 'Baines, Edward (1774-1848)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1089>, accessed 29, May 2006].

Whitaker, M D 'Raw Materials and the Division of Labor: Textile and Consumption in Urbanization from Manchester to Mohenjo-Daro, General Theory and Empirical Specification II'

[[www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mwhitake/files/rmado1\\_ARTICLE2\\_2-23-02.doc](http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mwhitake/files/rmado1_ARTICLE2_2-23-02.doc), accessed on 17 October 2006].

SC36/48/8 Alexander Oswald dated 18/03/1814

[<http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/> accessed 10th, April, 2007]