

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND SOUTHERN AFRICA:  
A GUIDE TO ~~THE ARCHIVES OF~~ THE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL, 1600-1858

JILL LOUISE GEBER

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in University College London



*To the memory of my father*

*Kolin Hector Geber*

*(1917-1966)*

Image removed due to third party copyright

*The Cape of Good Hope c1731, by George Lambert and Samuel Scott*

## ABSTRACT

This study's purpose is to locate, select and separate out from the wider India Office Records, the extensive archives of the East India Company and its supervisory state body, the Board of Control, those classes, series, volumes and documents which contain sources on the history of the southern African region. 'Southern Africa' is taken to be the region including those countries which form modern South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola and Mozambique.

An extensive survey of the archives was undertaken to address the previous lack of investigation of these sources. The analysis and synthesis of the survey seeks to explain why the sources are there, their extent, and what they are about. The study aims to draw researchers' attention to the range and depth of the sources in these archives, spanning the period of the combined existence of the East India Company (1600-1858) and the Board of Control (1784-1858). The finding aid produced from the survey results aims to improve accessibility to and facilitate greater use of these archives.

The thesis begins with a brief description of the context - the history and organisation of the East India Company and the Board of Control. It then focuses on the Company's interest in southern Africa, particularly its agencies at the Cape of Good Hope (1793-1858). A general presentation of the evolution, arrangement and extent of the India Office Records follows. This leads into a core discussion of sources contained within the relevant classes of the archives.

The appendix comprises a detailed descriptive listing of the East India Company's archives on southern Africa. The listing presents the results of the survey of these disparate records in an intellectually accessible form, in order to submit an extensive body of evidence in support of the main part of the study.



## CONTENTS

Abstract .....	2
Contents .....	3
List of illustrations .....	5
Acknowledgements .....	6
INTRODUCTION .....	7
CHAPTER 1      AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL (1600-1858) .....	32
1.1.      A brief history of the East India Company, 1600-1858 .....	32
1.2.      East India Company structure and organisation (1600-1858) .....	41
1.3.      The organisation of East India Company business .....	58
1.4.      The Board of Control .....	63
CHAPTER 2      THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA 1600-1858 .....	74
2.1.      Security, supply and servicing .....	74
2.2.      East India Company trade with southern Africa .....	92
2.3.      Slavery and labour: Mozambique, Angola and South Africa .....	101
2.4.      Military support and administrative interchangeability: India and the Cape of Good Hope .....	104
2.5.      Other more peripheral examples of East India Company involvement in southern Africa .....	107
CHAPTER 3      THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AGENCIES AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE: AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY .....	130
3.1.      The Company's own Agency at the Cape, 1793-1804; 1807-1836 .....	131
3.2.      The nature of the Cape Agency business .....	145
3.3.      The Company's Cape Agency establishment, 1793-1836 .....	150
3.4.      Local commercial agents at the Cape acting for the Company, 1836-1858 .....	153
3.5.      The London agents for the Cape of Good Hope ...	154
CHAPTER 4      THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS: A CUSTODIAL HISTORY 1600-1997 .....	166
4.1.      Extent and scope .....	167
4.2.      Custody, care and control of the India Office Records, 1600-1997 .....	168
4.3.      Intellectual control and the classification system .....	179
4.4.      Access, listing and publications .....	195

CHAPTER 5	SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND BOARD OF CONTROL ARCHIVES .....	203
5.1.	The legal framework of the East India Company and the Board of Control .....	212
5.2.	The East India Company's interests in southern Africa from 1600 until the establishment of the Agency at the Cape of Good Hope in 1793 .....	218
5.3.	Consultation between the East India Company and the British Government (c1700-1784) and the Board of Control's supervision of the East India Company (1784-1858) .....	240
5.4.	The Company's management of its own Agency at the Cape (1793-1804; 1807-1836) and commercial agents at the Cape (1836-1858) from London .....	251
5.5.	The records of operations of the Agencies at the Cape of Good Hope, 1793-1858 .....	263
5.6.	Other Company/Board interests in southern Africa initiated in London, India or at St Helena which fell outside the operations of the Company's agencies at the Cape, or in which the Agencies were only indirectly involved, 1793-1858 .....	272
5.7.	Reference collections of the East India Company and the Board of Control .....	283
CONCLUSION .....		294
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....		299
PUBLISHED ARTICLES BASED ON THIS STUDY: .....		305
Jill Geber,	'The English East India Company at the Cape and the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records', in <i>South African Archives Journal</i> 36 (1994), pp. 54-64	
Jill Geber	'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) of the British Library' in <i>African Research and Documentation</i> 70 (1996), pp. 1-35	
Jill Geber,	'Sources for southern Africa in the Oriental and India Office Collections', in <i>Africa Quarterly</i> 36, 1 (1996), pp. 55-82.	

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Facing title page: *The Cape of Good Hope*, c1731, by George Lambert and Samuel Scott, IOL: F35. The painting was hung in the Court Room of the East India Company from about 1798 to 1858. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

Chapter 2, facing page 74: Map: The East India Company and southern Africa, 1600-1858.

Chapter 3, facing page 145: The first page of instructions from the East India Company to their Agent at the Cape, 1807. Correspondence of the Company's Accountant General's department: paragraphs for letters to the Cape Agent, IOR:L/AG/29/1/14, p. 219. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

Chapter 3, between pages 152 and 153: Panorama of Cape Town section 5, by Lady Anne Barnard, c. 1803. The buildings on the bay front include the East India Company's warehouse, the Custom House and the Commissariat. Reproduced with permission of the owner, Lord Crawford of Balcarres and from the plate between pages 56 and 57 in *The Letters of Lady Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas from the Cape and elsewhere, 1793-1803*, A.M. Lewin-Robinson ed. (Cape Town, 1973), with permission of Balkema Publishers, Rotterdam.

Chapter 3, facing page 153: Plan of Cape Town, 1833, showing the East India Company Agency's offices and warehouses. From Greig's *Cape of Good Hope Directory and Almanac*, KAB:M1/1382. Reproduced with permission of the Cape Archives Repository, Cape Town.

Chapter 4, page 182: Table 4.1. India Office Records classification scheme 1967-97.

Chapter 4, page 194: Table 4.2. A complete list of India Office Records classes showing the division and overlap between the East India Company and India Office archives

Chapter 5, page 205: Table 5.1. A list of East India Company and Board of Control archives within the India Office Records group

Chapter 5, pages 206-211: Table 5.2. East India Company and Board of Control archives surveyed for southern African sources

Chapter 5, facing page 220: Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 25 November 1720, concerning the return of two princes of Delagoa [Maputo] and opening up of trade with Mozambique, British Library, IOR:B/56, p. 170. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A better supervisor than John McIlwaine I could not have hoped for. His calm unfailing guidance, support and steadiness over the years have been a constant source of strength and reassurance to me. To him I owe a special debt of gratitude.

To my colleagues, present and retired at the Oriental and India Office Collections (many of whom having gone through this process before me), I am especially grateful for their encouragement and for bearing with me and my pre-occupation. Particular thanks go to Andrew Cook for his invaluable advice and for drawing on and sharing his immense knowledge of the India Office Records in response to my endless questions; and to Martin Moir for his sound advice and insightful reminiscences on the early days of the India Office Library and Records.

My husband Barrie, my family and friends have supported and encouraged me as well as tolerated my stress and frustration, throughout this lonely time. It is difficult to express to them the depth of my appreciation. Without their love, patience and forbearance I would not have cleared the final hurdle.

I am especially grateful to the British Library for providing financial support, resources, generous study leave, permission to freely reproduce a number of illustrations and above all, for the direct access to the archives and other collections, without which this study could not have been completed.

December 1997

## INTRODUCTION

While undertaking postgraduate research in overseas archives studies in London, I was introduced to the wealth of archive and manuscript sources on South Africa spread across the United Kingdom. After completing this research, and on taking up employment as an archivist in the British Library's India Office Library and Records, I became keen to discover what southern African sources were held within the national library's impressive collections.

The origins of this study lay in an ambitious project that began in 1989, to produce a guide to various categories of sources of southern African-related material (archives, manuscripts, maps, official publications, newspapers, prints, drawings, photographs, stamps and sound recordings) in all the departments of the British Library. 'Southern Africa' is taken to be the region including those countries which form modern South Africa, Namibia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Angola and Mozambique. The offshore islands are excluded.

Southern Africa has played a significant role in the history of the British Empire and Commonwealth from the seventeenth century. The extent of British interest in the region is reflected in the acquisitions of the British Library and also in the archives of the bodies involved in the administration of British India: the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office, which became part of the British Library's collections a decade and a half ago.

The material on southern Africa in the India Office Library and Records was considered largely uncharted when compared with other British Library departments. With the recent merger of the Oriental Collections and the India Office Library and Records, the Oriental and India Office Collections holdings now constitute a microcosm of the British Library, containing a range of different sources. Amongst these sources<sup>is</sup>, arguably the Library's single most important acquisition of archives this century - the India Office Records. For these reasons, the department seemed a logical and challenging starting point.

Initial investigation revealed that some use has been made by researchers of the India Office Records, who have highlighted particular southern African themes, for example calls at the Cape by East India Company ships in the seventeenth century,<sup>1</sup> the impact of the Napoleonic campaigns on southern Africa in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries;<sup>2</sup> and more recently in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the emigration of Indian labourers to southern Africa and the history of the Indian people in South Africa.<sup>3</sup> Of particular relevance, Marcus Arkin has made intensive use of the series of Cape of Good Hope Factory Records in his examination of the economic history of the East India Company's Agency at the Cape of Good Hope (1793-1836).<sup>4</sup>

The perceived problem which initiated this study was that none of the existing work that makes use of the archives of the East India Company, the Board of Control or the India Office linked these themes together, to unfold the wider relationship between southern Africa and India during the period of British involvement in India from 1600 to 1947.

There was a strong probability that potentially useful sources for historical study of the region lay buried, unexplored within the mass of these archives, eluding researchers owing to their impenetrability and inaccessibility. The main reason for this was the undeveloped state of finding aids to the India Office Records at a regional, subject or even country level.

Why historical sources on southern Africa are in these archives, how much there is and what they are about are questions which could not be answered without in-depth archival investigation. The answers could only emerge from a survey of the archives and a synthesis of the survey results into a comprehensive archives guide to whole of the India Office Records.

After four years of survey work across the India Office Records an overwhelming amount of relevant research material was uncovered - too large for a Ph.D. study. Consequently, a narrowing down of the field was imperative. The decision was taken to limit the research to the East India Company period (1600-1858); to the archives of the Company and its later supervisory body - the Board of Control (1784-1858). These are the limits of this study in its final form. In order not to waste the data already gathered from the later India Office archives and other sections of the Oriental and India Office Collections, a summary of what had been found to that point was published.<sup>5</sup>

This research study situates itself within the field of archive studies. The most important work that archivists undertake is to make archives accessible to those who wish

to use them through the keys which provide intellectual access to the information contained in the archives - finding aids. Without good finding aids, vast amounts of potentially useful source materials remain inaccessible to researchers. As a result the research value of archives will neither be utilised nor disseminated in the informing of academic opinion.

Finding aids are produced at various levels. Archive guides are a type of finding aid prepared by archivists to establish physical and intellectual control over one or more archives' holdings. Guides appear in many forms - but their common characteristic is that they provide an overview of the material with which they deal, and draw together information spread across other finding aids, either as it stands or summarised for the particular purpose of the guide. They may be comprehensive or selective, depending on their purpose or function.<sup>6</sup>

Subject guides are usually selective and concentrate on key records. They bring together references to records in different *fonds des archives* (single complex source of archives, which may embrace one body and archives inherited by it from another source) or series relating to a particular subject, and as such provide a subject-based overview of a repository's holdings. The level of detail varies according to the nature of the subject and archives, the purpose of the guide and the time and quantity of the information to be included. A narrow approach may include item level descriptions; a broader approach will not go below series level. The purpose of guides is to meet a real or anticipated need for information on the part of users.<sup>7</sup>



There is a well-established practice of producing archive guides which focus on particular regions of the world, in an area studies-based approach. For Africa, these include the International Council on Archives 'Guides to the sources for the history of nations'<sup>8</sup> and feature archival collections from a number of repositories around the world. There are also country-based approaches, looking at archives sources for a particular region, based on repositories in one country. The most relevant of these for this study is Matthews and Wainwright's *Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*,<sup>9</sup> which has been recently revised.<sup>10</sup>

There are also many regional or country-focused guides to particular archive collections. For the India Office Records examples include Burma,<sup>11</sup> Afghanistan,<sup>12</sup> Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan,<sup>13</sup> the Persian Gulf<sup>14</sup> and Zanzibar.<sup>15</sup> A number of 'topical' subject-based guides to the India Office Records also exist, for example on the Indian Mutiny,<sup>16</sup> Indian emigration<sup>17</sup> and civil disobedience in India.<sup>18</sup>

Existing published and unpublished work on African sources in the India Office Records and closely-related holdings in India is presented here to provide relevant contextual discussion for this study. The contributions which follow include the work of India Office Records record-keepers and archivists, other British Library staff, and archivists or researchers outside the British Library.

Frederick Danvers' *Report on the Records of the India Office*<sup>19</sup> includes an overview of European contact with the Cape of Good Hope and the East India Company's well-known

early maritime interest in the Cape. He presents an often incidental account of the Company's Cape Agency (with inaccurate details of the successive Agents). The *Report* contains no general references to the Company's contacts with Mozambique or other parts of Africa, for example, on the Guinea coast. A summarised form of Danvers' presentation of this account forms the introduction to the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records series G/9 in his subsequent *List of Factory Records*.<sup>20</sup>

William Foster's *Guide to the India Office Records*<sup>21</sup> includes a brief mention of the Cape among the Factory Records summarising Danvers, but no other references to Africa. Martin Moir's *General Guide to the India Office Records*<sup>22</sup> is the most comprehensive guide to the India Office Records to date, presenting summaries of the archives at the class and series level. Given the guide's broad scope, specific coverage for Africa is not appropriate, but a useful appendix outlines the main sources for areas outside India, which include seven African countries. For southern Africa, only South Africa is featured.

Richard Bingle's 'Resources for the study of the Indian Ocean region in the India Office Library and Records'<sup>23</sup> deals with a region much larger than southern Africa, but his treatment of the African-related sources in the India Office Records is limited to a few superficial paragraphs. For southern Africa he indicates only that the Cape Factory Records and Political and Secret Records contain 'later' references for South Africa and a brief mention of commercial relations between the east African coast and the west coast of India.

Penelope Tuson's paper to the British Library's African Studies colloquium in January 1985, 'British Library African resources: the India Office Records'<sup>24</sup> presents a summary, illustrative overview of African sources in the India Office Records. A major weakness of her paper is the omission of South African sources. The omission is stated in a footnote but not justified or explained in any way. Had South Africa not been omitted from her paper, it would be a more useful guide for researchers of South African history today.

Tim Thomas' subject guide, *Indians Overseas*<sup>25</sup> includes an overview of India Office Records holdings on Indian emigration to Southern Africa and brief descriptive listings of relevant files. The informative lists present files on South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi and Swaziland.

Tuson's unpublished 'Zanzibar: sources in the India Office Records'<sup>26</sup> includes a summary of East India Company and India Office interest in <sup>the</sup> east African region. It presents a useful and broad discussion of sources specifically relating to Zanzibar, together with administrative notes, a number of illustrations and transcripts.

---

Margaret Makepeace's 'English Traders on the Guinea Coast, 1657-1668: an analysis of the East India Company Archive',<sup>27</sup> is a thorough historical account of the Company's brief relations with west Africa which is illustrated by extensive use of the class of East India Company Correspondence with the East E/3.

Jill Geber's article 'The English East India Company at the Cape and the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records 1773-1836',<sup>28</sup> is an account of the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9 after the listing of the series was completed for this study. The article discusses the series from an archival perspective and builds on Marcus Arkin's historical analysis of the Cape Agency in order to bring the series' contents and value to the attention of researchers interested in the Cape during the Agency period.

Geber's subsequent article, 'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library',<sup>29</sup> presents a range of sources (archives, private papers, manuscripts, printed books, serials and visual materials) on southern Africa located during the survey underpinning this study. It comprises the first comprehensive overview of sources for southern Africa in the Oriental and India Office Collections. Copies of these two articles are bound at the end of this volume.

Ilse Sternberg's article 'The British Library's resources of South African materials',<sup>30</sup> contains a short paragraph partly on the India Office Records, which once again only repeats the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records and material on Indian emigration as examples of relevant sources.

Multi-repository African-related guides undertaken by archivists or specialists outside the British Library, which feature the India Office Records are represented by two examples. The first is Matthews and Wainwright's *Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*<sup>31</sup> as noted earlier. Its coverage of the India Office Records (prior to the introduction of the archive classification scheme) is now outdated and uneven. For example nearly two and a half pages are devoted to the Home Miscellaneous series (for which a complete catalogue existed) but the enormous class of Proceedings is not even mentioned.

The recent revision<sup>32</sup> of this guide includes Penelope Tuson's update of the India Office Records entry.<sup>33</sup> She uses many of the examples previously used by Matthews and Wainwright without much expansion. Her improvements are mainly in format, layout, the addition of class titles and modern references. Only a small amount of new material in a summarised form is presented, much of which is already accessible through published catalogues, for example the Middle East and Military records.

Tuson's revised entry is insubstantial, eclectic and disappointing after a period of twelve years. For example, her new presentation of the class of Proceedings notes its huge size but only hints at main series likely to include African references. Not even a sample description is produced nor any hint of subject content suggested. Much detail of the old nineteenth century summary lists (for example the St Helena Factory Records G/32) is repeated as before, but no new coverage is included for larger, more important and relevant areas in Africa, such as Mozambique.

Another example of this perfunctory approach is the omission of selections from the detailed listing of the Board's Collections F/4 (current at the time of the revision) which includes many African references and has modern and accessible indexes.

The other representative guide is Anne Thurston's *Guide to Archives and Manuscripts Relating to Kenya and East Africa in the United Kingdom*.<sup>34</sup> Its regional approach is geographically complementary to this study. It is rigorous, methodical and successfully achieves its aim of providing the Kenya government and scholars in Kenya and elsewhere with greater access to material, and demonstrates the great range of material available, particularly less well-known sources in a number of archives collections including the India Office Records.

Further afield are S.A.I. Tirmizi's useful guides, *Indian Sources for African History*<sup>35</sup> which indicate the existence of many sources on Africa in the national and state archives in India (for the period of British rule in India) which are complementary to the India Office Records. There are many references to East India Company and India Office documents, which not only make Indian sources accessible, but also facilitate the tracing of relevant copies or extracts in the India Office Records sent from India to London for information.

Although they are not archives guides, Marcus Arkin's publications<sup>36</sup> on the economic history of the East India Company's Cape Agency are based on intensive use of the series of Cape Factory Records G/9. This series is the only specifically southern-African-related series in the India

Office Records and so given its relevance, his publications merit discussion here. Arkin's coverage of the Agency's history is comprehensive. He also included some useful perceptions on the archives themselves and the difficulties he encountered in their use (in the 1960s prior to the introduction of the classification system). However, other relevant and closely-related series of the Company's archives were not examined in that process. He also confusingly refers to the series as 'manuscripts' or 'manuscript collections',<sup>37</sup> and in doing so diminishes their status as part of the archives of the Agency's parent body, the East India Company.

Personal experience of undertaking research in the India Office Records and other repositories, management of the Oriental and India Office Collections reading room and assisting researchers in understanding and locating information in the India Office Records has made me appreciate that the importance of good and accurate finding aids cannot be understated. Unless finding aids bring to light research possibilities, sources will remain forever neglected, forgotten and unused.

Arkin illustrates the point that inaccessibility of information in archives puts researchers off. In searching for information on the Company's Cape Agency in the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, he found '...such information lies buried beneath vast heaps of archival rubble, the exhumation of which would involve almost a lifetime of arduous delving...',<sup>38</sup>

The preceding survey of existing literature relevant to this study illustrates the gap in existing finding aids on

African sources in the India Office Records. Apart from the recent published work presenting aspects of this study, no detailed investigation or examination of the range of the East India Company's and Board of Control's archives in relation to southern Africa as a region has been undertaken previously. The production of such a guide will, by making accessible those archives, allow researchers to investigate the under-explored relationship between the East India Company and southern Africa during the Company's period of administration in India.

It made sense to opt for a regional approach because the East India Company and Board of Control were interested in more than one part of southern Africa, and also because Thurston's and Tuson's guides to East Africa and Zanzibar cover the area immediately adjacent to southern Africa. To add to those a guide for southern Africa would provide a degree of coverage of the India Office Records for the whole geographic block of southern and eastern Africa. A southern African area guide would also bring to light sources on the south western coast of Africa which have never appeared in any guide or publication on African sources in the India Office Records.

In relation to other archive guides, this study can be viewed as a subject or 'topical guide'<sup>39</sup> to part of a repository's holdings, with an area studies approach: it covers the archives of two bodies (the East India Company, 1600-1858 and the Board of Control, 1784-1858) contained in one archive repository (the India Office Records) and which specifically focuses on those bodies' interest in a particular region (southern Africa), during the period of their combined operational existence (1600-1858).



The outcome of this investigation is that for the first time the extensive sources which exist in a lesser known corner of the British Library are made easily accessible to researchers in southern Africa, the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

From the outset, the India Office Records have been viewed archivally in this study as closely related to the wider family of archives of British departments of state, which are located in the Public Record Office (for example the Colonial Office (CO), Foreign Office (FO), War Office (WO)). Although the India Office's archives are now physically separated from its sister departments of state, they indisputably also form part of the group of those archives of departments of state.

Although there are some differences, the archival terminology used in this study in discussion of the India Office is the same used by the Public Record Office in the arrangement and description of the archives of state departments. For example, the 'group' is the highest hierarchical level designated to the archives of ministries or departments of state in the Public Record Office. Here the India Office is taken as the 'group'.

At the next level the records created for particular functions or used by a particular subdivision of the 'group' department are referred to as the record 'class' in the Public Record Office. The India Office Records equivalent of the Public Record Office classes are the divisions of the arrangement of the Records by the classification scheme of 1967 (for example Political and Secret Department L/P&S). Within the archives of

departments, runs of documents of the same type or format (for example correspondence with India, E/4) are further divided into 'series' in the India Office Records, but not in the Public Record Office. Individual files or volumes within classes or series (e.g. E/4/3) form the lowest level in the hierarchy, and are described as an 'item' (or 'piece' in the Public Record Office).

The data which underpins this study was collected in a number of phases. The first phase of the survey (1989 to 1991) included an examination of all the existing finding aids to the India Office Records for traces of references to southern Africa. The finding aids comprise older catalogues compiled before the application of the modern archive classification scheme and modern handlists compiled by archivists mainly over the last thirty years. A variety of levels and styles of description were evident. Relevant material might be present in the records but was not always obvious from the mainly broad, summary descriptions in the handlists so they could not be depended on entirely. What existed outside the handlists was uncharted. Checklists of successful or unsuccessful findings were maintained throughout the survey.

The volume of material still to get through in the India Office archives at the end of four years of surveying, was far greater than that already undertaken for the East India Company's archives. The India Office's archives are more complex and extensive. Material tends to be more difficult and time-consuming to find - the modern departmental papers being less well-listed - and much more use would have to have been made of contemporary indexes and registers. This would have delayed the completion of this study by some

years and consequently the decision was taken to restrict the study to only the East India Company and Board of Control classes.

The second, re-oriented phase of the survey focused on an intensive examination of classes and series of East India Company and Board of Control archives. This examination became a working archival survey (i.e. using the indexes and registers and noting the findings as archival descriptions) as the work progressed.

The first series to be tackled was the one most substantive, self-contained series significantly relevant to the study - the series of Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9. The series was only accessible via the original summary Factory Records catalogue compiled in the 1890s. Although Marcus Arkin had opened up the contents of the Cape Factory Records for historical examination, the contents of the volumes in the series were still impossible to determine from the existing finding aid. Arkin's publications were closely consulted for his invaluable detailed examination of the history of the Agency.

The Agency was of central importance to the Company in southern Africa and this provided the main reason for undertaking a detailed, almost calendar level listing. Secondly, no index to the series exists and such a detailed listing would at least make the series more accessible. The third reason for undertaking such a detailed examination was that it would suggest clues to other relevant series in the wider Company' archives for later examination in the survey for that period. The detailed descriptions of the contents of the 24 volumes and two boxes of additional

papers were completed in 1993. An added bonus to completing the description of the series, was the discovery of G/9/15, which had been 'missing' after 1919 was found in July 1993. It had been incorrectly labelled and bound as one of the volumes of the Sumatra Factory Records.

The remainder of the study concentrated on the Company and Board classes and series which had not yet been surveyed. Contemporary indexes and registers (created by East India Company and Board's clerks and officials) were consulted and systematically scrutinised for clues and leads to relevant sources. There was no alternative means of investigating the sources, other than to survey the archives in this way. There was no way of estimating how much relevant material there was or how long it would take to go through each class or series, other than to physically check or read through the numerous indexes and registers, volumes with internal indexes, and where these did not exist, to skim through individual volumes for sources where justified. It was an extremely time-consuming, often tedious and exhausting method, but was the only way to systematically uncover the sources.

The constraints of time to complete the survey and produce the guide dictated a change in approach in some areas of the survey: for example large runs of indexes were skimmed - generally, not minutely, to pick up most of the relevant subjects and names. Similarly, the vast class of Proceedings (46 500 volumes in total) could not be given the time for a thorough survey, but they were sampled and representative examples presented. Existing 'hot-spots' were taken from related classes already surveyed to investigate the inclusion of complementary sources, perhaps

not exhaustively, but at least in a way which provided a representative sample. Copies or duplicate material (especially in the series of departmental correspondence) were omitted.

A number of older published transcripts and catalogues on series of the Company's early archives existed, which included references to southern Africa (for example Danvers and Foster's six volumes of *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East...1602-13 [to] 1617*),<sup>40</sup> which were compiled using the old (pre-1960s classification) references. To enable researchers to link the published reference to the correct document in the original volume, relevant entries included were supplied with their new modern references.

The temptation to investigate interesting historical or archival tangents was resisted. A major recurring example of such temptation was the question of what the Board of Control's real political role was and why it featured so strongly in the archives. Frustration with the existing imposed India Office Records classification scheme required tolerance. Similar difficulties with the quality and clarity of the current India Office Records finding aids were experienced. Investigations into these problems is needed but best left for future examination.

The questions initially posed about the extent of information on southern Africa in these archives, their content and reason for inclusion, could not be satisfactorily answered until the survey was completed in May 1996 and the results analysed. The review of the survey provided the answers to most of the questions. A picture

emerged of the relationship between the East India Company and southern Africa which confirmed and upheld the proposition that a wealth of historical information of value to researchers on southern Africa was indeed embedded in the archives.

The data itself is an inventory of the unfolding of the sources located, selected and separated out from those relevant classes, series, volumes and documents which contain the sources. The survey ultimately provided the means of production of a complete guide which presents accurate archival descriptions of documents and volumes containing historical data on the relations between the East India Company, the Board of Control and southern Africa, covering over two and a half centuries.

The diverse nature of the sources dictated a variety of descriptive presentations, for example: brief archival descriptions of extensive material such as correspondence; detailed descriptions (calendaring) of the central Cape of Good Hope Factory Records series G/9; transcripts, such as particular extracts from Court of Directors' B, Board of Control F/1 or Committee minutes D; chronological tabular listing of East India Company ships' landfalls on the southern African coast, as in Marine Records L/MAR/A-B. Older published forms of reference are linked with new modern references facilitating identification and retrieval. Each class of the archives listing presented in the Appendix (Volume 2) is preceded by introductions which expand on the general discussion of the sources in Chapter 5.

The survey results presented merely as archival descriptions are flat and unconnected. Some sense had to be made of the content. The thesis itself provides a contextual discussion and synthesis of the data from the survey. Chapters 1 to 3 discuss the administrative context of the East India Company, the Board and the Cape Agency and their involvement in southern Africa. Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the archives and sources on southern Africa created by those bodies.

The first chapter of the thesis comprises a short history of the East India Company and the Board of Control and a description of their administrative history and organisation, in order to place the discussion of the sources in context. Continuing the contextual discussion, the second chapter focuses on the Company's interest in southern Africa. This chapter has largely been shaped by the documents found in the survey of the East India Company's archives which relate to southern Africa. It seeks to bring together and make sense of these scattered documents with the assistance of relevant published works, to create a picture of the Company's historical interest in the region.

East India Company interest in southern Africa centred on its agency at the Cape of Good Hope (1793-1836). The Company's trading function was officially terminated in 1834. Cape Agency operations took a further two years to conclude. Thereafter, local merchants in Cape Town acted on behalf of the Company until the Company's remaining administrative operations ceased in 1858. The third chapter comprises an administrative history of the Company's official Agency, from 1793 to 1836 and a short description

of the work of the local non-establishment agency acting on behalf of the Company from 1836 to 1858. Building on Arkin's intensive use of the Company's Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, this chapter draws on documents from the Agency which have been made accessible since Arkin's studies, as well as on other relevant documents widely dispersed in the Company's archives which are not included in Arkin's work. It also includes a brief discussion of the London Agents for the Cape, insofar as they were concerned with Company affairs.

Having described the history and organisation of the two bodies whose archives are to be examined and their interest in the southern African region, the discussion moves on to an examination of the archives themselves. The fourth chapter comprises a general contextual presentation of the evolution, arrangement and extent of the whole group of the India Office Records. This is necessary because the Company and Board's archives cannot be easily separated from the India Office Records group and viewed in isolation. This chapter consequently includes the custodial history of the archives of those two bodies in order to explain the complications of locating some of the southern African-related sources.

Developing the historical sketch of the Company and Board's history and their interest in southern Africa in the first three chapters, the fifth chapter focuses on the archives created by those two bodies specifically as a result of their interest in southern Africa.

Chapter 5 presents a synthesis of the results of the survey. It analyses aspects of the functions of the Company



and Board and examines the archives created within the context of the Company's interests in southern Africa and explains how and why southern African sources have come to be incorporated into the archives of Company and Board. The results of the survey of these widely-dispersed sources are brought together in a way which gives balance and weight to the findings of the survey. References to relevant sources made in chapter 5 may be traced to full entries in the Appendix (Volume 2). This final chapter also provides a means of introduction to the data in the Appendix.

The Appendix constitutes an extensive body of evidence to support the main part of the study. The data from the survey is presented as archival descriptions in the order of the classification of the India Office Records. The Appendix contains its own introduction and index and this enables it to stand alone as a detailed inventory of the sources located.

The value of this study is that a gap in the knowledge of the extent and content of sources for southern Africa in the East India Company and Board of Control archives has now been filled. This study provides the means of determining how much documentary information in the Company and Board of Control's archives relates to southern Africa, what it is about and why it is there. This study presents for the first time a comprehensive, archive subject guide to sources during the Company period (1600-1858) with which the history of the relationship between the East India Company and southern Africa can be explored in more depth through the medium of the archives of those two bodies.

It makes these archives intellectually accessible and available to historians and researchers of southern Africa to evaluate before physically examining them. It enables advance planning of research and facilitates greater use of these sources to inform historical and other academic opinion. The guide makes a useful addition to collections of related archives, particularly in South Africa and India, but also to other institutions holding complementary archives.

## Notes to Introduction

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, R. Raven-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck - callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*, (Cape Town, 1967).

<sup>2</sup> For example, M.V. Jackson, *European Powers and South-East Africa: a study of international relations on the south-east coast of Africa, 1796-1858* (London, 1942).

<sup>3</sup> One example in which India Office Records were used, is J.B. Brain, *Christian Indians in Natal 1860-1911, an historical and statistical study* (Cape Town, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: a history of the Agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records"' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* II (1960), pp. 176-344; 'John Company at the Cape', reprint from *South African Journal of Economics* 29, (30), September 1961; 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaoles: John Company and the Cape-St. Helena trade during the Captivity, 1815-21' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* I (1964), pp. 169-230; 'Agency and Island: John Company and the twilight years of the Cape-St. Helena trade, 1822-36' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* I (1965), pp. 269-330; *Storm in a Teacup: the later years of John Company at the Cape, 1815-36*, (Cape Town, 1973).

<sup>5</sup> J. Geber, 'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) of the British Library', in *African Research and Documentation* 70, 1996, pp. 1-35.

<sup>6</sup> S. Healy, 'Guides', Unit 7, in Society of Archivists, *British Archival Practice, The Society's Training Manual*, (London, 1996), p. B.7.1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.B.7.4.

<sup>8</sup> 'Guides to the sources for the history of nations', Series 2: *Africa south of the Sahara* (1970-)

<sup>9</sup> N. Matthews and M.D. Wainwright, *Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa* (London 1971).

<sup>10</sup> J.D. Pearson (ed.), *Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*, 2 vols., (London, 1993).

<sup>11</sup> A. Griffin, *Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Burma in the India Office Records* (London, 1979)

<sup>12</sup> L.A. Hall, *A brief guide to sources for the study of Afghanistan in the India Office Records* (London, 1981).

<sup>13</sup> A.K. Jasbir Singh, *Guide to Source Materials in the India Office Library and Records for the history of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1765-1950* (London, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> P. Tuson, *The records of the British Residency and Agencies in the Persian Gulf* (London, 1979),

- 
- <sup>15</sup> P. Tuson, 'Zanzibar: sources in the India Office Records', unpublished, [c.1987]
- <sup>16</sup> R.E. Seton, *The Indian 'Mutiny' 1857-58: a guide to source material in the India Office Library and Records* (London, 1986).
- <sup>17</sup> T.N. Thomas, *Indians overseas. A guide to source materials in the India Office Records for the study of Indian emigration 1830-1950* (London, 1985).
- <sup>18</sup> A.K. Jasbir Singh, *Gandhi and civil disobedience: documents in the India Office Records 1922-1946* (London, 1981).
- <sup>19</sup> F.C. Danvers, *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Records of the India Office: Records relating to Agencies, Factories and Settlements now under the Administration of the Government of India, Part 1* (London, 1887).
- <sup>20</sup> F.C. Danvers, *List of Factory Records of the Late East India Company Preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London*, (London 1897), pp126-127, 161-173.
- <sup>21</sup> W. Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858* (London, 1966, reprinted from 1919 edition).
- <sup>22</sup> M. Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records*, (London, 1988).
- <sup>23</sup> R.J. Bingle, 'The resources for the study of the Indian Ocean region in the India Office Library and Records', in *India Office Library and Records Report for the year 1981*, (London, 1982) pp. 6-23.
- <sup>24</sup> P. Tuson, 'British Library African Sources (2) archival: the India Office Records', in I. Sternberg and P.M. Larby (eds), *African Studies: papers presented at a colloquium at the British Library, 7-9 January 1985*, British Library Occasional Papers 6, (London, 1986), pp. 218-226.
- <sup>25</sup> T.N. Thomas, *Indians overseas. A guide to source materials in the India Office Records for the study of Indian emigration 1830-1950* (London, 1985).
- <sup>26</sup> P. Tuson, 'Zanzibar: sources in the India Office Records', unpublished, [c.1987].
- <sup>27</sup> M. Makepeace, 'English Traders on the Guinea Coast, 1657-1668: an analysis of the East India Company Archive', in *History in Africa* 16 (1989)pp. 237-284.
- <sup>28</sup> J.L. Geber, 'The English East India Company at the Cape and the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records', in *South African Archives Journal* 36 (1994), pp. 54-64.
- <sup>29</sup> J.L. Geber, 'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) of the British Library', in *African Research and Documentation* 70 (1996), pp. 1-35, and an edited version which appeared as 'Sources for southern Africa in the Oriental and India Office Collections', in *Africa Quarterly* 36, 1 (1996), pp. 55-82.

---

<sup>3</sup> I. Sternberg, 'The British Library's resources of South African materials' in SCOLMA, *UK Library Resources for African Studies*, (London 1984) pp. 10-16

<sup>31</sup> N. Matthews and M.D. Wainwright, *Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa* (London 1971), pp. 68-73.

<sup>32</sup> J.D. Pearson (ed.), *Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*, 2 vols., (London, 1993).

<sup>33</sup> P. Tuson, 'British Library: Oriental and India Office Collections: India Office Records', in J.D. Pearson (ed.), *Guide to manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to Africa*, Vol. 1, London, (London, 1993) pp. 44-49.

<sup>34</sup> A. Thurston, *A Guide to archives and manuscripts relating to Kenya and East Africa in the United Kingdom*, 2 vols., (London, 1991).

<sup>35</sup> S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Indian Sources for African History*, 3 Vols. (Delhi, 1988-1993).

<sup>36</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: a history of the Agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records"' in *Archives Year Book for South African History II* (1960), pp. 176-344; 'John Company at the Cape', reprint from *South African Journal of Economics* 29, (30), September 1961; 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers: John Company and the Cape-St. Helena trade during the Captivity, 1815-21' in *Archives Year Book for South African History I* (1964), pp. 169-230; 'Agency and Island: John Company and the twilight years of the Cape-St. Helena trade, 1822-36' in *Archives Year Book for South African History I* (1965), pp. 269-330; *Storm in a Teacup: the later years of John Company at the Cape, 1815-36*, (Cape Town, 1973).

<sup>37</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' pp. 179, 325.

<sup>38</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* (Cape Town, 1961) p. 179.

<sup>39</sup> J. Pepler, 'Preparation of finding aids: arrangement and description', Unit 2, Data elements and types of finding aids', in Society of Archivists, *British Archival Practice*, The Society's Training Manual, (London, 1996), p. B.2.4.

<sup>40</sup> F.C. Danvers and W. Foster, *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East...1602-13 [to] 1617*, (London, 1896-1902).

## CHAPTER 1

## AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

(1600-1858)

## AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL

(1784-1858)

This chapter provides the context and background for the study of sources for southern Africa in the archives of the East India Company and the Board of Control. It briefly examines the history, structure and organisation of both bodies. However, it does not present an exhaustive administrative history of the two organisations. Such a comprehensive analysis of the East India Company and the Board of Control has recently been completed by Martin Moir in his *General Guide to the India Office Records*. Much of this chapter draws heavily on the sections of that *Guide* which relate to the East India Company period.<sup>1</sup> The archives created as a result of the Company and Board's interest in southern Africa will be discussed in Chapter 5 and described fully in the Appendix (Volume 2).

**1.1. A brief history of the East India Company (1600-1858)**

The East India Company, (or as it was originally named, 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies') was formed as a trading company. Established by a royal charter on 31 December 1600, (and extended by subsequent charters), it was granted exclusive rights to British trade eastwards of the Cape of Good Hope. The charters confined the Company's activities to trade and profit, and not to conquest or colonisation.<sup>2</sup>

The formation of the Company was a response to previous British dependence on other European traders for supplies of eastern commodities such as spices, salt, dyes, textiles and precious gemstones. The creation of the Company enabled Britain to force its way into a theatre in which it lagged behind by providing the means to obtain its own slice of lucrative and attractive markets.<sup>3</sup> The Company had the backing of the Crown and of the wealthy City of London. The Company's early voyages to trade English goods for eastern goods were funded by subscribers, investors and shareholders and organised on the basis of successive separate voyages. Success was measured by profit yield.

The Company at first undertook seasonal visits to the Spice Islands of Indonesia - the domain of its major rival, the Dutch East India Company. However, Dutch resistance proved too strong and by 1623 the English Company had shifted its interests to India. It then had to compete with the Portuguese and later the French.

It was vital for the Company's ships to stop at safe places for repairs, water and fresh food on the voyages to India. St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique were the stations in southern Africa which served this purpose. In 1620 two Company commanders attempted to annex the Cape to prevent the Dutch from claiming rights to it as a refreshment base for their ships, but failed to obtain official sanction for their actions.

As the Company became more secure in its trading destinations in India, permanent bases at favoured ports were established. They were run by factors who obtained supplies of particular commodities from local merchants and

stored them in the 'factories' (warehouses and trading posts) to await the arrival of each season's fleet from England.

The first factory was founded at Surat in 1613, on the north-west coast of India, with the permission of the Mughal Emperor (under whose control most of India fell). Surat became the principal base of Company trade in India between 1613 and 1687. The Company focused its trade on cotton piece goods bought for import to England and re-export to Europe. It also engaged in 'country trade' to and from India with other parts of Asia and Africa. The Company took part in important country trade to the south-eastern coast of Africa, including Mozambique. This trade will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 2.

After 1613 overlapping 'joint stocks' (a number of small investors pooling the funding required to defray the cost of the voyage and share in any profits) lasting several years, were introduced to underpin a more stable commercial enterprise. Charles II's charter of 1661 confirmed the Company's system of permanent joint-stock trading.

When hostilities with Portugal ended in 1635 the Company was able to develop Surat as its trading headquarters in India. Surat remained the pre-eminent Company post until 1688 when Bombay was ceded to the Company by the Crown and assumed greater importance. The Company's trade was extended from the Coromandel coast in 1613 to Fort St. George (Madras) in 1640 and to the factories in Bengal between 1633 and 1686 (which included Balasore and Hugli). The acquisition of Bombay inaugurated the process of consolidation of the trading bases or 'presidencies' from



which all Company trade in India was focused and profits successfully maximised.<sup>4</sup> A permanent settlement was established at Fort William at Calcutta in 1690, which proved to be the wealthiest of the presidencies. By the 1700s Bengal had superseded Surat as the leading Indian presidency.

As its trading influence soon extended beyond its small factories, the new charters empowered the Company to administer civil and criminal justice in its overseas settlements, coin money, raise armed forces for protection of its trade and arrest and repatriate interlopers.

After St Helena was abandoned by the Dutch for the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, the Company established its own settlement on the island in 1659. The Company also made trading gains in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea in the 1640s and set up agencies at strategic points along those coasts. At the outer limits of its area of operations the Company's trade had reached Japan (1613-23) and China by the early 1700s.

By the end of the first century of its existence, the Company was engaged in a struggle to protect its exclusive trading privileges against other rival British trading associations or companies, in particular the breakaway new 'English East India Company trading to the East Indies' (1698-1709). The resolution of this dispute over trading rights was resolved by merging the Old and New companies in 1702. The amalgamation was confirmed by a new charter of 1709 as 'The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies'. In the interim, the two bodies were controlled by a joint Court of Managers.

The Wars of Austrian Succession (1740-48) brought Britain into conflict with the French in Europe. The expansion of European trade threw the Company into collision with the French in India during wartime. The Company's armies successfully defeated the French and allied forces of the Mughal Governor of Bengal in 1757. For the first time, the Company had entered the stage as an active player in internal trade and political relations in the most viable part of India.<sup>5</sup> The trading organisation had become an imperial power with its own armed force to support it in that new role.<sup>6</sup> The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II in accepting the shift in power, conceded the *diwani* (revenue collection authority) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company in 1765, which made the Company *de facto* ruler of Bengal.<sup>7</sup>

Its administration of land revenue drew the Company increasingly into the administration of law and culminated in the actual acquisition of territory and assumption of political control of parts of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, which eventually extended across India - a task which no other trading company has ever undertaken on such a scale. By the mid-1760s the Company had been transformed from a purely commercial organisation to a significant territorial administrator in south Asia.<sup>8</sup> This revolution in the Company's status had a profound effect upon the essence of its functions and operations. The consequences and ramifications of the revolution took some time to be understood and felt in both India and London.

Investors in Company stock had represented all classes of society<sup>9</sup> and the British government in particular was the beneficiary of revenue, customs duties and taxes from the

eastern goods which began to flood British markets - especially tea.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the Company's dealings in India became the subject of both public and parliamentary interest in Britain. The Company's dominance over British trade in the east inevitably drew the government into closer involvement in its affairs.<sup>11</sup>

The Company's military and political advances in India in the 1760s brought the government to the conclusion that in its new manifestation in India, this trading entity had usurped the foreign, political and diplomatic functions vested in the state. This new status had worrying implications for wider British foreign relations. Because of the importance of the Company's trading network, the government also viewed with increasing concern the security of the Company's eastern trading empire and its ability to defend itself in the global conflicts of the late eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The behaviour of the Company's directors and its servants in India antagonised the government to the point where it was forced to intervene and check the Company's activities.<sup>13</sup>

Between 1759 and 1784 it gradually became accepted that the British government should in some way assume overall responsibility for the administration by the Company of its territorial possessions in India.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, Parliamentary investigations of the 1760s and 1770s examined the Company's affairs and in 1773 Lord North's Regulating Act (13 Geo. III, c. 63) brought about the first radical state intervention in its internal affairs and in its constitution. Copies of Indian letters had to be sent to the Treasury and Secretary of State for inspection. A

Governor-General was empowered as the supreme authority in India.

The consolidation of government regulation of the Company was brought about in 1784 in the shape of William Pitt's India Act (24 Geo. III, s. 2, c. 25). It established the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India (widely known as the Board of Control or the India Board), which was appointed by the Crown with power to superintend, direct and control the Company's civil and military government and business connected with Indian revenues. The Act attempted to redirect the Company's ailing fortunes, back onto the level of trade and profit-making<sup>15</sup> and at the same time transferred the formal control of politics and diplomacy to the London government.<sup>16</sup> The Company continued to exercise trade privileges, appoint its own overseas officers and to correspond with its subordinate authorities in India and elsewhere - but the appointment of governors and commanders-in-chief were subject to Crown approval.

In continuation of government scrutiny, the Company also had to send copies of incoming Indian letters to the Board and submit outgoing letters to India ('despatches') for the Board's approval. The Board could also send its own highly confidential instructions to India on matters of war, peace and diplomacy through the medium of the special Secret Committee of the Company's Court of Directors. The power of the Directors was reduced and the Prime Minister reserved the right to appoint the Governor-General.<sup>17</sup>

The India Act was designed to reform the Company's existing structure, not to replace it with another form of government control.<sup>18</sup> The Act advanced the end of the

Company's independence, making it effectively a government department which was required to execute the will of the government in India. The Company retained the outward trappings of power, but most of the substance was transferred to the state.<sup>19</sup>

The Company's activities and involvement in numerous areas outside India were influenced by overlapping plans and motives, such as the need to safeguard and expand trade and the dictates of British conflicts with other European powers. The strategic defence of the expanding Indian Empire, including the protection of the routes to India became more important and was given increasing attention.<sup>20</sup> During the wars with the French for supremacy in India (1778-83) and again during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1792-1815) the government was concerned that the French would invade India. It was in this context that the southern African stepping-stones to India (the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique) assumed greater importance in the minds and activities of government and Company. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 2 and 3. The government took the decision to strike at the French Caribbean empire, demolish the Dutch East Indian empire and permanently annex the Cape of Good Hope as a linking point to the two hemispheres.<sup>21</sup> It was in recognition of the Cape's position that the Company (with the approval of the Board) established its own Agency there in 1793 (discussed in Chapter 3).

By 1805, the Company was no longer a viable profit-making organisation<sup>22</sup> and further parliamentary enquiries of 1810-1813 revealed that the government could no longer defend or justify the exclusive eastern trade privileges of the

Company. The Charter Act of 1813 (53 Geo. III, c.153) brought to an end the Company's traditional monopoly rights over trade with India, leaving it only fragments of its original mandate.<sup>23</sup> However, the Company was allowed to maintain its monopoly over the tea trade with China until 1833, in recognition of its efficient management and the profitability of that trade.<sup>24</sup> The 1833 Charter Act (3 & 4 Will. IV, c.85) ended the Company monopoly over the tea trade and forced it to wind up all its remaining commercial and shipping activities from 1834. After this time the Company assumed the status of trustee for the Crown in its government of India.

The last Charter Act of 1853 (16 & 17 Vict., c.95) further extended government intervention into the affairs of the Company. The Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-58 against the Company's military excesses, induced the government to withdraw the last vestiges of Company control in India. The Government of India Act of 1858 (21 & 22 Vict., c.106) made the Crown directly and fully responsible for the government of India and transferred the remaining powers of the Company and Board of Control to a Secretary of State (for India), assisted by a Council of India, with the India Office as its executive arm. The Company as a purely stockholding entity, continued in name until 1874, when investors were bought out and it was wound up.

## 1.2. East India Company structure and organisation (1600-1858)

### 1.2.1. The East India Company's administration in London

#### The Proprietors and the General Court of Proprietors.

A large group of investors or shareholders who were the individual owners of the Company's stock or the 'members' of the Company - constituted the Proprietors of the Company. After 1657 shareholders with £500<sup>Worth of</sup> Company's stock qualified for voting rights and an extra vote with each additional £500. Voting rights were raised by the Regulating Act of 1773 to £1000 of stock and additional votes for extra stock. Collectively the shareholders formed a General Court ('court' meaning an assembly of the qualified members of the Company).

Until 1773 the General Court of Proprietors annually elected twenty-four directors or 'committees' as a Court of Committees (later named the Court of Directors) to take responsibility for the management of the Company. They also elected the Company's Governor and Deputy Governor until 1714 (when the restyled Chairman and Deputy Chairman were elected by the Directors). General Courts could remove directors for mismanagement. From 1695 the Proprietors also appointed the members of the permanent committees which served the Court of Directors.

The Proprietors' main function was to review or amend the Company's operations and ratify its policies. The General Courts fixed dividends paid on Company capital stock; made and enforced the Company's own by-laws, rules and regulations on Company organisation and procedure; approved certain grants of money, salaries, pensions and gratuities under certain regulations; and could request and consult

various accounts and papers on Company affairs presented to Parliament. The Proprietors met quarterly and occasionally held additional meetings to debate the Company's business.

The Proprietors played a significant supervisory role in the affairs of Company until 1784. They had become more interventionist with the Company's acquisition of territory and with the increase in public interest in Company's Indian affairs. In the late eighteenth century, the Proprietors' views were frequently at odds with the government's. The India Act of 1784 denied the Proprietors any power to revoke orders of the Court of Directors which had the approval of <sup>the</sup> Board of Control. In this way the political and constitutional significance of the Proprietors was reduced. They could no longer intervene in the administration of India. The General Courts still discussed Directors' decisions and exercised a number of specific functions and rights - but in practice they could not intervene in affairs especially in the policies of the government of India.

#### **The Court of Committees and Court of Directors**

The directors of the Company were originally collectively known as 'committees' (individual directors to whom the business was 'committed') and constituted the Court of Committees, headed by the Governor and Deputy Governor (later Chairman and Deputy Chairman). After the merger of the old and new Companies in 1709, the Court of Committees was restyled the Court of Directors.

The 1698 Charter defined the new structure of the Company and also reduced the number of directors to twenty-four and the Court remained at that number until 1853 when they were



reduced to eighteen, six of whom were appointed by the Crown. The directors were elected annually by the Proprietors to 1853 in March or April and after that biennially. From 1714 the Court of Directors elected the Chairman and Deputy Chairman.

To qualify as a director, a proprietor had to own a minimum of £2000 Company stock, reduced by the 1853 Charter Act to £1000. The Charter Act of 1853 added a new requirement that <sup>a certain proportion of</sup> directors had to have lived in India for ten years. The directors served by rotation from 1773. A quorum of directors was fixed at thirteen which was reduced to ten by the Charter Act of 1853.

The directors were given the privilege of appointing their own nominated candidates for Company writers (civil servants) and military cadets in the Company's armies, as well as surgeons, chaplains and advocates-general. This patronage was distributed among directors and an extensive network developed throughout the Company.

The Court of Directors formed the Company's executive, conducting its routine daily business. The Court of Directors' powers were defined in terms of acts and by-laws and other internal rules of the General Court. The Court of Directors met at least once a week but meetings <sup>had</sup> increased in frequency by the nineteenth century. The Court took general responsibility for the management of the Company's overseas trade and government; appointment and control of employees at home and abroad; organisation of voyages; arrangements for the provisions of shipping; scrutiny of the sale of goods brought from the Indies.

The conduct of Company relations with the government was delegated to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman. When the Board agreed that certain secret matters discussed by the Secret Committee could be divulged by the Chairs to the Court of Directors, the Court met in secret session - the 'Secret Court of Directors'. With the increase of state interest in the Company, by 1858 the authority and independence of the directors had been whittled away.

The Court selected groups of directors from its number, to serve as committees (in the modern sense), attending to certain aspects of the Company's business, assisted by paid employees.

#### **The Governor and Deputy Governor/Chairman and Deputy Chairman**

Prior to 1714 the leaders of the Court of Committees were the Governor and Deputy Governor. These two posts were renamed Chairman and Deputy Chairman in 1709. After 1714 the Chairman and Deputy were elected annually by a ballot of all twenty-four directors, usually at the first meeting of Court immediately following the annual election of directors. The Chairmanship was rotated among the directors every week before 1714, after which they served in rotation for a varying number of years. The 'Chairs' were the leading spokesmen for the whole Company, including both the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors. The Chairs had to attend the Court of Directors and all the Court's committees. One of the Chairs had to be present daily at East India House to transact ordinary business and deal with any emergency which may have arisen.

Before 1784 the Chairs were the recognised channel of communication between the Company and the Secretary of State representing the government of the day. They would take up important matters arising at informal meetings with one of the Secretaries of State. After 1784 the formal channel between Company and government was through the Board of Control. The Chairs met with the Board at the regular confidential conferences. They formed, together with the senior member of the Court of Directors, the Secret Committee, which was responsible for secret communications between the government, the Company and Indian governments.

The Chairs had to inform themselves thoroughly on all the important business laid before the Court of Directors. They were to be parties to every communication with government ministers and <sup>of</sup> the Board; to examine, approve and arrange important despatches to the Indian governments and generally to acquire previous and complete information.

#### **The Company Secretary**

He was the most important paid Company official, responsible for the co-ordination, organisation and preparation of the business to be dealt with by the Court of Directors. The Secretary had to record and keep the minutes of proceedings of the Court of Directors and General Courts. He dealt with staff on the Company's home establishment as well as the factory establishments. He liaised with the committees and other Company officials. He performed a central facilitative role, receiving anything which needed action by the Company and saw that the all Court's decisions were implemented.

Originally the Secretary was also responsible for the preparation of the more significant letters to the Company's overseas factories. With the expansion of Company administration, this was transferred to the Writer of Letters (or Writer and Compiler of Indian Correspondence) and later transferred to the Examiner of Indian Correspondence in 1782. The Secretary was largely responsible for the conduct of the Company's home (British and European) correspondence. The general correspondence (not confidential or handled by the Chairs) was sent out in his name. He wrote or transcribed secret letters and documents when required by the Secret Committee. His other responsibilities involved the registration and transfer of Company stock. The Secretary was assisted by the Deputy Secretary or Assistant Secretary.

### **Committees**

In the early years of the Company's existence, groups of directors were delegated to examine particular subjects or aspects of business as *ad hoc* committees, as and when necessary. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century the committees began to take on more permanent character - assuming more continuous responsibility for supervising specialised aspects of Company's business. The early committees were Accounts, Buying Goods, Coast and Bay, Lawsuits, Private Trade, Shipping, Surat, Treasury and Writing Letters. In 1695 members of these committees were annually appointed by the General Court. Each committee was accountable to the Court of Committees (later Court of Directors) as a whole.

The composition of standing committees was decided at the first or second meeting of the Court of Directors held

after their election. The size of committees varied between six and nine directors. The more senior directors sat on the more important committees. Members of committees took monthly turns to act as chairman. The meetings were held on several days each week. Clerks and sometimes additional staff assisted the committees.

A list of the main committees functioning between 1709 and 1834 follows:

Accounts (keeping daily running accounts with individuals and institutions).

Buying (goods to be traded in Asia and elsewhere).

College (administration of East India College at Haileybury).

Correspondence (supervision of correspondence and personnel matters).

Government Troops and Stores (payment of British Army and Navy forces in India).

House (maintenance of East India House building).

Law Suits (legal actions and referral to legal counsel).

Library (management of the Company's library founded in 1801).

Military Fund (soldiers' pensions).

Military Seminary (administration of Addiscombe seminary and appointment of cadets).

Private Trade (regulation of private trade and licenses).

Preventing the Growth of Private Trade (to deal with cases of infringement of the Company's monopoly).

Secrecy (protection of the Company's shipping).

Secret Committee (transmission of Board of Control secret orders and instructions to Indian presidencies).

Secret Commercial (a committee of five to deal with secret commercial business).

Shipping (supervision of shipping business).

Stud (improvement to breeding of cavalry horses for Indian regiments).

Treasury (superintendence of payments and receipts in Britain).

Warehouses (supervision of imports from the east Indies).

Three of these main committees deserve further discussion - the Committee of Correspondence because it was the most important committee (especially in relation to the Cape of Good Hope Agency); the Committee of Secrecy and the Secret Committee which dealt with the Company's confidential and secret business.

The Committee of Correspondence was the most important of the Court's standing committees. It was responsible for undertaking the Company's routine everyday business. It was created in 1709 after the merger of the Old and New Companies and functioned until the reorganisation of 1834. It was essentially the Company's main internal administrative filter which formulated policy on matters referred to it from the Court of Directors. It supervised the flow of most of the Court's official (but not secret) correspondence with India (and other places) and also establishment and personnel matters. The Committee considered, examined and reported on letters and other matters referred from the Court and drafted replies to be sent back to the Court for approval before despatch.

It was also responsible for the control of the overseas establishments. The Committee appointed civil and military personnel and posts in home and overseas establishments to 1805 and settled claims from these Company servants. The Deputy Secretary acted as Clerk to the Committee. When the Committee sat in occasional secret session it was referred to as the 'Secret Committee of Correspondence'. The Committee of Correspondence was the body which was responsible for the administration of the Company's Agency at the Cape of Good Hope.

During the 1680s a special committee with important functions - the Committee of Secrecy - emerged, called into action on particular occasions and meeting regularly between 1695 and 1709. The Committee of Secrecy comprised between three and six senior directors. Its normal function was to safeguard Company shipping. It was also often made responsible for the overall control of Company political, military and naval affairs in India especially during conflict with the Mughal Empire. Later its powers included the issue of secret instructions for protection of Company shipping during the wars with France (1744-84), principally to organise the war against the French in and around India.<sup>25</sup> The Committee was also empowered to discuss with the government the terms of the peace negotiations at the end of the war, in which the Company's interests were involved.<sup>26</sup> On occasions when the Committee of Secrecy needed to report back to the entire Court of Directors, the Court would meet in secret session as 'the Secret Court of Directors'.

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors (established in 1784 by the India Acts 24 Geo. III, c.25 and <sup>33</sup>Geo. III c.32) - was designed as the medium through which the Company and the Board of Control would communicate concerning secret and confidential correspondence about India, either incoming or outgoing. It was also the means by which the government's policy on secret matters concerning India was transmitted to the Company via the Board of Control. This Committee was responsible for the appointment of the first Agent at the Cape of Good Hope in 1793.

The Secret Committee comprised three directors appointed by the Court of Directors - the Chairman, Deputy Chairman and the



most senior member of the Court.<sup>27</sup> The Committee was 'a device designed to enable to Crown to exercise some control over the most crucial aspects of Indian policy without actually bypassing or superseding the forms framework of Company authority'.<sup>28</sup> It had authority to levy war, make peace and enter into treaties or negotiations with princes or states in the East Indies or within the limits of the Company's charter. It was to communicate to the Indian governments via their Select Committees, the Board's orders about those matters. It was also to send the Board copies of secret letters received from India and communicate the Board's secret replies back to India.

It had the right to propose its own Secret drafts and be consulted by the Board on policy matters. The Committee's secret drafts had to be approved by the Board. Regular secret consultations between the Board and Committee began in 1785 and as these meetings were treated as private and confidential, the discussions were not at first officially recorded.<sup>29</sup> Again, some Secret Committee matters agreed by the Board could be divulged to the Court of Directors at the discretion of the Chairs. The Secret Committee declined in power with the increase in government intervention in Company affairs.

After the formation of the statutory Secret Committee in 1784, the older Committee of Secrecy continued to exist to 1834 but its functions were no longer as wide-ranging as they had been previously. Its powers were restricted to its original role of the care of the Company's ships, 'the soliciting and settling of all matters, relative to signals, places of rendezvous and convoys, with the Admiralty'.<sup>30</sup>



The only committee known to have been specifically involved in southern African affairs was the *ad hoc* Committee of Trade to the South East Coast of Africa (1720-21).<sup>31</sup> It was appointed to investigate the feasibility of the Company opening up a trade to Mozambique as a joint venture with the Royal African Company. Portuguese diplomatic protests seem to have brought about its demise.

After the winding up of the Company's main commercial activities following the 1833 Charter Act, the Court of Directors reorganised the Company's entire committee structure and reduced the number of ordinary standing committees to three from April 1834 onwards: the Finance and Home Committee, the Political and Military Committee and the Revenue, Judicial and Military Committee. The Finance and Home Committee was responsible for all financial affairs including financial correspondence with India, home establishment, East India College, lawsuits, civil servants' claims etc.; also for marine business from 1837 and railways from 1849. The Finance and Home Committee was the main Company body involved in the instruction and liaison with the commercial agents appointed to act for the Company at the Cape from 1836 to 1858.

The Political and Military Committee dealt with all political and military matters including the correspondence with India in these departments and Addiscombe military seminary).

The Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee dealt with correspondence with India in those departments, and in the Public and Ecclesiastical departments. It was also

responsible for the Marine department (to 1837) and Public Works (from 1856). This committee also handled all correspondence with the Board of Control in respect of draft despatches; and personal claims arising out of any of those departments.

The new committees operated much as they had done before 1834 but with changed composition: Finance and Home Committee had eight directors, the other two committees had seven each exclusive of chairmen. Members took monthly turns to chair committees. Directors were appointed to each committee in turn according to their seniority. The Secret Committee was not affected by the re-organisation and continued to 1858, but with declining power.

#### **Main departments and officials of the East India Company**

The Court of Directors and especially the committees, were dependent upon permanent paid officials. These officials were responsible for the supervision of the departments of the Company's home establishment in executing the Court's decisions and for maintaining detailed control of Company affairs. The departments evolved from about 1765, with the change in the Company's function from trade to the administration of India.

A summary list<sup>32</sup> of the Company's most important departments and officials from 1709 to 1858 follows below:

#### *Principal departments*

Accountant-General (daily management and recording of receipts and payments; keeping running accounts for individuals and institutions). Auditor (to examine accounts from overseas before Accountant-General created).

Committee, Clerks to (to organise business of various committees and record proceedings).

Examiner of Indian Correspondence (to inform himself on content of Indian correspondence and draft replies).

Financial Secretary's Department (auditing, treasury, buying and warehouse affairs after 1834)

Paymaster of Seamen's Wages.

Remembrancer (unofficial assistant Secretary - an intermediary between the Court of Directors, committees and the Secretary; and between individual committees and officials to ensure that Court's instructions were co-ordinated and carried out<sup>to 1709</sup>).

Secretary's Department (to cope with expansion of work after 1765; to record minutes of Court of Directors and General Court and other committees; to conduct correspondence with China, St. Helena and Cape of Good Hope establishments and with the Board of Control; preparation of covenants and bonds, custody of wills, examination of bills of exchange).

Treasurer/Cashier (for the overall management of Company finances; payments and receipts on behalf of Company).

Writer and Compiler of India Correspondence (predecessor or Examiner of Indian Correspondence).

### *Subordinate departments*

Administration, Will and Bond Branch (arrangements of estates of Company servants dying in India).

Baggage and Private Trade outwards, Office.

Book Office (for storage of Indian consultations and accounts).

Bullion Office (control of import and export of silver and gold to pay servants abroad).

China Department.

Freight Accountant (settlement of accounts with owners of chartered ships).

Geographer (compilation and engraving of atlases; storage and sale of Company marine charts).

Historiographer (research on East India Company history).

Home Audit Department (scrutiny of home accounts).

Hydrographer (examination of Company's ships' journals and publication of charts and sailing instructions).

Inspector of Military Stores/Inspector General of Stores (checking arms and equipment for shipment to India).

Library/Librarian (collection and acquisition of books and manuscripts on Asia).

Marine Branch (all marine business and correspondence with India).

Military Department (military correspondence with India).

Museum (collection and exhibition of natural history, minerals and manufactures of Asia).

Register of Indian Records (keeper of consultations and accounts in Book Office).

Searcher of the Records (arrangement, listing and preservation of Examiner's records).

Solicitor (general legal advice in association with standing counsel).

Standing Counsel (all legal and constitutional matters, transfer of stock).

Statistical Department (compilation of statistical data from Company records on India).

Surveyor (design and construction of additions to East India House).

Transfer Office (East India stock business).

Vegetable Products of India, Conductor of Correspondence (study of improvement of Indian agriculture).

The Company's home establishment also included a number of paid officials, secretaries, clerks, messengers, artisans, warehousemen and labourers who assisted in a wide range of tasks as a consequence of the Company's trading functions and other operations.

### **Offices and other establishments**

The Company's offices were located at several places in the City of London until 1648 when East India House in Leadenhall Street became its permanent headquarters. The Company also maintained a number of other establishments and offices: dockyards on the Thames at Deptford and Blackwall for building and repairing its ships; warehouses in the vicinity of East India House for the storage of imported goods (including the 'African House' off Leadenhall Street which may have housed goods from and for sale in West Africa and Mozambique: cowrie shells, ivory etc.<sup>33</sup>). The Company-sponsored almshouse or hospital with a

Chapel at Poplar in east London was established for poor, elderly or disabled ex-Company seamen.

After 1709 the Company's related establishments included East India College, Haileybury (near Broxbourne in Hertfordshire) for training of the overseas civil servants; Addiscombe Military Seminary (near Croydon, south London) for cadets in the Company's armies; Pembroke House Lunatic Asylum (west London) to care for Company servants who became insane in India; Poplar Almshouses and Chapel (east London); warehouses (east of Bishopsgate in the City of London and at Blackwall, Billingsgate and Ratcliffe in east London); and Warley Barracks (Essex), a recruiting dépôt for accommodating soldiers prior to embarkation for India.

#### **1.2.2. The East India Company's overseas administration**

Originally, the Company's trade voyages were overseen by a commander or 'general' of the fleet, who exercised considerable control over the Company's commercial affairs.<sup>34</sup> 'Supercargoes' were responsible for the ship's cargo to be traded. These senior officials would report their proceedings back to the Company from various ports. On the establishment of permanent trading bases an agent or 'factor' (the original title for a Company civil servant) who transacted business as a substitute for <sup>an</sup> other in mercantile affairs, would supervise the Company's trade. There were three grades of factors: the 'cape' (or principal) merchant was the overall manager, with two other categories under him.<sup>35</sup>

A trading station with a number of factors residing was called a 'factory', administered by a Chief Merchant and Council of Factors. A group of factories was called a

'settlement' which was governed by an Agent and Council. The Agent at Surat was designated President in 1616 - the term later applied to Agents at Fort St. George (Madras), Bombay and Fort William (Calcutta). At the head of each Presidency was a President and as the factories developed into Presidencies, he was assisted by a large Council of senior merchants. The Charter of 1661 allowed the Company to appoint Governors to Presidencies in order to enable them to perform judicial functions.<sup>36</sup>

Before 1773 the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were administered independently of each other but subject to the authority of the Court of Directors in London. The Company's Indian administration became a centralised hierarchical system equipped to expand the Company's military and political power in keeping with its acquisition of territory and developed 'its own peculiar style of autocratic-bureaucratic government'.<sup>37</sup>

In 1674 the Court of Directors introduced the beginnings of a civil service in India. In keeping with their privileges of patronage, young men were nominated through their connections with a director and petitioned the Court for an appointment. They were appointed by the ballot, with the furnishing of two securities. Before entering the Company's service, they had to sign a covenant to serve with fidelity and good conduct. They began employment as 'apprentices' for seven years then 'writers' (requiring good penmanship and accounting) for five years, advancing to Factor, Junior Merchant and Senior Merchant.<sup>38</sup>

By the late eighteenth century, the secretariats of the three Presidency governments began to separate and expand

into a number of specialised departments: public or general, revenue, military, secret, political, judicial and so on - each with secretaries, clerks and 'writers'. As government activity widened, new specialised departments were created - finance, legislation, public works etc. Secretariat departments assisted the executive governments in the transaction of appropriate business, and also recorded these detailed transactions (consultations).

From 1756 secret business was assigned to 'Select' Committees consisting of the President and three members of the Council - to deal with political and other matters of special importance. In Bengal it was extended in 1763 to include all political and military matters and the collection of revenues arising from the grant of the *diwani*. The Regulating Act of 1773 elevated Bengal to a supreme administrative position in India with its Governor becoming Governor-General, and holding limited executive power over other two Presidencies. The Governor-General together with four others made up a Supreme Council in Calcutta, holding office for five years. The 1853 India Act enlarged the Executive Council into a Legislative Council.

Land revenues were originally administered after 1757 by former Indian officials acting as agents of the Company. In 1770 subordinate provincial councils were formed to undertake revenue business and subsequently complex revenue authorities were established throughout Company territories in India. At the district level revenue was received by a 'Collector'. Revenue authority was followed in the districts by civil, legal and military administration.

The Charter of 1661 gave the Company the right to raise armed forces in protection of its trade. The military administration of the East India Company's armies was initially under the control of the presidency Public departments. They reported back to the Court through the Committee of Correspondence. Military departments emerged in the presidencies between the 1750s and 1780s. The 1773 Regulating Act created a Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's armies.

Outside India, administrations followed the same pattern: in larger settlements, factors formed councils of merchants, presided over by Presidents or Governors as the settlements expanded. At subordinate Agencies - either political agencies as in the Persian Gulf, or commercial agencies such as at the Cape of Good Hope or Mauritius, the establishments were small, run by an Agent and sometimes an assistant with the support of clerical and sometimes other locally recruited staff. These agencies were either subordinate to a presidency in proximity (for example, the Gulf agencies to Bombay) or reported directly to the Company's Secretary (as at the Cape of Good Hope Agency).

### **1.3. The organisation of East India Company business**

#### **1.3.1. Meetings of the Court of Directors**

It was usually an outside stimulus which activated the Company's organisation on particular business. For example, on the receipt of a letter from India, or from the Board, or from any individual or agency which required a response from the Company, - its scrutiny, examination, referral and committee mechanisms would swing into operation.



Incoming communications were normally received in the Secretary's Office and the more important items (Indian letters) shown to the Chairs, who then arranged with Secretary which items would be submitted to the next Court meeting. Most of the Indian correspondence was uncontroversial and was handled by the Court of Directors without the need for intervention by the Board of Control.<sup>39</sup>

Meetings of the Court were held twice a week. The meetings involved reading or summarising all letters and applications received and decisions as to their treatment. Some items would be sent direct to appropriate departments so that replies could be prepared (such as letters from India). Most of the remainder were referred to the responsible committee either for examination and report back to the Court or (on minor matters), for decision and final disposal by the committee itself. The committees met after the Court adjourned, to consider the points referred to them and other matters for which they were responsible.

The Court heard the committees' reports or other proposals and approved, amended or rejected them. Drafts of letters prepared by the Secretary or clerks to the committees were considered and usually approved, as were paragraphs in draft despatches to India and other places brought forward by the several committees. Various letters, despatches and warrants for payment would also be signed. Letters to individuals or government departments were generally signed by the Secretary, unless addressed to government ministers, when they were signed by the Chairs. 'Despatches' (the term for letters from the Company to its overseas posts) for

India required the signatures of the necessary quorum of directors.

Some personal appearances were required by the Court: the swearing-in of all ships' captains and officers and of all civil and military officers returning to India.

### **1.3.2. Drafting and submission of despatches to India (and elsewhere)**

From the early days of the Company, officials were required to account fully for their activities overseas. They did this by sending regular letters reporting important activities at the factories and later Presidencies in India, at other settlements in Asia and agencies elsewhere. They also sent copies of the factory or presidency Diary or Consultation book, recording the decisions at meetings of the council or governing body; and letter books which included copies of correspondence received or sent by the governing body.

The Regulating Act of 1773 required the Presidencies to correspond with the Court of Directors and to transmit exact accounts of all administrative matters. The administrations were also instructed to send short separate letters on all subjects, which were to be accompanied by copies of background papers. 'General' letters were also to be sent at quarterly intervals, with background papers. Duplicates of these were sent to the Treasury and to the Secretary of State. As the presidency administrations expanded in the late eighteenth century, copies of correspondence were included in the Consultations. As the departmentalisation of the Indian governments expanded, the copies of records sent to London included the central

records of local administrations, transcripts of specialised documents such as account books and proceedings of local Courts.

From the late eighteenth century, with the expansion of Company administration in India and increased government scrutiny of Indian affairs, a procedure was devised by Henry Dundas (first President of the Board of Control) to control the Company's correspondence with India and which was followed to 1858:

A letter received from India was tabled before the Court of Directors. It would be accompanied by collections of previous correspondence relating to that matter and the Indian government's proceedings on that matter. These collections were a convenient assemblage of background documents relevant to the subjects treated in the successive paragraphs of letters received from India. These collections were essential background reading for the Examiner of Indian Correspondence when he was preparing first drafts of reply to letters.<sup>40</sup> The incoming letter was sent to the Secretary's office, then transferred to the relevant department.

In the department an abstract of contents was made, lithographed and copies sent to Chairman and Deputy and committee members of the supervisory committee concerned with the content of the letter. The officer in charge of that department discussed the letter with the Chairman and Deputy, and if it was not routine, received instructions as to the reply to go out. A draft was then prepared, and submitted (with collections of background papers), to the Chair and Deputy. They conferred and discussed it with the

officer. When the draft was satisfactory, they initialed it (the authority for being sent to the Board of Control). This initialed draft sent to the Board was known as a PC - 'previous communication' (or more accurately - a preview) of the reply to an incoming letter.

The draft was then returned from the Board of Control - either unaltered or with alterations made by the President of the Board of Control. If unaltered, it was immediately submitted to the relevant committee of the Court which supervised the department in which it originated. If the draft was altered by the Board, departmental officers discussed the amendments with the Chair and Deputy, who allowed either whole or partial alterations or rejected the alterations entirely.

When the final draft was accepted by the Chair and Deputy it was then submitted to the relevant committee. The draft lay on the committee table for a week, during which time both draft and any accompanying papers were examined by members of committees. The Committee discussed the draft and either adopted or altered it as they thought fit. When agreed, it was submitted to the Court for approval.

The Court usually considered and examined the draft for a week before it came up for discussion. Every director had the opportunity to comment upon it. If one opinion differed from the majority - a dissent was recorded. When the draft was approved by the Court, the Secretary sent it officially with all relevant papers and dissents to the Board of Control. As they had already seen the previous communication, they could return it quickly, within the statutory two months, approved or altered.

If it was altered a statement of reasons for alteration accompanied it. Unaltered drafts were immediately transcribed and fair copied. The draft was then signed by at least 13 (quorum) members of the Court and despatched to India. The altered drafts were referred back to the committee who reported opinion again for the Court decide, either to accept the alterations (then draft would be signed and despatched) or a 'remonstrance' was to be addressed to Board against their alterations. In that case the draft was sent back until the Board communicated their final decision, following which the despatch was sent.

Urgent business from India requesting rapid answers was taken out of the normal course of Court routine and quickly disposed of by the Court and Board. Secret despatches were also treated differently. The majority of secret despatches were signed by the Secret Committee but had been originally drafted at the Board of Control by the President and officials. The secret despatches were often replies to secret letters addressed to the Secret Committee by Indian governments or political agents stationed elsewhere, copied to the Board.

#### **1.4. The Board of Control**

##### **1.4.1. A brief administrative history of the Board of Control, 1784-1858**

The establishment of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India by the India Act of 1784 (24 Geo. III, s. 2 c. 25) was in essence the creation by the government of a formal agency from within its own ranks to control and supervise its policy over India and the direction of the Company's administration.<sup>41</sup> With the increase in government control of the Company, the Board's power's increased, especially

with the Acts of 1793 (33 Geo. III c. 52) and 1813. From 1784 to 1813 the Board gradually extended power by successive Charter Acts.<sup>42</sup>

As first President and one of the most important members of the Pitt ministry, Henry Dundas had particularly informed himself on Indian affairs. He played an effective mediating role between government and Company, influencing and dictating the details of Indian policy between 1784 and 1801.<sup>43</sup> In 1858 the Board was replaced by a Secretary of State for India, a Council of India and the India Office.

#### **1.4.2. The Board of Control's structure and organisation**

The Board of Control consisted of one of the Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and four other Privy Counsellors. If the Secretary of State and Chancellor were absent, the next most senior Commissioner acted as the Board's President. The quorum was fixed at three Commissioners.

The Charter Act of 1793 changed the Board's composition to include any number of Privy Counsellors, (of whom the two Secretaries of State and Chancellor of Exchequer were to be three), along with two other persons. In the absence of the President, the next commissioner named in the royal warrant was to preside.

The Charter Act of 1833 made a clearer division of the Board into one group of six or so *ex-officio* Commissioners drawn from the great offices of state and another group of ordinary working members, nominated by royal warrant, of whom the first named was to be President. There was no limit on the number of ordinary nominated

Commissioners. The Board's quorum was reduced from three to two - as there was no longer any real need for ordinary commissioners in addition to the President. This situation was confirmed in the 1841 Royal warrant which named only one Commissioner (the President). In the latter years of the Board's existence, it was necessary to get the signature of one *ex-officio* Commissioner in addition to the President's on important official documents - to satisfy the quorum requirement.

As in other departments of state, the Board's personnel altered with all general changes in government. From 1811 onwards, the President was usually a member of the Cabinet. Board members also enjoyed the privilege of patronage over certain appointments.

Board meetings were held every few days at first, and covered a wide range of important business including the review of the Company's draft despatches. When the President himself took on the greater part of the business, formal meetings became unnecessary and were discontinued after June 1816. Papers thereafter were circulated to other Commissioners, and signed or simply disposed of by the President.

In 1785 Dundas initiated secret sessions of the Board (called 'the Secret Board of Control'), to discuss important or confidential affairs, especially those involving matters referred from the Company's Secret Committee. By 1798 the secret matters were mostly undertaken by Dundas alone until 1805 when the secret meetings became redundant.<sup>44</sup> The last recorded Secret Board took place on the 17 October 1805.

### **The Board of Control's officials**

From 1784 to 1797 the Board's establishment was headed by a Chief Secretary, referred to as Secretary, and an Under-Secretary (or Deputy Secretary). The Secretaries were generally responsible for assisting the President and Commissioners, executing their instructions and supervising the work of the rest of the Board's staff. The Secretary was empowered by the Charter Act of 1793 to sign letters to the Court of Directors on behalf of the Commissioners, conveying approval or amendment of Court's draft despatches. Both the Secretary and Under-Secretary were Members of Parliament between 1784 and 1795, after which only the Secretary held a seat.

Between 1797 and 1816 the Secretary's post underwent some changes in functions.<sup>45</sup> In 1797 the Assistant-Secretary had replaced the Under Secretary and together they were responsible for assisting the President and Commissioners, supervising the Board's clerks, arranging the Board's meetings and preparing Secret despatches under the President's direction. The Assistant Secretary (acting also as Chief Clerk) supervised the staff, expenditure and records of the Board.

In 1807 the combined posts of Assistant Secretary and Chief Clerk, were separated. The Assistant Secretary took over the preparation of the Board's minutes and transferred to the Senior Clerk in Secret and Political Department much of the responsibility for transcribing secret despatches. In 1813 the Chief Clerk was made responsible for recording the Board's minutes. In 1816 the separate position of Chief Clerk was abolished. Until 1833 the positions and functions of the Secretary and Assistant remained stable.



From 1834 two Secretaries with equal power were appointed, possibly to counter-balance the reduction in the number of paid commissioners. In August 1835 the Assistant Secretary's post was abolished. His duties were partly taken over by the two new Secretaries and partly conferred on the most senior of clerks in charge of Board's main departments, who were to be Assistant Secretaries in addition to their ordinary departmental duties. The 1853 Act required only one of the Secretaries to have a parliamentary seat. The other Secretary was to assume <sup>the</sup> role of Permanent Under-Secretary to the Board.

The Secretaries shared responsibility for the supervision of the Board's six main departments. The extent of Secretaries' involvement in the work of the Secret Department varied, depending on the practice and convenience of particular Presidents.

Other officials appointed to Board included a Solicitor to give legal advice; a Précis Writer (to 1797 and revived 1811-1822) to prepare abstracts of Indian correspondence; a Judicial Examiner and Reporter; a Librarian and Keeper of the Papers.

#### **The Board of Control's departments**

The Clerks formed the largest section of the Board's support staff, employed in departments responsible for the office's supervision of Company's Indian correspondence. The little surviving evidence about their work before 1797 suggests that most of the clerks working on it were possibly loosely grouped into Presidency sections: Bengal, Madras and Bombay. In December 1797, new regulations divided the office into three main (geographic)

departments: the first comprising Bengal, Benkulen and St. Helena; the second Madras and the third Bombay and agencies. Each department was staffed by several clerks.

Two other departments concerned with important aspects of Indian correspondence were established before the end of the eighteenth century. One, headed by the Accountant existed from 1784 and by 1797 was responsible for overseeing the Company's finances at home and overseas. Eventually the Accountant took over supervision of the Board's financial correspondence with India.

The Secret Department formed another distinct department. It was created in 1797-98 after the decision to separate Secret correspondence from the rest of Indian correspondence. The Secretary and Assistant Secretary continued to be responsible to the President for drafting secret despatches and the Chief Clerk and assistant were charged with the proper maintenance of secret records.

In 1804 the Board's departments were changed to a subject-based departmental division. A similar change had occurred in the arrangement of the Company's Examiner's department in the same year. The President approved a plan for binding volumes of letters to and from each presidency according to the departments in which Indian correspondence was actually conducted (Public, Political, Revenue, Judicial and Military).

In 1807 the Board replaced the Indian Presidency department division with four subject departments, each directed by one senior clerk, assisted by two juniors: the Secret and Political department (including foreign correspondence with

other western powers in Asia); the Revenue and Judicial department (including salt, opium and customs); the Military, Public and Commercial department (including Prince of Wales Island or Penang correspondence). The Secret Department was combined with the Political Department under a Senior Clerk. The Secret Department tended to form a special unit under the personal direction of the President himself.

Revised regulations of 1807 also confirmed the Accountant as responsible for the supervision of all the Company's financial business, including the preparation of relevant reports and statements for the President and the Board. In December 1823 the Accounts department was re-organised as the department of Accounts or Accounts and Finance. In April 1826 the Revenue department was separated from the Judicial department. Around 1834 the Judicial department took on legislative matters. Marine affairs were transferred from the Public to Military department in April 1855.

#### **Board of Control offices**

Initially, the Board's offices were scattered in Treasury-occupied buildings in Westminster, which proved inadequate.<sup>46</sup> In 1800 the Company was persuaded by the government to buy two houses in Downing Street to accommodate the Board. In 1804 the Board moved again to Dorset House and to its final location in Cannon Row in 1817.<sup>47</sup>

#### **1.4.3. Organisation of the Board's work**

From the beginning of its operations, internal office procedures were adopted within the Board to process the

Company's draft despatches to India. 'PreComs' or PCs received from East India House with supporting papers, were passed first to the Senior Clerk in the appropriate Board department. After the Senior Clerk had examined and suggested amendments, the documents would go via the supervising Secretary or Assistant Secretary to the President himself. He recorded the final decision on which, if any portions of the PC were to be changed. The PC and accompanying collections were then returned to East India House, the Senior Clerk keeping a working copy for the Board's reference.

When the official draft arrived from <sup>East</sup>/India House, it was again scrutinised by the appropriate Senior Clerk, who compared it with previous version before sending it on with notes and suggestions to the Secretary or Assistant Secretary and President for final approval. A copy of the draft, including any alterations formally approved by the Board, was then returned to the Company together with an explanatory letter.

Secret Despatches issued through the Company's Secret Committee were dealt with differently. The majority originated at the Board. Most were either personally prepared by the President or he gave the Secretaries or Senior Clerks oral or written instructions as to what was to be drafted. Drafts may have been discussed by the President with the Company's Chairman and Deputy Chair at one of their regular confidential conferences. Once a secret draft despatch was finalised at the Board it was sent to the Secret Committee.

A minority of drafts originated from the Secret Committee. Some form of private discussion of their contents might initially take place between the Chairs and the President. But officially the Committee sent their draft to the Board for approval. If approved the draft returned to East India House for signature by the Committee members and it was sent in the usual way.

In conclusion, between 1600 and 1858 the East India Company expanded as a commercial trading entity with a focus on the East Indies, which ultimately centred on India. From 1757 it gained control over the land revenues of Bengal, which was soon followed by political and territorial control. This change in the Company's function brought about British government intervention in its affairs. The Board of Control was the mechanism of government control of India and with its rise, the independence of the Company declined until its complete takeover by government in 1858. The Company developed a structure to match its changes in fortune, both at home and overseas. The Board of Control established a means of checking the Company's administration. It developed a structure and means of operating alongside the Company, until it was virtually incorporated as the executive of the new department of state for Indian affairs. The structures and organisation of the two bodies evolved over two and a half centuries and left a large volume of archives as a result of their activities, from which the administrative history of these bodies can be traced.

## Notes to Chapter 1

---

- <sup>1</sup> M. Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records*, (London, 1988) pp. 3-59
- <sup>2</sup> P. Lawson, *The East India Company - a history*, (London, 1993) p. 20.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 6-7
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 66.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p.103.
- <sup>8</sup> Moir, *op.cit.* p. 15.
- <sup>9</sup> Lawson, *op.cit.* p.74.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 101-02.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 127.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 116-118.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* p. 128.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 137.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.
- <sup>19</sup> P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757-1813* (London, 1968), p. 24.
- <sup>20</sup> M. Moir, *op.cit.* p. 21.
- <sup>21</sup> C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the world 1780-1830* (London, 1989) p. 187.
- <sup>22</sup> Lawson, *op. cit.* p. 140.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 142.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p. 143.
- <sup>25</sup> M. Moir, 'A study of the history and organisation of the Political and Secret Departments of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office 1784-1919 with a summary list of records' (unpublished Diploma in Archive Administration thesis, University of London, 1966), p. 43.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* In 1778 the Committee's powers were extended to 'all such affairs relating to the Company as appear to them to be of a secret nature... to communicate with His Ministers... and to take such measures necessary in consequence and to report to the Court as they see fit', Court Minutes 1778, B/94 p5

---

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 44-6.

<sup>30</sup> For the changing nature of the Committee of Secrecy before and after 1784, see East India Company Court Minutes 1775-1785, IOR:B/91-101 and East India Company, *By-laws, constitutions, orders and rules, for the good governance of the corporation of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies and for the better carrying on, and managing of the said Company*, (London, 1794), Chapter V, p. 19. [IOR:V/27/220/6].

<sup>31</sup> East India Company Court Minutes, IOR:B/56, 17 Jun 1720, pp. 43-44; Committee of Correspondence Reports, IOR:D/18, 18 Oct 1720, f. 30v.

<sup>32</sup> For a more detailed list, see M. Moir, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, pp. 9-10 and 29-38.

<sup>33</sup> For references to the 'African House' warehouse, see Property Records of the East India Company and India Office, L/L/2/1, Register of East India Company title deeds and legal documents, on the purchase of the freehold of the Africa House in Leadenhall Street, and reference to its lease by the Royal African Company, pp.563-564, 598-99; documents relating to the purchase of the African House, L/L/2/154-161 and in Court Minutes, B/32, 20 Oct 1673 p. 304, 11 Feb 1674, p.387; B/33, 16 Jul 1675, p. 268, 4 Nov 1675, p 364; B/70, pp. 400. 519, 620.

<sup>34</sup> K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: the study of an early joint-stock Company 1600-1640* (London, 1965), p. 78.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* p. 77; B.B. Misra, *The central administration of the East India Company 1773-1834*, (Manchester, 1959), p. 379.

<sup>36</sup> B.B. Misra, *The central administration of the East India Company 1773-1834*, (Manchester, 1959), p. 379.

<sup>37</sup> M. Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 20.

<sup>38</sup> Misra, *op. cit.* p. 379.

<sup>39</sup> P. Marshall, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>40</sup> M. Moir, 'Kaghazi Raj': notes on the documentary basis of Company rule: 1773-1858', in *Indo-British Review* XXI, (2) 1996, p. 190.

<sup>41</sup> Lawson, *op. cit.* pp. 144, 160.

<sup>42</sup> Marshall, *op.cit.* p. 49.

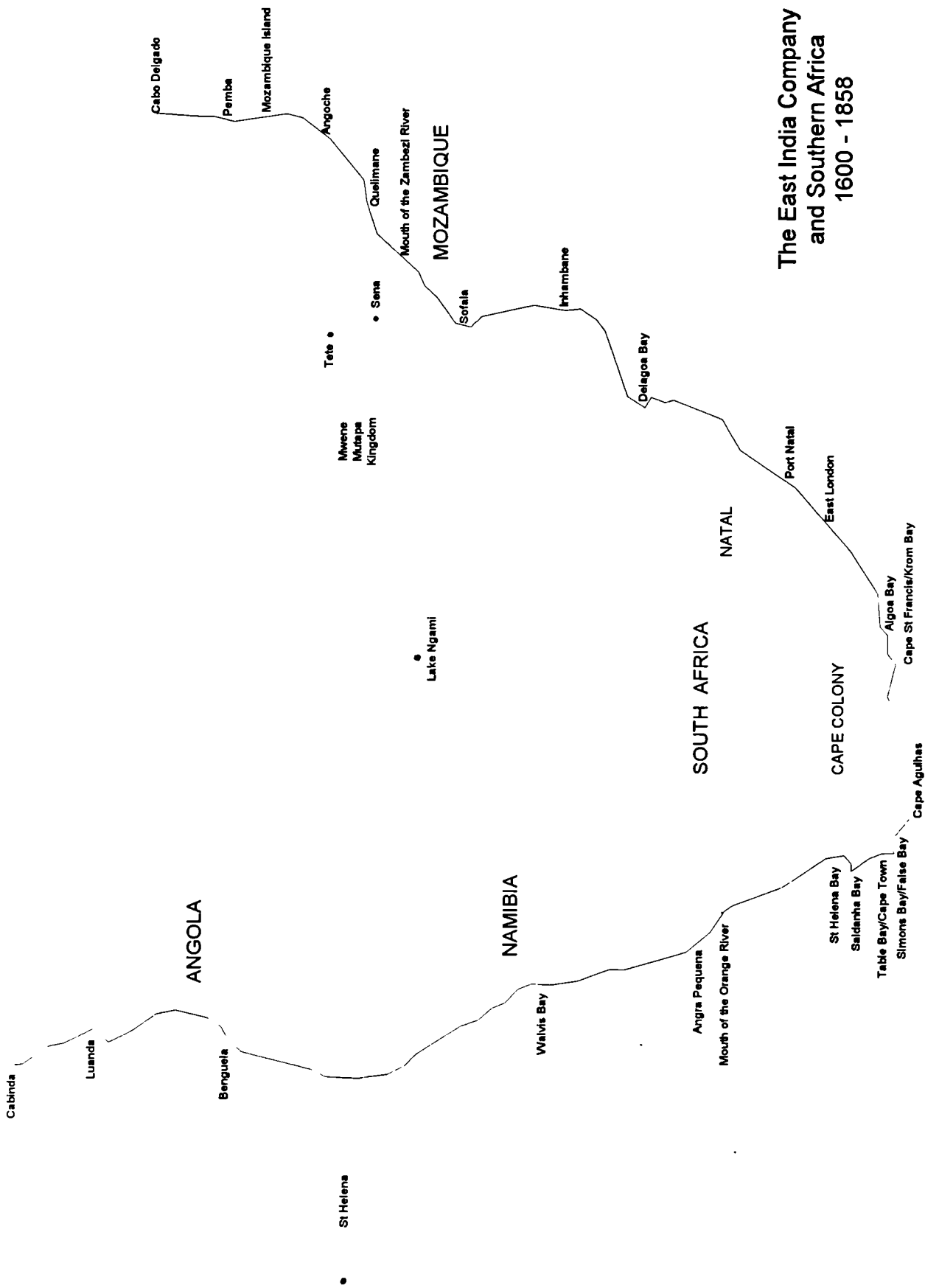
<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> M. Moir, 'A study of the history and organisation of the Political and Secret Departments of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office 1784-1919 with a summary list of records', p. 54.

<sup>45</sup> For details see Moir, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>46</sup> Sir W. Foster, 'The India Board 1784-1858' in *Transactions of the Historical Society* (1918) pp. 68, 73.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73-76.



## The East India Company and Southern Africa 1600 - 1858



## CHAPTER 2

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA  
1600-1858

This chapter has been largely shaped by the documents found in an extensive survey of the East India Company's archives to locate those which relate to southern Africa. It seeks to make sense of these scattered documents and synthesizes them (with the contextual assistance of relevant published sources) into a picture of the Company's interest in the region. Full descriptions of the East India Company archives referred to in the endnotes of this chapter will be found in the Appendix (Volume 2).

The Company's interest in southern Africa was focused mainly on the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique. Its relationship with the region can be separated into five aspects: the security of its trade route to India and the supply and servicing of its ships; trade with southern Africa; the slave trade and labour; military and administrative interchangibility and other peripheral involvement.

**2.1. Security, supply and servicing**

The Company's attitude towards the security of its trade, and the supplies for the ships which brought back its wealth from the east, were closely interconnected.

**2.1.1. The Cape of Good Hope**

From the beginning of the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, the East India Company sent its ships on the established route to the east: through the south Atlantic

Ocean, past Angola and Namibia, to the Cape of Good Hope - on to the spice islands, Indonesia, China and Japan, or through the Indian Ocean and Mozambique Channel to the coasts of India, the neighbouring east African coast and to the Persian Gulf.

The safety of these ships was a central concern to the Company's existence and naturally it viewed developments in and improvements to the navigation of the seas, including the south Atlantic and Indian Oceans as of some importance. The southern African coast proved particularly dangerous and a number of Company ships were wrecked off the Cape coast, for example the *Doddington* in 1755 in Algoa Bay, the *Grosvenor* off the eastern Cape coast in 1783, and the *William Pitt* on Bird Island in Algoa Bay in 1813. .

In 1779 the *Colebrook* was wrecked in False Bay. This prompted the Court of Directors to approve the appointment of Alexander Dalrymple as Hydrographer to the East India Company in April 1779.<sup>1</sup> During Britain's colonial administration of the Cape, the Company was able to request improvements and precautions to be taken there to protect shipping. The Cape government obliged and ordered shoals to be surveyed, rocks to be chained and beacons and lighthouses to be erected.<sup>2</sup> The Company's ships were also frequently vulnerable to attacks by pirates and there are several references to pirate activity around the southern African coast in the Company's records during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup>

A standing instruction was issued to the commanders of its ships that a journal of each voyage must be accurately kept and deposited at its East India House headquarters on their

return.<sup>4</sup> A great number of the journals survive in the Company's Marine department records.<sup>5</sup> This pooled knowledge was to have been regularly expanded and updated information supplied to the fleets leaving for the east. The journals were later also used to draw up reliable nautical charts which formed the foundation of the Company's reference collection of charts.<sup>6</sup>

Many of the journals and logs of the Company's ships contain information of interest on southern Africa's inhabitants, climate and vegetation, and sketches of coastlines and landscapes are also sometimes present. For example, the journal of the *Clove* contains a coastline sketch of Mozambique (1611); the journal of the *Ranger* contains a coastline sketch of Cape Agulhas and False Bay (1786); various views of Table Bay are present in the journals of the *Loyal Merchant* (1699 - together with a description of Cape Town and its inhabitants); the *Duke of Cumberland* (1729); the *Defence* (1740) and *Duke of Grafton* (1776); and an account of Mozambique Island is in the journal of the *Duke of York* (1723).<sup>7</sup>

As trade was extended and the volume of shipping around the southern African coast increased, more detailed surveys of the coastline were made, which duly received the Company's acknowledgment: Captain William Robson, commander of the Company's own ship *Kent* produced a plan of Delagoa Bay in 1749;<sup>8</sup> in 1816 the Bird Islands in Algoa Bay were surveyed by L Fitzmaurice;<sup>9</sup> Captain William Walker RN surveyed the Knysna coast in 1818, but was paid by the East India Company for the product,<sup>10</sup> and in 1818 Captain Fairfax Moresby RN carried out surveys of the Mozambique Channel to

improve navigation to India for which he too was rewarded by the Company.<sup>11</sup>

The first comprehensive survey of the southern African coast was undertaken on behalf of the Admiralty by Captain William Fitzwilliam Owen and his colleagues on HMS *Leven* and *Barracouta* from 1822 to 1825. The Company treated it with particular importance and interest and paid *batta* (extra subsistence money paid to officers serving in India or in Indian waters) to the survey officers.<sup>12</sup> The survey charted the whole coast between Table Bay and Cape Gardafui, <sup>on</sup> (the horn of Africa), and these charts comprise the first production of modern mapping of the coast of southern Africa.<sup>13</sup> The Company was still relying on Owen's charts on the introduction of steam shipping on the sea route to India via the Cape from the 1830s<sup>14</sup> and long afterwards.

The Cape was seen by the Dutch and English East India Companies as a convenient half-way point on the route to India. At this point on the journey, it was necessary to rest and refresh the weak, scurvy-ridden ships' crews. From the earliest voyages, the East India Company's men established contact with the original inhabitants of southern Africa. James Lancaster, commander of the Company's first expedition to India in 1601, called at 'Saldania Bay' (Table Bay)<sup>15</sup> for refreshment and supplies. He was followed by the ships of the second and third voyages in 1605 and 1607. Not only could fresh water and meat be obtained from the Khoikhoi inhabitants of the bay, but timber was readily available for any repair to ships.<sup>16</sup> The Company's men found that iron (which the Khoikhoi used

to make assegai heads), copper and brass (to make ornaments) could easily be bartered for cattle.<sup>17</sup>

In 1613 a Khoikhoi man named Coree was kidnapped by the crew of the *Hector* and taken to visit England, housed in the residence of the Governor of the East India Company and returned with the ships of the following season.<sup>18</sup> This allowed the Company briefly to establish a closer relationship with the Table Bay Khoikhoi and held out the possibility that Coree's influence would bring about a commitment to the supply of future Company visitors.<sup>19</sup> Disputes at the Cape inevitably resulted in the deaths of Khoikhoi and East India Company men<sup>20</sup> and this prompted a debate about the wisdom of breaking voyages at the Cape.

Nevertheless, in 1618 the Court of Committees discussed whether a permanent 'plantation' should be set up at the Cape, or if regular supplies should be obtained from the 'Saldanians' or whether a Company ship should be left there for supply of provisions.<sup>21</sup> In 1619, when the Dutch East India Company made it clear they intended to make the Cape their exclusive settlement, East India Company commanders Andrew Shilling and Humphrey Fitzherbert made a formal annexation of Table Bay<sup>22</sup> in King James' name and placed their flag on 'his mount' (Table Mountain).<sup>23</sup> The annexation was never ratified, although one last bid was made for the recognition of the annexation in 1654.<sup>24</sup> A decline in trust between Khoikhoi and European and a scarcity of livestock at the Cape resulted in the tailing off of relations, and with the death of Coree in the mid-1620s,<sup>25</sup> the idea of making a settlement there appears to have come to an end.

In 1623, Company men were again, looking for a place to plant at the Cape,<sup>26</sup> independently of relying on obtaining supplies directly from the Khoikhoi to refresh their crews.<sup>27</sup> In 1616, 1620 and 1642 the Company deposited convicts from London's Newgate prison on the shores of Table Bay and on Robben Island to see if they could make anything of a colony, which would ultimately serve the needs of the Company. These were the Company's first colonists and the first white settlers.<sup>28</sup> Coree and his people initially opposed the convicts' presence and some were killed or wounded. Later, after persuasion the Khoikhoi sought the convicts' protection against their inland enemies. However, the convict settlement appears to have only lasted a few years, after which they probably returned to England.<sup>29</sup>

The East India Company's men also used the Cape as a kind of post office, leaving inscriptions on stones and hiding letters near the shore containing reports of their news and welfare on the outward run, for those calling after them to pick up on the homeward run.<sup>30</sup> Hadah, a local Khoikhoi man (who was taken to the Company's settlement at Bantam, Java around 1631-32 and taught some English), is also recorded as having been taken by the Company's men along with some of his followers to take custody of Company letters at Robben Island between 1632 and about 1640.<sup>31</sup> The Company hoped Hadah might be their agent at the Cape, keeping letters from the passing ships and reporting shipping movements in Table Bay.<sup>32</sup>

When the Dutch formally annexed the Cape in 1652, and were forced to abandon their settlement on St. Helena to the English East India Company, the necessity of the Company's

ships calling at the Cape receded. The Company made St Helena a permanent base and settlement. Company ships still called at the Cape infrequently or in emergency and there are references to wrecks, minor squabbles over obtaining supplies or shipping etiquette and occasional shipments of Cape wine to England.<sup>33</sup> There were also occasional requests from the St. Helena government to the Dutch administration at the Cape for supplies.<sup>34</sup>

In 1707, George and Isaac Clifford & Co., the East India Company's Agents in Amsterdam suggested to the Court of Directors that a recommendation be sent to the Dutch Governor of the Cape to allow a person appointed by them, to reside there as agent for the supply of Company's homeward bound ships.<sup>35</sup> No record of the Court's discussion of the matter has been traced in the archives but it is assumed that the suggestion was not taken up. The Amsterdam Agents also forwarded reports of arrivals and departures of Company ships at the Cape.<sup>36</sup>

By the mid-1700s the Cape of Good Hope was recognised by all the maritime powers as a significant point guarding the seaway to the lucrative trade to India and the east. When rivalry, enmity and an on-off state of war grew between the European trading nations in the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Company became increasingly concerned with the vulnerability of its fleets to attack by French and Spanish ships on the sea-route around the African coast. The Cape was seen as increasingly important by the East India Company because with the establishment of French naval bases on the Indian Ocean islands, control of the Indian Ocean became a key factor for supremacy in India.<sup>37</sup> Alarmed at other European activity at the Cape,

the Company desired regular intelligence reports on activities there from the 1770s.<sup>38</sup>

In December 1780, Britain was at war with the Dutch Republic over the right of trade with the North American colonies. The Cabinet swiftly approved the East India Company's proposal for an attack to be made on the Cape. Commodore George Johnson was sent with a force to the Cape to prevent the French from establishing a supply base there. The expedition was a failure and the French gained advantage by setting up a supply base at the Cape from which to supplement the insufficient supplies of the French islands required for their Indian Ocean squadron.<sup>39</sup> Supplies from the Cape would play a vital role in their plan to attack India.

Fully aware of the increasing danger, efforts by the Company's administrations in India were also well under way. In October 1780, the Select Committee of the Government of Madras, (concerned that the intelligence they had been receiving from the Cape on French activity there was inaccurate), appointed Richard Lewin to be the Company's Resident at the Cape. Lewin was ordered to transmit 'intelligence on the motions and designs of our enemies' there and to send it to the Indian Presidencies and the Court of Directors in London. He was further instructed to provide assistance to Royal Navy and Company ships at the Cape and to make public applications to the Governor when necessary.<sup>40</sup>

Lewin left Madras on the *Nymph*, arriving at the Cape in December 1780 shortly before the news reached the Cape that war had broken out between Britain and Holland. The Dutch



Governor of the Cape, Baron Joachim Van Plettenberg refused to accept Lewin as Resident and within a few months the reports ceased. Lewin was then detained by the Cape government and kept incommunicado outside Cape Town, unable to send any reports at all.<sup>41</sup>

Towards the end of 1781 the Company urged the government to undertake another attack to secure the Cape.<sup>42</sup> The Company's Committee of Secrecy then took the matter to the Secretary of State, Lord Hillsborough, describing the Cape as 'the Gibraltar of the Indian Ocean'<sup>43</sup> and arguing that the capture of the Cape was 'a necessity'.<sup>44</sup> When they outlined their plans for the attack on the Cape to the Secretary of State, in October 1781, the Committee of Secrecy requested that a permanent establishment be set up at the Cape

'sufficient to enable us at all times to supply our ships and those of His Majesty, with all refreshment, and also in time of war to afford them the most ample protection'.<sup>45</sup>

The directors on the Committee of Secrecy were concerned that if the Cape fell to the French, it was likely that St. Helena would also fall, denying the Company's homeward-bound ships any place to stop for refreshment.<sup>46</sup> Most of all, if the French held the Cape the Indian settlements would be in extreme danger.

As intelligence made a French attack on the Cape seem certain, the Chairmen were granted an interview with Hillsborough and once again urgently appealed for the government to sanction an attack, but the Cabinet refused and rejected the proposal. The following month the Company implored the government to reconsider the plans, stating in their letter to Hillsborough that 'whichever of these

powers (Britain or France) shall possess the Cape, the same may govern India'<sup>47</sup> but once again the government declined to comply with the Company's wishes.

After this flat refusal, the Company was informed by Secretary of State Hillsborough in January 1782 that the government were concerned about the threat to sea communications with India and that an investigation was to be undertaken of places between England and the Cape where provisions and water could be obtained. All ports in the south Atlantic would be considered and attention was to be given to the west coast of Africa.<sup>48</sup> Encouraged, the Company moved to consider setting up an alternative station in southern Africa and responded by secretly ordering its ship the *Swallow* in September 1783,<sup>49</sup> to 'examine proper places on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, not in possession of or frequented by Europeans at which the Company's ships might be supplied with water and refreshment on their homeward bound passages'.<sup>50</sup>

Namibia's inhospitable coast had neither attracted East India Company attention, nor was it included in the Company's charter, but necessity however, drove the Company to examine the coast in a new light. The expedition was to begin at the mouth of the Orange River and continue northward and especially to look at Angra Pequena (Lüderitz) and Walfisch Bay (Walvis Bay), for water and seek contact with the local people for the possible supply of provisions; reaching as far north as São Paulo Loanda (Luanda) in Angola.<sup>51</sup> The Court of Directors' strict instructions on timing prevented the *Swallow* from prolonging its voyage, forcing it to turn back without finding a suitable place.

With the change in government in December 1783, the Company's directors soon found a champion of their cause to promote the Cape in a new Secretary of State, Henry Dundas (later the first President of the Board of Control for the Affairs of India). The directors persisted and as a result of Dundas' persuasiveness, their ideas were soon accepted by William Pitt's government.

Richard Lewin had been released from detention at the Cape in September 1783 and made his way back to England. In the detailed final report<sup>52</sup> he submitted to the Court in July 1784, Lewin strongly advocated that an Agent to the Company should reside at the Cape, whose most important duty, he conceived, would be

to forward all kinds of business which might occur relative to their [the Company's] concerns & to be watchful of their interests by keeping up a regular correspondence with your Honble Board and with the Honble Company's Presidencies in India, giving intelligence of circumstances and Occurrences at the Cape which could in any wise tend to affect the welfare of the Honble Company's Settlements in India...<sup>53</sup>

Lewin's views were certainly in line with former Company proposals made to the previous government.

On their return from India in 1785 in the *Pigot*, British Army officers Lieutenant-Colonel William Dalrymple and Lieutenant Henry Pemberton were so impressed by the country near Krom Bay (St Francis Bay) on the eastern Cape coast during their stay there, that they sent separate proposals to the Company and to the government, for the annexation of the area. Pemberton in his 'Narrative' proposed to Henry Dundas the annexation of the region and the setting up of a port and penal colony in the area either for the benefit of

the nation or for the Company as a good refreshment station en route to India. But if this would upset the Dutch, then land in the region beyond the Groote River could be bought from the Xhosa, and protected by Sepoy (Indian soldiers) and European forces from India.<sup>54</sup>

Dalrymple, a personal friend of the Company's Chairman,<sup>55</sup> presented to Pitt a scheme similar to Pemberton's. Entitled 'Proposal for a Settlement on the Caffre Coast', he described it as of the 'most important consequence to the India Company' and offering himself as founder of the new colony.<sup>56</sup> The Company's Secret Committee held discussions on the proposals from November 1785 to March 1786,<sup>57</sup> but close collaboration with the Dutch, (now allies of Britain), was viewed as preferable to antagonising them by pressing for rights to the Cape.<sup>58</sup> Further consideration of these plans was consequently shelved.

French influence in Holland increased and with it the Company's desire to find a safer alternative supply point on the southern coast of Africa, if the Cape and possibly St. Helena should fall to the French. The Company engaged in discussions with the Admiralty about an extension of the *Swallow's* voyage of 1783. Consequently, HMS *Nautilus* under Captain Thomas Bolden Thompson was sent by the government to survey the coast of Namibia in 1786 to investigate whether a penal settlement could be established there.<sup>59</sup> The results were appreciably unfavourable as no fresh water could be found and Botany Bay in Australia was chosen in preference.<sup>60</sup>

Three years later in 1789, a further proposal from the Admiralty was put forward to send another ship carrying the

plans from the *Nautilus*' discoveries in the further quest to find water in the same region - as far north as Luanda and if unsuccessful to go to eastward from the end of the Cape frontier and as far north again to Mozambique. No authority for this voyage was sanctioned and it was never undertaken.<sup>61</sup>

As Britain looked certain to be drawn into the Revolutionary wars with France, the Company's Directors urged the Home Secretary Henry Dundas (also President of the Board of Control) to make a compromise with the Dutch because once again the increasing French threat to ships in the Indian Ocean and St. Helena's inability to supply the demands of passing ships made it imperative that a more suitable supply point for ships be found. The explorations on the Namibian coast had proved fruitless and the Cape seemed the only suitable place.

In February 1793 France declared war on Britain. Henry Dundas wrote to the Foreign Secretary Lord William Grenville that the preservation of the Cape was of such importance that Britain could no longer be indifferent to dangers to its safety.<sup>62</sup> At the Anglo-Dutch negotiations in The Hague later in 1793, the Dutch finally agreed to English provision of naval protection at the Cape to prevent the French from obtaining supplies for Mauritius and the invasion of India, but not to the protection of a British garrison. In return the East India Company was to appoint a resident agent at the Cape, ostensibly to arrange supplies for St. Helena. The Dutch also agreed to expel the French agent at the Cape who was gathering supplies for the Mauritius and Bourbon (Réunion) naval bases.<sup>63</sup>

The Company's Secret Committee appointed John Pringle as their Agent and Commissary-General<sup>64</sup> in 1793 and his arrival at the Cape in 1794 marked the beginning of the Company's first effective agency at the Cape. The Agency was the only East India Company establishment anywhere on the southern African coast. The Agency's development and administrative history will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 3.

By the time Pringle arrived at the Cape in April 1794, the Revolutionary Wars in Europe had broken out. By the end of the first few months of 1795, Holland had been invaded and partly occupied by French forces. As an ally of the Dutch, Britain was drawn deeper into the war. The Cape government under Governor Abraham Sluysken consequently refused Pringle official recognition as Resident.<sup>65</sup> In January 1795 the Company asked Henry Dundas (now Secretary of State for War and President of the Board of Control) to consider preparation for a pre-emptive attack on the Cape, arguing for it as a viable place to refresh the Company's ships on their return voyages from India, and that if the Cape was taken first by France, St. Helena could no longer cope with the task. Francis Baring, director and former Chairman of the Company stressed to Dundas that

The importance of the Cape with regard to ourselves consists more from the detriment which would result to us if it was in the hands of France, than from any advantage we can possibly derive from it as a colony.<sup>66</sup>

The war made Pringle's position at the Cape insecure and he withdrew to the safety of the Company's settlement at St. Helena in April 1795. As the ramifications of French imperial designs became clearer, the government was won

over to the importance of/<sup>a</sup>pre-emptive attack on the Cape and in April 1795 they finally ordered a force under Admiral Sir George Elphinstone to secure its capture to prevent French occupation. The Company volunteered its ships to take part in the action.<sup>67</sup>

At St. Helena Pringle was able to provide valuable assistance to Admiral Elphinstone in the detailed planning of the capture the Cape.<sup>68</sup> The fleet arrived in Simon's Bay on 9 July 1795. On 15 September, after protracted negotiations, the Dutch government capitulated and the Cape became a British possession.<sup>69</sup> The Cape remained under occupation until 1803, when it was transferred to the Dutch Batavian Republic administration, under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens at the end of the war. The Batavian officials this time, refused to recognise Pringle as Agent and sequestrated the Company's property. He shut down the Agency and returned to Britain in 1804.

The peaceful interlude was short-lived and hostilities had resumed in Europe with Britain's declaration of war on France in May 1803. Alarming intelligence of French forces at the Cape began to arrive at the Company during 1804.<sup>70</sup> In 1805 a second British expedition commanded by Sir Home Popham was ordered out from Cork in Ireland, with secret instructions to retake the Cape. Several Company ships were attached to the fleet to provide support.<sup>71</sup>

With further assistance from the Company's forces,<sup>72</sup> the Dutch forces were defeated in January 1806 and Cape Town surrendered once more to British control. The administration of the Cape was resumed along colonial lines. The Company made generous awards to the victorious

commanders and officers who took part in the operations of 1795 and 1806.<sup>73</sup>

The Company's toehold on the southern tip of Africa, first gained in 1794 - vital to the protection of the sea-route, its settlements in India and for the supply of its ships - was consolidated after 1806. Its Agency was now located within a fully-fledged, well-defended British colony, affording the Company's trade with security previously unknown. This security was strengthened when in 1815, the Congress of Vienna ceded the Cape permanently to Britain.

The Agent worked closely with the colonial administration in supplying Company and Navy ships, and importing eastern goods to supply the needs of the colony's inhabitants. In return, the officers on the Cape of Good Hope naval station maintained watchful eyes on the security of the Company's ships on the sea-route between India and St. Helena. Because of its proximity to the Cape, the Company looked to the Agency to supply the island with essential provisions. Supplying the island from London was also expensive and took up valuable space in the Company's ships. After 1807, the Agency took on the greater part of the burden of this supply,<sup>74</sup> which increased significantly during the exile of Napoleon Bonaparte and continued to 1836 when the island came under Crown authority and the Agency came to an end. When the East India Company finally gave up the remainder of its international trading function in 1834, there was no longer any reason to continue the Agency at the Cape. The remaining Company business at the Cape could be dealt with as necessary by local commercial agents. In 1836 the Agency was conferred on a firm of Cape merchants, who attended to Company affairs until 1858.



A new supply potential emerged when coal was discovered in Natal (then still part of the Cape Colony) in the mid-1840s. The Company eagerly pressed their agents and the Cape government for information on the viability of prospecting the fields.<sup>75</sup> Too many difficulties emerged and the Company looked instead to the more accessible fields in Mozambique for supplies.<sup>76</sup>

#### 2.1.2. Angola and Mozambique

Much less frequently than at <sup>the</sup> Cape, the Company's ships' journals also reveal a number of landfalls made on the Angolan coast at Benguela, Luanda and Cabinda which show the need to put in for water and supplies of fresh meat.<sup>77</sup> The Company had no real interest in Angola because it was excluded from the area covered by the Company's charter and claimed by Portugal, Britain's ally. After the settlement at St. Helena was established, there are occasional references to voyages from the island to Angola to obtain cattle and grain, as St. Helena was not always able to sustain its population with its own produce.<sup>78</sup> No direct trade was carried out there by the Company, except for an occasional shipment of slaves to work on the Company's plantations at St. Helena or Benkulen (on the island of Sumatra in Indonesia; - see Section 2.3. below).

A greater number of landfalls are revealed in the ships' journals and reports from commanders, on the Mozambique coast at Delagoa Bay, Mozambique Island, Sofala and Angoche.<sup>79</sup> By the early 1800s the Company's Hydrographer was advising ships to take the Mozambique Channel route to India in peacetime (which afforded greater security) and within a few years, improved navigation was made possible after Moresby's survey of the Mozambique Channel in 1818.<sup>80</sup>

Ever watchful of threats to the sources of its trade in India, the Company's attention was soon drawn to Mozambique's strategic position in 1806. The possibility of a French invasion of Portugal became a reality in 1807. Portuguese possessions in India and Mozambique on the opposite coast from India had played an important role in the supply of the French Indian Ocean squadron. Again, the Company's perception was that if these possessions were taken by French forces, then they could be used as secure supply bases to launch attacks against the Company's Presidencies in India. On 10 December 1807 Henry Dundas asked the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies of an idea presented to him by the Company's Deputy Chairman Charles Grant, Lord Hawkesbury (Secretary of State for the Home Department), Sir Spencer Perceval (Chancellor of the Exchequer) and George Rose (MP), of taking possession of Mozambique Island and Delagoa Bay.<sup>81</sup>

In contrast to former Chairman Francis Baring's view of the value of the Cape in 1795, Henry Dundas thought these places 'would not be so generally useful to British trade as if they were held by a small regular force...and...open to all British ships'.<sup>82</sup> Just as the Cape's position had been discussed during the previous twenty years, the capture of Mozambique was also considered in the plans to prevent perhaps an even more dangerous situation arising for the Indian settlements.<sup>83</sup> The Company ordered its navy stationed at Bombay to watch French activities on the west coast and in the Indian Ocean.<sup>84</sup> The Company's fears were averted when, on the advice of the British government, the Portuguese royal family refused to submit to Napoleon's administration, fled to Brazil and transferred their

government there, ruling Mozambique and Angola from Rio de Janeiro.<sup>85</sup> This transfer rendered the scheme to capture Mozambique unnecessary. With the defeat of the French navy in the Indian Ocean in 1810, the Company's interest in Mozambique for the security of India, was replaced by its interest in trade there. This will be discussed in Section 2.2. below.

Mozambique held one final supply prospect for the Company. When coal was discovered there in the 1840s, the Company expressed a keen interest in obtaining supplies for its steam ships and entered into negotiations with the Mozambican authorities for mining the coal and shipping it from Tete down the Zambeze river.<sup>86</sup>

## **2.2. East India Company trade with southern Africa**

### **2.2.1. Mozambique**

Mozambique was the most important focus of the Company's trade with southern Africa. Unlike Angola, Mozambique fell within the area covered by the Company's charter. Reports from the Dutch and Portuguese of useful trade to be had with Mozambique reached the East India Company during the first few years of its existence.<sup>87</sup> From 1606 the first ships sent there were instructed to trade for ivory, gold and ambergris.<sup>88</sup> The African ivory from Mozambique was preferred by the Company<sup>89</sup> to Asian ivory, being softer, less brittle, less liable to turn yellow and wider in gauge than Indian elephant tusks. It was highly prized for use as bangles in Hindu marriage rites. These bangles were destroyed on the death of their owners, so fresh ivory was always in demand.<sup>90</sup>

From November to March the north eastern monsoon carried shipping from India to the east African coast; and from May to September the monsoon changed and blew from the south-west, enabling the ships to return to the coasts of India. Company trade from India to Mozambique became seasonal from Surat after 1622 and after 1668 also from Bombay.<sup>91</sup> Surat and Cutch became an important market for Mozambique's ivory.<sup>92</sup>

Direct trade was carried out with Mozambique by 'country ships' (local ships trading between ports within Asia and Africa) mainly from Surat. More frequently the English traders from India avoided the capital, Mozambique Island with its high customs duties and traded with the subordinate ports, particularly at Delagoa Bay. Slaves (see below), gold from the mines of the Mwene Mutapa kingdom in the interior near Sofala, and ivory were exchanged for Indian piece goods, (especially coarse blue cloth, favoured in Mozambique), brass bangles, glass beads,<sup>93</sup> spirits, oils, salt, fish and china goods.<sup>94</sup> Other goods in demand at Mozambique were rhinoceros' horn, tortoise shell, colombo root (for curing dysentery), cowrie shells (a currency in some parts of Bengal and east Africa, and also used in the slave trade<sup>95</sup>), abnooswood (ebony), orchilla wood, pearls, hides, copper, wax, honey, oil and sharks' fins.<sup>96</sup>

There was also much indirect trade between the British Indian settlements and Mozambique. Through their agents at Mozambique, *banian* (Hindu merchant) traders in India obtained goods either through Company merchants or direct from the Company's weavers at Surat.<sup>97</sup> Finally, English goods were bought by Arab traders in India and traded back

to Africa.<sup>98</sup> The Company's settlements in India had a very much larger volume of trade with Mozambique than recorded in the official commercial reports.<sup>99</sup>

There are frequent early references to rivalry and competitive trade between the Company and the Portuguese in Mozambique,<sup>100</sup> and many references to the details of the Company's Indian trade with Mozambique after the 1640s.<sup>101</sup> Although the Portuguese had banned trade in its colonies with foreigners, Portugal and Britain signed a treaty in 1661 allowing Britain to trade at ports east of the Cape with the permission of the King of Portugal but with no trade to be done directly with the natives of Africa.<sup>102</sup> However, as British ships often bypassed the customs house at Mozambique Island and traded at other subordinate ports out of the sight of the government,<sup>103</sup> friction and rivalry over the right to trade with Africans was fairly common. An example of this covert trade can be found in the journal of the Company's ship *Earl of Ashburnham* in which the commander records meetings between the ship's officers and the 'Kings of Matola, Mahoy and Mongovey' about trade in 1762.<sup>104</sup>

In 1719 or 1720 two 'princes of Delagoa' (Maputo) were rescued from enslavement in Jamaica by Colonel John Toogood. He persuaded the East India Company that they were obliged to arrange for the princes to be returned to Mozambique. The Company incorporated the princes' plight in their discussions about opening up a trade with the south east coast of Africa jointly with the Royal African Company.<sup>105</sup> On 17 June 1720 the East India Company set up its own special Committee for the South East Coast of Africa to explore the viability of opening trade with

Mozambique.<sup>106</sup> However, the Portuguese soon got wind of the idea and their protest in diplomatic circles seems to have forestalled any development of the plans.<sup>107</sup>

Although the Portuguese restricted trade in Mozambique to all subjects of the Portuguese crown in the eighteenth century,<sup>108</sup> this did not deter the Company's interest in trade with Delagoa Bay.<sup>109</sup> In the 1760s there was an increase in the slave trade and a corresponding rise in demand for goods for the African markets. The Company wanted encouragement to be given to trade to the coast of Africa because slaves were traded for the Company's Indian goods.<sup>110</sup> In the 1780s there was particular interest in trading the popular coarse blue cloth manufactured at Devikottah (Madras), Bombay and Surat.<sup>111</sup>

Friction arose in 1781 when two English ships the *Spy* and *Snow* were forced away from Delagoa Bay by the Portuguese. The owners sent a protest to the Bombay government that they had been trading in ivory the previous seven years with permission from the African chiefs, to whom they gave annual presents. The Portuguese protested that although the treaty of 1661 stipulated that the British could trade at Portuguese ports east of the Cape they had no permission from the king of Portugal to do so. Correspondence was taken up with the Portuguese ambassador in London and Portuguese sovereignty over the region appears (at least officially) to have been upheld.<sup>112</sup>

Delagoa Bay attracted the attention of other European traders. By the late 1790s Portuguese authority over the shores around the bay was being strongly challenged. Attempts were made by the Bombay government to send vessels

to take advantage of the situation, but after further Portuguese protests, they ceased.<sup>113</sup> However, in 1801 the Company's Reporter-General on External Commerce at Bombay was emphasising the potential of east Africa as a market and in particular, Delagoa Bay.<sup>114</sup> Bombay was the Company's distribution centre for Company goods to the east coast of Africa - and this trade increased in importance.<sup>115</sup> The Company, backed by its charter, was the focus of British authority in the Indian Ocean, and it followed that the Company nominally controlled British interests in Mozambique.

Napoleon Bonaparte's strategy of preventing British goods from entering European ports between 1806 and 1810, and Britain's war with the United States in 1812 brought about Britain's isolation from Europe and America and the loss of markets as outlets for the sale of British products. Consequently the Company was also forced to seek new markets for its goods and the east African coast acquired a new significance as one possible new outlet.<sup>116</sup>

In November 1807 the Directors ordered the Bombay government to increase their sales of 'woolens and other European staples' to east Africa.<sup>117</sup> In December 1807 when a London merchant William Jacob applied to the Company for permission to trade with Abyssinia and east Africa, the Court of Directors objected because it would interfere with the Company's monopoly in east Africa and also with the trade carried on between the Company's Indian settlements and Mozambique.<sup>118</sup> However the directors agreed under pressure from the government that allowing a private individual to attempt this experiment was expedient to

prevent Britain's enemies from establishing trading relations in the region.<sup>119</sup>

The increased interest in Mozambique in the first decade of the 1800s had another impetus. Increasing pressure in Britain in the decade following the law making the slave trade illegal (1807) was complemented by efforts to replace it with legitimate trade. The consequence was increased interest in the exploration of Africa to find wider markets for goods to make up for the closed markets of Europe.<sup>120</sup> So great was the pressure, that in 1807 during the blockade of Europe and the French invasion of Portugal, the East India Company had considered taking possession of the Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa.<sup>121</sup>

In 1808 Bombay Political Agents were instructed to collect information on the east African coast.<sup>122</sup> In 1810 the Bombay government sent Captain Thomas Smee and Lieutenant H Hardy of the Bombay Marine to survey the east coast of Africa between Cape Guardafui (on the Horn of Africa) and Zanzibar, to investigate whether the Company could extend commerce there.<sup>123</sup> They were also given background papers and descriptions of Mozambique and instructed to try to find evidence to substantiate the hypothesis that the biblical King Solomon's fabled Ophir was located on the Zambeze river.<sup>124</sup> Captain Fairfax Moresby's survey in 1818 and Captain William Owen's survey of the Mozambique coast between 1825 and 1827, were both undertaken as a consequence of the increased interest in the opening up of trade with Mozambique and the abolition of the slave trade.

Delagoa Bay became the Company's favoured market in south-east Africa.<sup>125</sup> Although the Portuguese authorities



reluctantly tolerated the Company's trade, tensions again arose in 1815 when Captain Thomas Ramsden from Bombay tried to trade with the Africans at Delagoa Bay.<sup>126</sup> The Governor of Mozambique protested that he had no authority to do so and accused Ramsden of inciting the Africans against Portuguese authority. The owners of Ramsden's ship protested to the Bombay government for redress.<sup>127</sup>

As a consequence of the negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation and the Treaties to suppress the slave trade between Britain and Portugal (1842) the Portuguese were pressured to open trade to their African possessions.<sup>128</sup> This increased The Company's interest in trade with Mozambique from 1836.<sup>129</sup> In 1847 tensions rose once more when the Governor of Mozambique banned imports of indigo dyed cloth from British India.<sup>130</sup> However, despite this friction, frequent references in the Company's archives between the 1830s and 1858 indicate that Company commercial relations with Mozambique continued to the end of the Company's administration of India in 1858<sup>131</sup> and beyond.

#### **2.2.2. The Cape of Good Hope**

The Company did not look to the Cape of Good Hope as a place to trade in the same way as it had to Mozambique. The Cape was mainly only of value to the Company for supplies. Prior to the British occupation of the Cape in 1795 there had been sporadic trade between the Cape and the Company's settlements in Indonesia and with St. Helena, but this was dictated more from necessity than for regular trade. For example in 1771 the establishment at Balambangan (in Malaysia) sent for sheep, seeds, virus and plants from the Cape.<sup>132</sup>

After the Cape was occupied by Britain for the first time in 1795, the new colonial administration began to organise the best use of the colony for the benefit of British trade. There was a scarcity of many articles in demand from India and China, especially tea.<sup>133</sup> The Cape colonists looked to the Company to supply them with tea, as well as Indian cloth and spices, because the Company was the only legitimate trader of eastern goods there. The role of the Agent in facilitating this supply will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 3.

In 1796 the Board of Trade and the Company's Directors<sup>134</sup> agreed a proposal which was embodied in an Order-in-Council of 28 December 1796, outlining the regulation of trade to and from the Cape.<sup>135</sup> The Company reluctantly agreed to undertake the supply of eastern goods itself as the Cape was situated within the limits of the Company's Charter.<sup>136</sup> In 1797 discussions were held to consider opening up trade between Bombay and the Cape and with India after 1800.<sup>137</sup> The resumption of war between Britain and France in 1803 stalled the development of the plan.

After the Cape was captured for the second time in 1806, the colonial administration and the Agency was established on a firm footing, supply lines were formally extended from the Cape to the East India Company's administrations in India.<sup>138</sup> The Company reaffirmed its commitment to supply the Cape with goods from India and China, subject to regulations<sup>139</sup> jointly drawn up with the colonial government. The Agent consulted with the government on the content and quantity of orders and co-ordinated their consignment and supply. The Company then agreed to the opening of trade between the Cape, Ceylon, New South

Wales<sup>140</sup> and Java.<sup>141</sup> When the Company's monopoly over trade with India came to an end in 1813, the Merchants of London trading to the Cape requested the Company to rescind the Order-in-Council which restricted exports of Company goods to the Cape but they refused.<sup>142</sup>

Despite the Company's disinterest in promoting or developing any large-scale trade in Cape goods to either India or Britain, there were some sporadic attempts. The Cape Agents promoted <sup>Cape</sup>wine for the Company's sales in England<sup>143</sup> and its introduction into the Company's Indian military hospitals and canteens.<sup>144</sup> Merino sheep from the Cape were introduced to India in 1825, 1826 and 1828 (Bengal) and from 1836 to 1840 (Bombay) and in 1839-40 (Madras) to feed the troops and to improve the quality of Indian breeds.<sup>145</sup> However, the Cape never held the trading attraction nor had the resources of Mozambique during the Company's existence - the diamonds and gold of the interior were not to be discovered until the 1860s and 1880s.

### **2.2.3. Angola**

Dutch informants advised the East India Company to make contacts at Angola in 1611 for trade in cotton and linen.<sup>146</sup> Angola was outside the limits of the Company's charter and was under Portuguese control. Consequently it was never of much interest to the Company, except for occasional voyages<sup>147</sup> to obtain slaves for its settlements at St. Helena and Fort Marlborough (at Benkulen - see below) and for emergency supplies for St. Helena.

### 2.3. Slavery and labour: Mozambique, Angola and South Africa

From the 1600s to the early 1700s the slave trade in south-east Africa was small-scale compared with the west coast. Although an eighteenth century Portuguese law forbade the sale of slaves to foreign ships, large profits were to be made from it and the Portuguese officials who were paid pitiful salaries, could be encouraged by a small enticement to allow the trade to continue.<sup>148</sup> Although British ships enjoyed special privileges at Mozambique ports, discouragement of foreign trade in slaves was evident.<sup>149</sup>

English vessels visited the Mozambique coast at different places out of sight of the authorities, <sup>(for example at Sofala and subordinate ports of Mozambique)</sup> and after enticing the local Africans aboard, they carried them off.<sup>150</sup> Slaves were traded for English cloth, trinkets, handkerchiefs, taffetas and other silks and spices from India; American cotton and hats, sugar and soap, tea from China and Constantia wine from the Cape.<sup>151</sup>

There are references to permission given by the Company for slaves to be taken from Mozambique in 1623, 1628, 1645 and 1715<sup>152</sup> and from Angola in the 1740s and 1760s.<sup>153</sup> Some of the slaves from these two areas were taken to work at the Company's own settlements at St. Helena and Fort Marlborough (in Sumatra).<sup>154</sup>

It is difficult to get a full picture of how extensive the Company's involvement was in the slave trade on the southern African coast. There are only scattered and somewhat oblique references in the archives, illustrated by examples below. It seems that the Company sometimes allowed an option on a voyage to lapse by mutual consent with the owners, who then took up the East Indiamen for private

voyages, some of which appear to have been to southern Africa for slaves. As these were private voyages, no journals were required to be deposited with the Company. The East India Company assented to the slave trade in Mozambique and Angola, and appears to have benefited from the spin-offs of supplying Indian cloth used as a major currency for the purchase of slaves in Mozambique. The Company also granted private licenses to trade in slaves in southern Africa, but it was an indirect participation, a sideline, not a major concern.

An indirect reference to one of these voyages records the names of all the tribes of Mozambique from whom the slaves were taken on a private voyage of the *Sir Edward Hughes*<sup>155</sup> (undated in the document, but probably before 1807). Entries in ledgers and journals of the Accountant-General's department give some clues that the Company was undertaking or licensing voyages to obtain slaves from Angola and Mozambique.<sup>156</sup> In the early 1720s Colonel John Toogood had persuaded the Company that they were under obligation to return the 'two princes of Delagoa' whom he had rescued from slavery in the West Indies.<sup>157</sup> Another two unfortunate 'princes of Delagoa' found themselves sold as slaves at the Cape in 1792.<sup>158</sup> India was also involved in slave trade from Mozambique: in 1758 the Company's Bombay merchants were instructed from London to procure 'Coffery',<sup>159</sup> slaves from Mozambique for Fort Marlborough<sup>160</sup> and in 1766 the Bombay government freighted and fitted out a ship to take slaves there.<sup>161</sup>

From the late eighteenth century and especially during the nineteenth century, the slave trade became the main international trade in the southern African region.<sup>162</sup> A

major stimulus to the south east African slave trade was the British campaign of abolition. In 1807 Britain made slavery unlawful for British subjects. The East India Company complied with Britain's policy of suppressing slavery.<sup>163</sup> Charles Grant, philanthropist, friend of abolitionists and Company Chairman, hoped that through the Company the east African slave trade might be suppressed.<sup>164</sup> The anti-slavery and commercial treaties between Britain and Portugal between 1808-1817 were the cumulative result of the gradual growth of British interest in east Africa. This rise in interest resulted partly from the slave trade and partly, as discussed above, because of strategic commercial reasons.<sup>165</sup> Britain's favoured trade status in the Portuguese possessions lent further legitimacy to the Company' status.<sup>166</sup>

The Anglo-Portuguese anti-slave treaties (1806-1817) had outlawed Portugal's slave trade north of the equator, but this effectively increased it in the south, particularly in Angola and Mozambique. Mozambique became the focus of international attention as slaves were by then Mozambique's chief export and the trade on which the colony depended for its stability. The slave trade continued in southern Africa into the 1850s.

During his survey of the east African coast from 1822 to 1825<sup>167</sup> and unofficial consulship at Mombasa in 1824, Captain William Owen observed and reported on the slave trade from Zanzibar to Mozambique and also relied on the Bombay government's previous investigations to increase its knowledge of the coast and the slave trade. In the later years of the Company, news of Portuguese slave trade east of Lake Ngami (in Botswana) reached the Bombay government

in 1853,<sup>168</sup> who expressed their concern about it to London. The Bombay government continued to investigate the matter between 1853 and 1855<sup>169</sup> and with some satisfaction reported receiving news of a decree from Mozambique ending Portuguese slave trade operations there in 1857.<sup>170</sup>

The slump in India's cotton industry by the 1830s brought wide-spread unemployment to cotton-related workers. Former slave-owning colonies in the Caribbean and later in Africa as well as Mauritius, made use of the opportunity by proposing a scheme to encourage emigration of Indians to supply cheap labour to the sugar plantations of these colonies.<sup>171</sup> In effect this wave of emigration from 1830 to 1920 replaced African slavery as the new form of world labour movement. In the last years of the East India Company from 1854 to 1857, the government of Natal began negotiations (through the Colonial Office) with the East India Company about a scheme to introduce Indian labour into the colony.<sup>172</sup> Some objections to the Natal proposal were raised and modifications requested by the government of India, delaying its introduction. Although the foundations were laid, the programme did not in fact get off the ground during the Company's existence, but was introduced and expanded under the supervision of its successor the India Office a few years later in 1860.

#### **2.4. Military support and administrative interchangeability: India and the Cape of Good Hope**

The proximity of the Cape of Good Hope, its solid status as a British colony, its well-defended and strategic location and link to the Company through its Agent, all made the Cape an important neighbour of the Company's administrations in India.

In addition to the established trade relations overseen by the Indian presidencies and the Agent at the Cape, the two administrations also operated a policy of mutual military and administrative support and co-operation. Recruitment amongst the settler population for the East India Company's armies in India and the garrison at St. Helena <sup>173</sup> began at the Cape soon after the occupation in 1796.<sup>174</sup> British government concerns over the temporarily weakened defences at the Cape in 1806 induced it to propose a scheme to the Company to send Indian soldiers (Sepoys) from Bengal to strengthen the garrison at the Cape.<sup>175</sup> In 1809 the Cape Governor sent troops to Madras on receiving news of a threat of a mutiny.<sup>176</sup> In 1810 East India Company ships, fitted and supplied at the Cape, assisted in the defeat of the French at Mauritius, Rodriguez and Reunion<sup>177</sup> (ultimately to prevent India from falling under French control). In 1815 Lord Moira, Governor-General of Bengal called for troops from the Cape to put down another mutiny.<sup>178</sup>

Although the East India Company turned down Cape Governor Lord Charles Somerset's scheme to supply Cape-bred horses to the Indian cavalry in 1816,<sup>179</sup> from the 1840s and particularly during the North West Frontier campaign of 1846 and the Indian Mutiny or Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-58, the Company ordered supplies of horses and mules from the Cape for stud breeding <sup>and</sup> <sup>180</sup> cavalry remounts, and to serve as draught animals for artillery and ammunition wagons for the Company's armies in India.<sup>181</sup> Cape timber was proposed for use in musket stocks and field carriage wheels.<sup>182</sup>

In 1851 on reading newspaper reports of the Xhosa uprising at the Cape, the Governor-General of India Lord Dalhousie



immediately ordered troops to be sent there if necessary.<sup>183</sup> During the Sepoy Rebellion, Governor-General Lord Canning called for every possible assistance from the Cape, and troops and horses were supplied in large numbers.<sup>184</sup> An emergency mission under Captain Griffiths Jenkins of the Indian Navy was undertaken to try to persuade the Cape government to free up a British regiment for re-enforcement.<sup>185</sup> Towards the end of the rebellion, the Company was also pressed to build a sanatorium at Cape Town for the relief of sick, wounded soldiers from India and unacclimatised recruits on their way to India.<sup>186</sup>

Canning also requested and obtained agreement from the Cape Governor Sir George Grey that Bahadur Shah II, the Mughal Emperor might be kept as a state prisoner at King William's Town in the eastern Cape colony.<sup>187</sup> The ex-emperor was, however, exiled to Rangoon instead. Grey also offered the Company the opportunity of sending disaffected regiments of Sepoys to the Cape but they would not consider the offer seriously.<sup>188</sup>

In the later years of its existence, the Company also discussed proposals to recruit African soldiers from Natal for India<sup>189</sup> and to send African soldiers from the Cape with their families as emigrants to the West Indies.<sup>190</sup>

From the first British occupation of the Cape, a remarkable number of the East India Company's governors and military commanders saw service both in India and South Africa,<sup>191</sup> for example George, Earl Macartney was Governor of Madras (1780-86) and of the Cape (1796-98). Sir David Baird, commander responsible for the capture of the Cape in 1806, also fought in the highlands of India. Sir Peregrine

Maitland was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army (1836-38) and later Governor of the Cape (1844-47). Sir Henry Pottinger, Governor of the Cape (1846-47),<sup>192</sup> served in the Indian Marine and army and was also an explorer of Sind. Sir John Cradock, Governor of the Cape (1811-1816) had caused a mutiny in India when, as commander-in-chief, he insisted that Sepoys appear on parade without their caste marks.<sup>193</sup> Sir Harry Smith had fought at the Cape in 1836 against the Xhosa. He had participated in the defeat of the Sikhs at the battle of Aliwal<sup>194</sup> in the Punjab in January 1846, before returning as Governor of the Cape (1847-52). Many East India Company officials stopped off at the Cape on their way to India, or went there from India to recover their health or to spend their leave. The Cape was seen by many East India Company servants as an attractive place at which to rest and recover from Indian's harsh climate. The Company's Agent would arrange salary payment during their stay. As a result there are many references to individuals at the Cape scattered over a number of East India Company archive classes.<sup>195</sup>

## **2.5. Other more peripheral examples of East India Company involvement in southern Africa**

The peripheral involvement of the East India Company in southern Africa emerges mainly in incidental and unrelated episodes - a few examples of which are presented below.

In the traditions of its day, the Company was looked up to as a provider of gentlemanly, humanitarian and charitable good deeds. Appeals from the Cape for example, included financial contributions for the relief of the new English settlers in the eastern Cape in 1824,<sup>196</sup> and a donation towards the erection of an English Church opposite the

Company's offices in Cape Town (now St. George's cathedral) in 1828;<sup>197</sup> but the Company refused similar requests from the Scottish Presbyterians in the same year<sup>and</sup><sup>198</sup> from W W Bird for another English church to be erected in Wynberg in 1834,<sup>199</sup> and declined a philanthropic association's request to assist freed slaves at the Cape.<sup>200</sup>

The wreck of the Company's ship *Grosvenor* in 1783 and the fate of a number of women and children who had reached the shores of the eastern Cape attracted much attention in England. The Company put some effort in trying to trace the survivors through the agency of the Cape Governor.<sup>201</sup>

The Company's governments in India occasionally sent its convicts to the Cape<sup>202</sup> and arrangements were made with the Colonial Office in London for British Army soldiers sentenced by court martial in India to be sent to the Cape.<sup>203</sup>

In 1797 the Company appointed a Committee of Enquiry to investigate improvement in communications between Bombay and the Cape, with the possibility of penetrating through Mozambique to the northern British stations (it is uncertain which stations are being referred to here, but probably Zanzibar).<sup>204</sup> Steam communication was opened around the Cape and with it brought improved communication with the Cape and regular mail services.<sup>205</sup>

The exploration of the interior of southern Africa and its natural history appealed to the Company's servants and subjects. Francis Studley, a former Company official, attempted to obtain the Company's sponsorship for his expedition into the Cape interior but received no support

for it.<sup>206</sup> An engraver, Major W Fraser, offered the Company patronage of editions of views of Cape Town in 1810, but they declined the offer.<sup>207</sup> When the Raja of Alwar required some giraffes in 1846, Lt-Col John Sutherland of the Bombay Army and Resident at Ajmere, was sent to Grahamstown to catch and deliver two to the Raja.<sup>208</sup>

The Company supported and participated in the scientific advancement of its day. Bengal Army Captain George Everest was interested in references to geodetic operations at the Cape in his survey work.<sup>209</sup> Sir John Herschel sent copies of his astronomical observations at the Cape for the Company's library in 1847.<sup>210</sup> Lieutenant Manvell Johnson was sent to the Cape from St Helena to gather information to assist the construction of an observatory on St Helena in 1825.<sup>211</sup> Cape vine cuttings were sent to Madras; seeds and plants were exchanged between the botanical gardens of Cape Town and Calcutta, Sahranpore and Nopalry.<sup>212</sup> Hops from the Cape was sent to India to improve the brewing of beer for the army.<sup>213</sup>

In conclusion - an investigation of the East India Company's interest in southern Africa through its archives, reveals a varied and interesting relationship. Company policy throughout its existence was always directed to serving its own interests first. This is clearly evident from the angle of its interests in southern Africa: the way in which it consistently sought to protect its sea-route to India and its settlements there. The Cape and Mozambique performed the most useful role to the Company in this regard. The Company's determination to find a secure supply base for its ships, (fixing ultimately on the Cape) was primarily driven to facilitate the most expedient return of

the wealth from this trade back to its London warehouses. The Company's trading interest in southern Africa was only really ever attracted by the wealth of Mozambique. Mozambique became an important buttress to the Company's 'country' trade between India and Africa, and also in the provision of new markets for its goods during Napoleon's blockade of Europe.

The Company's involvement in the slave trade was not a major concern, but nevertheless slaves from southern Africa played a part in some of the Company's settlements. The slave trade also influenced the opening up of Mozambique to its trade, which had advantageous spin-offs for the Company's Indian trade. In military and administrative terms, the Cape played an important role as a dependable neighbour for the Company's Indian presidencies. Finally, the exchange of resources and scientific co-operation between the Cape and India proved mutually beneficial.

## Notes to Chapter 2

References to original documents are to the East India Company archives, which are part of the India Office Records (IOR), unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Court of Directors, B/94, 1 April 1779, p. 627; Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/30, 1 April 1779 p. 149; A.S. Cook, 'Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), Hydrographer to the East India Company and to the Admiralty, as publisher: a catalogue of books and charts', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews (1992) pp. 104-105.

<sup>2</sup> For example references to improvements to navigation at the Cape may be found in Court Minutes, B/154, 21 Jan 1812 f. 1023; Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/247, no. 152; Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/297, nos. 3602, 4346; Correspondence with India: E/4/90, /210, /235, /325, /561, /561, /698, /785, /810, /826, /868, /884, /963, /975, /1078, /1081; Board's Collections, F/4/2394, col. 128 558 and F/4/2564 col. 150 931; Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/2, 1 Jul 1810, ff. 463-68; G/9/7, 1 Jul 1810, ff. 117-122; Financial Department Committee Records, L/F/1/34, pp. 337-8, 347; L/F/1/37 p. 203; L/F/1/40 p. 284; Minutes of the Committee of Shipping, L/MAR/1/10, 28 Nov 1821 p. 587; L/MAR/1/11, 21 Aug 1822 p. 306.

<sup>3</sup> References to pirate attacks in southern African waters may be found in Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/18, ff. 15-16, 19 (1719), f. 37v (1720); Committee of Correspondence Memoranda, D/93 ff. 451-52 (1713); Committee of Correspondence Memoranda, D/97, 14 Jan 1720/1; Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/201, p. 248; Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/1, ff. 177 no. 106, f. 90, no. 112 (1613).

<sup>4</sup> Cook, *op.cit.* p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> For a chronological list of East India Company ships' landfalls in southern Africa compiled from existing journals in Marine Department classes L/MAR/A, Ships' Journals, 1605-1705 and L/MAR/B, Ships' Logs, 1702-1856, see Appendix (Volume 2).

<sup>6</sup> For the Company's collection of marine charts relating to southern Africa compiled from Map Collections class X/, see Appendix (Volume 2).

<sup>7</sup> Examples of additional information on southern Africa found in ships' journals and logs are: the *Clove*, L/MAR/A/XIV, ff. 24, 27, 30, 1611; the *Ranger*, L/MAR/B/421A(2), 22 Dec 1786; sketches of ships at anchor in Table Bay from the *Duke of Cumberland* in 1729, L/MAR/B/562A, f. 34v-35; drawings of Table Bay from journal of the *Defence*, 1740 L/MAR/B/647B and *Duke of Grafton*, L/MAR/B/508C, 16 Sep 1776; *Loyal Merchant*, L/MAR/A/CXXXII, 9 Dec 1699 with a description of Cape Town and its inhabitants, f. 10v; an account of Mozambique Island in the journal of the *Duke of York*, L/MAR/B/94C, 8 Oct 1723. Other series which contain scattered references to trade and shipping on the southern African coast are located in Marine Miscellaneous, L/MAR/C and L/MAR/1-/9.

<sup>8</sup> Court Minutes, B/70, 19 Jan 1750, p. 589.

<sup>9</sup> Minutes of the Committee of Shipping, L/MAR/1/24, 31 Jan 1816.

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of the Committee of Shipping, include the receipt of Walker's chart, L/MAR/1/24, 29 Jul 1818; the recommendation of Cpt James Horsburgh of the value of Walker's survey to the Company, L/MAR/1/7, 29 Jul 1818 p.323, 19 Aug 1818, pp. 385-6; and payment to him in Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/254 no. 1160, 25 Sep 1818 p.745.

<sup>11</sup> References to Captain Moresby's survey of the Mozambique Channel are in, Letters received from Bombay, (Marine dept), E/4/504, 30 Nov 1822 (payment); E/4/1044, (Marine and Forest), 14 Apr 1824 pp. 722-24 (batta); papers about the survey are in Board's Collections, F/4/725 col. 19 650 (Sep-Nov 1822); and the thanks of the Bombay government in Bombay Marine Consultations, P/411/78, 25 Sep 1822 p. 922.

<sup>12</sup> Numerous references to Owen's survey include Court Minutes, B/174, 28 Nov 1821, f. 627, 5 Dec 1821, f.650, 12 Dec 1821, f.655; Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, D/8, 14 Nov 1821 p.191, 23 Nov 1821 pp.221-2, 5 Dec 1821 p.242; Owen's, Horsburgh's and Admiralty's correspondence with the Company on the survey are in Home Correspondence, E/1/146 nos. 20, 43-45, 121; E/1/257, pp. 1031-35; the Company advising Indian governments, in Despatches to Bengal, E/4/706 (Public Dept), 16 Jan 1822, pp. 51-52 and Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1041, 16 Jan 1822; Entries for Company's payment for the survey are in Accountant General's Records: General Ledgers, L/AG/1/1/32 (1823-26) p.568 and Journals, L/AG/1/6/26, p. 481 (1823); and payments through the Agent at the Cape in L/AG/1/6/27, p. 105 (1824).

<sup>13</sup> M.V. Jackson, *European Powers and South-East Africa: a study of international relations on the south-east coast of Africa, 1796-1856* (London, 1942), p. 109.

<sup>14</sup> For the Admiralty's supply of Owen's charts of the southern African coast to the Company, see Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee, L/F/1/7, 13 Dec 1837, p. 273; L/F/1/11, 25 Oct 1839, p. 65; Financial Home Correspondence, L/F/2/25 no. 75, 20 Oct 1837.

<sup>15</sup> R. Raven-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck: callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652* (Cape Town, 1967), pp. 8, 15, 25,27, notes that from 1601 the Dutch were describing Table Bay as such, but the English called Table Bay 'Saldania' or variants 'Soldania', or 'Soldany'; R. Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*, (Johannesburg, 1985) p.74, note 8, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> Specific references to contacts between the Company and the Khoikhoi at Table Bay may be found in Court Minutes, B/2, 14 Apr 1609, ff. 107-08; Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/1 ff. 9,23,159,176v,177 (1608-13); E/3/2 ff. 82,94,104,165,211,215,253 (1614-15); E/3/5 f. 370 (1618); E/3/10 f. 179 (1624); and in Elphick, *op.cit*, pp. 74-86.

<sup>17</sup> References to bartering copper and brass are in Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/2 f. 108v; and in Elphick, *op. cit*. pp.76-78.

<sup>18</sup> References to Coree's abduction to London and return to Table Bay are in Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/2 f. 82, f.232, f.253; in Elphick, *op. cit*. pp. 78-79; in Raven-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck*, pp. 54,87; in E. Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (London, 1777), pp. 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> Elphick, *op.cit.* pp. 78-79.

<sup>20</sup> Instances of tensions or violence between Khoikhoi and Company men are found in Court Minutes, B/6 p.195 (forced sale of livestock); Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/7, pp. 175v, 272, E/3/8, 6 Mar 1622, ff. 231-32; E/3/9, 27 Aug 1622, ff. 72-73, (murder of men of the *Rose*, 1620); Marine Miscellaneous Records, L/MAR/C/3, no 13 Mar 1613, (murder of Captain Cross' men).

<sup>21</sup> Court Minutes, B/6, 6 Oct 1618, p.219.

<sup>22</sup> For various accounts of the annexation of 'Saldania Bay' (Table Bay) see Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/7, 13 Oct 1620, f.254, 2 Dec 1620, f.272; Miscellaneous Factory Records, G/40/8 pp. 373-77 (copies of letters, consultations etc. on the annexation of Saldania Bay), G/40/10, 3-7 Jul 1620, ff. 122-27; Marine Miscellaneous Records, L/MAR/C/2, Correspondence of the Royal Exchange at the Cape, pp. 30-33, 37, 41-43 (1619-20).

<sup>23</sup> King James' Mount was the old name for Signal Hill. See Maurice Boucher, *The Cape of Good Hope and foreign contacts 1735-1755*, (Pretoria, 1985) p.55.

<sup>24</sup> The Company's protest to the Dutch over the claim to Table Bay is in Java Factory Records, G/21/2 part 4, 29 May 1654, pp. 408-11.

<sup>25</sup> Elphick, *op. cit.* p. 82.

<sup>26</sup> The Company's discussion of the establishment of a plantation at the Cape is in Court Minutes, B/8, Report from the Master of the *Rose*, 27 Aug 1623, p.90 and Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/2, 5 Nov 1615, f. 106v.

<sup>27</sup> Comments on the quality of the Cape as a refreshment place are in Court Minutes, B/6, 6 Oct 1618, p. 219; Miscellaneous Factory Records, G/40/8, extract letter from Dirick Bass & Co. at Amsterdam, 16 Jun 1620, p. 347.

<sup>28</sup> John Keay, *The Honourable Company: a history of the English East India Company*, (London, 1991), p. 92.

<sup>29</sup> References to the Company's convict settlement at the Cape are in Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/2, 18 Jun 1615 f. 111v; E/3/4, 27 Jun 1616, ff. 28-29 (convicts' agreement on arrival at the Cape); Elphick, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80; Keay, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>30</sup> Specific references to the Company's 'post office' operations at the Cape may be found in Court Minutes, B/6, 8 Dec 1618, p. 268; Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/2 no. 251, 25 Feb 1615, f. 223; E/3/7, 16 Jun 1620, ff. 220, 345.

<sup>31</sup> Elphick, *op. cit.* pp. 82-86.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84

<sup>33</sup> Examples of references to wine shipments from the Cape are in Court Minutes, B/70, 22 Nov 1749, p. 521; the squabbles with the Dutch in Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/202 29 Oct 1723, pp. 120-21; Despatches to the Cape, E/3/101, Nov-Dec 1722, ff. 161-62 (wreck of the *Nightingale*).



<sup>34</sup> Instances of Cape assistance to St. Helena during the Dutch administration are in St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/56, 19-20 Mar 1794, ff. 400-01; 28 May 1794, ff. 511-12.

<sup>35</sup> George and Isaac Clifford and Co. to the Company, Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous Letters Received, E/1/1. no. 60, 11 Jan 1707, f. 120.

<sup>36</sup> Shipping reports from the Company's Agents in Amsterdam (Clifford & Co. and Hope & Co.) are in Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/34-35 (1747-50), /37 (1753), and /44 (1762).

<sup>37</sup> Discussions between the Secretary of State and the Company Chairmen over the desirability of capturing the Cape and the Company's Committee of Secrecy deliberations are in Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/154-55 (Sep-Nov 1781); and French plans to control India from the Cape are in Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, L/P&S/1/4, 8 Nov 1781, f. 229.

<sup>38</sup> Intelligence reports from the Cape from 1770 to 1782 may be found in Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/102 ff. 471, 479-485; H/105, ff. 331-32, 341-44; H/107; /108; /118; /120; /124; /140; /143; /145; /146; /150; /161 pp. 611-624; and in Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/5; /7; /9 (1780-1795).

<sup>39</sup> The archives of the French agency at the Cape are located in the Archives Nationales de France (Aix-en-Provence), Agences des concessions d'Afrique: C5B, Cap de Bonne-Esperance, 1759-1792 (8 items), see J. Favier, *Les archives Nationales: État Général des Fonds* (Paris, 1980), p. 291.

<sup>40</sup> Richard Lewin's appointment and instructions are in Madras Select Committee Consultations, P/D/2, 2 Oct 1780, pp. 1674-76 and Madras Select Committee Consultations, P/D/3, 12 Oct 1780, pp. 1806, 16 Oct 1780, pp. 1843-45; his intelligence reports from the Cape are in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records (additional papers), G/9/25, ff. 1-10, 1778-81 and in Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/153 ff. 565-80.

<sup>41</sup> Lewin's letter to the Company on his return and accounts of his detention are in Home Correspondence: Letters Received, E/1/75, no. 12; 7 Jul 1784 and no. 25, 14 Jul 1784; Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bengal, E/4/626, 29 Aug 1781, pp. 546-48; Despatches to Madras, E/4/869, 29 Aug 1781, pp. 852-54; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1001, 29 Aug 1781; Cape of Good Hope (additional papers), G/9/25, Jan-Apr 1781, ff. 3-10; and in Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/153, 3 Apr 1781, ff. 559-61.

<sup>42</sup> Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/154, East India Company Chairs to Secretary of State, 8 Sep 1781, pp. 119-20.

<sup>43</sup> The Company's Committee of Secrecy discussion on the importance of the Cape is in Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, L/P&S/1/4, 25 Oct 1781, ff. 213-7; Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/154, pp. 227-235; see also L.C.F. Turner, 'The Cape of Good Hope and Anglo-French rivalry 1778-1796', in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 12, 1 (1966), p. 173.

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy, Home Miscellaneous Series, H/154, 18 Oct 1781, pp. 287-289; V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire 1763-1793*, Volume 1 (London, 1952) p. 121.

<sup>45</sup> Sullivan and James to Hillsborough, Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/154, 25 Oct 1781, pp. 277-86; V.T. Harlow and A.F. Madden, *British Colonial Developments 1774-1834; select documents*, (Oxford, 1953), p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire*, I, p. 107.

<sup>47</sup> Memorandum of the Chairs Sullivan and James to Hillsborough, Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies Series, H/155 7 Nov 1781, p. 80; Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire*, I, p. 108.

<sup>48</sup> Memorandum to the Chairman of the East India Company, Original Correspondence of the Secretary of State - East Indies, January 1782, PRO: CO 77/25, quoted in V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire*, pp. 125.

<sup>49</sup> V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire* I, (London, 1952), pp. 125-126; L C F Turner, 'The Cape of Good Hope and Anglo-French rivalry 1778-1796' in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 12, 1, (1966) pp. 175-6.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire* I, p. 125.

<sup>51</sup>, Instructions from the Secret Committee of the East India Company to the Captain of the *Swallow*, PRO: CO 77/25, Sep 1783, quoted in V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire* I, p. 126 note 47. It is interesting (but unfortunate) to note, that no trace of these instructions was found in the Committee of Secrecy records. It is likely that they were casualties of destruction of records in the India Office in the 1860s.

<sup>52</sup> Home Correspondence: Letters received, E/1/75 no. 12, Lewin to Court of Records, 7 Jul 1784.

<sup>53</sup> Home Correspondence: Letters received, E/1/75 no. 25, Lewin to Court of Directors, 14 Jul 1784.

<sup>54</sup> 'A Narrative' by Lt. Henry Pemberton, Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/1, 2 May 1785, pp. 18-27; and Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/9, f.138, 15 Nov 1785, 20 Feb and 25 Mar 1786.

<sup>55</sup> V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire* I, p. 128.

<sup>56</sup> Pitt papers, PRO:G.D.8/128, quoted in M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape - a history of the Agency under Pringle (1794-1815) based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records" in *Archives Year Book for South African History*, Vol. II, (Cape Town, 1960), note 31, p 190; L.C.F. Turner, 'The Cape of Good Hope and Anglo-French rivalry 1778-1796', pp. 176-177.

<sup>57</sup> Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/9, 17 Nov 1785, 20 Feb 1786, 25 Mar 1786. ff. 139-40.

<sup>58</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 191.

<sup>59</sup> Home Correspondence, E/1/79 no. 187, 15 Sep 1786; V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire* I, p. 132; J. Kinahan, *By Command*

of their Lordships - the exploration of the Namibian coast by the Royal Navy, 1795-1895 (Windhoek, 1992) p. 3; Turner, *op. cit.* p. 176.

<sup>60</sup> Letters received, E/1/79, Lord Sydney to the East India Company, 15 Sep 1786.

<sup>61</sup> V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire I*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>62</sup> V.T. Harlow, 'The British Occupation 1795-1806', in Ch. VII, *Cambridge History of the British Empire Vol VIII* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 169-70; V.T. Harlow, *British Colonial Developments*, p. 17 and M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 191.

<sup>63</sup> Arkin, *op.cit.*, p.191.

<sup>64</sup> The Secret Committee's decision to appoint Pringle's and their explanation of his agency to the governments of Bengal and Madras are in Secret Despatches to Bengal, L/P&S/5/563, pp. 72-74; Pringle described his appointment as Agent and Commissary in a letter to his former employers, the Bombay government, see Bombay Political and Secret Consultations, P/E/7, 20 Feb 1794, pp. 333-34; and see also Home Correspondence, E/1/93 no. 122, 24 Sep 1795; and M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 310.

<sup>65</sup> Pringle's first reports to the Secret Committee from the Cape are in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/26, 20 Feb 1794, ff. 5-6; the refusal of recognition by Cape authorities in G/9/26, 14-18 Sep 1794, ff. 15-16; and discussions with the Governor on his status and withdrawal to St. Helena are in G/9/26, 15 Mar 1795 and 20 Aug 1795, ff. 31-36.

<sup>66</sup> V.T. Harlow, *British Colonial Developments*, quoting Francis Baring to Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, 4 Jan 1795, note 43, p 17.

<sup>67</sup> Commanders' reports to the Company on the performance of Company forces at the Cape are in Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/93, no. 115, Adm G. K. Elphinstone, 22 Sep 1795 and no. 116, Maj-Gen A. Clarke, 23 Sep 1795.

<sup>68</sup> References to John Pringle's role in the capture of the Cape are in St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/58 28 May 1795, ff. 12-16; 3 and 8 Jun 1795, ff. 29-36; and 24 Jun 1795, f.97.

<sup>69</sup> The Company's ships *Bombay Castle*, *Exeter* and *Brunswick* were fitted out as men-of-war at Bombay and assisted in operations at the Cape (see F. Danvers, *List of Marine Records of the late East India Company* (London, 1896), p. xix. Commander's reports on Company forces during operations at the Cape are in Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/93, no. 115, Adm G K Elphinstone, 22 Sep 1795 and no. 116, Maj-Gen A Clarke, 23 Sep 1795.

<sup>70</sup> Intelligence from the Cape prior to the second British occupation, is in Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/3, 24 May 1804, p. 10.

<sup>71</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 214.

<sup>72</sup> References to the involvement of Company forces in the second occupation of the Cape are to be found in Minutes of the Secret Committee, 26 Jul 1805, ff. 247-48; 14 Aug, 26 Sep 1805, f. 249.

<sup>73</sup> For example, a sword valued at £500 was presented to Admiral Elphinstone, see Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, D/1, 18 Jan 1797; D/37 p. 91.

<sup>74</sup> For a discussion of St. Helena's dependence on the Cape, see Chapter 3, and for examples of specific references to supply from the Cape, see Marine Department Records: Minutes of the Committee of Shipping, L/MAR/1/12, 13 Apr 1824, p.872-73; St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/55, 1 Jul 1793, ff. 331-32; G/32/56, 22 Jul 1793, ff. 127; 25 Jul 1793, f.132; 19-20 Mar 1794, ff. 400-01; G/32/77, Feb-Mar 1812 pp. 372-79, 27 Apr 1812, pp. 468-69.

<sup>75</sup> References to the Company's interest in coal discoveries in Natal are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from India and Bengal, E/4/178, 27 Oct 1841; Letters received from Bombay, E/4/542, 13 Aug 1841; Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/773, 25 Jan 1843; in Board's Collections, F/4/1960, F/4/1978; in Finance and Home Committee Minutes, L/F/1/10, 7 Aug 1839, p.450; L/F/1/12 2 Jun 1840, p.196, 24 Jun 1840, p.254; L/F/1/14, 1 Dec 1841, p.210; L/F/1/16 7 Sep 1842, p.643; Bombay Marine Consultations, P/413/7 no. 1440-41.

<sup>76</sup> References to the Company's interest in coal in Mozambique may be found in Bombay Marine Consultations, P/413/5 no. 106-7, 2 Jan 1841; no. 522, 24 Mar 1841; P/413/6 nos. 756-7, 973, 1154.

<sup>77</sup> Some examples of East India Company's ships' landfalls at Angola are: the *Salisbury* at Luanda, L/MAR/B/478B, 1747; the *Royal George* at Cabinda, L/MAR/B/572, 1765; the *Brampton* at Benguela, L/MAR/B/328A, 1820.

<sup>78</sup> St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations G/32/82, 6 Jan 1817, ff. 310-11,; G/32/83, May 1817, p. 155; 7 Jan 1825-3 Jan 1827, p. 161; Board's Collections, F/4/766 col. 20 747, (1825); Ship's journal of the *Georgiana*, L/MAR/B/156E-F, 1805 and the *St. Helena*, L/MAR/B/327A and /328A (1820).

<sup>79</sup> Some examples of East India Company's ships' landfalls at Mozambique are: the *Marlborough* at Delagoa, L/MAR/B/602G, 1747; the *Salisbury* at Delagoa, L/MAR/B/478B, 1747; Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/1 no. 97, at Angoche, f.159; no. 99, at Sofala, f.165; and see M.V. Jackson, *European Powers and South-East Africa: a study of international relations on the south-east coast of Africa, 1796-1858* (London, 1942), p. 66.

<sup>80</sup> Jackson, p. 17.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67; the Company's proposal to take control of Mozambique in 1807 may also be found in Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/10, Chairs to Robert Dundas, Board of Control, 10 Dec 1807, f. 13.

<sup>82</sup> Jackson, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>83</sup> *Letters and Despatches of Viscount Castlereagh*, VIII, p. 93 Dundas to Castlereagh, 12 Dec 1807, quoted in Jackson, *op. cit.* pp. 67-68.

<sup>84</sup> Jackson, *op.cit.* p. 66.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>86</sup> Examples of the attempts by the Company's Indian governments to obtain supplies of coal from Mozambique are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bombay (Marine), E/4/539, 1 Dec 1840, E/4/547, 8 Aug 1842; Despatches to India and Bengal (Marine), E/4/770, 1 Jul 1842, pp. 640-41; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1073, 30 May 1843, pp. 86-87; Board's Collections, F/4/1868 col. 79 483; F/4/1944; F/4/1960; F/4/1994; Bombay Marine Consultations, P/413/5 nos. 106-07,522, (1841); P/413/6 nos. 756-57, 973.

<sup>87</sup> Court Minutes, B/2, f. 31v, H.J. Compostel's note from his voyage with Steven van der Hagen, Dec 1603.

<sup>88</sup> Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/1 f. 155 (1611).

<sup>89</sup> The Company's instructions to commanders to trade to Mozambique for ivory are in Court Minutes, B/2, 9 Mar 1606/7, f.46; 29 Feb 1607/8, ff. 92-93; and comments on the quality of ivory in Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/2, 25 Feb 1615, f.223; Jackson, p. 88.

<sup>90</sup> S.I. Gorerazvo Mudenge, 'Afro-Indian relations before 1900, a southeast central Africa perspective', in Shanti Sadiq Ali and R R Ramchandani (eds) *India and the Western Indian Ocean States: towards regional co-operation in development* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 40.

<sup>91</sup> References to Company ships' voyages to Mozambique from India are in Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/8, 20-22 Feb 1622, ff. 218-22; E/3/14, 24 Mar 1633, f. 158v; E/3/16 (1638), ff. 58-59; E/3/17, ff. 216-17, 316r, 326r (1640); E/3/18, 27 Jan 1644, f. 319r; E/3/19 (1644) f. 56; for a description of trade: Miscellaneous Factory Records, G/40/1 (1620), p.10 and G/40/12 (1642) p.77; G/40/29, ff. 605-07, 619, (1658); Surat Factory Records G/36/2 pp. 19, 25, 35 (1660-1633).

<sup>92</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 88.

<sup>93</sup> For examples of goods traded at Mozambique Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/175, 13 Jan 1841; Bombay Commercial Reports, P/419/40, no. 18, 1802-03, pp. 8-10; Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 92.

<sup>94</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 89.

<sup>95</sup> The Court Minutes include reference to the Company maintaining stocks of cowrie shells as currency for trade in Africa, Court Minutes, B/84, f. 194; one of its warehouses, the 'African House' is mentioned in the Court Minutes between 1673 and 1749, where it is assumed shells and other goods for the African trade were housed.

<sup>96</sup> List of imports to and exports from Bombay (various places, including Mozambique), Bombay Commercial Reports, P/419/40, no. 18, 1802-03, pp. 1-22; Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 87.

<sup>97</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 96

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98

<sup>100</sup> An example of Company rivalry with the Portuguese in Mozambique is in Marine Miscellaneous Records, L/MAR/C/2 pp. 29v,43 (1616).

<sup>101</sup> Examples of Company goods sold at Mozambique are in Court Minutes, B/21, p 135 (1644); B/26, p 464 (1662); Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence E/3/18 f. 321r (1644), E/3/19, E/3/56 (1644), E/3/85, ff. 33v-34 (1658); Bombay Commercial Reports, P/419/40, no. 18, 1802-03, pp. 8-10.

<sup>102</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 124.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>104</sup> Company trade with the Mozambican kings is mentioned in the journal of the *Earl of Ashburnham*, L/MAR/B/542A, Sep 1762.

<sup>105</sup> The case of the Delagoa princes may be traced in Court Minutes, B/56 pp. 121, 149, 170, 206, 217, 219, 231, 297, 352, 360, 456-7, 524-25, 533, 540; Committee of Correspondence Memoranda, D/97, Jun-Dec 1720-21; Home Correspondence, Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/11 (Sep-Nov 1720), E/1/12 (1720-1721); Miscellanies, E/1/201 pp. 368,382 (1721); Home Miscellaneous, H/23, 3 Oct 1721, ff. 134-39; and payments to Col. Toogood are in Accountant-General's Records: General Ledgers, L/AG/1/5/12 p.25.

<sup>106</sup> Court Minutes, B/56, 17 Jun 1720, pp. 43-44; Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/18, 18 Oct 1720, f. 30v.

<sup>107</sup> East India Company discussions on opening up Mozambique trade are in Court Minutes, B/56 pp. 42-45, 56, 61, 65,79-80,95, 244-5, 343, 468, 476-77 (Jun 1720-Oct 1721); Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/18, 18 Oct 1720, f. 30v; 21 Sep 1721, f. 57; and the Portuguese protest in Miscellanies, E/1/201, 11 Oct 1720, pp. 260-61; 31 Mar 1721, pp. 327-8; 1 Sep 1721, pp. 364-66; Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/11 no. 196.

<sup>108</sup> Goreraazvo Mudenge, *op. cit.* p. 41.

<sup>109</sup> Examples of the Company's interest in trade with Mozambique in the late 1700s are in Home Miscellaneous Series, H/174 pp. 118-121 and H/175 ff. 337-380.

<sup>110</sup> References to the East India Company's supply of goods for the slave trade may be found in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Madras E/4/863, 15 Feb 1765, p.79; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/997, 22 Mar 1765, pp. 611-12.

<sup>111</sup> References to blue cloth and other cloth from India favoured for trade at Mozambique are in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Madras, E/4/865, 10 Dec 1773 pp. 983-84; Despatches to Madras in 1800s: E/4/873;/874;/875;877;/878;/886;/889;/890;/892;/895;/999; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1004;/1005;/1007;/1009;/1010;1015;1016.

<sup>112</sup> References to the *Spy* and *Snow* incident at Delagoa are in Home Miscellaneous Series: East Indies series, H/175, James Sibbald to Bombay Govt, Apr 1781 - Jul 1782, pp. 337-80; ; Bombay Commercial Reports, P/419/40, no. 18, 1802-03, pp. 8-10; Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 124.

<sup>113</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p 125.

---

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>118</sup> Home Miscellaneous Series, H/494, Ramsay to Fawkener, Lords of Trade and Plantations, 8, 17 and 24 Dec 1807, pp. 505-529,; Jackson, *op. cit.* p 98.

<sup>119</sup> The Company's reaction to William Jacob's proposal to trade to east Africa is in Home Miscellaneous Series, H/494, 24 Dec 1807, pp. 519-20; Jackson, *op. cit.* pp. 70-71.

<sup>120</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 105.

<sup>121</sup> A reference to the Company's proposal to take control of Mozambique in 1807 may be found in Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/10, Chairs to Robert Dundas, Board of Control, 10 Dec 1807, f. 13.

<sup>122</sup> Jackson *op. cit.* p. 73.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>124</sup> Background papers on Mozambique supplied to Hardy and Smee are in Marine Miscellaneous Records, L/MAR/C/586, Proceedings of the Company's cruizers *Ternate* and *Sylph* 1810-1812, ff.-10,16-21; Bombay Public Consultations, P/344/34 pp. 8575,8589, 31 Dec 1810.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas Wallace, member of the Board of Control, advocating Delagoa Bay as potential market in early 1800s. See also Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 107.

<sup>126</sup> The incident involving Captain Ramsden at Delagoa in 1815 is in Correspondence with India, Letters Received from Bombay, E/4/493 (Political), 24 Feb 1816; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1036 (Political) 1 Apr 1818, pp. 624-30; Board's Collections, F/4/535 col. 12 856.

<sup>127</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 126.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-203.

<sup>129</sup> References to the revived Company interest in Mozambique in 1836 may be found in Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, L/P&J/1/2, Oct-Nov 1836, pp. 78,92; References to the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, L/P&J/1/23, nos. 449,475, Nov-Dec 1836; Political General Correspondence, L/P&S/3/122, 8 Apr 1836, pp. 275-77, Aug 1836, pp. 278-79; L/P&S/3/123, pp. 23-24, 73, 84-85, 87-88, Oct-Nov 1836.

<sup>130</sup> References to the Portuguese ban on dyed cloth from British India are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bombay, E/4/566, 1 Jan 1847; Despatches to Bombay (Political), E/4/1083, 30 Jun 1847, pp. 1214-16; Bombay Political letters, L/P&S/6/203, no. 1 of 1847, 1 Jan 1847.

<sup>131</sup> Examples of references to continued trade with Mozambique between the 1830s and 1850s are in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bombay (Revenue), E/4/1065, 6 Nov, 1839; Letters received from India and Bengal (Revenue), E/4/175, 13 Jan 1841; Madras letters received (Revenue), E/4/382, 26 Aug 1840; Bombay letters received (Revenue), E/4/536, 31 Mar 1840; Despatches to Bombay (Political), E/4/1106, 14 Jan 1857; Board's Collections, F/4/2061 col. 94 452 (1840-41).

<sup>132</sup> A reference to trade between the Cape and Balambangan is in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bombay, E/4/999, 12 Jun 1771, p. 25.

<sup>133</sup> References to the Cape colonists' demand for tea may be found in M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p.194; China and Japan Factory Records: Canton Consultations, G/12/163, Pringle to Supracargoes at Canton, 29 Sep 1808, pp. 203-04.

<sup>134</sup> Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/233, 10 Aug 1796, pp. 216, 24 Dec 1796, pp. 447-453.

<sup>135</sup> Company discussions with the Lords of the Council of Trade on trade to and from the Cape and the subsequent Order-in-Council on the regulation of this trade in 1796, are in Minutes of Court of Directors, B/123, 10 Aug 1796, ff. 503-506, B/124, 23 Dec 1796, f. 967; and in F.C. Danvers, *Report on the Records of the India Office*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Records Relating to Agencies, Factories and Settlements now under the Administration of the Government of India, (London, 1887), pp. 167-169

<sup>136</sup> The Company's own discussions on trade and supplies for the Cape are in Minutes of the Court of Directors, B/126, 22 Nov 1797, pp. 652-652; 6 Dec 1797, p.696; 22 Dec 1797, pp. 760-761; 12 Jan 1798, pp. 855-856; Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, D/1, 5 and 6 Dec 1797, 12 Jan 1798; Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/104 no. 168, (1801); Miscellanies, E/1/234, 6 Dec 1797-16 Jan 1798, pp. 538-9, 539-41; E/1/241 pp. 338-42 (1806); E/1/242 p. 106 (Feb 1807), pp. 211-212 (3 Apr 1807).

<sup>137</sup> Discussions on the viability of opening trade between the Cape and India after the first British occupation are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bombay, E/4/47, 5 Aug 1797.

<sup>138</sup> References to the opening trade between India and the Cape after 1806 are in Letters received from Bombay (Commercial), E/4/477, 5 Aug 1797; E/4/479, 29 Nov 1800; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1022, 10 Jun 1807, pp. 377-941; Board's Collections, F/4/193 col. 4398.

<sup>139</sup> For the various acts and regulations drawn up as a result of the Company's commitment to supply the Cape with eastern goods, see Statutes, Charters and Treaties, A/2/2 pp. 698, 979, 21 Apr 1806; Court Minutes, B/143, 3 Jun 1806, pp. 251-252; Committee of Correspondence Minutes, D/3, 30 May 1806, 17 Apr 1807; Board of Control Minutes, F/1/3 pp. 337, 390; British Acts, V/1/130 (1809).

<sup>140</sup> References to Company's approval of the extension of trade between the Cape and Ceylon and New South Wales are in Court Minutes, B/151, 9 May 1810, f. 184; B/239, 30 May 1810; Letters from the Company to the Board of Control, E/2/4 pp. 101-03, 109-11, 118, (Apr-Aug 1810); Letters from the Board to the Company, E/2/31, pp. 321-22, 331-32, 337-47, (Apr-Jun 1810);



Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/4, 13 Feb 1811, pp. 298; 25 Mar 1812, p.446, 31 Mar 1812, p.449.

<sup>141</sup> References to the Company's approval of the extension of trade from the Cape to Java are in Board of Control Minutes, F/1/5, 24 Nov 1814, p.315; Java Factory Records: Public Consultations, G/21/17, 15 Sep 1812.

<sup>142</sup> The Company's refusal to amend the Order-in-Council to allow private merchants to trade to the Cape is in Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/5, 29 May 1813 p.68, 29 Jun 1813 p.74.

<sup>143</sup> Examples of references to consignments of Cape wine sent to London by the Agent are in Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/254, 28 Feb 1818, p.17; and frequently in Cape Factory Records, G/9/4-9a,16-17,19,21-23.

<sup>144</sup> References to Cape wine sent for promotion in the military canteens in India are in Correspondence with India, Bengal letters received, volumes E/4/84 (1812);/106 (1821);/108 (1822);/116 (1825); Letters received from Madras E/4/383 (1841);/386 (1842);/387 (1842);/389 (1843); Letters received from Bombay, E/4/512 (1828); Despatches to Bengal E/4/675 (1813);/711 (1824);/Despatches to Madras, E/4/910 (813);/956 (1841);959 (1843);/960 (1843);/961 (1844); Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1029 (1813); Board's Collections, F/4/659 col. 18 305;/1973 col. 86 755;/2030 col. 91 873; G/9/1-7,9,11,16-18,23; Military Department Special Collections, L/MIL/5/391, col. 135, ff. 29-131 (1816-30); L/MIL/5/402 col. 200a ff. 56-70 (1828).

<sup>145</sup> Examples of merino sheep exported from the Cape to India are in Correspondence with India, Letters received from Bengal, E/4/112 (1823); Letters received from Bombay, E/4/526 (1836); E/4/530 (1838); Despatches to Bengal, E/4/716 (1826);Despatches to Bengal and India, E/4/954 (1840); Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1061 (1837);/1065 (1839); Board's Collections, F/4/817 col. 21794 (Bengal, 1825-26); F/4/976 col. 27604 (Bengal, 1828-29); F/4/1618 col. 64967 (Bombay, 1836); F/4/1669 col. 66845 (Bombay 1836-37); F/4/1789 col. 73 719 (Bombay, 1837-38) F/4/1833 col. 75990 (Madras, 1837-38); Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, L/P&J/1/3 pp. 103,209 (Madras, 1840), no 205 (Madras, 1840); L/P&J/1/4 no. 134 (Madras, Jul 1844); References to the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, L/P&J/1/30 nos. 27,146 (Madras 1839-40).

<sup>146</sup> Peter Floris and Lucas Antheumes' advice to the Court on commodities available at Angola is in Court Minutes 1611, B/2 f. 150.

<sup>147</sup> An example of a voyage to Angola is in Accountant-General's Records: Ledgers and Journals, L/AG/1/1/24, Ledger 'O', 1 Jul 1779.

<sup>148</sup> Jackson, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-35, 85-86.

<sup>149</sup> An example of a violent disagreement with the Portuguese over slave selling at Mozambique is in Correspondence with the East: Original Correspondence, E/3/16, 13 Jan 1638, f.59.

<sup>150</sup> Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>152</sup> Examples of references to the Company's taking slaves from Mozambique are in Court Minutes, B/21, 5 Feb 1645, f. 264; Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/200 7 Mar 1715, pp. 220-21;; Marine Department Records,

Ships' Journals the *Hart*, L/MAR/A/XLIX, p.38 and L/MAR/A/XLVII p.51 (1628).

<sup>153</sup> Examples of references to the Company taking slaves from Angola are in Court Minutes, B/80, 19 Sep 1764, f. 196; Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bengal, E/4/617, 15 Feb 1765 p. 1014-15; Despatches to Madras, E/4/863 4 Jan 1765, p.3; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/997, Dec 1764-Mar 1765, pp. 561, 583, 611-12; St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/25, 27 May 1765; Accountant-General's Records: Commerce Journal, L/AG/1/6/15 p.70 (accounts of the *Royal George*, 1764-65); ships' journal of the *Royal George*, L/MAR/B/17H, at Cabinda (1765).

<sup>154</sup> Specific references to slaves taken from Angola and Mozambique for the Company's settlements at St. Helena and Fort Marlborough are in Home Correspondence Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/32 no. 84, 2 Sep 1743; Correspondence with India, Despatches to Bengal, E/4/617, 15 Feb 1765, pp. 1014-05; St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/25, 27 May 1765 f. 120v; Legal Adviser's Records: Extracts of Law Cases and Opinions of Counsel, L/L/6/1, 16 Jul 1764 p.108; Sumatra Factory Records: Letters received, G/35/31, 12 Dec 1764.

<sup>155</sup> References to slaves taken from named Mozambican tribes on a voyage of the *Sir Edward Hughes* are in Marine Department Records: Marine Miscellaneous Records, L/MAR/C/586, Proceedings of voyage of Company cruizers *Ternate* and *Sylph* to coast of Africa, 1810-1812, pp. 20-21; Bombay Public Consultations, P/344/34 31 Dec 1810, p.8597.

<sup>156</sup> Examples of ledger entries illustrating the Company's purchasing of slaves or licensing of others are in Accountant-General's Records: General Ledgers, L/AG/1/1/14, 27 Nov 1714 p. 38, 1719-20 p.227; Cash Journals, L/AG/1/5/11, 27 Nov 1714, p.20; L/AG/1/1/24 (voyage to Angola) July 1779; Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/6, ff. 132-33, 205-206 (Jul, Oct 1715); E/1/7 no. 83, 14 Mar 1715.

<sup>157</sup> References to payment to Colonel Toogood for the expenses of the Delagoa princes are in Accountant-General's Records, General Ledgers, L/AG/1/1/15, Jan 1720, p.138; Cash Journal, L/AG/1/5/12, 20 Jan 1720, p. 25.

<sup>158</sup> References to other princes of Delagoa captured as slaves are in References to the Committee of Correspondence, Z/D/4, Govt. of St. Helena to Court of Directors, 10 Jan 1793 and St. Helena Consultations, G/32/58, 13 Jul 1795, p. 105.

<sup>159</sup> H Yule and A C Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: a glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive* (3rd edition Sittingbourne, 1994), pp. 140-142 : also 'Coffree', appropriated from the Arabic *kafir* or infidel, as applied by the Arabs to Africans and in an Indian context, particularly to slaves from Mozambique and Madagascar; J Bastin *The British in West Sumatra, 1685-1825* (Kuala Lumpur, 1965) pp. 89, 161.

<sup>160</sup> An example of purchases of Mozambican slaves by the Bombay government are in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bombay, E/4/996, 5 Jul 1758 p.647.

<sup>161</sup> References to the Bombay government's arrangements for purchase and shipment of Mozambican slaves to Fort Marlborough, are in Sumatra

Factory Records: Letters sent, G/35/13, 2 Jul 1764, f.135, 20 Mar 1765, f.209, 19 Apr 1765, f. 258v, 19 Apr 1765, f.274; Bombay Public Consultations, P/341/28, 30 Mar 1765, p. 158, P/341/29, 1 Apr 1766, p. 233, 27 Sep 1766, p. 547.

<sup>162</sup> S.I. Gorerazvo Mudenge, 'Afro-Indian relations before 1900, a southeast central Africa perspective', in Shanti Sadiq Ali and R R Ramchandani (eds) *India and the Western Indian Ocean States: towards regional co-operation in development* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 52.

<sup>163</sup> References to the Company's role in the suppression of slavery on the east coast of Africa are in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bombay, E/4/100, 1 Mar 1854, pp. 314-15; E/4/1103, 19 Dec 1855, p 1579-80; E/4/1108, 23 Sep 1857, pp. 1461-62; Board's Collections, F/4/2536 col. 14465, (Bombay) Aug-Oct 1853, F/4/2614 col. 164851, (1853-55); F/4/2684 col.185 089, Sep-Dec 1856 Bombay Political Consultations, P/394/60 no. 1307, 25 Feb 1854; P/395/8, 30 Dec 1854.

<sup>164</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>167</sup> For references to W.F. Owen's observations on the slave trade in Mozambique, see Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bombay, E/4/506, 14 Jan 1824; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1048, 22 Aug 1827; pp. 128-29, Board's collections, F/4/905 col. 25 664 (1823-24).

<sup>168</sup> Letters received from Bombay, E/4/599; Board's Collections, F/4/2536 col. 14465, (Bombay) Aug-Oct 1853, F/4/2614 col. 164851, (1853-55); F/4/2684 col. 185 089, Sep-Dec 1856; Bombay Political letters received, L/P&S/6/216, 3 Dec 1856, pp. 765-68; Bombay Political Proceedings, P/394/60, no. 1307, 25 Feb 1854.; P/395/8 no. 9267-69, 30 Dec 1854.

<sup>169</sup> Correspondence with India, Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1103, pp. 1579-80, 19 Dec 1855; Board's Collections, F/4/2536 col. 14 465 and map W/F/4/2536; F/4/2614 col. 164 851; P/394/60, no. 1307; Bombay Political Consultations, P/395/8 no. 9267-69, 30 Dec 1854.

<sup>170</sup> References to the receipt of news of the end of the slave trade in Mozambique are in Correspondence with India, Letters received from Bombay, E/4/605, 3 Dec 1856; Board's Collections, F/4/1108 pp. 1461, 23 Sep 1857; Political letters received, L/P&S/6/216 3 Dec 1856, pp. 765-68; Bombay Political Consultations, P/394/60, no. 1307; Bombay Political Consultations, P/395/8 no 9267-69, 30 Dec 1854.

<sup>171</sup> T. Thomas, *Indians Overseas: a guide to source materials in the India Office Records for the study of Indian emigration 1830-1950* (British Library, London, 1985), p.1.

<sup>172</sup> References to the scheme to introduce Indian immigrants as labourers to Natal are in Company's letters to the Board of Control, E/2/27, 28 May 1858, pp. 123-24; Board of Control letters to Company, E/2/48, 4 Apr 1857, pp. 194-95; E/2/49, 27 Nov 1857, pp. 315-16; Correspondence with India: Letters received from India (Public), E/4/267, 2 Jan 1857; Letters received from Madras E/4/439, 24 Nov 1856; Despatches to India and

Bengal, E/4/834, Mar 1856; E/4/836, Jun 1856; E/4/849, Nov-Dec 1857; Despatches to Madras, E/4/987, 24 Jun 1857, pp. 1251-52; Board's Collections, F/4/2677 col. 18 463; Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, L/P&J/1/9, Mar 1857, pp. 154, p.187 (Apr 1857); L/P&J/1/10, 20 May 1858, p. 28; Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee Home Correspondence, L/P&J/1/84, (1855-1856); L/P&J/1/86, Apr-Nov 1857; L/P&J/1/87, 28 May 1858; Madras Public Consultations, P/249/55, 1 Jul 1856, pp. 3334-59.

<sup>173</sup> A reference to men recruited from the Cape for St Helena is in St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/58, 24 Dec 1795 p. 399.

<sup>174</sup> References to recruitment at the Cape undertaken by officers of the Company's armies in India are in Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/94 no. 78, 28 Apr 1796; Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/56, 1 Feb 1796; E/4/57, 28 Aug 1797; Letters received from Madras, E/4/324, 25 Feb 1796; Despatches to Bengal, E/4/646, 5 Jul 1797, pp. 554-555; Board's Collections, F/4/3 col. 634 (1787-1796); F/4/74 col. 1609 (1795-99); Madras Political and Military Consultations, P/253/57, 26 Jan 1796.

<sup>175</sup> References to the strengthening of the Cape garrison with Indian Sepoys after the capture of the Cape in 1806 are in Court Minutes, B/143, 1 Oct 1806, pp. 779-80; B/144, 15 Oct 1806, f. 846; Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, D/3 30 Jun 1806 and 1 Oct 1806; Board of Control Minutes, F/1/3, 23 Sep 1806, p.309, 4 Oct 1806 p.313, 27 Oct 1806, pp. 322-23; Board of Control out-letters, F/2/2, May 1806 pp. 121-123; 23 Sep 1806, p.161; Home Miscellaneous Series, H/88, 23 Sep-29 Oct 1806, ff. 279-399; Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/10 27 May 1806, f.2; Board's Secret Despatches to India, L/P&S/5/541 no. 21, 27 May 1806; L/P&S/5/567, 27 May 1806, pp. 123-33.

<sup>176</sup> A reference to military assistance from the Cape to quell a mutiny in India in 1809, is in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/7, 18 Nov 1809, ff. 49-52.

<sup>177</sup> References to Cape assistance in the operations at Rodriguez and Réunion are in Home Miscellaneous Series, H/701, 9 Nov 1810, pp. 413-16; Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/7, ff. 127-30, 131-32, 133-37, 138-144.

<sup>178</sup> The Cape Agency's response to Lord Moira's call for assistance in the 1815 mutiny is in Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/6 21 Dec 1815, p.85; Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/26, 22 Jun 1815, ff. 72-81.

<sup>179</sup> References to Lord Charles Somerset's scheme to breed Cape horses for Indian cavalry are in Letters from the Board of Control to the Company, E/2/32, 13 Apr 1816, pp. 326-27; Letters from the Company to the Board, E/2/5, 25 Apr 1816, p.60-61; Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bengal, E/4/692 23 Jun 1818 pp. 639-40; Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/6 13 and 26 Apr 1816, pp. 183-190; Board of Control out-letters, F/2/4, 26 April 1816, pp. 176-77.

<sup>180</sup> Examples of references to Cape horses supplied to India for stud breeding are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/131, 26 Jun 1830, E/4/256, 2 Feb 1856; Letters received from India and Bengal, E/4/258, 14 Apr 1856; Letters received from Bengal E/4/275, 2 Nov 1857; Letters received from Madras, E/4/375, 30 Mar 1837; Letters received from Bombay, E/4/537, 5 May 1840; Despatches to Bengal, E/4/733,

p 719, 19 Oct 1831; Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/837, 2 Jul 1856, pp. 214-5; E/4/839, 15 Oct 1856, p 686,; E/4/851, 21 Apr 1858; Board's Collection, F/4/1651 col. 65 891 (Madras 1835-37).

<sup>181</sup> References to the supply of horses from the Cape to India for the Company's armies and of the operations of army remount agencies at the Cape are in Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/307, 13 Oct 1857; E/1/309, 2 Jul 1858; Letters from the Board to the Company, E/2/25, 14 Jul 1857 p. 34; 14 Jul 1857, p. 244; 12 Oct 1857, 19 Oct 1857 p. 267-68; Company's letters to the Board, E/2/26, 20, Jan 1858, p. 156, pp. 269-70 4 Mar 1858; Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/160 (1837);/178 (1841);/199 (1846);/232 (1852);/273 (1857);/278 (1858); Letters received from Madras E/4/377 (1838);/380 (1839); /384 (1841);/387 (1842);/396 (1845); /400 (1846);/402 (1847);/413 (1850);/414 (1850);/416 (1850);/417 (1851);/423 (1852);/440 (1857); Letters received from Bombay E/4/527 (1837);/530 (1838);/566 (1847);/567 (1847);/574 (1849);/579 (1850);/586 (1852);/590 (1853);/599 (1855); Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/756 (1838);/792 (1847);/847 (1857);/850 (1858);/851 (1858);/852 (1858);/853 (1858);/854 (1858); Despatches to Madras E/4/949 (1837);950 (1838);952 (1839);954 (1840);957 (1842);959 (1843);/966 (1846);/968 (1847);/969 (1848);/972 (1849);/973 (1850);/974 (1850);/975 (1851);/976 (1852);/978 (1853);/987 (1857); Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1061 (1837);/1083 (1847);/1085 (1847);/1088 (1849);/1089 (1849);/1091 (1850);/1096 (1852);/1098 (1853);/1103 (1855);/1109 (1858);/1112 (1858); Board's Collections, F/4/1581 col. 64314; F/4/1728 col. 69806 (1837-38); F/4/2363 col. 125443 (1849-50); F/4/2400 col. 129 414 (1850); F/4/2701 col 192 (1857); Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee, L/F/1/23, 11 Mar 1846, pp. 571-72; L/F/1/31, 9 Apr 1850, p. 716; L/F/1/56, no. 253, (1837); L/F/1/57 no. 439, 1838; Board of Control Military papers, L/MIL/5/499 bundle 395 pp. 141-259 (1857-58); Board of Control Military out-letters, L/MIL/5/509 pp. 16-17 (1849), pp. 53-54 (1849), pp. 58-59 (1850), pp. 64-8 (1850); pp. 90-1 (1850); L/MIL/5/510, pp. 186, 196, 203 (1858); Remount Agency cashbook, L/MIL/5/519 (1857-60); Secret Home Correspondence, L/P&S/3/20 pp. 249-51 (1846), pp. 271-73, 275, 385-88, 445-49, 451-53, 455-8, 473-79; 481-83 (1846); Secret Home Correspondence, L/P&S/3/97 (1846).

<sup>182</sup> References to musket stocks supplied from the Cape are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from Madras, E/4/357, 8 Jun 1827; Madras Military Consultations, P/263/7, 2 Feb 1827, pp. 90-91.

<sup>183</sup> References to the Xhosa uprising of 1851 are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from India and Bengal, E/4/220 (1851); Despatches from India and Bengal, E/4/812, 29 Oct 1851; Board's Collections, F/4/2430 col. 132 985 (1851); Political letters received from Bombay, L/P&S/6/216 no. 25 4 Apr 1851, pp. 299-302.

<sup>184</sup> Examples of assistance received from the Cape during the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-58 are in Court Minutes, B/234-236; Company letters to the Board of Control, E/2/25 pp. 20-21, 289-90 (1857), E/2/27 pp. 120-21 (1858); Letters from the Board to the Company, E/2/48 (1857); E/2/49-50 (1857-58); Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/276 (1857);/278-280 (1858); Letters received from Bombay, E/4/609 (1857);/610 (1858); Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/845 (1857);/847 (1857);/851-852 (1858); Board's Collections, F/4/ 2701, /2719 (1857); Accountant-General's Records: expenditure by War Office at Cape: Remount Agency, L/AG/24/29/1-5 (1857-60); Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee, L/F/1/47, pp. 6-7 (1857); Board of Control Military papers,

---

L/MIL/5/501 pp. 1-26 (1857-58); Secret Home Correspondence, L/P&S/3/61;/101;/102 (1858).

<sup>185</sup> References to Captain Griffiths Jenkins' emergency mission to the Cape are in Correspondence with India, Letters received from India and Bengal, E/4/275, 8 Oct 1857; Board's Collections, F/4/2719 col. 196 312 (Aug-Oct 1857); India Secret Consultations, P/SEC/IND/209, nos. 126-127, 30 Oct 1857.

<sup>186</sup> References to appeals to the Company to fund a sanatorium at the Cape are in Company letters to the Board of Control, E/2/27, 15 Apr 1858 pp. 11-14, 20 May 1858, pp. 97-98; Board's letters to the Company, E/2/50, 26 Jun 1858, pp. 340-41, 20 Jul 1858, pp. 396-97, 21 Jul 1858, pp. 411-12, 23 Jul 1858, pp. 419-20, 3 Aug 1858, pp. 447-48; Correspondence with India: Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/855, 1 Sep 1858 pp. 393-4; Board of Control Military Papers, L/MIL/5/503, Apr-Aug 1858, pp. 218-300; Board of Control Military Correspondence, L/MIL/5/510, 18 Aug 1858, p.169.

<sup>187</sup> The discussions between Company and the Cape government over the exile of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah, are in Secret Home Correspondence, L/P&S/3/56, 21 Dec 1857, p.879; L/P&S/3/60 Jan-Oct 1857, pp. 13-20, 89-108; L/P&S/3/101, pp. 281;288-89 (1857-58).

<sup>188</sup> References to Sir George Grey's proposal to receive disaffected regiments of Sepoys at the Cape are in Company's letters to the Board of Control, E/2/26, 26 Nov 1857, pp. 10-11; Board of Control letters to Company, E/2/49, 14 Nov 1857, pp. 292-93; Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/275, 8 Oct 1857; Board of Control Military papers, L/MIL/5/504, pp. 454-65 (Nov 1857); Board's Political Home Correspondence, L/P&S/3/111, 9 Dec 1857, box 3 ff. 312-13; Political General Correspondence, L/P&S/3/137, 9 Dec 1857, p.49.

<sup>189</sup> References to the recruitment of Africans from Natal are in Company's letters to the Board of Control, E/2/27, 18 Jun 1858, pp. 164-65; Correspondence with India: Despatches to India and Bengal (Military) E/4/852, 28 Jul 1858, p. 1867.

<sup>190</sup> References to recruitment of Africans from the Cape are in Board of Control Military Papers, L/MIL/5/502, Mar-Aug 1858 pp. 159-251; L/MIL/5/504, May-Jul 1858, pp. 384-563.

<sup>191</sup> Many examples of the joint service of individuals are to be found in the Oriental and India Office's collection of Private Papers (European Manuscripts), the origins of which lie in the East India Company's Library.

<sup>192</sup> A reference to Sir Henry Pottinger as Governor of the Cape, is in Correspondence with India: Despatches to Madras (Financial), E/4/970, 16 Aug 1848, pp. 793-94.

<sup>193</sup> *Reader's Digest, Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa: the real story* (Cape Town, 1988), p.102.

<sup>194</sup> The town of Aliwal-North in the Cape colony, was founded in 1849 by Sir Harry Smith to commemorate his victory over the Sikhs, see E. Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964).

<sup>195</sup> For examples of references to payments to individual Company servants at the Cape, see classes: Court Minutes B; Committee of Correspondence Records D; Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9, Correspondence with India E/4; Board's Collections F/4.

<sup>196</sup> References to Company donations for the relief of 1820 settlers are in Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/260 no. 834, 10 Apr 1824; Home Miscellaneous Series, H/740, Donations granted by the Court of Directors, 30 Mar 1824, p.41.

<sup>197</sup> References to the Company's contributions to the erection of the English church in Cape Town are in Court Minutes, B/181, 18 Jun 1828; Committee of Correspondence reports, D/78, 17 Jun 1828, p. 175; Home Miscellaneous Series, H/740, Donations granted by the Court of Directors, 1828, p.51.

<sup>198</sup> References to the Company's refusal to contribute to the building of a Presbyterian church in Cape Town are in Court Minutes, B/181, 9 Jul 1828, 16 Jul 1828; Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/264, 19 Jul 1828, no. 1904.

<sup>199</sup> A reference to the Company's refusal to contribute to the building of an English church in Wynberg is in Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/270, 11 Dec 1834, no. 3023.

<sup>200</sup> References to the Company's refusal to assist a philanthropic society at the Cape are in Court Minutes, B/182, 24 Apr 1829 and 6 May 1829; Committee of Correspondence Minutes, D/13, 29 Apr 1829, p. 513; Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/265, no. 1126, 8 May 1829.

<sup>201</sup> References to efforts to find the survivors of the *Grosvenor* are in Court Minutes B/99 ff. 274, 355, 413, 511, 805 (Jul 1783-Jan 1784); D/31 Committee of Correspondence Reports, 22 Aug 1783, p. 235-6; Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received E/1/73, no. 36, 2 Jul 1783, no. 63, 8 Aug 1783, no. 181, 24 Oct 1783; E/1/74 no. 40-A, 1 Mar 1784, no. 65, 8 Mar 1784, no. 66, 8 Mar 1784; Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/223, 2 Jul 1783, pp. 73-4; 8 Aug 1783, pp. 105-6, 27 Aug 1783, pp. 123-4, 3 Sep 1783, pp. 129, 5 Sep 1783, p.134, 23 Oct 1783, p.189, 14 Nov 1783, p.209, 24 Nov 1783, p.224, 26 Nov 1783, pp. 231-2, Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/42, 8 Dec 1784, pp. 360, 381; Despatches to Bengal, E/4/628, 10 Sep 1783; Despatches to Madras, E/4/871, 10 Sep 1783; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1002, 10 Sep 1783; Bengal Foreign Consultations, P/165/44, 3 Aug 1784.

<sup>202</sup> References to convicts from India sent to the Cape are in Correspondence with India: Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/766, 27 May 1841, pp. 656-87; Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, L/P&J/1/4, 16 Feb 1842, pp. 13-14.

<sup>203</sup> A reference to court martial transportations from India to the Cape is in Correspondence with India: Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/800, 18 Apr 1849, pp. 115-16.

<sup>204</sup> A reference to improvements in communications through Mozambique to northern stations is in Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bombay, E/4/477, 31 Jul 1797.

<sup>2 5</sup> An example of the extension of the mailship service from Britain to the Cape, Mauritius, Ceylon and Calcutta are in Correspondence with India: Despatches to India and Bengal, E/4/815, 2 Jun 1852, pp. 675-78.

<sup>206</sup> References to Francis Studley's proposals to the Company to explore the Cape interior are in Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/140, no. 109, 29 Oct 1819; Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/255 6 Nov 1819 p. 729.

<sup>2 7</sup> A reference to the Company's refusal to sponsor Maj. Fraser's engravings of Cape Town is in Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/245 13 Jun 1810, p. 337.

<sup>2 8</sup> References to giraffes sent from Grahamstown to the Raja of Alwur are in Correspondence with India: Letters received from India and Bengal (Foreign and Political), E/4/200, 6 Mar 1847; Board's Collections, F/4/2194 col. 107677, May 1846-Jun 1847.

<sup>209</sup> See Miscellaneous Letters Received E/1/145, 186-211, 31 Aug 1821 and Miscellanies E/1/258, 73 p. 38, 10 Jan 1822.

<sup>210</sup> See Miscellaneous letters received E/1/189, 74, 4 Aug 1847.

<sup>211</sup> See St Helena Consultations G/32/90, pp. 564-567, 8 Dec 1825.

<sup>212</sup> References to co-operation and exchange between the Cape Botanical Gardens and the Botanical Gardens of Bengal, Madras and Bombay are in Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/100, no. 204, 10 May 1799; Correspondence with India: Letters received from Bengal, E/4/60 2 Sep 1800; Letters received from India and Bengal, E/4/271, 22 Jun 1857; Letters received from Madras E/4/327, 9 Oct 1800; Despatches to Bengal, E/4/648, 5 Jun 1799, p. 640; Despatches to Madras, E/4/885, 5 Jun 1799, p.537; Despatches to Bombay, E/4/1014, 29 May 1799, p.411, Bengal Public Proceedings, P/5/12, no. 19, 5 Jun 1800.

<sup>213</sup> A reference to Cape hops for Indian beer production is in Correspondence with India: Despatches to India and Bengal (Military), E/4/760, 20 Nov 1839, p.1206.



## CHAPTER 3

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AGENCIES  
AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE:  
AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, 1793-1858

As described in Chapter 2, from the earliest days of the East India Company's interest in southern Africa, the Cape of Good Hope had held some attraction as a place half way to India, where its ships' crews could be refreshed. In the period prior to the settlement of the Cape by the Dutch, several East India Company schemes were suggested and attempts made to make the Cape something of a supply station for the Company's shipping. These attempts culminated in the unconfirmed annexation of Table Bay by Shilling and Fitzherbert in 1620, and thereafter no further efforts were made until the next century.

It was only at the end of the eighteenth century with the increase of shipping to India, the activities of its rivals and the need to secure supplies for its ships, that the Company was forced to take the idea of establishing an agency at the Cape more seriously. The first official London-appointed Company establishment commenced in 1793 and (with a short suspension during the Batavian administration of 1804 to 1806) continued from 1807 until 1836. After the cessation of the Company's trading function in 1834 (only fully put into effect at the Cape from 1836), the Company used local merchants in Cape Town as agents until the close of the East India Company itself in 1858.

This chapter draws heavily on a succession of publications in the 1960s and 1970s by Marcus Arkin.<sup>1</sup> Based on the first

extensive use of the Company's Cape of Good Hope Factory Records (IOR:G/9), Arkin's studies examined the impact of the Company's Agency on the Cape economy. This chapter expands on Arkin's work, making use of documents relating to the Agency which have been made accessible since Arkin's studies, as well as from other relevant documents widely dispersed in the Company's archives, not included in Arkin's work. It also adds a short description of the work of the post-1836 agency and a brief discussion the London Agents for the Cape, insofar as they were concerned with Company affairs there.

This chapter comprises a complete administrative history of the Company's official Agency, from 1793 to 1836 as well as the local non-establishment agency acting on behalf of the Company from 1836 to 1858.

### **3.1. The Company's own Agency at the Cape, 1793-1804; 1807-1836**

Until the end of the eighteenth century, the Cape had been on the periphery of the Company's trading concerns. The rising tensions with France (described in the previous chapter) and the possibility that the French would capture the Cape, finally brought home to the Court of Directors the expediency and urgency of setting up an agency at the Cape.

In 1793, during Anglo-Dutch negotiations at The Hague, the Dutch had been persuaded to accept the appointment of an East India Company Resident at the Cape, ostensibly, to arrange supplies for St. Helena.<sup>2</sup> Thirteen years after Richard Lewin's short-lived attempt, the Company was back in residence in southern Africa.

### 3.1.1. John Pringle's first Agency, 1793-1804

John Pringle, a young man of 24, previously employed as a Writer in the Company's Bombay Civil Service,<sup>3</sup> and with a probable personal connection to the Board of Control,<sup>4</sup> was appointed as the first East India Company Agent and Commissary at the Cape by the Company's Secret Committee on 26 November 1793.<sup>5</sup> The appointment was approved by the Board of Control on the same day.<sup>6</sup>

Very few documents have been found in Company or Board archives which explain the secrecy surrounding Pringle's appointment or the real motivation behind it. Evidently, in consultation with the Board, the Secret Committee had agreed to provide military support from India to a government-funded expedition against the French at Mauritius. To expedite the plans, the Committee decided to send Pringle 'to the Cape for the purpose of providing such provisions and stores as may be necessary to be sent to the Army which shall be left at the French Islands, in case the intended expedition shall prove successful'.<sup>7</sup> Pringle's knowledge of Dutch and French<sup>8</sup> was an obvious important asset.

The correspondence between the 20th and 26th November 1793<sup>9</sup> between the Secret Committee and Henry Dundas (President of the Board of Control) suggests it had a political aspect. Two other references in peripheral classes of the Company records describe Pringle as the 'Agent to the Secret Committee at the Cape'.<sup>10</sup> These references indicate that Pringle's appointment was originally subtly more substantial than just as an ordinary Company agent.

Unfortunately no record of the Secret Committee's original instructions to Pringle appears to have survived. It is possible that given the wartime conditions and the fears of French designs, that the role Pringle was to play was held by the Secret Committee and Board of Control to have been a matter of extreme sensitivity and secrecy. Consequently his instructions were probably restricted to the confidence of only a few persons or outlined verbally to Pringle. The hint that Pringle gave at having been sent from Europe at 'very short notice',<sup>11</sup> may indicate that in this haste, his instructions could have been given verbally and not in writing.

Pringle's arrival at the Cape on HMS *Orpheus* in February 1794, co-incided with the news of the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars in Europe and the breakdown in relations between England and Holland. Consequently, the Cape's Dutch East India Company administration under Governor Abraham Sluysken refused Pringle official recognition as Resident.<sup>12</sup> The expedition to capture Mauritius was postponed<sup>13</sup> and Pringle appears to have undertaken the remainder of his duties as best he could in the months ahead. However, the importance of his position, his isolation and the hostility of the Dutch government forced him to take the decision to withdraw to the safety of the Company's settlement at St. Helena on the *Denmark* in April 1795.<sup>14</sup> There he enjoyed the respect of his colleagues in the Company's island government and even sat in on some of the meetings of the St. Helena Council.<sup>15</sup>

When the squadron under Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone arrived at St. Helena under orders to capture the Cape, Pringle was able to provide the Admiral with

assistance in the planning of the attack because of his valuable first-hand observations during the previous year. Pringle left St. Helena early in June on the *Boyd*,<sup>16</sup> under the protection HMS *Orpheus*,<sup>17</sup> and met Elphinstone's force in Simons Bay on 9 July 1795. The attack was launched and on 15 September, after protracted negotiations, the Dutch government surrendered. Resuming his role as Commissary-General,<sup>18</sup> Pringle procured food and supplies for the army, made various payments for services<sup>and</sup> public works, and undertook other administrative duties.<sup>19</sup>

The first British civilian Governor of the Cape, George, Earl Macartney (a former Governor of the Company's Indian presidency of Madras) brought with him from England the Order-in-Council of 28 December 1796,<sup>20</sup> which authorised agreements by the Company and the Board of Trade in August 1796, as to the terms on which the Colony's external trade was to be regulated.<sup>21</sup> It was amended by a proclamation of February 1801, which defined more clearly the Company's privileges and sole trading rights.

While convinced of the importance of the Cape, Macartney proposed in his correspondence with Henry Dundas (then Secretary of State for War, as well as President of the Board of Control) that it should be governed by the Company as an appendage of the Indian empire, but Dundas thought such a decision should wait for peace settlement.<sup>22</sup> The Company was not interested in involvement in the colony's commerce but was solely motivated by the expedient of preventing the settlement from falling into the hands of its enemies.<sup>23</sup>

Having secured the Cape against threats to its trade security the Company turned its attention towards making sure that its monopoly of trade 'eastwards of [and including] the Cape of Good Hope' was enforced. It was one of the Agent's priorities to exercise a minute supervision over all matters concerning that trade. Many neutral vessels which called at the Cape smuggled in contraband goods and local merchants contributed to illegal trade. In addition there was the problem of prize goods of eastern origin captured during the war and brought in to the Cape.<sup>24</sup> The Company had to exert its authority through its Agent at the Cape to make sure that the charter was respected.

The Cape was pivotally placed on a major sea lane to key areas of world trade, but the Company had no real interest in developing what little the Cape could contribute to the Company's wider commercial output. Neither did the Company take advantage of its Agency to develop and promote what exportable produce there was at the Cape. The commercial life of the settlement had always been closely connected to the channels of world trade, yet to the Company it was insignificant when compared with India and the Company's eastern settlements.<sup>25</sup>

In contrast to the Company's indifference, the new British colonial administration was obliged to begin to organise the best use of the colony for the benefit of British trade.<sup>26</sup> The colony's system of trade was undeveloped by the previous administration. It was vital to import necessities and exports from Cape Town were negligible. What indigenous produce there was, mainly wine and wheat, was quickly consumed by the increased military and naval

forces based on the peninsula. There was a scarcity of many articles in demand from India and China, especially tea.<sup>27</sup>

The Agency's position in a British-occupied territory within the area of the Company's charter, soon required clarification. Naturally, the Agent was well-placed to contribute, given his Company's exclusive access to goods from India and China. But because the Company was not interested in the Cape market, he could only report his discomfort with the situation and request that the problem be given attention.

After discussions with Henry Dundas in November 1797 and January 1798 the East India Company reluctantly agreed to undertake the supply of the Cape itself.<sup>28</sup> The Agent was then ordered to make regular indents for goods from the Company's governments in Bengal, Madras and Bombay and from the Company's factory at Canton in China.

On 27 March 1802, the Treaty of Amiens was signed, restoring the Cape to Dutch control, but the transfer of the administration to the Batavian Republic officials only came into effect in February 1803. At the end of the first British occupation, Pringle's position necessitated his involvement in the evacuation of 3 800 British civil and military inhabitants from the Cape. Once again, his Agency was not recognised by the Batavian government at the Cape. The resumption of the war in May 1803 brought further difficulties. The Agency funds, provisions and property were sequestrated by Batavian Commissioners Janssens and De Mist. As no further instructions arrived from the Company, nor a successor, Pringle settled the Agency's correspondence and transferred the remaining stores to

public ownership. He opted to close the Company's concerns, took leave of absence and left the Cape in November 1803.<sup>29</sup>

Pringle felt it necessary to present an account of his work over the previous nine years to the Directors in London in person. On his return to London in February 1804 Pringle delivered the final Agency accounts to the Company,<sup>30</sup> explained the nature and extent of his services and reported the sequestration of its property at the Cape by the Batavian government.<sup>31</sup> He also requested that he be compensated for the inadequacy of his salary and expenses.<sup>32</sup>

After the second British occupation of the Cape of 1806, in co-operation with the Treasury, the Privy Council and the Board of Trade, the East India Company again agreed (albeit reluctantly) to supply the Cape with goods from India and China, subject to regulations drawn up by all parties in the discussions.<sup>33</sup>

### **3.1.2. Pringle's second Agency, 1807-1815**

After examining his case <sup>34</sup>and request for re-instatement,<sup>35</sup> and satisfied with his briefing and performance, the Company re-appointed Pringle as Agent at a Court of Directors of 17 June 1807.<sup>36</sup> His second appointment was a much less hurried and more public affair. Joseph Lusson (a clerk at East India House in London, who had been recommended to the position by the Accountant-General<sup>37</sup>) was appointed Assistant to the Company's Agent by the Court of Directors on 7 July 1807.<sup>38</sup>

Both appointments were approved at General Courts (of Company's shareholders) on 7 July and 23 September 1807,<sup>39</sup>



In contrast to the haste in which Pringle began his first agency, bonds and indentures were drawn up between the Company and the two men, formalising the conditions of their employment.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, on this occasion a copy of instructions given to Pringle survives<sup>41</sup> (and are summarised in section 3.2.1. below). Pringle's instructions were supplemented by local proclamations by the Cape Government which reflected changes in British government and East India Company policy regulating the Cape trade.<sup>42</sup> The Governor of the Cape was given orders to carry out the joint agreement between the Company and the Colonial Department and to give force to the regulations.<sup>43</sup> The Company's governments in India were also informed of the appointments and ordered to comply with the new trading arrangements.<sup>44</sup>

On his return to the Cape in May 1808 on the *Walmer Castle*, John Pringle began the task of setting the Agency on a stable, permanent footing. With the second British occupation of the Cape seeming to be more long term, private British merchants such as Ebdon and Watts, Hamilton Ross & Co. and Shortt and Berry returned to Cape Town and assumed the handling of the bulk of the Colony's commercial activity.<sup>45</sup>

Pringle concerned himself with three main activities. His first duty was to maintain a watchful eye over the Company's privileges. This involved regulating the re-export of eastern produce, limiting competition in prize cargoes and shipping, securing the co-operation of Customs in upholding the East India Company's monopoly and taking action against illicit trade and smuggling. Secondly, he had to make all necessary (and sometimes frustratingly

complicated) arrangements for the supply of the Company's ships, of some supplies for the Navy at the Cape and for St. Helena. Finally, in his restricted commercial responsibility in the colony, Pringle faced the problem of addressing the very poor supply of eastern commodities from China, India and Ceylon for the inhabitants of the colony. Ensuring a steady supply of these goods took up much of his efforts.

Aside from these three main duties, Pringle was also involved in occasional incidents or activities which required his involvement as the Company's Agent. For example in October and November 1809 he was able to respond to the Cape colonial government's call for assistance when Indian troops in Madras threatened mutiny. Although the expedition was aborted on the arrival of news that order had been restored, Pringle had spent much energy arranging for the preparation and supply of Company ships to carry troops stationed at the Cape to Madras. Afterwards the reorganisation of supplies and claims for compensation took so much time to unravel that a committee was set up in February 1810 to sort out the complications.<sup>46</sup>

In 1810 trade was opened up between the Cape and Ceylon and between the Cape and New South Wales in 1811.<sup>47</sup> In 1811 the Company further supplemented instructions to the Agency concerning the prohibition of re-exporting eastern produce from the Cape to Britain. The capture of the islands also opened another avenue of trade, and in March 1812 the trade between the Cape and the Mascarene islands was opened.

Of growing importance in the Agent's activities however, was the greater dependency of St. Helena on Cape supplies

of grain, wheat, barley, wine, salted meat and livestock. The island's output was insufficient to feed its population and passing fleets could not deliver adequate provisions. To cut expenses, the Directors decided to have St. Helena supplied mainly from the Cape Agency. Because the surplus of local Cape Rixdollar currency which the Agency accumulated from the regular sales of eastern goods depreciated in value and was difficult to remit to London, it was used to purchase local stores and <sup>for</sup> payments for shipment to St. Helena.

The cash surplus was also used from 1812 to 1815 to buy Cape wine for St. Helena and for the market in London. Pringle explored the possibility of exporting Cape wine to India for Army use from 1810 to 1814<sup>48</sup> and also to Ceylon.<sup>49</sup> In this way, the colony was able to pay for a portion of imports without losing the Company foreign exchange. Wine, the Cape's one notable export, was given a boost as a result of this new demand, especially after the St. Helena government announced that its garrison would be supplied with wine entirely from the Cape.<sup>50</sup> The burden of the supply of the island remained solely with the Agency until 1815, when the demand had increased so much that local merchants were required to assist in obtaining consignments.<sup>51</sup>

Trade between the Cape and Indonesia commenced in 1812 and further instructions were sent to Pringle on the subject.<sup>52</sup> He also sought to improve the erratic supply of tea to the colony, an article much sought after by inhabitants of the Cape.<sup>53</sup>

Legislation in 1813 restricted the East India Company's charter with regard to its monopoly on the British trade in Indian goods, especially textiles. Consequently trade with India was opened to all British subjects licensed by the Company and the Agency ceased to be the Cape's only supplier of Indian goods.<sup>54</sup> The Company's trade with China, mainly in tea, became its sole trading privilege and all imports of tea to the Cape were controlled through the Agency.

As a result of the restrictions to the Company's trading rights and privileges in 1813, the Cape's trading status within the Company's revised charter needed revision and new regulations were formulated taking these changes into account. At the insistence of the Cape Agent in London, Thomas Peregrine Courtenay, the 1813 Act was further clarified by a new Order-in-Council of 24 September 1814.<sup>55</sup> Instructions to comply with the new policy were once again issued to the Indian governments.<sup>56</sup>

After the contraction of the Company's charter, the Cape Agency was mainly concerned with the China trade<sup>and</sup>, the supply of St. Helena and the Company's vessels. John Pringle, who had laid the foundation and shape of the Agency during his sixteen years as Agent, died in Cape Town on 24 June 1815, the longest serving of the Company's Agents at the Cape.

Pringle's assistant, Joseph Lusson acted as Agent while the Court of Directors considered prospective candidates to fill the vacancy. As was the Company's tradition, vacancies were filled by directors' patronage. Although the post of Agent at the Cape was a highly sought after and well-paid

position, two of the Company's nominees, Sir Henry Lushington and Henry Wood, who had been placed next in line to succeed Pringle, both declined the appointment.<sup>57</sup> A rush of further applicants<sup>58</sup> followed from within the Company (including Lusson himself) and also from outside.<sup>59</sup> With no immediate successor in mind, the directors decided to take a closer look at the Agency. They noted that the return to peace-time conditions would probably result in a reduction of the Agency's work, and that as the Agent's position no longer required 'great state or shew',<sup>60</sup> reductions could be made.

### **3.1.3. The review of 1816**

From November 1815 to February 1816, the Committee of Correspondence worked on a thorough and detailed review<sup>61</sup> of the Agency's establishment and operations. In the interest of economy, the Court of Directors eventually decided on a scaling down of the Agency. In consideration of his well-placed position and experience as Pringle's assistant, the directors decided against the appointment of a more senior, highly-placed Company servant, and in favour of Lusson's in-post promotion.

### **3.1.4. Joseph Lusson's Agency, 1815-1822**

Lusson was appointed as Pringle's successor on 14 February 1816.<sup>62</sup> He had been Pringle's assistant since 1808 and was able to assume the duties of Agent with confidence. Lusson's Agency ran in tandem with Napoleon Bonaparte's exile at St. Helena from October 1815 to 1822. In contrast to the Directors' perception of the Agency in the 1816 review, Napoleon's exile placed new demands on the Agency to supply the island's enlarged squadron and garrison. This task<sup>63</sup> was the main feature of Lusson's term as Agent.

Luson's consolidation of the foundation laid by Pringle, ensured that the monthly Agency sales accounted for 10 per cent of the total commercial turnover at the Cape. Locally, this was of considerable economic significance, but conversely, in broad Company-wide terms, the Agency itself was insignificant in the affairs of East India Company.<sup>64</sup> Luson, with efficient forward planning, took a special interest in ensuring that additional stocks of tea were ordered to meet the demand from the English settlers on their arrival at Port Elizabeth in 1820.<sup>65</sup> He also continued the promotion and shipment of Cape wines to London and India. Luson died at the Cape in January 1822.

#### **3.1.5. Daniel Cloete as Acting Agent, January 1822 - November 1823**

Daniel Cloete, Luson's confidential clerk, substituted as caretaker acting Agent from just before Luson's death until November 1823.<sup>66</sup> He was a locally recruited employee, not an established Company servant, and was therefore ineligible for promotion. Cloete performed a holding operation while the Directors considered the appointment of a successor. Once again a number of hopeful candidates put themselves forward.<sup>67</sup>

#### **3.1.6. William Hawkins' Agency, 1823-1836**

The Directors chose William Hawkins and appointed him Agent in March 1823.<sup>68</sup> Hawkins had been a senior merchant and second judge of a provincial court of appeal on the Company's Madras establishment.<sup>69</sup> He was on home leave when he heard that the Company's appointee to the post of Cape Agent had already left for Bengal, <sup>and</sup> he persuaded the Court of Directors to allow him to succeed to the post instead.<sup>70</sup> The terms and conditions of employment of the

new Agent were embodied in a Bond with the Company,<sup>71</sup> but no general instructions to him were found in the survey of the Company's archives.

Hawkins arrived at the Cape at the end of November 1823 on the *Hope*<sup>72</sup> with a directive to carry out an immediate review and survey of the Cape Agency.<sup>73</sup> His Agency was concerned with problems of the arrangement, the preparation and shipping of supplies to St. Helena<sup>74</sup> the local protest over the East India Company's tea monopoly from 1829 to 1830;<sup>75</sup> and the renewed attempts to supply Cape wine to London from 1824 to 1828<sup>76</sup> and to hospitals in India from 1824 to 1826.<sup>77</sup> The Company's exclusive monopoly over the supply of eastern goods to the Cape's inhabitants caused much resentment, culminating in local merchants giving evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the China Trade in March and April 1830.<sup>78</sup> Consequently Hawkins was constantly under fire as the Company's representative.

Hawkins was also involved in his capacity as Agent in a number of other difficulties and disputes: the funding required for the purchase of supplies for St. Helena; the pegging of the Rixdollar to sterling in 1825 and his appointment as chairman of the Cape currency protest group;<sup>79</sup> and the difficulties of the delayed repayment of a loan from the Agency treasury to the Cape government in 1825.<sup>80</sup>

The Government of India Act (1833) removed the Company's monopoly over the China tea trade, bringing to an end its trading function with effect from 22 April 1834. As a result of this shift in function, there was no further need for the Company to have its own establishment at the Cape.

Image removed due to third party copyright



The Court of Directors sent a special instruction for Hawkins's guidance in managing the last activities of the Agency.<sup>81</sup> On 22 April 1834 St. Helena was proclaimed a Crown colony but continued to be administered by the East India Company until the new colonial Governor arrived to take over on 5 March 1836. The Agency continued supplying St. Helena until the handover. All Agency activities with St. Helena ceased at the end of March.<sup>82</sup>

The last tea sales were held at the Cape in April 1835 and the East India Company's trade was then opened up to private merchants. The date for termination of <sup>the</sup> Agency was postponed by the Company and final instructions were sent to direct arrangements.<sup>83</sup> All claims against the East India Company were called for and on 28 April 1836 the Agency was finally wound up and transferred to locally appointed agents (see Section 3.4. below). Hawkins remained to oversee the transfer until May 1836 and departed in June 1836.<sup>84</sup> He died on the voyage back to England.

### **3.2. The nature of the Cape Agency business**

#### **3.2.1. The Company's instructions to the Agent, 1807**

The only trace found of instructions outlining the Agent's duties survives in an Accountant General's Department letter book (see extract opposite).<sup>85</sup> As the document appears to have been the blueprint for Agency operations until its termination, a summary of its contents follows:

The instructions acknowledged Pringle's qualifications for the role and local knowledge and fixed his and Lusson's salaries. Specifically, they refer to an Order-in-Council similar to that of 28 May 1796 which vested the whole import and export trade (excepting prize cargoes) in

commodities of countries eastward of the Cape solely in the Company's hands. The Company undertook the supply of Indian and China goods 'merely with a desire to meet the wishes of government and to administer to the comfort and convenience of the colony'.<sup>86</sup>

The Agent was given access to entries at the Custom House through the medium of the Governor, and the Court of Justice was to be given <sup>the</sup> power to inflict penalties for breach of clearly and unequivocally defined regulations. This was to facilitate the punishment of illicit trade. Indents for supply of the Cape were to be framed according to actual colonial consumption and transmitted by the Agent to governments in India and the Supracargoes at Canton.

The Agent was to put the goods on sale in small lots at an advance not exceeding 6 percent on their cost, freight and charges. Regulations were to be adopted concerning the disposal of prize cargoes. The accumulation of paper currency from the sales at the Cape caused losses to the Company. To avoid the problem an arrangement was made with the Cape government to receive from the Agent so much of the proceeds of the sales made on the Company's account as the Agent received in the paper currency of the colony. Bills were to be given for the amount, drawn on England at a rate of exchange to be certified by the Governor or Secretary of the Colony.

Increased import duties were to be placed on neutral cargoes to discourage contraband trade in Indian goods, and duties were to be placed on imports to Cape which were not the produce of Great Britain and Ireland. Also, ships were to be prevented from carrying passengers <sup>who were</sup> British or enemy

subjects from the Cape to India without permission from the Agent and Governor of Cape. Finally, the Agent was to be vested with broad discretionary power to act as circumstances required as judged to be in the Company's interest and advantage.

In 1830 the East India Company's Accountant General further described the Cape Agent's official functions which show that no real change had taken place in the intervening years:

His duties, in addition to those of the custody and sale of the goods consigned by the Company to the Cape, the purchase of stores for the supply of St. Helena, and of merchandize [sic] for consignment to England, supplying the Company's shipping, whether engaged in their trade or conveying troops to and from India, and transmitting intelligence to the authorities both in England and India, have reference to every part of the Company's concerns in respect to which his services may at any time be needed.<sup>87</sup>

### **3.2.2. The scope of the Agency's work**

The most important of the Agent's functions was to safeguard the East India Company's monopoly at the Cape. He had to keep a close watch on goods coming into the Customs House, scrutinise the cargoes of incoming ships, and take necessary steps to ensure that the Company's charter was upheld and offenders were punished. Occasionally litigation resulted which took up much of the Agent's efforts. There were also uneasy relationships between the Agent and local merchants who resented the Company's monopoly. The Agent had to decide on the legality of applications for the import and export of eastern goods to and from the Cape in terms of the Company's charter. The Agent, as the Company's representative, took the brunt of their hostility.

Secondly, supplies for St. Helena had to be arranged. The Agent had to put out tenders to local farmers and merchants for various goods required by the island's inhabitants. All the arrangements for the delivery, insurance and shipment of the consignments had to be overseen and paid for. The frequent problems which arose had to be ironed out.

Thirdly, the Agent regularly framed indents for the regular supply of eastern goods from the three East India Company Indian administrations of Bengal, Madras and Bombay and <sup>from</sup> the Select Committee of Supra Cargoes at Canton, for the Cape's consumers. The quantities requested had to be estimated to ensure that the indents balanced: <sup>they were to be</sup> neither too large to create an oversupply, nor too small to disappoint the consumers. Difficulties such as short-supply or damage to consignments were frequent and redress had to be sought from the suppliers.

The Agent was responsible for the hiring and purchase of stores in both Cape Town and Simonstown for the East India Company's goods. He had to oversee the careful unloading, transport to and unpacking of the goods in the stores, their maintenance and security before they were sold.

Regular sales of Company goods in Cape Town were held under the Agent's supervision. The Agent had to advertise the sales and oversee their proceedings. Until 1827 the Vendue Office conducted the bulk of these sales on a Thursday morning. The transactions were overseen by a Vendue Master. After 1827, the sales were held at the Company's own store rooms in St. George's Street with either the Agent or a professional auctioneer conducting the proceedings.<sup>88</sup>

The Agent was also responsible for a number of general and routine activities: He had to keep records of Agency business, report his proceedings and send copies of the Agency's accounts to the East India Company in London on a regular basis. A detailed discussion of the surviving Agency records and other related archives will be found in Chapter 5 section 5.5, and full descriptions<sup>are</sup> in the Appendix (Volume 2).

Regular contact was maintained by the Agent with the Indian presidencies on matters of intelligence, mutual concern or particular cases;<sup>it was also maintained</sup> with the neighbouring Company establishment of St. Helena and occasionally with the Company's agents at Rio de Janeiro and Mauritius.

Locally, the Agent maintained fairly close contact with the Cape Governor,<sup>the</sup> Colonial Secretary,<sup>and</sup> the Admiral commanding the Cape naval station at Simonstown for support in upholding the Company's charter, the terms of trade and the safety of Company shipping.

The commander of every East India Company vessel putting into Table Bay or Simon's Bay automatically came under the instructions of the Agent and had to receive his written authority before leaving. The Agent was consequently closely concerned with various related arrangements: providing instructions for loading and unloading of ships' cargo and storage; the fitting and supply of East India Company ships, the receipt and transmission of shipping intelligence; arranging contracts and payment for ship repairs; the supply of ships crews, hospitalisation of crewmen, provisions and refreshments for ships and crews; troop carriage; arrangements with the Admiral for convoys

for Company ships; settlement of disputes with ships' personnel; appointment and replacement of officers; inquiries into the conduct of officers; liaison with the police and the Fiscal's office for the apprehension, arrest and return of deserters from ships; and for the enforcement of quarantine for ships carrying contagious diseases.

The Agent had to take responsibility for survivors of shipwrecks and their maintenance. Passages had to be arranged for stranded individuals; and East India Company servants, and he had to decide whether permission could be granted for Cape residents or unlicensed persons to leave the Cape for India, Batavia or New South Wales. The Agent was frequently called upon by Company personnel for emergency funds for one reason or another. He also had to approve and arrange salary or pension payments for the members of various Company establishments who chose to come to the Cape temporarily to recover their health or to retire there.

The Agent had to supervise his office, clerks and other staff and attend to their appointment, training, salaries and personal concerns. He held meetings with various individuals in his capacity as East India Company's representative.

### **3.3. The Company's Cape Agency establishment, 1793-1836**

The Cape Agency was headed and supervised by the Agent himself. Pringle and Hawkins were drawn from the Company's establishments in India and remained on those establishments with their positions and seniority assured. Lusson was selected from the Accountant-General's staff on the Home establishment. His position too was guaranteed. The Agents and other staff were paid from the proceeds of

the sales of the Company's goods at the Cape. A comprehensive list of Agency staff is to be found in the Who's Who section at the end of the Appendix (Volume 2).

During Pringle's first term, the Agency establishment was small. Local assistants proved difficult to recruit<sup>89</sup> but he employed clerical assistants in the office<sup>90</sup> and an assistant to supervise the Agency's warehouses.<sup>91</sup>

On reviewing Pringle's report after his first term as Agent, the Directors' thought it necessary to appoint an official Assistant Agent from their own home establishment.<sup>92</sup> After 1808, when the Agency was resumed on a more permanent basis, the establishment expanded with the increase in the Agency's business. Additional clerical help was necessary in the office;<sup>93</sup> outdoor help, to look after unsold Company stocks in warehouses and supervise deliveries after the public vendue;<sup>94</sup> and a storeroom supervisor and porter<sup>95</sup> were employed, as well as a temporary special assistant to cope with the increase in work, from 1813 to 1817.<sup>96</sup>

Boatmen were employed at Table Bay and Simons Bay to transport cargo from ships in the anchorage to the wharves.<sup>97</sup> With the decrease in shipping the temporary special assistant was no longer required, and casual foremen were hired from 1818 'to attend for a day or two at the Wharf'.<sup>98</sup> Local labourers were also hired in the stores.<sup>99</sup> After robberies and break-ins, watchmen for the stores in Cape Town and Simonstown were hired.<sup>100</sup>

At the end of the 1816 review of the Cape Agency establishment, the Directors decided that the Agency could

be scaled down in importance. One of the consequences of the review was the abolition of the separate established post of Assistant Agent and Joseph Lusón's promotion to succeed Pringle.<sup>101</sup> It is probably indicative of the importance that the Company gave to the Cape Agency at the time, that the review was discussed in secret by the Company's Committee of Correspondence.<sup>102</sup> The Directors also stated that the Agent was to be assisted by a Confidential Clerk, who was to be recruited at the Cape by the Agent himself.<sup>103</sup>

Pringle had negotiated the use of the farm 'Klipbank' on the Berg River from Colonial Secretary Henry Alexander in 1815<sup>104</sup> in order to secure a steady supply of sheep for St. Helena. The farm was leased by Lusón to 1818.<sup>105</sup> It was run by a supervisor,<sup>106</sup> who employed six ex-slaves and two shepherds. After the termination of the lease, the supervisor was hired as Selector of Livestock for St. Helena from 1820-21.<sup>107</sup>

William Hawkins insisted upon bringing his own confidential clerk with him from England in 1823.<sup>108</sup> Hawkins appears to have initiated a reorganisation of the establishment during 1827.<sup>109</sup> Appointments of his Agency include First and Second Assistant Agents,<sup>110</sup> an assistant in the office,<sup>111</sup> and a confidential clerk who doubled as storekeeper and lived above the stores.<sup>112</sup>

Hawkins also employed a Gauger of Wine in the Stores to 1836,<sup>113</sup> <sup>and</sup> a Vendue Master to conduct the auctions of goods brought in for the Agency's sales (until 1827 when the government Vendue Office was abolished).<sup>114</sup> Hawkins conducted the sales himself to 1830 after which a licensed



Image removed due to third party copyright

Panorama of Cape Town by Lady Anne Barnard, c1803. The buildings on the bay front include the East India Company's warehouse, the Custom House and the Commissariat

Image removed due to third party copyright

auctioneer was hired to conduct the sales until 1835, when they became less regular.<sup>115</sup>

The Company's goods were stored in Cape Town and in Simonstown. Governor Macartney agreed to build a magazine near Church Square for the Company's stores in 1797.<sup>116</sup> The panorama opposite (drawn some time between 1803 and 1806), shows the Agency's stores next to the Customs House on Strand Street at the waterfront.<sup>117</sup> In 1800 Pringle had bought a residence at 1 Berg Street on the corner of Wale Street,<sup>118</sup> which he probably used as the Agency base in the early years. An office and stores near the foreshore-end of St. George's Street (formerly Berg Street) were hired from 1810 to 1814.<sup>119</sup> In 1814 Pringle bought new offices in the vicinity with stores attached.<sup>120</sup> Hawkins obtained an office at 2 New Street (now Queen Victoria Street) around 1832.<sup>121</sup> For the location of the offices and stores, see the town plan opposite. Between 1816 and 1819 a store was hired from shipwright John Osmond, in Simonstown to accommodate the St. Helena supplies.<sup>122</sup>

#### **3.4. Local commercial agents at the Cape acting for the Company 1836-1858**

Possibly through the Court of Directors' connections, network and patronage, William Burnie, head of the London East India house of agency William and John Burnies & Co., persuaded the Company to grant the post-1836 agency to its Cape Town mercantile and shipping branch, Dickson, Burnies & Co.<sup>123</sup> These agents were appointed in 1836, just prior to the winding up of the Company's own establishment at the Cape.<sup>124</sup> The local agents were to receive no payment for their services.<sup>125</sup> Dickson Burnies & Co. had offices on the corner of Longmarket Street and Heerengracht in Cape

Town.<sup>126</sup> The firm changed its name to W. Dickson & Co. in 1851 and remained agents until the Company's demise in 1858.

At first Dickson Burnies and Co. undertook the payment of the Company's pensioners residing at the Cape. After 1839, the Company obtained the agreement of the Treasury to make the payments through the Commissariat Officer of the Colonial government.<sup>127</sup> The Company then instructed Dickson Burnies & Co. 'to concern themselves with all East India Company business, except the payment of pensions'.<sup>128</sup> Other routine business included receiving and storing supplies of coal for the Company's steamships and arranging their refueling at the Cape; obtaining supplies and provisions for troops and troopships arriving at the Cape.

Dickson Burnies and Co. also made payments for purchases of horses for the Company's Indian military establishments from the 1830s to 1850s<sup>129</sup> and made enquiries as to whether coalfields in Natal could be exploited to supply the Company's steamships in the early 1840s.<sup>130</sup> The East India Company's trading function ceased completely in 1858 and its affairs involving the administration of India and some other areas were transferred to the newly established India Office under the direct control of the British government. Later arrangements concerning matters at the Cape were made by government agents.

### **3.5. The London agents for the Cape of Good Hope**

The role of the London agents for the Cape appears to have been a watching brief in London over matters affecting the Cape's interests. From 1807 these agents made frequent representations to the Company on matters concerning the

Cape's commercial status.<sup>131</sup> The agents for the Cape in London were William Huskisson (1795-1803); Charles B Agar (1807-11); Robert Wilmott (1811-12) and Thomas Peregrine Courtenay (1818-28).

In conclusion, the Agency at the Cape of Good Hope was the only East India Company establishment anywhere in southern Africa. In effect the Cape was simply chosen as the strategically important location for an agency of the world's largest trading company. It had the additional attraction of being conveniently placed within a British administered possession and later colony. For thirty-six years the Cape Agency was the largest service and supply point within the East India Company's trade area.

Although it was well-placed to do so, the Company made no effort to develop trade between the Cape and the home market in Britain. The Company viewed the Cape Agency's main functions to be the maintenance of its monopoly over the supply of eastern goods at that pivotal position on a major world sea lane, supplying the Company's ships and sustaining its settlement at St. Helena. The Company agreed to supply the Cape market with eastern goods through the Agency in return for accepting and upholding the East India Company's trade monopoly there, but this supply was really only seen as a sideline activity.

The survey of the East India Company and Board of Control archives undertaken for this study, has opened up the surviving East India Company archives relating to the Cape Agency for closer examination. Combined with the significant studies undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s by Marcus Arkin, a fairly comprehensive picture emerges of the

activities of the Agency between 1793 and 1836, and also of the operations of the commercial agents acting on behalf of the Company from 1836 to 1858.

## Notes to Chapter 3

References to original documents are to the East India Company archives, which are part of the India Office Records, (IOR), unless otherwise stated.

<sup>1</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: a history of the Agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records"' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* II (Cape Town, 1960), pp. 176-344; 'John Company at the Cape', reprint from *South African Journal of Economics* 29 (30), September 1961; 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers: John Company and the Cape-St. Helena trade during the Captivity, 1815-21' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* I (Cape Town, 1964), pp. 169-230; 'Agency and Island: John Company and the twilight years of the Cape-St. Helena trade, 1822-36' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* I (Cape Town, 1965), pp. 269-330; *Storm in a Teacup: the later years of John Company at the Cape, 1815-36*, (Cape Town, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: a history of the Agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records"' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* II (Cape Town, 1960), p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> For a biographical sketch of John Pringle, see M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', pp. 309-313 (although this account contains some inaccuracies. For example, Pringle did not join the Company as a clerk but as a Writer, and he was not sent to Calcutta, but to Bombay, where he served from 1789 to 1792, returning on grounds of ill health); and A. Pringle, *The Records of the Pringles or Hoppringills of the Scottish Border* (Edinburgh, 1933), p. 336 (also containing inaccuracies on the dates of Pringle's service and his death). His early Company service records are in Writers' Petitions, J/1/12, ff. 38-42, which Arkin did not refer to, <sup>these</sup> include Pringle's baptismal certificate which identifies his mother, f. 42. Pringle remained officially on the Bombay establishment until his death in 1815, although his salary was paid from the funds of the Cape Agency.

<sup>4</sup> There is a strong probability of an association between John Pringle and Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control. It is unusual for man as young as Pringle, with hardly any experience in India to have been entrusted with a post viewed with such importance by the Company. Although no documentary evidence has so far been found which shows incontrovertibly Henry Dundas's influence in John Pringle's appointment as Agent, the probability of Dundas's informal patronage of Pringle is likely. Members of the Board of Control, like Company Directors enjoyed privileges of making Company appointments through a system of patronage, which was extensive among mercantile families of Scottish origin (see P. Lawson, *The East India Company: a history*, (London, 1993) p.72 and p.85 note 3). Dundas had built up a far-reaching family 'interest' among his kinsmen in Scotland, among whom, Pringle's father John, M.P. for Selkirkshire (1765-1786), was a recipient of his political favours (see H. Furber, *Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville 1742-1811*, (Oxford, 1931) p. 191) and A. Pringle, *The Records of the Pringles or Hoppringills of the Scottish Border* (Edinburgh, 1933), pp. 175-176. Pringle senior had died in 1792, the same year his son returned from India and perhaps, in recognition of his loyalty to Dundas and in respect of his memory, Dundas saw that Pringle junior was maintained in the Dundas network. Dundas's recommendation of Pringle can be inferred in correspondence between the Secret Committee and Dundas, related to his appointment, in Secret Despatches to Bengal, L/P&S/5/563, 20-26 November 1793, pp. 72-74. There

were also other family and personal connections which interestingly connect Dundas, Pringle and the Cape. Dundas's conviction of the importance of the Cape to the Company has been discussed in Chapter 2. Lady Anne Barnard (an old flame and correspondent of Dundas') had not only secured a government post at the Cape for her husband Andrew by appealing to Dundas, (see M. Fry, *The Dundas Despotism*, (Edinburgh, 1992) p. 157, but the couple were also close friends of the Pringles, see M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', op. cit. pp. 206-07, 310). Maj-Gen Francis Henry Dundas, acting Governor of the Cape (1798-99 and 1801 to 1803) and associate of Pringle's during his first Agency, was Henry Dundas' nephew, see M. Boucher and N. Penn, *Britain at the Cape 1795 to 1803* (Houghton, [Johannesburg], 1992), p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/9, 20-26 Nov 1793, ff. 183-84.

<sup>6</sup> Secret Minutes of Board of Control, L/P&S/2/1, no. 58, 26 Nov 1793, f. 31v.

<sup>7</sup> Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/9, 20 Nov 1793, f. 183.

<sup>8</sup> Correspondence between Dundas and the Secret Committee, in Secret Despatches to Bengal, L/P&S/5/563, 20-26 November, p. 72.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 72-74.

<sup>10</sup> Bombay Political and Secret Consultations, P/E/7, 20 Feb 1794, pp. 333-34; St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/58, 28 May 1795, ff. 12-16; 3 Jun 1795, ff. 29-35.

<sup>11</sup> For Pringle's hasty appointment and departure, see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/1, Pringle to Ramsay, 16 Jun 1803, pp. 245-247; see also pp. 28-33; G/9/26, 20 Feb 1794, ff. 5-6; Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/9, 26 Nov 1793, ff. 183-84; M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 191, note 40.

<sup>12</sup> The Dutch administration's refusal to officially recognise Pringle is documented in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/26, 20 Feb 1794, ff. 5-6; 14-18 Sep, 12 Oct 1794, ff. 15-20; 15, 16 Mar 1795, ff. 31-34; 3 Apr 1795, ff. 35-36.

<sup>13</sup> Minutes of the Secret Committee, L/P&S/1/9, 22 Mar 1794, f. 186.

<sup>14</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/26, 16 Mar 1795, ff. 33-34, 3 Apr 1795, pp. 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/58, 28 May 1795, ff. 12-16; 3 Jun 1795, ff. 29-35.

<sup>16</sup> Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/94, no. 64, 31 Dec 1795.

<sup>17</sup> St. Helena Factory Records: Consultations, G/32/58, 3, 8 June 1795, ff. 29-36.

<sup>18</sup> Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/93, no. 122, 24 Sep 1795.

<sup>19</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 310.



---

<sup>20</sup> F.C. Danvers, *Report on the Records of the India Office, Vol. 1, Part 1, Records Relating to Agencies, Factories and Settlements now under the Administration of the Government of India*, (London, 1887), pp. 167-169;.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes of Court of Directors, B/123, 10 Aug 1796, pp. 503-506.

<sup>22</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' p. 195-197; Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/6, 25 Aug 1797, pp. 106-112.

<sup>23</sup> Arkin, *op. cit.* p.205.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* p.195.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p.197.

<sup>26</sup> East India Company Statutes, Charters and Treaties, A/2/2 pp. 698, 979, 21 Apr 1806; British Acts, V/1/130, 24 Mar 1809.

<sup>27</sup> Arkin, *op.cit.* p.194.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Court of Directors, B/126, 22 Nov 1797, ff. 652-653; 6 Dec 1797, f. 696; 22 Dec 1797, ff. 760-761; 29 Dec 1797, ff. 795-796 and 12 Jan 1798, ff. 855-856.

<sup>29</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/1, 16 Jun 1803, pp. 245-47; G/9/6, 16 Jun 1803, pp. 385-93; Home Correspondence: Letters received, E/1/110, no. 40, 1 Feb 1804

<sup>30</sup> Home Correspondence: Letters received, E/1/108, no. 257, 17 Jun 1803.

<sup>31</sup> Arkin, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-209; The Company had requested the British government to raise the question of the sequestration of Agency property at the peace negotiations with the Dutch in 1815 (see Company Letters to the Board of Control, E/2/5, 13 Oct 1815, pp. 268-9; Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/5, 31 Aug 1814, p. 275; Board of Control Letter-book, F/2/3, Thomas Courtenay to William Hamilton, 31 Aug 1814, p.216). It appears from the Accountant-General's ledgers that some sort of payment was eventually received, see L/AG/1/1/30, 1814 p.229.

<sup>32</sup> Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/48, 17 Jun 1807, pp. 411-413.

<sup>33</sup> Court Minutes, B/143, 3 Jun 1806, pp. 251-252; D/47, 30 May 1806, pp. 223-226.

<sup>34</sup> Court Minutes, B/139, 18 May 1804, f. 193; 30 May 1804, p. 262.

<sup>35</sup> Court Minutes, B/142, 5 Mar 1806, p. 1238; Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/113, no. 83, 28 Feb 1806.

<sup>36</sup> Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/48, 17 Jun 1807, pp. 411-413; E/1/242 pp. 342-43; Court Minutes, B/145, 17 Jun 1807, pp. 259-260.

<sup>37</sup> Arkin, *op. cit.* p. 277.

<sup>38</sup> Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/48, 3 Jul 1807, pp. 420-421; Court Minutes, B/145, 3 Jul 1807, pp. 377; 7 Jul. 1807, pp. 353-55.

<sup>39</sup> Court Minutes, B/145, 7 Jul 1807, ff. 354-55; 23 Sep 1807, ff. 693-94.

<sup>40</sup> Biographical Series: Bonds, Agreements and Warrants, O/1/234, nos. 2103, 2104, 2111, 2112, 9, 14 and 17 Dec 1807.

---

<sup>41</sup> Accountant-General's Department Home and Overseas Correspondence: paragraphs prepared by the Accountant General for insertion in the public and other letters to the different Presidencies in India, China, Cape of Good Hope, St Helena etc., L/AG/29/1/14, 1807-1834, pp. 219-224.

<sup>42</sup> For example, Proclamation of 29 Sep 1809, see Arkin, *op. cit.* p. 217, note 40 and a list of edicts on trade, pp. 320-321.

<sup>43</sup> Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/242, no. 826, 19 Dec 1807, p. 659.

<sup>44</sup> Correspondence with India: Despatches to Bengal, E/4/663, 26 Feb 1808, pp. 105-06

<sup>45</sup> Arkin, *op.cit.* pp. 217-218.

<sup>46</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/2, 21 Feb 1810, ff. 417-20; G/9/7, 2 Feb 1810, ff. 87-88; Arkin, *op.cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>47</sup> Court Minutes, B/151, 9 May 1810, f. 184; 30 May 1810, f. 239; 13 Jun. 1810, p.301; 27 Jun 1810, p.348 and 27 Jul, pp. 522-523.

<sup>48</sup> Arkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 264-67.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 248-50.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* p. 259.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* pp 265-267; Court Minutes, B/155, 14 Oct 1812, p. 764.

<sup>53</sup> Arkin, *op.cit.*, pp. 268-271.

<sup>54</sup> M. Arkin, *Storm in a teacup: the later years of John Company at the Cape, 1815-36*, (Cape Town, 1973), p.175.

<sup>55</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' pp. 300-303.

<sup>56</sup> Board of Control letter book, F/2/3, 12 Jan 1815, p. 239.

<sup>57</sup> Lushington's appointment and decline are in Court Minutes, B/159, 16 Sep, 20 Sep 1814, f. 540; 20 Sep 1814, ff. 544-55; B/161, 16 Jun 1815, f.232, 23 Jun 1815, ff. 265-66; Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/131, nos. 29-30, 18 Jan 1816; Miscellanies, E/1/250, no. 827, 19 Dec 1815; Minutes of the Secret Committee of Correspondence, L/P&S/1/13, 24 Jan 1816, p.14; Henry Wood's appointment and decline are in Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/258, no. 772, 14 Apr 1822, pp. 411-12; Correspondence Minutes, D/8, 5 Mar 1823, p. 1055, 12 Mar 1823, p. 1068. Note that F.C. Danvers, in *Report on the Records of the India Office* (London, 1887), p. 171 stated that Lushington was Agent in 1816 and Henry Wood in 1822, when in fact neither took up the position.

<sup>58</sup> The long line of unsuccessful applicants for the post of Agent at the Cape includes Charles Holloway, Correspondence Reports, D/50, 26 Oct 1808, p. 23; Vicessimus Hale, Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/130, nos. 15-17 4 Jul 1815 and E/1/251 no. 293B, 30 Mar 1816, p. 212; C. Lushington, B/162, 24 Jan 1816, f. 970; Francis Studley, Miscellanies, E/1/250, no. 139, 28 Feb 1815 Dec 1815. Lusson's petition is in

---

Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/130 nos. 102-104, 7 Aug 1815 and Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/8, 7 Aug 1815, ff. 25-26.

<sup>59</sup> The outside applicant was the 1820 settler William Parker, see M. Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, p.183.

<sup>60</sup> Committee of Correspondence Minutes, D/5, 31 Jan 1816, pp. 352-54.

<sup>61</sup> Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/58, 13 Dec 1815, pp. 186-190, 31 Jan 1816, pp. 284-289.

<sup>62</sup> Court Minutes, B/162, 14 Feb 1816, ff. 1053-1054.

<sup>63</sup> For a detailed investigation of the Cape Agency's relationship with St. Helena, see M. Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers: John Company and the Cape-St. Helena trade during the Captivity, 1815-21' in *Archives Year Book for South African History I* (Cape Town, 1964), pp. 169-230.

<sup>64</sup> M. Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, p.178.

<sup>65</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/8, 28 Oct, 1819, ff. 273-276, 1 Dec 1819, ff. 283-286; G/9/22, 2 Nov 1819- 28 Jan 1820, ff. 195-219; China and Japan Factory Records: Canton Consultations, G/12/220, 27 May 1820, pp. 31-33.

<sup>66</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/9, 15 Mar 1821, ff. 86-87; Committee of Correspondence Memoranda, D/133, 18 Jan 1822.

<sup>67</sup> T.B. Wools, Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/258, 3 May 1822, p. 493; Maj Beecher, References to Committee of Correspondence, Z/D/8, 8 May 1822; Captain C.M. Roberts, Z/D/8, 5 Mar 1823; and T. Harrington, Z/D/9, 7 Mar 1825.

<sup>68</sup> Court Minutes B/175, 12 Mar 1823, p. 976; Committee of Correspondence Minutes, D/8, 12 Mar 1823, p.1068; Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/67, 12 Mar 1823, p. 468; Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/259 no. 530, 15 Mar 1823; Accountant-General's Records: Establishment matters, Home staff, L/AG/30/12, 12 Mar 1823, f. 408.

<sup>69</sup> For a biographical sketch of William Hawkins, see M. Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, pp. 183; 223-224; and his previous Company service papers see *Writer's Petitions*, J/1/9 ff. 113, 116, 119 (1775).

<sup>70</sup> Court Minutes B/175, 4 Dec 1822, pp. 668-669.

<sup>71</sup> Biographical Records: Bonds and Agreements, O/1/59, no. 1966, 17 Jul 1823.

<sup>72</sup> Court Minutes, B/176, 13 Aug 1823, f. 347; Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/152 no. 56, 8 Aug 1823. Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/259 no. 530, 15 Mar, 3 Apr 1823, no. 1617, 22 Aug 1823.

<sup>73</sup> Court Minutes, B/176, 20 Aug 1823, f. 372; Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/259, no 1617, 22 Aug 1823; Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/9, 11, 31 Dec 1823, ff. 147-54.

<sup>74</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of trade between the Cape and St. Helena during Hawkins' Agency and the Agency's activities and establishment, see M. Arkin: 'Agency and Island: John Company and the Twilight Years of the

---

Cape-St. Helena Trade, 1822-36' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* (Cape Town, 1965), pp. 269-330.

<sup>75</sup> See Marcus Arkin's detailed examination in *Storm in a Teacup: the later years of John Company at the Cape, 1815-36*, (Cape Town, 1973), pp. 67-106.

<sup>76</sup> Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, pp. 162-68.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170-173.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 75-82; Chronological list of Parliamentary Papers relating to the East Indies, V/4 vol. 23, 1829 and vol. 5, 1830.

<sup>79</sup> Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, pp. 136-41.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 138-145.

<sup>81</sup> Court Minutes, B/186, 23 Oct 1833, p. 816.

<sup>82</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/17, 3 Feb-19 Apr 1836, ff. 372-77; M. Arkin, 'Agency and Island', p. 317.

<sup>83</sup> Court Minutes, B/188, 30 Apr 1834, p. 88; B/190, 28 Jul 1835, p. 472; Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee, L/F/1/2, 28 Jul 1835, p. 1065; L/F/1/3, 11 Nov 1835, p. 317.

<sup>84</sup> Financial Department Home Correspondence, L/F/2/11, no. 37, 29 Sep 1836.

<sup>85</sup> Accountant-General's Records: Home and overseas correspondence: paragraphs prepared by the Accountant General for insertion in the public and other letters to the different Presidencies in India, China, Cape of Good Hope etc., L/AG/29/1/14, Copy 'Instructions of the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, to John Pringle Esqre, their Agent at the Cape of Good Hope - 1807', pp. 219-224.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222.

<sup>87</sup> House of Commons Select Committee 1830 (644) - Report on the East India Company and the China Trade, Appendix, 106-107, quoted in Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, pp. 194-195.

<sup>88</sup> For a description of the sales, see evidence given to the Select Committee on the China Trade, quoted in Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, p. 192.

<sup>89</sup> Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 277.

<sup>90</sup> Thomas Maxwell (employed 1795 to 1803) Joseph Gibson (1795): Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/1, 20 Jan 1803, pp. 221-22; G/9/6, pp. 5-9, 14 Oct 1795, 14 Apr 1797, pp. 91-93; 15 Sep 1798, pp. 163-66.

<sup>91</sup> Robert Stuart, (employed Feb 1798-1803), Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/108, no. 137-138; [1803]; E/1/110 no. 186, 2 Jul 1804 Robert Stuart's memorial of services

<sup>92</sup> Joseph Lusson, an experienced clerk on the Company's home service, served as Pringle's Assistant Agent from 1808 to 1815, see Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, D/3, 17 Jun 1807; Arkin 'John Company at the Cape' p. 277.

<sup>93</sup> John Conrad Gie (clerical assistant, 1810-13), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/7, 31 Mar 1810, ff. 96-103; 14 Aug 1813, ff. 258-261; John Everitt Mestaer, (confidential clerk, 1816-17), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/3, 6 May 1813, ff. 599-601; G/9/4, 16 May 1817, ff. 331-334; G/9/8, 20 May 1816, ff. 81-84; Harry Rivers, G/9/8, 16 May 1817, ff. 156-59; Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 312; Samuel Oliver (junior clerk, 1813), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/7, 14 Aug 1813, ff. 258-61;

<sup>94</sup> Joseph Gibson (1810-13), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/2, 31 Mar 1810, ff. 435-442; G/9/3 f 6 May 1813, ff. 599-601; G/9/6, 14 Oct 1795, pp. 5-9; G/9/7, 31 Mar 1810, ff. 96-103; Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 206.

<sup>95</sup> Joseph Gibson, (1808); John Everitt Mestaer (1813-16), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/7, 6 May 1813, ff. 246-7; Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 281. Harry Rivers (1816), Home Correspondence: Miscellaneous letters received, E/1/32, no. 171, 24 Oct 1816.

<sup>96</sup> Alexander Duncan, (temporary special assistant at Simonstown and later at Table Bay for St. Helena supplies, 1816-17), see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/4, 26 Jul 1817, ff. 347-350; 1 Nov 1817, ff. 358-61. For a description of his duties, see M. Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers', pp. 183-84.

<sup>97</sup> One of the boatmen was named as Peter Staak, see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/3, 6 Jul 1813, ff. 508-09.

<sup>98</sup> Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers', p. 184.

<sup>99</sup> Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, p 190, note 65.

<sup>100</sup> For example, Joseph Eckhard, see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/3, 30 Apr-30 Jun 1813 ff. 644-67; G/9/21, 4 Aug-28 Oct 1817, ff. 184-202; M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 279.

<sup>101</sup> The developments in the Directors' thinking in their review of the Agency's establishment and structure may be traced in Court Minutes, B/162, 13 Dec 1815, ff. 832-833, 17 Jan 1816, f.954; 31 Jan 1816, ff. 996-997; 7 Feb 1816, f. 1030; 14 Feb 1816, ff. 1053-54; Committee of Correspondence Minutes, D/5, 8 Dec 1815, pp. 281-282; 13 Dec 1815, pp. 284-285; 31 Jan 1816, pp. 352-54; Committee of Correspondence Reports, D/58, 13 Dec 1815, pp. 186-190; 31 Jan 1816, pp. 284-289; Accountant General's Records: Establishment returns, L/AG/30/6, 1 May 1817, f. 5.

<sup>102</sup> Minutes of the Secret Committee of Correspondence, L/P&S/1/13, 24 Jan 1816 p.14.

<sup>103</sup> Court Minutes, B/162, 31 Jan 1816, pp. 996-997; 14 Feb. 1816, pp. 1053-1054. Luson's confidential clerks were John Everitt Mestaer, (1816-17), Harry Rivers, (1817-19), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/4, 5 May 1819, ff. 418-19; G/9/8, 5 Nov 1816, ff. 111-112; 16 May 1817, ff. 156-9; 5 May 1819, ff. 247-8; Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers', p. 214; and Daniel J. Cloete, 1819-23, see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/8, 5 May 1819, ff. 247-48.

<sup>14</sup> Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' p. 256.

<sup>15</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/4, 26 Jul 1817, ff. 347-50; G/9/8 23 Oct 1815, ff. 35-38; G/9/20, Apr 1815, ff. 112-142; Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers', pp. 186-189.

<sup>106</sup> The supervisor and selector of livestock was O. Williams, see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/21, 8 Jan-31 Mar 1816, ff. 3-24; Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers', pp. 186, 189, 193.

<sup>107</sup> Arkin, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

<sup>108</sup> William Harris, who remained confidential clerk until his death in 1827, see Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/9, 6 Aug 1827, ff. 321-22.

<sup>109</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/9, 6 Aug 1827, ff. 321-22.

<sup>110</sup> Arthur Nitch, 1825-36 and J.J. Van Lier, 1825-34 and from 1834-36, J.B. Willenberg junior, see Parliamentary papers relating to the East Indies, V/4 vol. 5, Appendix to the Reports on the Affairs of the East India Company (China Trade), 29 Jun 1830, Returns of the Cape Agency establishment, pp. 106-107; Accountant General's Records, Establishment matters, home staff, L/AG/30/6, f.5 (for 1817,1827); Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, pp. 188-90.

<sup>111</sup> Francis Ross (1824-25), see Parliamentary papers, V/4 vol. 5, Appendix to the Reports on the Affairs of the East India Company (China Trade), 29 Jun 1830, Returns of the Cape Agency establishment, pp. 106-107.

<sup>112</sup> Samuel Oliver, storekeeper and clerk (1827-36), Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/9, 6 Aug 1826, ff. 321-22.

<sup>113</sup> J.B. Willenberg senior, also referred to as 'The Company's Sworn Gauger' or 'Gauger on the Wharf', see Arkin, 'Agency and Island' pp. 287, 303.

<sup>114</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/9A, 22 Jan 1829, pp. 482-86; G/9/9, 27 Mar 1828, ff. 340-41. Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, p.191. The Vendue Master at Stellenbosch, H Van de Graaff is named in Accountant General's Department General Commerce Journal L/AG/1/13/3, p. 101.

<sup>115</sup> The auctioneer was named as Mr. Blare, see Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, p.194.

<sup>116</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/6, 31 Dec 1797, pp. 136-38.

<sup>117</sup> The panorama of Cape Town was sketched by Lady Ann Barnard, wife of the Governor's private secretary and friend of John Pringle. See also A M Lewin-Robinson, *The Letters of Lady Ann Barnard to Henry Dundas*, between pp.56 and 57.

<sup>118</sup> Cape of Good Hope Factory Records, G/9/6, 11-12 Jan 1800, pp. 251-58.

<sup>119</sup> Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' p. 279.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.* Probably corner of Berg and Wale Street. It appears that these premises were transferred to successive agents, see P. Philip, *British Residents at the Cape 1795-1819*, (Cape Town, 1981) pp. 242,332-333 and *Dictionary of South African Biography* VI, p.354.

<sup>121</sup> Arkin, 'Agency and Island', p. 322 and *Storm in a Teacup*, p. 190.

<sup>122</sup> Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers', p. 183.

<sup>123</sup> Home Correspondence: Miscellanies, E/1/272, no. 1318, 11 Jun 1836, no. 1318, 11 Jun 1836; Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee,

---

L/F/1/4, 8 Jun 1836, pp. 131, 5 Oct 1836, p. 510; Finance and Home Committee Reports, L/F/1/55, no. 63, 8 Jun 1836; Financial Department Home Correspondence, L/F/2/7, no. 45, 6 Jun 1836; Accountant-General's Records: Establishment matters, agents abroad, L/AG/30/12, 8 Jun 1836, p.780.

<sup>124</sup> Court Minutes, B/192, 8 Jun 1836, pp. 196-97; Financial Department Home Correspondence, L/F/2/11, no. 37, 29 Sep 1836.

<sup>125</sup> Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/272, no. 2263, 28 Sep 1836.

<sup>126</sup> Arkin, 'Agency and Island', p. 317, note 387.

<sup>127</sup> Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/271, no. 2099, 27 Aug 1835, and no. 2586, 12 Nov 1835; Finance and Home Committee Minutes, L/F/1/5-11 (1836-1840); L/F/1/11, 23 Oct 1839, p. 84.

<sup>128</sup> Home Correspondence Miscellanies, E/1/275, no. 3025, 1 Nov 1839; Accountant General's Records: establishment matters, L/AG/30/12, 23 Oct 1839, p. 790.

<sup>129</sup> Finance and Home Committee Minutes, L/F/1/6, 20 Sep 1837, p.609; L/F/7, 11 Oct 1837, p.19.

<sup>130</sup> Bombay Marine Consultations, P/413/6, no. 1154, 16 Jun 1841; Letters received from Bombay, E/4/542, 13 Aug 1841.

<sup>131</sup> Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape', p. 218; Minutes of the Board of Control, F/1/5, 6 Jul 1813, p.75; Board of Control letter-book, F/2/3, 31 Mar 1812, p. 32, 29 Jun 1813, p. 92.

## CHAPTER 4

THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS  
A CUSTODIAL HISTORY, 1600-1997

Although this study focuses on the archives of the East India Company and the Board of Control, this chapter examines the custodial history of the whole group of what has come to be known as 'the India Office Records' (only part of which includes the archives of the East India Company and the Board of Control). An inclusive approach is necessary because the Company and Board's archives examined here cannot easily be separated from the India Office Records group and viewed in isolation. The history of these archives as a whole has been shaped as a result of their association with and treatment by later custodians.

The archives of the East India Company and the Board of Control were inherited by their successor body, the India Office, in 1858. These archives were thus incorporated into the records of the last British government body with responsibility for the administration of India and as a result they now form an integral part of the Public Records of the United Kingdom. The India Office records group comprises the archives of the East India Company (1600-1858), the Board of Control (1784-1858), the India Office (1858-1947), the Burma Office (1937-1948), and a number of British agencies overseas which were officially linked with one or other of these bodies. The composite name for the archives of these three bodies has become known as the India Office Records.

This custodial history traces and records the sequence of ownership changes of the India Office Records and examines



events which have occurred in the 'life' of the India Office Records, between the time of their creation by the East India Company and the Board of Control, the period of administration by their successor, the India Office - to the whole group's eventual passing into the public domain in its own self-contained record office.

#### **4.1. Extent and scope**

The India Office Records now comprise about 14 kilometers of archives. The bulk of the archival material consists of original documentation usually arranged in regular series of, for example, original letters received, drafts or copies of letters sent, registered files of correspondence, minutes of proceedings of committees and other corporate bodies, lists of personnel and nominal returns, title deeds and other legal documents, accounting books, reports, memoranda, ships' journals, maps and plans. It is estimated that the East India Company and Board of Control archives comprise approximately 40-45% of the India Office Records.<sup>1</sup>

These unique original records reflect the territorial, political and economic history of India, Pakistan, Burma and Bangladesh, and to a lesser extent the Himalayan and Central Asian states (Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Tibet, Sinkiang and the former Russian dominions), Afghanistan, parts of the Middle East (Aden, Yemen, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Oman, the Gulf states, Iran, Iraq), Sri Lanka, South East Asia, China, Japan and in Africa: Zanzibar, Guinea, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and the islands of the Indian Ocean and St. Helena in the Atlantic Ocean.

## 4.2. Custody, care and control of the India Office Records, 1600-1997

### 4.2.1. The East India Company's records, 1600-1858

As the East India Company developed, records were created as a consequence of its London-based functions (for example the Court of Directors and the Company's subsidiary administrative, financial, commercial and shipping functions) and those which were created from the control of its overseas representatives (for example copy letters sent, original letters received, copies of papers sent from the Company's administrations in India to London for information<sup>2</sup>). The records had accrued in the offices of the Company's Secretary and other officials in East India House. Once out of current use, they were left there in a neglected state.

Sir William Foster notes that a reference was made in the Court Minutes in April 1682 to 'old books and papers which are in a confused manner layd in the upper garret of the [East India] House'. Further, in January 1717 it was reported that one of the Surat Journals had been cut out of its covers and stolen and that 'great quantities of the Company's packets and other papers were thrown on heaps in the Back Warehouse'.<sup>3</sup> A committee was then appointed to find a place for them and someone made responsible, but nothing further seems to have been done to improve the storage of these records.<sup>4</sup>

In March 1720 the Court discussed what to do with the

great numbers of papers, packets, and old books removed out of the Secretary's, Accomptant's and other offices of the House, and carryd into the warehouse on the other side of the garden, where they lye in the utmost confusion, and it is feared many of them are destroyed<sup>5</sup>

The Secretary was ordered to have the documents sorted and put into a proper repository, which was probably the origin of the Book Office.<sup>6</sup>

The expansion of the Company's territories in India and the consequential dramatic increase in the volume of correspondence, marked a watershed in the Company's early record-keeping system, and prompted the more active approach which emerged from the 1770s and 1780s.<sup>7</sup>

In November 1769 the Secretary was relieved of part of the burden of responsibility for record-keeping by the creation of a separate branch in his department - the 'Examiner of the Indian Correspondence and Records'. The Secretary himself maintained the Home Correspondence (correspondence from within Britain, from Europe and places other than the 'Indies') and related records. To the Examiner was relegated the preparation and examination of the India correspondence. Two years later on 26 March 1771 the Book Office was established as a repository for the later copies of the proceedings of Indian government bodies.

In the same year (1771) the Committee of Correspondence proposed the appointment of a 'Register and Keeper of the Indian Books, the Records, Accounts and other Papers' deposited in the room usually called the Book Office, under regulations, instructions and directions from the Committee of Correspondence. The Court approved the proposal and it marked the foundation of a Record department within the Company.<sup>8</sup> The Indian Register (or Registrar)'s Office was also erratically occupied with cataloguing miscellaneous records, mostly dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Examiner's branch became a separate department (though remaining under the Secretary's

overall control) in April 1776. This basic structure of the Company's record-keeping responsibility was in place by the end of the eighteenth century and remained until 1858.

#### **4.2.2. The Board of Control's records 1784-1858**

The Board of Control's main function was to supervise the Company's administration of India, mainly by means of scrutiny of correspondence with India. Its operations and activities were entirely London-based at Cannon Row. Besides its own minutes, memoranda and home correspondence, the Board accumulated copies of the Company's correspondence with Indian and other overseas administrations. It had also inherited some collections of government papers relating to Indian military and political affairs (1748-1784) originating in the State Paper Office before the formation of the Board.

The Board's clerks were instructed to pay attention to the preparation and maintenance of regular indexes and contents lists of the more important records from the early nineteenth century. The Board's records were either retained in its relevant departments or, from 1811 onwards, transferred to the custody of a specially appointed Librarian or Register and Keeper of the Papers - when they were no longer required by the departments.

The British government in general had also begun to take steps towards the care of its records. These steps were outlined in the first Public Records Act of 1838 (1&2 Vic. c.94). A subsequent Order-in-Council of 5 March 1852 stated that the Master of the Rolls would be responsible for all records belonging to Her Majesty deposited in any Office, Court, place or Custody, other than those mentioned in the Act and subject to the provisions of that Act.<sup>9</sup> As an

agency of government, these measures would have applied to the Board of Control's records.

#### **4.2.3. India Office records administration, 1858-1947**

The Government of India Act of 1858 (21 & 22 Vic. c. 106) brought to an end the administrative functions of the East India Company and the Board of Control and created a new department of state - the India Office - for the control of Indian affairs. It was headed by a Secretary of State (also a member of the Cabinet) and a permanent staff of officials and advisers (the Council of India), drawn from the establishment of the former Company and Board, as its executive arm. These officials continued the system of departments which had existed in both bodies and over time they built onto and extended the system. The record-keepers also took on the management of the India Office's own newly created records.

The Government of India Act made the Secretary of State responsible for the receipt, care and custody of books, records and archives of the East India Company and Board of Control.<sup>10</sup> Because of this stipulation, those archives were legally covered by the Government of India Act and not by the provisions of the broader Public Record Act<sup>11</sup> as was the case for other departments of state.

After the creation of the India Office, the new Secretary of State worked at East India House from 1858 to 1860 because the Board of Control's accommodation at Cannon Row was inadequate. The India Office staff worked at both locations. In 1860 the Secretary of State moved to Westminster Palace Hotel in Victoria Street. A new building in King Charles Street Whitehall was commenced to house the India Office.

The India Office record-keeping staff, faced with the impending move to new accommodation, were preoccupied with what should be done with the accumulation of inherited records of the Company and Board. In 1860 the Secretary of State Sir Charles Wood appointed a Correspondence Department committee to oversee the destruction of 'useless records' at Cannon Row and East India House. The committee surveyed the records and recommended that 300 tons be sold off as waste paper.<sup>12</sup>

Most of what was destroyed were duplicates and accounts, receipts and other ephemeral material, but some valuable historical documentation especially of the Company's commercial activities was destroyed, including some accounting records from the Company's Agency at the Cape. A number of papers which the committee was supposed to destroy survive and lists of many items marked for destruction may be found in a volume of the Home Miscellaneous Series.<sup>13</sup> Although no evidence was found in the committee papers, it is possible that the Company's copies of despatches to the Cape Agency were lost during the period of destruction between 1860 and 1868.

In 1860 records selected for retention from Leadenhall Street were removed to Victoria Street. Those at Cannon Row remained there temporarily. More destruction was undertaken in 1867, prior to the completion of the new building in the same year. The Secretary of State, <sup>his</sup> staff and all <sup>the</sup> surviving records had moved in by 1868.

The responsibility for the custody and care of the current records accruing in the India Office and for the older inherited archives was at first given to the India Office's Record and Statistical Department, then to the Revenue and

Statistical Department and in 1874 to the new Statistics and Commerce Department. The Book Office Registrar (attached to the Records and Statistical Department) as 'Searcher of Records and Statistical Recorder', weeded duplicate and 'useless' records.

Beginning in 1874, the older records that had been selected for preservation were included in a programme of arrangement and cataloguing. The record-keepers (non-specialist civil servants, not archivists), arranged and sorted the records without professional guidance. Their main function was to make these collections available for official reference rather than for public use.<sup>14</sup> Sir George Birdwood undertook the arrangement and cataloguing of the seventeenth century factory records. His *Report on the old records of the India Office* (1879) influenced the India Office's decision in 1884 to establish a new central Registry and Record department to control the current records and to take responsibility for the custody and preservation of the pre-1858 historical records. The later nineteenth century records remained in the administrative departments of the India Office.

From 1884 to 1923 under superintendents Frederick Charles Danvers (1884-98), Arthur Wollaston (1898-1907) and William Foster (1907-23), an energetic programme of sorting, listing, binding and the publication of reports<sup>15</sup> on various categories of the older records was undertaken. This activity reached a high point with the publication of Foster's *Guide to the India Office Records 1600-1858* in 1919, which provided the first structured analysis of the pre-1858 records. Gradually most of the East India Company's archives were made accessible for research.

The India Office's Record department was re-organised in 1923 under the control of the Services and General department. The 1935 Government of India Act (26 Geo. 5 c. 42 s. 172) stated that the contents of the India Office were vested in the Crown for the purposes of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and placed under the control of the Secretary of State.<sup>16</sup> Two years later, in 1937, a separate Burma Office was created within the India Office in recognition of Burma's separate status, with the Secretary of State for India also acting as Secretary of State for Burma. The Burma Office's records were maintained within the India Office record-keeping system.

By the 1940s accommodation in the India Office building had become more and more inadequate.<sup>17</sup> The records had been widely dispersed over many floors (and even under the floorboards) of the building, which was more suitable for the conduct of government business than for storage of records.<sup>18</sup> During the Second World War, the Indian Proceedings, some of the Board's Collections and some older series had to make way for emergency accommodation and air-raid shelters and were moved out of London. They were returned after the war in 1947.

#### **4.2.4. 1947-1997**

After the dissolution of the India Office at India and Pakistan's independence on 15 August 1947, all departments of the India Office were closed. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 (10 & 11 Geo. 6 c.30) specified the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations as the Cabinet Minister within whose department United Kingdom relations with former British India and Burma were conducted, i.e. successively the Secretary of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office (a merger of the Dominions Office, India



Office and Burma Office), the Commonwealth Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Those relations were then handled by Section 'B' of the new Commonwealth Relations Office. (Section 'A' comprised the old departments of the former Dominions Office). The Secretary of State continued to hold responsibility for the India Office's records.

The old India Office's Record Department was renamed the Indian Records Section in 1954 and placed under a Superintendent of Records. The Indian Records Section was responsible for all the archives of the East India Company, the Board of Control, some transferred departmental records and, over the next few years, the later records of the India Office departments and the Proceedings,<sup>19</sup> 'many of which had previously been managed by their parent departments and later left, more or less forgotten, in obscure rooms and cupboards throughout the old India Office building'.<sup>20</sup> In 1948, Burma received its independence and the Burma Office's records were also brought under the Secretary of State's control.

At India and Pakistan's independence, a number of British Government of India archives were transferred from India to the Indian Records Section. These included two types of records: those accruing in India and a result of the Viceroy's functions as representative of the Crown in India, which had been notionally separate<sup>20a</sup> from the Government of India and whose records had therefore to be returned to the UK. The records in question are R/1 Crown Representative's Political Department records and R/2 Crown Representative's Residency Records. The other category was Indian Army and Civil Service personal records, relating to UK domiciled persons who had been employed by the pre-1947 Government of India, most of whom returned to the UK after

independence. Those records were required in the UK for administrative purposes, for example for pension payment calculations.

A number of other major accruals to the India Office's records (from agencies or bodies which had administratively been connected with Government of India) were sent back to the UK and received by the Indian Records Section via the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Colonial Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office: the British Residency in Nepal and the Governor of Burma's Office in Exile during World War 2.

In 1954 the titular post of Keeper of Records was added<sup>to</sup> the established Librarian's title. This formalised responsibility for the main policy of the Indian Records Section. In 1958 the new Public Records Act (6&7 Eliz. 2 ch. 51) came into effect. The first schedule of the Act defined public records as those of or held in any department of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. The Commonwealth Relations Office took steps to have its accommodation for the archives recognised by the Lord Chancellor as a 'place outside the Public Record Office'.<sup>21</sup>

The new post of Assistant Keeper of the Records was created in 1960. It was the first professional post to be created and was filled by an experienced archivist, Joan Lancaster. Her task was 'to assess the detailed needs of the records and to advise the Keeper on measures required for their administration'.<sup>22</sup> From 1961 further appointments of trained archivists and support staff were made. By 1962 the Indian Records Section had taken on the character of a

modern record office, and was renamed the India Office Records.<sup>23</sup>

Two decades after Independence, the India Office Records had become a larger and more open institution, run by an expanding staff of professional archivists, historians and conservators, who were occupied with conserving and repairing of fragile records and with the production of new lists, guides and other publications to make the records available for growing numbers of users.<sup>24</sup>

Difficulties in accommodating the archives and records re-emerged in the early 1960s. The increase in the staff had contributed to the pressure on space, but more pressing, was the demand for office space in an old building from the Foreign Office and Commonwealth Office area desks and research departments. A section of records was consequently moved to the Public Record Office's repository at Hayes in 1964. In addition, further accruals from related administrative bodies - the records of British Legation at Kabul; British Agencies in Bushire, Bahrain, Kuwait, Muscat and Trucial Coast and the British Administration of Aden<sup>25</sup> - were also received in the 1960s.

The most important concern however, was the problem of security. To reach the Indian Records Section's reading room (the old India Office Library's reading room) in the attic, readers and researchers had to pass through the Foreign Office and Commonwealth Office corridors on a daily basis. This ordinary, non-official access to a central government building became a security problem in the political climate of the mid-1960s. It was now necessary to find new accommodation. An existing office block (Orbit House) in Southwark on Blackfriars Road was deemed suitable

and was reconstructed with record repositories and a reading room to house the records and the complementary collections of the India Office Library. Planning for the move was initiated in 1964.<sup>26</sup>

In the last quarter of 1967 the transfer of the Records from Whitehall to Orbit House was undertaken. The whole archive was taken from corridors, attics and storerooms all over the old India Office building <sup>and brought</sup> to a modern records office, repository and research centre which re-opened on 8 January 1968 as the India Office Library and Records.<sup>27</sup> After moving to Orbit House in 1967, the provisions of the Public Records Act were renewed to apply to the new building.

The India Office and its establishment (unlike any other British government department) had been maintained from the revenues of the British government of India. This was the basis of the claim by the governments of India and Pakistan (and later Bangladesh) at independence, to the ownership of the India Office building and its contents. In terms of the Public Record Act of 1838, the British government could not, and under the Public Record Acts of 1958 and 1967 cannot, accept these claims. In 1963 the governments of Britain, India and Pakistan agreed to submit the claim to a tribunal of judges selected from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Agreement could not be reached on the terms of reference and composition of the tribunal. Since 1971 the governments of India and Pakistan have not requested the resumption of further discussions, but nor have the claims been withdrawn.<sup>28</sup> This inconclusive state of affairs remains the reason why the India Office Records have never transferred to the Public Record Office like the records of other departments of state.

Following pressure from the Treasury to make central government economies, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's staff inspectorate proposed in 1975 that the India Office Library and Records should transfer to the British Library.<sup>29</sup> But between 1979 and 1980 other options were also investigated, for example, for the India Office Library and Records to stand alone as a quango, or for their incorporation into the Public Record Office. The British Library proposal was implemented on 1 April 1982.

The India Office Library and Records was transferred to the British Library Board, as a collection on deposit, to be held in trust for the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. The Trust Deed legalising the transfer was signed on 29 February 1984.<sup>30</sup> The Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs remains ultimately responsible for the India Office Records, though they are managed by the British Library. Since 1991, they have formed a part of the British Library's Oriental and India Office Collections, in the Directorate of Special Collections. The India Office Records continue to be administered as Public Records and are made available under Public Records Acts and by agreement with the Lord Chancellor.

#### **4.3. Intellectual control and the classification scheme**

During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the officials of the India Office responsible for record-keeping had begun to make the first attempts at establishing intellectual control over parts of the older Company and Board archives.

These lists and catalogues mostly described individual series of the archives, tabulating volume numbers and dates

covered by volumes. In general (though with many exceptions), the series were arranged according to the India Office departments in which they accumulated, though the departmental arrangement of the series was often obscured.<sup>31</sup> The officials were not archivists and were unfortunate not to have been guided by principles of archival theory, which (in the late nineteenth century) was in its infancy.

Prior to the Second World War, Record Department officials had produced some lists and catalogues of the Company and Board records, part of the Proceedings to 1899 and the India Office's records to 1879.<sup>32</sup> After 1947, they attempted to continue this work and in the 1950s compiled basic working press lists<sup>33</sup> of volumes and boxes of unbound files in the large series of departmental papers, beginning in the 1880s.

Sir William Foster's *Guide to the India Office Records 1600-1858* (1919) was the first description of part of the East India Company and Board's archives attempted. His *Guide* was a summary of archive press lists already existing because these had only been available officially up to 1858. Foster had gone some way towards an archival arrangement and, as Joan Lancaster noted 'he displayed the archives for the first time as an entity comprising of groups of records which had been produced by a living and developing administration',<sup>34</sup> but it was not satisfactory by modern archival standards.<sup>35</sup>

The coincidence of the appointment of the first professional archivists in the 1960s with the need to move the archives to more suitable accommodation, provided the impetus for attention to be given to creating a proper

modern and archivally sound classification scheme to gain intellectual control over the archives.

It was not possible to re-arrange the volumes of archives on the shelves in the old India Office building according to a new system because of lack of space. 'It was therefore necessary to study the pattern into which the whole India Office Records archive fell and to devise a system of reference symbols by which the resulting arrangement on paper could be linked with the material on the shelves'.<sup>36</sup>

An archival arrangement was gradually formulated and was given substance by the Assistant Keeper Joan Lancaster. By 1966 a scheme of classification with a system of references had been formulated by her.<sup>37</sup> The India Office Records in all the repositories were systematically reclassified into their natural archives groups and series, in an attempt to reflect their natural order. A complete list of series according to a new 'rational' order was drawn up on paper according to Lancaster's 'master plan',<sup>38</sup> so that the archives could be moved into the new arranged order at Orbit House. By all accounts, Lancaster seems to have devised and designed the scheme single-handed and (despite reasoned resistance from fellow archivists on the staff<sup>39</sup>) had imposed her design onto the Records by 1967.

Detailed work also commenced on internal arrangement of individual classes and series. On the transfer to Orbit House in 1967, the volumes and boxes were rearranged according to this classification.<sup>40</sup> Later accruals were slotted into the scheme as appropriate. The final scheme is listed in Table 4.1. on the following page.

Table 4.1.

## INDIA OFFICE RECORDS CLASSIFICATION SCHEME 1967-97

A	Charters, Deeds, Statutes and treaties c1500-1950
B	Minutes of the East India Company's Directors and Proprietors 1599-1858
C	Council of India Minutes and Memoranda 1858-1937
D	Minutes and Memoranda etc. of General Committees and Offices of the east India Company 1700-1858
E	East India General Correspondence 1602-1859
F	Board of Control General Records 1784-1858
G	Factory Records c1595-1858
H	Home Miscellaneous Series c1600-c1900
I	Records relating to other Europeans India 1475-1824
J	Haileybury Records 1749-1925
K	Records relating to other establishments 1809-1925
L	Departmental Records
L/AG	Accountant-General's Records 1601-1974
L/E	Economic Department Records 1786-1950
L/F	Financial Department Records c 1800-1949
L/I	Information Department Records, 1921-49
L/L	Legal Adviser's Records c1550-1950
L/MAR	Marine Department Records c1600-1879
L/MED	Medical Board Records c1920 - c1970
L/MIL	Military Department Records 1708-1957
L/PARL	Parliamentary Branch Records c1772-1952
L/PO	Private Office Papers c1858-1948
L/P&J	Public and Judicial Department Records 1795-1950
L/P&S	Political and Secret Department Records 1756-1950
L/PWD	Public Works Department Records 1839-1931
L/R	Record Department Papers 1859-1959
L/S&G	Services and General Department Records c1920-c1970
L/SUR	Surveyor's Records 1837-1934
L/WS	War Staff Papers 1921-1951
M	Burma Office Records 1932-1948
N	Returns of Baptisms, Marriages, Burials etc. 1689-1969
O	Biographical Series 1702-1948
P	Proceedings and Consultations of the Government of India and of the Presidencies and Provinces 1702-1945
Q	Commissions, Committees and Conference Records 1895-1947
R	Records transferred later through official channels
R/1	India: Crown Representative's Political Department Records c1880-1947
R/2	India: Crown Representative's Residency Records c1789-1947
R/3	India: Other Records of the Central and Provincial Governments 1899-1948
R/4	India: British High Commission Cemetery Records c1870-1969
R/5	Nepal: Kathmandu Residency Records c1792-1872
R/8	Burma: Records of the Governor's Office etc. 1942-1947
R/9	Malaysia: Malacca Orphan Chamber and Court of Justice Records c1685-1835
R/10	China: Canton Factory Records 1623-1841
R/12	Afghanistan: Kabul Legation Records 1923-1948
R/15	Persian Gulf: Records of the Bushire, Bahrain Kuwait, Muscat and Trucial Coast Agencies etc. 1763-1951
R/19	Egypt: Records of the Cairo, Alexandria and Suez Agencies 1832-1870
R/20	Aden: Records of British Administration 1839-1967
S	Linguistic Survey of India c1900-c1930
U	Documents in Oriental Languages 1871-1880
V	Official Publications c1760-1957
W X Y	Map Collections c1760-1960
Z	Registers and Indexes c1700-1950



#### **4.3.1. Shortcomings of the classification system**

The classification scheme of the India Office Records is not central to this study. However, some of the problems which emerged in the course of the survey of the archives for this study arose because of the complexity and shortcomings of the classification scheme. In order to understand the reasons why certain documents are located where they are in the records today, the problems of the classification system had to be understood and explained.

An understanding of these problems will also assist researchers who undertake in-depth investigation into the records.

The two fundamental principles of archival theory are 'provenance' and 'original order'. The principle of provenance requires the archivist to identify the creator or producer of a group of records, and this identity defines the records as those which arose or accrued naturally in the course of the creator's activities, or which may have formed a part of those activities.

The principle of original order requires the archivist (where possible) to identify, comprehend, respect and restore the way in which the archives were originally arranged by their creator. The order of the final arrangement of the archives is dictated by the evidence of the manner in which activities were carried out and the way in which resulting records were originally kept under the record-keeping systems employed by the creator body. These methods not only made organisational sense to the creators, but will ultimately enable the researcher or the end user to make sense of the rationale behind their original order and retrieve information required from the archives.

Archivists are required to produce logical classification schemes which reflect archival principles. Classification schemes underpin the creating organisation's structure so that it may be revealed to promote an understanding of the records it created. These principles are discussed below in relation to the India Office Records classification scheme.

It is evident that there were some formidable archival problems embedded in the India Office Records as they existed prior to classification. Understanding them and resolving them in their scattered locations in the old India Office building must have been difficult. At the same time, the pressure to impose some order on the records before the impending move to better accommodation probably provided Joan Lancaster with the impetus for setting down the scheme as quickly and logically as she could. The convoluted archival problems that were encountered could probably not have been overcome without making some concessions to archival principles.

Although there is no longer much evidence to reconstruct the rationale behind Lancaster's design of the India Office Records classification scheme, three papers<sup>41</sup> which she wrote during the time she devised it present her understanding of the archival arrangement. The discussion below is based on the better developed formulation of the final scheme in the last of the papers, published in 1970.<sup>42</sup>

Lancaster introduced the classification scheme by identifying three creating bodies (the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office).<sup>43</sup> Within these bodies she identified four divisions: records accumulating in London (the East India Company, the Board of Control,

the India Office and the Burma Office: i.e. A-L, M,N,O,Z); copies of Indian Proceedings sent to London for information (P); records received in London at a later date through official channels (Q-S,Z); and other collections (U,V,W,X,Y).<sup>44</sup>

Lancaster's is an overarching classification scheme, which slots the archives of all three main creator bodies into one continuous alphabetical scheme with numerical subdivisions for classes and series. This form of scheme neither allows the creator bodies to emerge as distinct, separate entities, nor explains the inter-relationships between them, but results in the conflation of the component bodies into a unitary construction to such an extent that the distinctiveness of the creator bodies is not easy to determine.

It is probable that in order to get around some of the problems inherent in the accumulated archives, Lancaster built the classification scheme around the idea that the archives as a whole were in fact the residue of what could be described as the *fonds des archives* (single complex source of archives, which may embrace one body and archives inherited by it from another source) of 'the home government of India'.<sup>45</sup> This only constitutes a theoretical concept (nowhere defined or explained by Lancaster), but still confuses the separate evolution of each body, prior to incorporation into the archives of the successor body (the India Office). Although she had identified the problem of the intermingling of Board of Control papers in other series,<sup>46</sup> the Board's records seem to have been the most significant casualty of submergence in her final arrangement.

In the one passing critical appraisal of the classification scheme, Michael Cook noted that 'an analyst of such systems [the alphabetical series of groups] would find these groups a little puzzling. In the main they are archival groups based on *fonds*...The subsections represent departments of the old India Office, and if some of them appear confusing...they reflect the confusing and changing nature of the administrative divisions'.<sup>47</sup> Although his criticisms formed only part of a wider review and go some way to exposing the weaknesses of the scheme, essentially they miss the mark.

Michael Cook has fallen prey to the inherent problem within Lancaster's scheme. The scheme is confusing not so much because of the 'changing nature of the administrative divisions' but because not all of the scheme's subdivisions represent departments of the old India Office. The records of the East India Company and Board of Control are so submerged in the conflated scheme, that each separately developed entity is blurred into the background of the mass of 'India Office Records' and prevented from emerging as distinct in its own administrative evolution.

On closer examination, the first problem that emerges from Lancaster's classification scheme is one of provenance. The problem of submerged provenance is illustrated by three examples. These examples are presented in order to show that while the origins of southern African-related sources in this study were being examined, the uncertain provenance of particular records necessitated investigation in order to try to understand and explain why they had been placed in their present locations.

Firstly, there is the question of the placement of 'the Board's Collections'. Although they had been so-named by the Company, these records were more likely to have been created by the Company than by the Board. Although there is some evidence to suggest it, this proposition requires conclusive investigation.<sup>47a</sup> If they are proved to have been Board's records then they have been placed incongruously in the class of Board of Control General Records F/4. This presents a confusion of provenance, which is not explained in the finding aids.

Secondly, the Board of Control had a Military department which in many ways mirrored the Company's own Military department. By way of explanation, aside from the Board's General records in F, its departmental papers have ended up in the overarching L/ Departmental classes. These classes comprise Company, Board and India Office departments together, without virtually anything in the way of explanatory notes distinguishing the different provenance of each department's records. The India Office took over the Company and Board of Control military records after 1858 to form a third (India Office) Military Department. In some cases the persistence of military letters (of the Board of Control) in 1858 and of the India Office thereafter, may have been difficult to discern, but to merge the military records of the Company, the Board and India Office into a single class of 'Military Department Records' under the overall classification 'L/MIL', obscures the individual character and functions of the three bodies' separate Military departments.

There is a small 'Military Miscellaneous series (L/MIL/5/449-507) submerged deep in the Military department records, which in fact contains the Board of Control's

military letters. The registers and indexes to these papers have been completely separated and isolated out of context in Z/L/MIL/2/2-4 Board of Control registers of military correspondence. Even the physical make-up of the volumes gives clues to their provenance - Company stationery was quite different in format compared with the standard issue government stationery of the Board of Control. Unless indicated in a descriptive introduction to the class explaining the problems caused by merging of the records and obscured provenance, this understanding may be lost forever.

Thirdly, the Company, the Board of Control and the India Office kept secret papers on particular subjects and created special bodies to deal with this business (sometimes a delegated body, at other times, the whole body sitting 'in secret'): in the Company (the Committee of Secrecy, Secret Court of Directors and Secret Committee and the Political and Secret Department), in the Board (the Secret Board of Control) and in the India Office (the Political and Secret Department). The secret papers of all three organisations are now merged into the single L/P&S Political and Secret Department (India Office) class. Consequently the organs of Company, Board and India Office which dealt with secret business are submerged. It is confusing and often difficult for most users to deduce from the present arrangement which records were produced by which body.

The incorporation of <sup>the</sup> inherited archives of the East India Company and Board of Control into the India Office's own record-keeping structures was perhaps the most complex problem faced in the arrangement. In the course of the administrative change which resulted from the winding-up of

the Company and the creation of the India Office, some of the records and some of the functions passed in a fairly seamless way from both the original creating bodies (primarily the Company and Board) to their successor the India Office. Lancaster describes the difficulties clearly in the following two quotes:

The Board's departmental papers, largely the Indian correspondence organized first by departmental responsibilities, such as Revenue, Military, Marine, Public and Judicial, Political and Secret, and then by Presidency, formed the basis on to which was grafted the new departmental records system of the India Office. Similarly the India Office took over and continued the Company's financial executive, the Accountant General's Office, which was concerned in every aspect of administration and employment...<sup>48</sup>

and

When the India Office assumed the administrative responsibilities of the Board of Control and what remained of the Company's activities, it formed Departments which continued the existing series of correspondence and other papers, a continuity which the present archival organization reflects<sup>49</sup>

Lancaster's arrangement has paid more respect to the continuity which was fostered after the takeover of the Company by the India Office (as the same officials continued to work as before, this cannot be denied). However, as Martin Moir aptly notes, Lancaster's arrangement 'tends to obscure the original basic divisions between the records of the Company, the Board and the India Office, in the interests of conveying a clear sense of their administrative cohesion and continuity'.<sup>50</sup> It is fair to say that separating the India Office records from the Company and Board records would have been difficult, but not impossible. Making continuity the justification for the confluence of the two creating bodies' records has resulted in the provenance being submerged.

The second problem which emerges from the classification scheme is, <sup>in relation to</sup> the original order of the internal arrangement of the records of a creator body. The most important decision archivists have to make when faced with problems of inherited archives, is whether to arrange the materials by their original order or by their last administrative use. There are always difficulties when successor institutions with a different remit fall heir to earlier collections of papers in a pre-archival state.

The archives passed through several arrangements established by the original creators (Company and Board) and the eventual successor (India Office) whose officials undertook the custody and arrangement in its registries and offices. Archivists hold that the final active order within the last body to make use of them (in this case the India Office) is that which should be perpetuated and reflected in the finding aids. However, not only did the India Office's record keepers (formerly Company officials) build seamless series across the divide of organisations, but they also arranged the order and binding of some older series in an unarchival or artificial way. For example, in the Factory Records, series of correspondence and consultations have been separated and bound up by the name of the factory in alphabetical order.

Lancaster probably recognised that in some cases the original order of some Company record series had been lost and restoration may have been impossible. Breaking down these series into a more sound arrangement prior to classification was considered too difficult a task for the few archivists to undertake before the move to the new building.<sup>51</sup>



Another difficulty of original order is that the new scheme was also applied to original registers and indexes of the various series. Each register and index was given the letter Z prefixed to the series to which it belonged, and were put into one overall class for 'practical convenience'<sup>52</sup> (not for archival reasons). Michael Cook comments, '[b]ut in other cases, the alphabetical codes seem to refer to classes based upon like forms (e.g. Z, Registers and Indexes; or U, Documents in Oriental Languages), and these groups look rather like the quasi-subject arrangements which were found in France and America before the full acceptance of the principle of arranging records by original systems. In yet other cases the classes are clearly artificial, (e.g. I, Europeans in India; H, Home Miscellaneous Series).'<sup>53</sup> Although the large class of registers and indexes for all classes is intellectually accessible, there is no justifiable archival reason to have isolated them into a separate conglomeration.

One could describe Lancaster's scheme as perhaps having been issued prematurely - without the benefit of argument from a wider archival perspective. This wider perspective can be seen in the context of the 'group' versus 'class' controversy which was prominent within archives circles in the 1970s. Lancaster saw the India Office Records as a total archive with its own internal 'groups'. Other archivists on the India Office Records staff saw that although they have had a different custodial history and are physically separated from their neighbours in state, the India Office Records form an indisputable part of the wider family of archives of British departments of state. Normally, the archival term 'group' (or highest level of hierarchical description accepted in the Public Record Office's system of archives administration) is designated

for the archives of ministries or departments of state in the Public Record Office, for example the Colonial Office (CO) or Foreign Office (FO). Given that the India Office Records arguably stand archivally alongside these departments, there is a strong logical argument that they should be treated as an equivalent single archive 'group' within the UK public records.

In the next stage of the hierarchy of archival division, the records created for a particular function or used by a particular subdivision of the 'group' department, are referred to in the Public Record Office as record 'classes'. The India Office Records equivalent of 'classes' are the divisions of the arrangement the Records by the classification scheme, (for example B Minutes of the Court of Directors, Political and Secret Department L/P&S). Unlike the Public Record Office arrangement, within the archives of IOR departments, documents of the same type or format are further divided into 'series' (for example E/2 home correspondence; E/4 correspondence with India). In some cases sub-series are present within series, for example in L/AG Accountant General's Department. Individual volumes or files within classes e.g. B/2 or within series, e.g. L/P&S/5/322 form the lowest level of arrangement and description - the item (referred to as the 'piece' in the Public Record Office).

Although the India Office Records classification scheme has had a separate and somewhat convoluted design, fundamental elements equate with the arrangement and description of other records of state departments. With the benefit of some explanation, it is not difficult for the users of the wider public records to see the India Office Records as

similar, rather than separate from and alien to the Public Record Office system.

It was not until the publication of Martin Moir's *A General Guide to the India Office Records* that an attempt was made to provide a comprehensive administrative history of the three main originating bodies, to explain the shortcomings of the classification scheme and present an alternative understanding of the structure which underpins the present arrangement. In the appendix to his *General Guide*, Moir includes a useful intellectual reorganisation of the records of Company, Board and India Office to distinguish and locate records of the original institutional archive groups.<sup>54</sup>

In another recent intellectual exercise in separating the East India Company records from those of the India Office, Andrew Cook presented a tabular arrangement (see Table 4.2. on the following page) which illustrates the difficulty caused by the grafting of India Office record series onto the previous East India Company and Board of Control systems of arrangement, but indicates that such an intellectual explanation is possible and to some extent it brings out the provenance rather than obscures it.

The submergence of the Board of Control's records within the East India Company's records, remains a problem. Further work, not appropriate here, is required to explain the complexities of arrangement and classification so that users may understand better their creation.

Table 4.2.

A COMPLETE LIST OF INDIA OFFICE RECORDS CLASSES<sup>55</sup>  
showing the division and overlap between the East India Company and  
India Office archives

EAST INDIA COMPANY ARCHIVE CLASSES	INDIA OFFICE ARCHIVE CLASSES
A Charters & c c1550-1950	A Charters &c. c1550-1950
B Court Minutes 1599-1858	
	Council of India 1858-1937
D General Committees 1700-1858	
E General Correspondence 1602-1859	
F Board of Control 1784-1858	
G Factory Records c1595-1858	
H Home Miscellaneous c1600-c1900	~
I Other Europeans 1475-1824	
J-K Haileybury Records 1749-1925	K Cooper's Hill Records 1855-1925
L/AG Accountant-General 1601-1974	L/AG Accountant-General 1601-1974
L/E Economic Department 1786-1950	L/E Economic Department 1786-1950
L/F Financial Department c.1800-1949	L/F Financial Department c 1800-1948
L/L Legal Adviser c1550-1950	L/L Legal Adviser c1550-1950
L/MAR Marine Records c1600-1879	~
L/MIL Military Department 1708-1957	L/MIL Military Department 1708-1957
~	L/PARL Parliamentary Branch c1772-1952
	L/PO Private Office Papers c1858-1948
L/P&S Political and Secret Dept 1756-c1950	L/P&S Political and Secret Dept 1756-c1950
L/P&J Public and Judicial Dept 1795-1950	L/P&J Public and Judicial Dept 1795-1950
~	L/PWD Public Works Dept 1839-1931
	L/R Record Department 1859-1959
	L/S&G Services & General Dept c1920-c1970
L/SUR Surveyor's Office 1837-1934	L/SUR Surveyor's Office 1837-1934
	L/WS War Staff 1921-1951
	M Burma Office 1932-1948
N Baptisms, Marriages &c 1689-1969	N Baptisms, Marriages &c 1689-1969
O Biographical Series 1702-1948	O Biographical Series 1702-1948
P Proceedings 1702-1945	P Proceedings 1702-1945
	Q Commissions, Committees, &c 1895-1947
	R/1 Political Dept Indian States 1880-1947
R/2 Mysore Residency 1799-1865	R/2 Indian States Residencies c 1789-1947
	R/3 India : Viceroy's Papers c1899-1948
	R/4 India: Cemetery Records c1870-1969
R/5 Kathmandu Residency c1792-1872	
	R/8 Burma: Governor's Office 1942-1947
R/9 Malacca Orphan Chamber c1685-1835	
R/10 China: Canton Factory Records 1623-1841	
	R/12 Kabul Legation Records 1923-1948
R/15 Bushire Residency 1763-1948	R/15 Persian Gulf Agencies 1763-1951
R/19 Egypt Agencies 1832-1870	~
R/20 Aden Records 1837-1967	R/20 Aden Records 1837-1967
	S Linguistic Survey c1900-c1930
V Official Publications	V Official Publications
W X Y Maps 1760-1960	W X Y Maps 1760-1960
Z Registers and Indexes c1700-1950	Z Registers and Indexes c1700-1950

key: ~ series bridges EIC and IO periods/or runs on from EIC to IO periods

#### **4.4. Access, listing and publications**

During the India Office's existence, the public had been given unrestricted access to the pre-1858 Company and Board records. Access to the India Office's records was at first granted only by special permission from the Secretary of State for India. From 1949 almost all the India Office's archives (with the exception of the Political and Secret department's files on the Indian States from 1880) were opened up to 1902.

With the introduction of the Fifty-year Rule under the 1958 Public Records Act, the India Office records up to 1907 were made public, and an additional year's records were opened up at the beginning of each year. In 1960 the Fifty-year Rule was extended to include the Indian States records; and in 1965, records for the first world war period to 1922 were opened. From 1 January 1968 the Fifty Year Rule for public records was reduced to thirty years by the Public Record Act of 1967. By 1978 the records up to India and Pakistan's independence were open. With very few exceptions, the records are now all open to public access.

Following the application of the India Office Records classification scheme (which established a modicum of overall intellectual control over the whole group of records), attention was turned to the internal arrangement of the classes and series of the group. Since the 1960s almost every class has been opened up and listed according to modern archival standards, some at a very detailed level. Two other priority tasks have been to improve old lists in accordance with modern archival practice and to list materials previously inaccessible to the public.

The complexities and uncertainties of Lancaster's arrangement and classification have made automation of the India Office Records problematic. The project to automate access has been postponed.

Many classes and series have had detailed guides published on their contents since the planning and introduction of the classification system, which (chronologically arranged) include:

J.C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records', *Archivum*, vol. 15 (1965), pp. 293-302 (reprinted in *Archives: The Journal of the British Records Association*, vol. 43 (1970), pp. 130-141.

M. Moir, 'A Study of the History and Organisation of the Political and Secret Departments of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office, 1784-1919, with a Summary List of Records', (Diploma in Archive Administration, University of London, 1966).

M. Moir, 'Archival Materials in the London Records of the East India Company and of the India Office relating to Southeast Asia', *Southeast Asian Archives*, vol. 2 (1969), pp. 68-81.

M. Moir, 'Archival Materials for the History of Sind prior to British Annexation available in the India Office Records and the European Manuscripts Section of the India Office Library', typescript, 1975.

A.J. Farrington, *The Records of the East India College, Haileybury, and other institutions* (London, 1976).

P.J. Tuson, 'Archive Sources for Arabian and Gulf Studies in the India Office Records', typescript, 1977 (Arabic version in *Journal of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies*, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 95-110.

P.J. Tuson, *The Records of the British Residency and Agencies in the Persian Gulf* (London, 1979).

I.A. Baxter, *India Office Library and Records: A Brief Guide to Biographical Sources* (London, 1979; second edition 1990).

A. Griffin, *A Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Burma in the India Office Records* (London, 1979).

A.K. Jasbir Singh, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: Documents in the India Office Records 1922-1946* (London, 1980).

L.A. Hall, *A Brief Guide to Sources for the Study of Afghanistan in the India Office Records* (London, 1981).

J.M. Sims, *A List and Index of Parliamentary Papers relating to India 1908-1947* (London, 1981).

A.J. Farrington, *Guide to the Records of the India Office Military Department* (London, 1982).

P.J. Tuson, *Sources for Middle East Studies in the India Office Records* (London, 1982; second edition 1984).

R.J. Bingle, 'The Resources for the Study of the Indian Ocean Region in the India Office Library and Records', *India Office Library and Records Report for 1981* (London, 1982), pp. 6-23.

I.A. Baxter, 'Dutch Records from Malacca in the India Office Records', *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 56 (1983), pp. 105-133.

T.N. Thomas, *Indians Overseas: A Guide to Source Materials in the India Office Records for the Study of Indian Emigration, 1830-1950* (London, 1985).

R.E. Seton, *The Indian 'Mutiny' 1857-58: A Guide to Source Material in the India Office Library and Records* (London, 1986).

P.J. Tuson, 'British Library African Resources: (2) archival - The India Office Records' in *African Studies*, British Library Occasional Papers 6, Colloquium 7-9 January 1985 (London, 1986) pp. 218-226

A.K. Jasbir Singh, *A Guide to Source Materials in the India Office Library and Records for the history of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1765-1950* (London, 1988).

M. Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records* (London, 1988).

M. Makepeace, 'English traders on the Guinea coast 1657-1668: an analysis of the East India Company archive', in *History in Africa* Vol. 16 (1989) pp. 237-284.

M. Makepeace, *Trade on the Guinea Coast 1657-1666: the correspondence of the English East India Company*, (Madison, 1991)

J.L. Geber, 'The English East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope and the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records 1773-1836', *South African Archives Journal* 36, 1994, pp. 54-64.

J.L. Geber, 'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library', *African Research and Documentation*, 70, 1996, pp. 1-35.

J.L. Geber, 'Sources for southern African history in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library', *Africa Quarterly* 36 (1) 1996, pp. 55-82.

#### *Calendars and Transcripts*

H. Stevens, *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1599-1603* (London, 1886).

W.N. Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*: vol. i, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513-1616 (London, 1862); vol. ii, East Indies, China and Japan, 1617-1621 (London, 1870); vol. iii, East Indies, China and Japan, 1622-1624 (London, 1878); vol. iv, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-1629 (London, 1884); vol. v, East Indies and Persia, 1630-1634 (London, 1892).

E.B. Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company 1635-1639 [to] 1677-1679*, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1907-1938).

G.C.M. Birdwood and W. Foster, *The Register of Letters etc. of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, 1600-1619* (London, 1893).

F.C. Danvers and W. Foster, *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East ... 1602-1613 [to] 1617*, 6 vols. (London, 1896-1902).

W. Foster, *The English Factories in India 1618-1621 [to] 1668-1669*, 13 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1927).

C.G.H. Fawcett, *The English Factories in India 1670-1677 [to] 1678-1684*, new series, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1936-1955).

A.J. Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, 2 vols. (London, 1991).

Chang Hsiu-Jung, A.J. Farrington, Huan Fu-San, Tsao Yung-Ho, Wu mi-Tsa et al, *The English Factory in Taiwan 1670-1685* (Taipei, 1995).

W. Foster, *A Supplementary Calendar of Documents in the India Office relating to India or to the home affairs of the East India Company, 1600-1640* (London, 1928).

P.N.S. Mansergh, *The Transfer of Power, 1942-7: Constitutional Relations between Britain and India*, 12 vols. (London, 1970-1983).

H.R. Tinker, *Burma: The Struggle for Independence, 1944-1948: Constitutional Relations between Britain and Burma*, 2 vols. (London, 1983-1984).

J. Ashtiany, *The Arabic Documents in the Archives of the British Political Agency in Kuwait, 1904-1949* (London, 1982).

### *Annual Reports and Newsletters*

From 1947 annual reports<sup>56</sup> and from 1974 newsletters<sup>57</sup> of the India Office Library and Records and the Oriental and India Office Collections chart the details of the custody, care and control of the India Office Records.

### *The Internet*

In 1996 an interactive hyperlinked summary of the India Office Records arrangement, together with administrative history and other useful information was mounted on the British Library's World Wide Web server ('Portico') on the



Internet at the location

<http://www.bl.uk/collections/oriental/records>

To conclude, the India Office group of records has emerged from neglected heaps in the City of London offices of the East India Company, cellars in the Board of Control's Whitehall offices and dim basements in the India Office building, to a converted modern building with record-office accommodation in south London; and has passed through successive custodians (East India Company, Board of Control, India Office, Commonwealth Relations Office, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the British Library).

From a mass of accumulated records required only by officials, the records have emerged thanks to the Company and Board's detailed and meticulous record-keeping practices,<sup>58</sup> as the pre-eminent source of historical and political documents covering a large part of Asia, parts of Africa and the Middle East. Despite some unfortunate losses and a disappointing classification system which fails to bring out the structure of the creator organisations, and which presents difficulties for automation, the Records survive to reveal their remarkable contents to successive generations of researchers.

## Notes to Chapter 4

---

<sup>1</sup> Personal communication with A.J. Farrington, Deputy Director, Oriental and India Office Collections, October 1997.

<sup>2</sup> A.J. Farrington, 'India Office Library and Records' - an unpublished, unpaginated, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections internal management briefing paper (6 December 1995, 6 pp), first page.

<sup>3</sup> W. Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records 1600-1858*, (London, 1966 reprint of 1919 edition) p. i.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *op.cit.* pp. i-ii.

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

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> M. Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records*, (London, 1988), p. xii.

<sup>8</sup> Foster, *op. cit.* p. ii.

<sup>9</sup> Farrington, 'India Office Library and Records' briefing paper, second page.

<sup>1</sup> Government of India Act 1858, 21&22 Vic c. 106, IOR: V/1/181

<sup>11</sup> Farrington, *op. cit.*, second page.

<sup>12</sup> Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records*, p. vii.

<sup>13</sup> Home Miscellaneous Series, IOR:H/722, 'Papers Relating to the Destruction of Useless records 1858-81'.

<sup>14</sup> M. Moir, *op.cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>15</sup> F.C. Danvers, *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Records of the India Office: Records relating to Agencies, Factories, and Settlements not now under the Administration of the Government of India* (London, 1887); F.C. Danvers, *Report on the India Office Records relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf* [London, 1889]; F.C. Danvers, *Report on the India Office Records relating to Persia and the Persian Gulf* (London, 1889); G.C.M. Birdwood, *Report on the old records of the India Office, with supplementary note and appendices* (London, 1890). The following lists [India Office]: *List of General Records* (London, 1902), *List of Marine Records* (London, 1896), *List of Factory Records* (London, 1897), *List of Consultations, Proceedings, etc.*, (London, 1899-1904)

<sup>16</sup> Farrington, 'India Office Library and Records' briefing paper, second page

<sup>17</sup> *India Office Library and Records Report for year ended 31 Mar 1968*, (London, 1970), p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *India Office Library and Records Report to 31 March 1969*, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *India Office Records Report for the years 1947-1967*, pp. 9, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Moir, *op.cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, second page.

<sup>22</sup> *India Office Records Report for the years 1947-1967*, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Moir, *op.cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>25</sup> Farrington, 'India Office Library and Records' briefing paper, third and fourth pages.

<sup>26</sup> *India Office Library and Records Report for year ended 31 Mar 1968*, (London, 1970), p. 8.

<sup>27</sup> Moir, *op.cit.*, p. xiv.

<sup>28</sup> Farrington, *op.cit.*, second and third pages; see also L/R/8/3; L/R/10/352; L/R/10/355

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, fifth page.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> J.C. Lancaster, *A Guide to Lists and Catalogues of the India Office Records* (London, Commonwealth Office, 1966), p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *List of Marine Records* (London, 1896), *List of Factory Records* (London, 1897), *Lists of Consultations, Proceedings etc.* (1899-1904), *List of General Records* (London, 1902); S.C. Hill, *Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series* (London, 1927).

<sup>33</sup> *India Office Papers: Miscellaneous Lists* (supplementary volume to the *List of General Records* [c1957]; *List of Political and Secret Department Records* [c1952]).

<sup>34</sup> J.C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records', *Archives IX* (43) Apr 1970, p. 130.

<sup>35</sup> *India Office Records Report for the years 1947-1967* (London, 1970), p.20.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> J.C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records and the India Office Library: the move to a new building', *Archives IX* (41) Apr 1969 p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> I am indebted to Martin Moir (Archivist and former Deputy Director of the India Office Library and Records) for his invaluable insights, perceptions and recollections of the creation of the India Office Records classification scheme.

<sup>4</sup> *India Office Library and Records Report for year ended 31 Mar 1968*, p.9.

<sup>41</sup> J.C. Lancaster, *A Guide to Lists and Catalogues in the India Office Records* (London, 1966); J.C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records' *Archivum XV* (1965), pp. 293-302; J.C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records', *Archives IX* (43) Apr 1970, pp. 130-141.

---

<sup>42</sup> J.C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records', *Archives IX* (43) Apr 1970, pp. 130-141.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* p. 131

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 131-141.

<sup>45</sup> Personal communication with Martin Moir, 27 September 1996.

<sup>46</sup> J.C. Lancaster, *A Guide to lists and catalogues of the India Office Records*, (London, 1966), p.3.

<sup>47</sup> M. Cook, review article, 'Transferring power', in *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4, (5), Apr. 1972, p. 434.

<sup>47a</sup> ~~see foot of page~~

<sup>48</sup> J. Lancaster, 'The scope and uses of the India Office Library and Records with particular reference to the period 1600-1947', *Asian Affairs IX* (1) Feb 1978. pp. 33-34.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p.34.

<sup>50</sup> Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 279.

<sup>51</sup> Martin Moir, personal communication, 27 September 1996.

<sup>52</sup> J. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records', *Archives IX* (43) Apr 1970, p. 141.

<sup>53</sup> M. Cook, review article, 'Transferring power', in *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4, (5), Apr. 1972, p. 434.

<sup>54</sup> Moir, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-281.

<sup>55</sup> Adapted from 'List 2', [showing the divisions of East India Company and India Office classes]: unpublished notes accompanying Oriental and India Office Collections staff training seminar on the India Office Records, presented by Dr. Andrew Cook, 7 and 14 June 1995.

<sup>56</sup> *India Office Library and Records, Annual Reports* (London, 1967-1985); continued as *Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books and India Office Library and Records Annual Report*, 1985; *India Office Library and Records and Oriental Collections Annual Report*, 1986-1988; *Oriental and India Office Records Review*, 1989-91.

<sup>57</sup> *India Office Library and Records, Newsletters*, (London, 1974-82); continued as *India Office Library and Records and Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books Newsletter*, 1983-1987; *India Office Library and Records and Oriental Collections Newsletter*, 1987-1990; *Oriental and India Office Collections Newsletter*, 1990-).

<sup>58</sup> P. Lawson, *The East India Company - a history* (London, 1993), p. 22.

---

<sup>47a</sup> The likelihood of the Board's Collections having been Company's rather than Board's records was argued at India Office Records archivists meetings during 1997. The Company probably bound one of the many sets of collections in existence as the authoritative set seen and returned by the Board. The physical make-up and markings of the volumes are similar to other characteristically East India Company stationery (e.g. the vellum bindings). This proposition requires development and the presentation of further archival evidence.

## CHAPTER 5

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE EAST  
INDIA COMPANY AND BOARD OF CONTROL ARCHIVES

Building on the historical sketch of the East India Company and Board of Control outlined in Chapter 1 and their interest in southern Africa outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, this chapter examines the archives created by those two bodies as a result of their interest in southern Africa. These sources for southern Africa were located during the course of a survey of the Company and Board's archives which was undertaken as the major part of this study.

The aims of the survey were firstly to focus only on those archives created during the East India Company and Board of Control period (1600-1858), from within the wider India Office Records archive group; and secondly systematically to examine those relevant classes and series to isolate intellectually sources for the history of southern Africa.

This chapter presents a synthesis of the results of that survey. It analyses aspects of the functions of the Company and Board and examines the functions in relation to the records created by them in the context of the Company's interests in southern Africa. It explains how and why southern African sources are part of the archives of Company and Board.

The East India Company and Board of Control's functions have been grouped for analysis below as follows:

1. The legal framework of the Company and Board.
2. The Company and Board's commercial and other interests in southern Africa from 1600 to 1793.
3. Consultation between the Company and the British government on Indian affairs to 1784; and the Board of Control's supervision of the Company from 1784 to 1858.
4. The Company's administration of the Cape Agency from 1793 to 1858.
5. The operations of the Cape Agency from 1793 to 1836 and commercial agency 1836 to 1858.
6. Other Company and Board interests in southern Africa, which fell outside the operations of the Agency, or in which it was only indirectly involved, from 1793 to 1858.
7. Reference collections of the Company and Board of Control.

Each section includes descriptions of the sources, their type, scope, location, relevance and links to related series or documents elsewhere in the archives. References to sources discussed are highlighted in bold type and may be traced to the full descriptive listing in the Appendix (Volume 2).

This chapter presents a discussion of the sources in a way which gives balance and weight to the findings of the survey, and not to the order of presentation in the modern arrangement of the archives. The Appendix constitutes a detailed and comprehensive descriptive archival presentation of the data from the survey, arranged in the order of the classification of the India Office Records.

Classes and series found to contain southern African sources are highlighted in the tabular presentations below to provide a general overview of the archives surveyed.

Table 5.1. A LIST OF EAST INDIA COMPANY AND BOARD OF CONTROL ARCHIVES WITHIN THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS GROUP<sup>1</sup>.

A summary list identifies the main classes containing East India Company and Board of Control archives. Those classes surveyed and found to contain southern African related sources, are highlighted.

INDIA OFFICE RECORD CLASSES
A Charters & c c1550-1950
B Court Minutes 1599-1858
D General Committees 1700-1858
E General Correspondence 1602-1859
F Board of Control 1784-1858
G Factory Records c1595-1858
H Home Miscellaneous c1600-c1900
I Other Europeans in India 1475-1824
J-K Haileybury Records 1749-1925
L/AG Accountant-General 1601-1974
L/E Economic Department 1786-1950
L/F Financial Department c1800-1949
L/L Legal Adviser c1550-1950
L/MAR Marine Records c1600-1879
L/MIL Military Department 1708-1957
L/P&S Political and Secret Dept 1756-c1950
L/P&J Public and Judicial Dept 1795-1950
L/SUR Surveyor's Office 1837-1934
N Baptisms, Marriages &c 1689-1969
O Biographical Series 1702-1948
P Proceedings 1702-1945
R/1-20 Records transferred later through Official Channels
V Official Publications, 1760-1957
W X Y Maps 1760-1960
Z Registers and Indexes c1700-1950

Table 5.2. EAST INDIA COMPANY AND BOARD OF CONTROL ARCHIVES  
SURVEYED FOR SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOURCES

A list of classes and major series which form the East India Company and Board of Control's archives<sup>2</sup>. Those found to contain southern African related sources and which are presented in this study, are highlighted.

CLASS CODE	CLASS TITLE, COVERING DATES AND EXTENT
<b>A</b>	<b>Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties c1550-1950 (111 documents; 28 volumes)</b>
	A/1 Charters c1500-c1950 (111 documents)
	A/2 Statutes, Charters and Treaties (28 Volumes)
<b>B</b>	<b>Minutes of Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors 1599-1858 (273 volumes)</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>Minutes and Memoranda of General Committees 1700-1858 (262 volumes)</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>General Correspondence 1602-1859 (1607 volumes)</b>
	E/1 Home Correspondence 1699-1859 (314 volumes)
	E/2 Correspondence with Board of Control 1784-1858 (57 volumes)
	E/3 Correspondence with the East 1602-1753 (124 volumes)
	E/4 Correspondence with India 1703-1858 (1112 volumes)
<b>F</b>	<b>Board of Control 1784-1858 (2 889 volumes/files)</b>
	F/1 Board Minutes 1785-1858 (7 volumes)
	F/2 Home Correspondence 1784-1858 (40 volumes)
	F/3 Court Drafts of Despatches to India 1784-1834 (75 volumes)
	F/4 Board's Collections 1796-1858 (2 736 volumes)
<b>G</b>	<b>Factory Records c1595-1858 (1555 volumes, 18 boxes)</b>
	G/9 Cape of Good Hope Factory Records 1773-1836 (24 volumes, 2 boxes)
	G/12 China and Japan, 1596-1840 (312 volumes)
	G/21 Java, 1595-1827 (80 volumes)
	G/32 St Helena, 1676-1836 (168 volumes)
	G/35 Sumatra, 1615-1825 (164 volumes)
	G/36 Surat, 1616-1804 (128 volumes)
	G/40 Miscellaneous, 1608-1834 (33 volumes)
<b>H</b>	<b>Home Miscellaneous (including 'East Indies Series') c1600-c1900 (839 volumes)</b>



<b>I</b>	<b>Records of Other Europeans in India 1475-1824 (214 volumes)</b>
	I/1 The French in India 1664-1820
	I/2 The Dutch in India, 1596-1824 *
	I/3 Transcripts and Translations of Dutch and Portuguese Records 1475-1806
<b>J</b>	<b>East India College Haileybury Records 1749-1925 (127 volumes)</b>
	J/1 Petitions, Certificates etc., 1749-1857 (107 volumes)
	J/2 Committee of College Minutes, Reports and Papers, 1804-34
	J/3 Court of Directors Proceedings relating to Haileybury, 1804-21
	J/4 College Council Reports, 1809-48
<b>K</b>	<b>Records of Other Institutions 1809-1892 (66 volumes)</b>
	K/1 Addiscombe Military Seminary 1809-1861 [transferred to L/MIL/9]
	K/2 Pembroke House and Ealing Lunatic Asylums 1830-1892
	K/3 Records relating to the Royal Engineering College at Cooper's Hill 1855-1925
<b>L</b>	<b>Departmental Records</b>
<b>L/AG</b>	<b>Accountant-General's Records 1601-1974 (about 8200 items)</b>
	L/AG/1 Ledgers and Journals 1657-1955 (373 items)
	L/AG/9 Accounting Procedure (including London staff salaries and pensions) 1708-1955 (186 items)
	L/AG/10 Accounts compiled for Parliament, the Treasury and the Board of Control, 1773-1896 (23 volumes)
	L/AG/11 East India Home, Finance and Revenue Accounts presented to Parliament, 1788-1953 (95 volumes)
	L/AG/14 Stocks, Bonds and Loans: Capital Investments 1676-1943
	L/AG/15 Bonds, Stocks and Loans: Dividend and Interest Statements, 1798-1950
	L/AG/16 Bills of Exchange, 1799-1931
	L/AG/17 Bullion Records, 1811-1932
	L/AG/18 Miscellaneous Home Accounts, 1669-1871 (36 items)
	L/AG/19 Salaries and Wages of the Home Staff, 1803-1951
	L/AG/20 Leave and Pay in UK for Indian Civil and Military Services 1795-1963
	L/AG/21 Pensions paid in UK 1803-1969
	L/AG/22 Records of the Accounts and Estimates Section, other than main account books, 1842-1956
	L/AG/23 Administration of Service and Family Pension Funds 1767-
	L/AG/24 Records of the Miscellaneous Accounts Section etc. 1800-1964 (226 items)

note  
discovery  
of material  
on Cape  
m I/2/27  
by M. M. M.

## Accountant General's Records continued

	L/AG/25 Income tax Papers 1806-1955
	L/AG/26 Effective and Non-Effective accounts with the United Kingdom Government, 1834-1942
	L/AG/29 Accountant's Correspondence 1807-1959 (438 items)
	L/AG/30 Home Establishment Records c1800-1949
	L/AG/31 Actuarial Records, 1822-1931
	L/AG/32-34 Wills, Probates, Inventories and Powers of Attorney 1714-1950
	L/AG/35 Records of the India Audit Office, 1815-1950
	L/AG/26 Records of Stores sent to India, etc. 1829-89
	L/AG/38 References to the Legal Adviser, 1836-1909
	L/AG/39 Accounts and Estimates of Governments in India etc. 1843-1948
	L/AG/43 Accounts of, and correspondence with, the Board of Control, 1784-1858
	L/AG/44 Accounts and related Records of the East India Company, 1815-1874
	L/AG/45 Accounts and related Records of Dependent Institutions, 1830-1911
	L/AG/46 Records of the Indian Railway Companies' London Offices and of the Accountant General's Depts relating to Indian Railways 1845-1954
	L/AG/47 Records of Indian Irrigation, Canal and Water Transport Companies: London Offices 1828-97
	L/AG/49 Copies of Reports and despatches, 1834-1935
	L/AG/50 Miscellaneous 1721-1950
	L/AG/51 Lists of Documents in the Custody of the Cashier, c 1834-c1910
<b>L/E</b>	<b>Economic Department Records 1786-1950</b> (about 4245 volumes/files and 960 boxes)
	L/E/1 Committee Records [see L/P&J/1]
	L/E/3 Financial Correspondence with India 1792-1938
	L/E/5 Compilations and Miscellaneous records, 1786-1870
<b>L/F</b>	<b>Financial Department Records c1800-1948</b> (about 6538 volumes/files and 225 boxes)
	L/F/1 Financial Committee Minutes 1834-1862 (116 volumes)
	L/F/2 Financial Home Correspondence 1834-1903 (648 volumes)
	L/F/3 Financial Correspondence with India 1807-1937
	L/F/5 Compilations and Miscellaneous Records, c1800-1947
	L/F/8 Contracts and agreements, 1855-1946
	L/F/10 Records of Service 1702-1928

<b>L/L</b>	<b>Legal Adviser's Records c1550-1950</b> (about 1095 boxes and volumes)
	L/L/2 Land and property records 1552-1923
	L/L/6-7 Cases referred to Counsel for opinion 1704-1947
	L/L/6 Extracts of Law Cases and Opinions of Counsel, 1704-1857
	L/L/7 Upper Adviser's Department: law cases and opinions
<b>L/MAR</b>	<b>Marine Records c1600-1879</b> (about 10 571 volumes)
	L/MAR/A Ships' journals 1605-1705 (171 volumes)
	L/MAR/B Ships' logs 1702-1856 (about 9500 volumes)
	L/MAR/C Marine Committee, Correspondence, and Miscellaneous 1600-1879 (about 900 volumes)
<b>L/MIL</b>	<b>Military Department Records 1708-1957</b> (about 44 968 volumes and 1935 boxes)
	L/MIL/1 Military Committee (and Addiscombe Committee) Minutes 1809-1937
	L/MIL/2 Military Home Correspondence 1830-1881
	L/MIL/3 Military Correspondence with India 1803-1937
	L/MIL/5 Military Compilations (including Medal Rolls) 1754-1944 (1 071 volumes)
	L/MIL/7 Departmental Papers: Military Collections, c1850-1950
	L/MIL/8 Military Statements 1785-1939
	L/MIL/9 Records relating to Entry into the Service 1753-1940
	L/MIL/10-12 Bengal, Madras and Bombay Armies 1708-1914
	L/MIL/13 St Helena Contingent Records 1789-1959
	L/MIL/15 British Army Records 1806-1930
	L/MIL/16 Royal Indian Marine and Royal Indian Navy Records c1840-1947
	L/MIL/17 Military Department Library
<b>L/PARL</b>	<b>Parliamentary Branch Records c1772-1952</b> (726 volumes and 4 boxes)
	L/PARL/2 Collections c 1772-1943 (684 volumes)
<b>L/PWD</b>	<b>Public Works Department 1839-1931</b> (4516 volumes/files and 1 box)
	L/PWD/2 Home Correspondence 1845-79
	L/PWD/3 Correspondence with India 1839-1925
<b>L/P&amp;J</b>	<b>Public and Judicial Department records 1795-1950</b> (about 21 660 volumes/files and 224 boxes)
	L/P&J/1 Public and Judicial Committee Minutes 1826-1860 (96 volumes)
	L/P&J/2 Judicial Home Correspondence 1837-1879
	L/P&J/3 Public and Judicial Correspondence with India 1795-1950

<b>L/P&amp;S</b>	<b>Political and Secret Department Records 1756-c1950</b> (about 13 246 volumes/files and 318 boxes)
	L/P&S/1 Political and Secret Committee Minutes 1778-1867 (19 volumes)
	L/P&S/2 Board of Control Secret Minutes 1785-1805 (2 volumes)
	L/P&S/3 Political and Secret Home Correspondence 1807-1911 (469 volumes and 22 boxes)
	L/P&S/4 Secret, Political and Foreign Correspondence with India 1784-1858
	L/P&S/5 Secret Correspondence with India 1756-1874 (590 volumes and 10 boxes)
	L/P&S/6 Political Correspondence with India 1792-1874
	L/P&S/9 Correspondence with Areas outside India 1781-1911
	L/P&S/14 Correspondence with Asian Rulers, including Indian princes 1796-1920
	L/P&S/18 Political and Secret Memoranda c184-1947
	L/P&S/19 Political and Secret Miscellaneous Records c1750-1947
	L/P&S/20 Political and Secret Library c1800-1947
<b>L/SUR</b>	<b>Surveyor's Office Records 1837-1934</b> (26 volumes and 24 boxes)
<b>N</b>	<b>Returns of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials [of Indian Christians in India and other Company Settlements/Agencies] 1689-1969</b> (1 103 volumes)
<b>O</b>	<b>Biographical Series 1702-1948</b> (487 volumes and 44 boxes)
	O/1 Bonds, Warrants and Agreements 1740-1948 (417 volumes and 44 boxes)
	O/5 Europeans in India 1702-1830
	O/6 Compilations ('Personal Records') 1712-1862
<b>P</b>	<b>Proceedings 1702-1945</b> (about 46 500 volumes)
	P: India 1834-1945 (about 9 049 volumes or part-volumes)
	P: Bengal 1704-1937 (about 14 510 volumes or part-volumes)
	P: Madras 1702-1931 (about 11 674 volumes or part-volumes)
	P Bombay: 1702-1931 (about 8 177 volumes or part volumes)
	P: United Provinces (formerly Agra, North West Provinces) 1834-1943
	P: Punjab 1849-1942

<b>R</b>	<b>Records Transferred later through official Channels</b>
	<b>R/2 India: Crown Representative's Residency Records c1789-1947</b> (about 1 370 boxes and 271 volumes)
	R/2/1 Mysore Residency Records 1799-1865
	R/5 Nepal: Kathmandu Residency Records c1792-1872
	R/9 Malacca Orphan Chamber and Council of Justice Records c1685-1835
	R/10 China: Canton Factory Records 1623-1841
	R/15 Persian Gulf: Records of the Bushire, Bahrain, Kuwait, Muscat and Trucial Coast Agencies 1763-1951
	R/19 Egypt: Records of the Cairo, Alexandria and Suez Agencies 1832-1870
	R/20 Aden: Records of the British Administrations in Aden 1837-1967
<b>V</b>	<b>Official Publications c1760-1957</b> (about 70 000 volumes)
	V/1 British Acts 1225-1957 (410 volumes)
	V/2 Parliamentary Journals 1509-1957
	V/3 Parliamentary Debates 1774-1956
	V/4 Parliamentary Papers, 1802-1955 (8 138 volumes)
	V/5 London Gazette, 1756-1958
	V/6 India Office Serials, 1768-1948
	V/7 British Government Serials 1792-1956
	V/8 Acts and Codes 1780-1955
	V/9 Proceedings of Legislative Bodies 1854-1955
	V/10 Administration Reports 1855-1957
	V/11 Government Gazettes 1831-1947
	V/13 Civil Lists 1840-1958
	V/14 Statistical Serials 1848-1957
	V/15 Census Reports 1853-1944
	V/16 Public Finance Serials 1854-1957
	V/17 Trade and Navigation Statements 1840-1956
	V/18 Meteorological Serials 1796-1950
	V/20 Geological Survey of India Serials 1856-1956
	V/22 Law Reports 1791-1947
	V/23 Selections from the Records 1849-1937
	V/24 Departmental Annual Reports 1831-1950
	V/25 Other Serial publications 1843-1957
	V/26 Committee and Commission Reports 1813-1948
	V/27 Monographs 1774-1950
<b>W,X,Y</b>	<b>Map Collections c1700-1960</b> (about 40 000 items)
	W Maps from other departments
	X India Office Reference Collections
	Y Modern topographical and small-scale map series
<b>Z</b>	<b>Contemporary Registers and Indexes to Records Series c1700-1950</b> (about 2 500 volumes)

### 5.1. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL

#### *Charters and statutes*

The constitution and legal framework of the East India Company was laid down in a series of royal charters from 1600 to 1709 and then within acts of Parliament from 1711 to 1853. These charters and charter acts described the Company's various functions, rights, privileges and obligations, which changed over time. They recorded, defined and made legal the limits of the Company's power.

For example, the Company's first royal charter of 1600 permitted the Company

for the increase of our navigation, and advancement of trade of merchandize, might adventure and set forth on one or more voyages,...by way of traffic and merchandize to the East Indies, in the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the islands, ports and cities, towns and places, thereabouts, as where trade and traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had; divers of which countries, and many of the islands, cities and ports thereof, have long since been discovered by others of our subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of merchandize<sup>3</sup>

The Company was also to

freely traffic and use the trade of merchandize, by seas...into and from the...East Indies, in the countries and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the islands, ports, havens, cities, creeks, towns and places of Asia and Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza, to the Streights of Magellan<sup>4</sup>

The charter of Charles II (1661) granted the Company the right to control its own plantations, forts, factories or colonies in the East Indies and to appoint its own governors and officers, and administer them according to English law.<sup>5</sup> The Company was authorized to make its own laws for Company government overseas and could punish offenders at these settlements.<sup>6</sup> The Company was also

granted the right to defend its factories and settlements and to make war and peace with the people amongst whom the factories were established and with whom its servants traded.<sup>7</sup>

Letters patent of Charles II granted St Helena to the Company in 1674. The island was to be for the use of the Company for refreshing of the Company's servants and others on the homeward voyages and was to be governed by the Company under its own laws.<sup>8</sup> The charter of 1686 granted the Company the rights to establish Courts of Justice in its settlements, to raise, arm, train and muster its own military forces as necessary, and to coin its own money.<sup>9</sup>

Increasing competition eroded the Company's exclusive rights to Indian trade and this was the primary reason for the merger of the Old and New Companies in 1702 (6 Anne, c.71). Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 (13 Geo. III, c.63) redefined the administrative machinery of the government of India. The Company's sole rights to British trade with India were curtailed by the 1813 Charter Act (53 Geo III, c. 153). In 1833 the Company lost its monopoly on trade with China (3&4 Will. IV, c. 85). The Company's commercial function was brought to an end by the Charter Act of 1853 (16&17 Vict. c. 95) and it was required to function as the trustee for the Crown in its government of India until 1858 when its remaining administrative functions were transferred to the Secretary of State for India and to the India Office by the Government of India Act (21&22 Vict, c. 106).

The Company's own constitution and regulations controlling its operations were set out in by-laws<sup>10</sup> which were also added to and amended over time.

The Board of Control's legal framework and constitution were set out in a number of Acts of Parliament: William Pitt's India Act of 1784 (24 Geo. III, c. 25, ss. 1 and 5), the Charter Act of 1793 (33 Geo. III, c. 52, s. 2) and the Charter Act of 1833 (3&4 Will. IV, c. 85).

Original and printed evidence of the legal framework within which the East India Company operated is to be found in the collection of East India Company Charters, Deeds, Statutes and Treaties A. It contains legal documentary evidence embodying the Company's rights and privileges, set down in charters, proclamations, royal warrants for appointments, commissions, memorials etc. The class comprises a series of original Parchment Records A/1 and Charters and Treaties A/2, a series of other papers and volumes containing printed or manuscript copies of charters, statutes and treaties affecting the Company, compiled and printed in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Although the Cape of Good Hope is particularly defined in the Charters as the westward limit of the Company's trading area, it is only in this descriptive context that the Cape is mentioned in the Charters in A/1. As a result the charters containing references to the Cape as a geographical boundary of the Company's trade were omitted from this study. The statutes concerning the constitution of the Company and the Board in A/1 and A/2 and the Company's by-laws contain no direct references to southern Africa and have also been omitted here.

The legal documents containing southern African references in this class are to be found in the printed volumes of charters and statutes in A/2/2, which include the Company's own printed copies of acts and statutory regulations which



embodied the Company's responsibilities and obligations vis-à-vis its trade with the Cape of Good Hope. Other copies of acts and regulations are to be found in the class of Official Publications: British Acts V/1, which were used by the Company and the Board for office reference.

The documents in A/2/2 provided the legal basis for the Company's Agent's conduct of business at the Cape of Good Hope with the backing of the Cape colonial authorities during the Agency's second period of operations (1807-1836). They are mainly relevant to the records created by that Agency - the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9, as well as to other major classes containing Cape Agency documents (see section 5.5. below for details).

The Company's Committee of Lawsuits directed prosecutions and defences in lawsuits in which the Company was a party and dealt with the results of litigation.<sup>11</sup> Some of the Committee's minutes from 1704-1712 are in H/23, but a large proportion of its papers has not survived. An example of a referral to the Committee concerning ships at the Cape in 1711 is in Court Minutes B/43.

#### *Lawcases and opinion of counsel*

Questions which arose in terms of the Company's legal standing or infringements of its legal rights were referred to the Company's Legal Adviser or Standing Counsel (sometimes referred to as the Law Officer). The Legal Adviser's records L/L contain the records of the Company's Solicitor from 1607 and of Standing Counsel from 1684. These records (for which there are only incomplete finding aids) include matters referred to the Legal Adviser with replies, copies of minutes and despatches, Parliamentary committee papers and drafts of bills, cases referred to

counsel with opinions, papers relating to cases settled in and out of court; property deeds and conveyancing records; financial business; contracts; royal warrants; personal property, patents; personal finances, pensions and bonds; testamentary papers; Legal Adviser's office administration papers and accounts.

The records of the Upper Adviser's Department include two series found to contain southern African related documents: Law cases and opinions of counsel, 1704-1857 (extracts) L/L/6 and Law cases and opinions of counsel (originals) L/L/7. Only fragments of the papers concerning southern Africa survive in the records of this department. This is an indication of a fair amount of loss, destruction or disorder of these records. Relevant papers include the Company's right to purchase slaves from Africa for Benkulen in 1764, in L/L/6/1, the seizure of goods at the Cape in 1821-22 in L/L/6/2 and imports of opium at the Cape in 1816 in L/L/7/578.

Cases that were referred from the Cape of Good Hope Agency (and which unfold chiefly in the G/9 series), but which have not survived in the references to Counsel papers above, can be traced elsewhere: on property seized at the Cape in 1796 in Home Miscellaneous H/738; the cases of the seizure of the ships *Prince Regent* and *Lady Flora*, *Marchioness of Ely* and *General Hewett* at the Cape (1821-1825) are in the Court Minutes B/173, in Committee of Correspondence Minutes D/7-9, Home Correspondence Miscellanies E/1/257 and in the Accountant General's Department overseas correspondence L/AG/29/1/14. Other earlier legal papers include the rights to trade to Mozambique and the east coast of Africa, 1712 to 1721 in Correspondence Reports D/18, Correspondence Memoranda D/97,

Home Miscellaneous **H/23**, and in Home Correspondence  
Miscellanies **E/1/201**.

*Property deeds and conveyancing documents*

The series of conveyancing documents of property which the Company acquired **L/L/2**, contain no references to Company property in Africa, but of probable significance is the purchase in 1749 by the Company of a warehouse in Leadenhall Street named the 'Africa House' or 'African Coffee House'. It is noted in the register of Company deeds, charters and legal documents **L/L/2/1** and detailed in documents relating to private trade warehouses in Leadenhall Street **L/L/2/154**. There are earlier references to this warehouse - its lease to the Royal African Company in 1717 in **L/L/2/1** and security and contents in Court Minutes (in 1671, 1673 and 1675) in **B/32-33** and purchase by the Company (1749) in **B/70**. It is probable that the Royal African Company used it to store East India Company goods to be exported (under license from the Company) from London to Mozambique and other parts of Africa or to store imports from Mozambique (cowries, gold and ivory) which are noted in Court Minutes **B/84** (1768) and Accountant General's Commerce Journal **L/AG/1/6/9** in June 1722.

*Bonds and covenants*

The Company's solicitor was also responsible for the drawing up of the bonds and covenants of its servants overseas. These records, the class of Biographical Records: bonds and agreements **O**, include bonds and covenants for the Company's Agents at the Cape in **O/1/59** and **O/1/234**. Sureties for the bondsmen may also be found in the minutes of the Court of Directors' meeting at which the Agent was originally appointed. Related papers include instructions

to the solicitor in 1829 to prepare a new bond for the last Cape Agent William Hawkins on the death of one of his sureties, are in Correspondence Minutes D/13.

## **5.2. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA FROM 1600 UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AGENCY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1793**

### **5.2.1. THE DIRECTION OF COMPANY ACTIVITIES IN LONDON**

Though peripheral to its wider commercial interests, the Company looked to the Cape of Good Hope and Mozambique to serve these interests in southern Africa when it was expedient or profitable. The decisions made to establish Company contacts with southern Africa were made in London by the Court of Directors who, together with the Court of Proprietors were ultimately responsible for the direction of the Company's commercial policy; and from 1784 with the approval of the Board of Control.

#### ***Executive direction of general Company business***

##### **The Court of Directors**

###### ***Court Minutes***

The class of Minute Books of the East India Company's Court of Directors and Proprietors, B/2-236 (together with a run of 100 volumes of overlapping indexes to the minutes in the Z/B/1-100 series) unfold the proceedings of the regular formal meetings and activities of the Court of Directors and the General Courts (of Proprietors), at which the Company's business was executed. The minutes comprise the central and most important record of East India Company business throughout its existence from 1600 to 1858. The minutes also cover the period of division between the Old and New Companies when separate minute books survive for

each Company, before merging into the United Company in 1709. From that date to the end of the Company period, the minutes survive in a virtually unbroken run.

The minutes essentially summarise the delegation, decisions and resolutions of the Court. The Minutes of the Court of Directors **B** therefore provide a record of the continuum of all aspects of the main executive decisions carried out by the Company which feature the Company's interest in or relations with southern Africa. The minutes are largely comprehensive in coverage of East India Company policy in its activities in southern Africa (although summary in detail) throughout the Company's period of existence.

The minutes are in many cases the key to providing leads to other related classes or series containing fuller documentation of the business at hand. The originals or full copies of the correspondence and reports referred to in the Minutes as having initiated action or decision, may in general be traced in records of the various committees to which much of the detailed work of the Court of Directors was delegated (see below). The most active committee was the Committee of Correspondence, whose records are in class **D**. The incoming letters which initiated action in the Court are in East India Company General Correspondence **E/1**, Original Correspondence in **E/3**, Correspondence with India **E/4** and in Factory Records **G** (discussed below). The out-going letters containing the Court's decisions, orders and instructions are in **E/1**, **E/3** despatches, **E/4** and in **G**, will be discussed in the correspondence sections below.

The early Court minute books include reports of the first attempts to use the Cape from the early 1600s as a supply

Image removed due to third party copyright

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 25 November 1720, concerning the return of two princes of Delagoa [Maputo] and opening up of trade with Mozambique  
IOR:B/56, p. 170

and service point for the Company's ships B/5-6; refer to early relations with the Khoikhoi people of the Cape B/5-6; transmit reports on navigation and instructions to commanders B/2 and describe early attempts to trade with Mozambique B/2. The volumes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include the purchase of slaves at Mozambique B/21, relations with the Dutch over the Cape B/41,43,57,67-69,70,99-100, pirate activity at the Cape B/43, discussions on the opening of trade to Mozambique in 1720/1721 B/56, the return to Mozambique of two princes of Delagoa, abducted as slaves (see extract opposite) B/56, references to the African warehouse in London B/32-33,70, the first exports of Cape wine to England in the 1740s B/70-71, the use of Mozambican slaves at St Helena B/80, the loss of the Company's ship *Grosvenor* on the eastern Cape coast and attempts to locate the survivors in 1783 B/99. By the end of the eighteenth century, there are virtually no further references in the minutes to Mozambique or other areas of southern Africa outside the Cape.

**Committees: records of secret business**

In all organisations, business of a confidential nature, which can be dealt with quickly, efficiently and with authority is separated from the main stream of operations and controlled by a select group. The Court of Directors and its Committees were essentially fully occupied in the formulation and direction of the East India Company's general business policies and activities, much of it routine. It was therefore necessary to isolate secret matters particularly relating to the security arrangements around the Company's trade, and deal with them separately. The bodies which dealt with this business were the Secret Court of Directors (the Court of Directors sitting in

occasional secret session), the Committee of Secrecy (1709-1834) which dealt with signals, orders and convoys for shipping; and the Secret Committee (1784-1858) set up by the 1784 India Act to liaise with the Board of Control.

Uncertainties in the arrangement of the records in the 1960s have resulted in the records of all three secret bodies being placed together under the umbrella of the department of last use - the records of the India Office Political and Secret Department (see Chapter 4). For example, the minutes of the Committee of Secrecy have been placed together in a continuous series L/P&S/1/4-12, together with the minutes of the Secret Committee (see below), under the broad descriptive heading 'Minutes of the Secret Committee'. This confuses the provenance of these two distinctly different committees.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Secret Court of Directors**

The papers of the Secret Court of Directors are located in L/P&S/1/1-3, cover the period 1784 to 1858 and contain little of relevance to southern Africa apart from references to the convoys and security of the sea-route and the Cape's position on it. The incidence of shipping matters in these papers suggests that appropriate aspects of the Committee of Secrecy's business were discussed at Court of Directors meetings in secret session, perhaps as wartime necessity.

### **The Committee of Secrecy**

The papers of the Committee of Secrecy in L/P&S/1 comprise papers on the Company's side of the secret business discussed with the government. Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy L/P&S/1/4-5,7,9 relating to southern Africa cover the years 1780 to 1784 and comprise mainly intelligence



matters at the Cape and the Company's attempts to pressure the government to capture the Cape in 1780-81.

Extract copies of surviving Committee of Secrecy papers sent by the Committee to the government are in the Secretary of State's papers in the 'East Indies Series' within the Home Miscellaneous class H/95-155. Matters concerning the Company's consultation with the government after 1784 are discussed in Section 5.3.2. below.

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors (1784-1858) established by the Government of India Act of 1784, was designed to fulfill the important function of executing government's wishes in relation to the conduct of the Company's affairs. These relations with the government will be discussed in relation to the Board of Control in Section 5.3.2. below and with particular reference to the Cape Agency in section 5.4.1.

**Committees and departments: *non-secret business***

The Court of Directors delegated its non-secret business to several Committees of Directors (*ad hoc* to the 1740s, guided increasingly by the Company's Secretary), who oversaw the formulation of Company policy on particular subjects on a daily basis. Those committees and departments whose records have survived, and which are of relevance before 1793, are the Committee of Correspondence, the Committee of Shipping and the Accountant General's department. The later committees will be discussed in Section 5.4. below as they begin their operation in the post-1834 reorganisation of committees.

### **The Committee of Correspondence**

As the most important of the subordinate standing committees appointed by the Court of Directors, the Committee of Correspondence undertook the Company's everyday business. The Committee was essentially the Company's internal administrative machinery which formulated general policy on matters referred to it from the Court of Directors. It supervised the flow of most of the Court of Director's official (but not secret) correspondence with India and its other territories, settlements and establishments overseas (including the Agency at the Cape of Good Hope); handled the Company's 'home correspondence' (individuals and institutions in England and Europe) and establishment and personnel matters; considered letters referred from the Court of Directors, and drafted replies to be sent back to the Court for approval before despatch.

The Committee of Correspondence (in conjunction with the Company's Secretary), was the most active Company committee controlling the Cape Agency. It maintained the closest and most important relationship with the Agency from 1795 to 1804 and from 1807 to 1834. This particular activity will be discussed specifically in sections 5.4. and 5.5. below. There was also a Secret Committee of Correspondence whose relevance here in relation to the Cape Agency will also be discussed below in Section 5.4.1. However, the Company's interests in southern Africa are well-reflected in the papers of the Committee of Correspondence before 1793.

Also linked with the Committee of Correspondence was the *ad hoc* Committee for 'Opening a Trade to the South East Coast of Africa' (1720-21), established to examine the

feasibility of the Company opening up joint trade to Mozambique with the Royal African Company. This Committee had no surviving separate records of its own, but some references to its activities (including joint sittings with the Committee of Correspondence) have been subsumed in the Committee of Correspondence Reports **D/18** and Memoranda **D/97**.

The papers associated with the operations of the Committee of Correspondence are located in class **D** Minutes and Memoranda etc. of the General Committees and Offices of the East India Company, together with relevant indexes in **Z/D**. The principal records of the Committee of Correspondence are arranged in five main series of records relevant here - References to the Committee of Correspondence, Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, Memoranda, Correspondence Reports and Auditor's References. The series of minutes, reports, memoranda and references are interrelated and more or less overlap.

### *References*

The References to the Committee of Correspondence (mainly lists of entries and indexes) to matters referred to the Committee from the Court of Directors are to be found in the **Z** class of registers and indexes, **Z/D/1-13**, covering the period 1784 to 1833, with some gaps (these have been presented in class **D**, Appendix, Volume 2). The References which relate to southern Africa cover the period 1715 to 1832 and include trade to Mozambique, slaves, and some of the proceedings of the Committee of Trade to the South East coast of Africa.

### *Minutes*

The Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, 1784-1834 are in D/1-17 with indexes in Z/D/1-27. No minutes of the Committee have survived for the period before 1784 and southern Africa does not feature in them before 1795. The later minutes will be discussed in Section 5.4.

### *Memoranda*

The Memoranda of the Committee of Correspondence 1700-1858 which are in D/91-145 (without indexes) were formed from notes, draft minutes and other papers taken from two earlier series: 'Correspondence Papers' and 'Court Miscellanies' when they were cut up, and include matters considered by the Committee of Correspondence to 1834.<sup>13</sup> The Memoranda predate the surviving minutes and references to southern Africa are to be found from 1711 to 1831, which include the roughly the same topics as discussed in the references and reports before 1793.

### *Reports*

The Reports of the Committee consist of the recommendations and resolutions of the Committee on matters referred to it by the Court of Directors, and which it in turn sent back to the Court. The Reports date from 1719 to 1834 and are in D/18-90, with partial internal indexes. The reports also predate the surviving Minutes. The coverage is similar to the Memoranda and include southern African subjects between 1719 and 1831, and those before 1793 include supplies for the Company's ships at the Cape; affairs of the Committee of Trade to the South East Coast of Africa (1720-21); and the wreck of the Company's ship *Grosvenor* on the eastern Cape coast (1783).

### *Auditor's references*

Auditor's References, 1740 to 1835 are in D/147-252 with indexes in Z/D/28-32. The volumes contain letters and petitions from Company employees which were referred to one of the various committees, seeking concessions or re-adjustments which, if granted, would involve a payment from the Company's treasury. These references arose from the Court referring in-letters to the Committee of Correspondence, who, perceiving financial implications then prepared answers and further referred them to <sup>the</sup> Auditor to consider. It is possible they belonged to the department of the Auditor of Home Accounts<sup>14</sup> or to the Committee of Accounts before the establishment of the Accountant-General's department before the activities of the Accountant-General were expanded.<sup>15</sup> The Auditor's references relate mainly to payments at the Cape which concern other government departments, such as the Navy and Ordnance Office or payments to individuals. Only a sample of relevant references has been taken, covering the period 1776-1812.

As a result of the function it performed, letters referred to the Committee of Correspondence and acted upon, as well as the product of its drafts of letters out on all subjects, will be found in the Company's General Correspondence particularly in Home Correspondence E/1 together with indexes in Z/E/1.

### *General correspondence*

Most of the East India Company's business was directed by means of correspondence. The Company's general correspondence E, (and particularly the Company's home correspondence in E/1, supervised by the Secretary and the Committee of Correspondence), relates to all subjects and

various departments and is arranged as a single more or less chronological sequence.

The home correspondence series **E/1/1-314** comprises two parallel sub-series. The first series, Miscellaneous letters received **E/1/1-195**, comprises letters (except secret ones) received by the Court of Directors from correspondents in Britain and Europe and some other places outside the 'east Indies', 1710-1858 including some letters received from the Cape of Good Hope. The southern African-related letters cover the period 1707 to 1847, with some gaps. Before 1793, there are a few reports from Company's ships' commanders on their stopovers at the Cape **E/1/34,35**. There are letters containing references to early trade with Mozambique **E/1/6,7,12**, arrangements for obtaining slaves from Mozambique and Angola for Company settlements **E/1/32** and the return of the Delagoa Princes (1720-21) **E/1/11**. There are few relevant references between the 1720s and 1740s.

From the late 1700s, there are intelligence reports from the Cape in **E/1/34-35,37,44,52**; letters about the loss of the *Grosvenor* and the search for survivors in 1783 in **E/1/69,74**; reports from Clifford and Co. and Hope and Co. the Company's agents in Amsterdam, including news of Company's ships at the Cape in **E/1/34-35,37**. There are also letters from Madras government envoy Richard Lewin during his attempted agency at the Cape (1780-84) and reports on his return to England in **E/1/75**; and accounts of the expedition of the *Nautilus* to the Namibian coast (1786) in **E/1/79**.

The second series, 'Miscellanies' **E/1/196-314**, consists of copies of home letters out 1688-1859, together with indexes

in Z/E/1/1-44 (1805-59). These out-letters were probably copies kept by the Company's Secretary. The out-letters relating to southern Africa cover a longer period than the in-letters - 1713 to 1858. Prior to 1793 these include references to slaves taken from Africa to St Helena E/1/200, pirate activity around the Cape E/1/201, Portuguese protests at the Company's intention to trade to Mozambique (1720-21) E/1/201, arrangements for the return of the Delagoa Princes E/1/201, Company servants' activities at the Cape, shipping intelligence from the Cape E/1/205, the loss of the *Grosvenor*, and the search for survivors (1783) E/1/223.

*The Accountant General's records*

Almost every activity that the Company embarked upon involved some expense. As a commercial and profit-making organisation, the Company had to account for all its expenditure to the Court of Directors, to its shareholders and to Parliament. Naturally, the need for a centralised body within the Company's headquarters in London to handle the large volume of this documentation was established fairly early. Shortly after the merger of Old and New Company in 1709, the Accountant General's officers and later a fully-fledged department emerged, responsible for the executive side of the Company's home financial administration.

The Accountant General's officers reported to the Committee of Accounts and took instructions from the Committee of Treasury on dividend payments, interest on bonds, loans, bullion and the general state of the Company's cashflow. The minutes of these committees no longer exist. However, the records of the Accountant General are unusually comprehensive and record financial and accounting aspects

of almost every type of business transaction carried on by the East India Company.

The early accounting records provide evidence of the Company's own requirement for and procurement of slaves from Angola and Mozambique. General Ledgers in **L/AG/1/1** dating from 1714 to 1779 record payments made for slaves from Mozambique and Angola and the payments for the return of the Delagoa princes in 1720/21. Cash journals sampled in **L/AG/1/5** dating from 1714 to 1724 also cover purchase of slaves, sale of ivory (probably from Mozambique) to the Royal African Company, and the costs of maintaining the Delagoa princes, covering the period from 1714 to 1724. Commerce journals in **L/AG/1/6** include ivory sold to the Royal African Company and similar payments made above.

#### *Marine records*

The Company's marine affairs were controlled by the Committee of Shipping (1709-1834). Within the remit of its control was the accumulation of the Company's Ships' Journals **L/MAR/A**, 1605-1701 and Ships' Logs **L/MAR/B**, 1702-1856. These include the earliest journals of ships owned or freighted by the East India Company for voyages within the limits of its charter. They are the official log books kept by the commanders of ships employed in Company service. A list has been compiled for this study which is a chronological collation from the surviving ships logs in which landfalls on the Southern African coast are recorded, covering 1607 to 1839 (see **L/MAR/A-B**, Appendix, Volume 2). Before 1793, the journals include references to stopovers at the Cape, slaving voyages to Mozambique and Angola, trading expeditions to Mozambique, as well as coastline sketches and drawings of places in southern Africa and much



evidential detail from voyages which included sights of or stopovers on the southern African coast.

A number of miscellaneous records (which had originated in the Company's Marine department and were later incorporated into the India Office Marine Department) **L/MAR/C**, were brought together as an artificial series in the late nineteenth century. They cover 1600-1879 and include details of voyages of East India Company ships; committee records relating to marine affairs; marine letters sent to East India Company from outside; correspondence with India; records of Shipping; records of personnel employed in the Company's maritime service; papers relating to steam navigation and troop transport. For southern Africa prior to 1793, there is some miscellaneous correspondence concerning early Company trade at Mozambique 1616-17 and the annexation of 'Saldania Bay' (Table Bay) in 1620 in **L/MAR/C/2**.

#### 5.2.2. THE COMPANY'S DIRECTION OF COMMERCIAL AND TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS ABROAD

Most of the detailed administrative direction of the Company's commercial and territorial affairs abroad was undertaken by correspondence between the Company and its permanent executive officials at its settlements and administrations. Originally it was undertaken by the Secretary himself, but with the increase in administrative correspondence which followed the Company's acquisition of responsibility for revenue collection in India after 1765, it was handled by the Writer and Compiler of Indian Correspondence (1770-82) and then (overlapping slightly), the Examiner of Indian Correspondence (1769-1858). These officials directed and responded to Company's servants

abroad, with the guidance of the Secretary and final approval of the Court of Directors.

*Secret correspondence*

The administrative records include 'general' correspondence (on all subjects) as well as secret correspondence addressed to the Company's Secret Committee which was usually kept separate from the rest of the correspondence with India (in **E/4**) fairly consistently so after about 1798.<sup>16</sup> The correspondence between the Company's Secret Committee and governors and Select (secret) Committees in India and elsewhere are to be found in the Secret Correspondence with India **L/P&S/5**. Samples taken show that not much of this correspondence concerns southern Africa before 1793.

*General correspondence with the East*

The earliest general records of communications between the Company and its trading posts and settlements in India and elsewhere are to be found in the series of Correspondence with the East **E/3**. This early series of letters accumulated before the establishment of permanent factories. In time it became convenient to file successive letters to each factory together and the series of Factory Records **G**, were developed. The series of Correspondence with the East **E/3** expands from the early seventeenth century and (with the spread of Company administration) continues in the Factory Records class **G** for the three Indian presidencies at Bengal, Madras and Bombay.<sup>16a</sup>

Only later, after a gradual process based on progressive administrative convenience, were the volumes back to the arbitrary date of 1702 taken out of the Factory Records class **G** to form a new series East India Company General

Correspondence: Correspondence with India **E/4**.

Correspondence with most of the Company's early factories, settlements, presidencies, residencies and agencies both inside India and outside (mostly along the sea route to the east) continues into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The 'Correspondence with the East' series, **E/3** comprises two parallel sub-series of letters from the Company's settlements: 'Original Correspondence' (originally entitled 'Original Correspondence from India, with collateral documents, originating at any place between England and Japan'), which comprise letters received (1606-1712) in **E/3/1-83**; and 'Drafts of Despatches' or letterbooks, containing copies of letters out from the Company in London to its various settlements in the east (including St Helena) and to its agents in Europe and the Levant, with occasional copies of Home Correspondence (1703-1753) in **E/3/84-111**. Company. The series begins in 1626 but few letters survive before 1653, and forward from there are nearly complete.

The Original Correspondence series contains letters in to the Company on all subjects and in all departments in a roughly chronological sequence, as well as papers between various factories forwarded to London for information. It is not a continuous series and appears to have been collected and bound in volumes about 1835. There are no indexes to the **E/3** series.

The documents relating to southern Africa in the 'Original Correspondence' were found in **E/3/1-50** covering the years 1608 to 1694. The remaining volumes **E/3/51-71** have not yet been catalogued and were consequently omitted from the

survey. The relevant documents in the series mainly concern trade on the southern African coast in the first century of East India Company activity and the operations of the Company's shipping. They contain very early letters from the Company's men recording their first relations with the Khoikhoi to obtain supplies and refreshments at the Cape **E/3/1-5,7-10**, the convict settlement in Table Bay **E/3/2,4**, the annexation of the Bay in 1620 **E/3/7**, the use of the Cape as a post office for ships' letters **E/3/2,7**. Other letters in the series include evidence of the early Company trading contacts at Mozambique **E/3/1**.

Letters out referring to southern African related matters are in the despatch books **E/3/84-101** covering the period 1658 to 1723 and concern trade at Mozambique; and shipping matters at the Cape.

#### *Factory correspondence*

Records of communications between the Company and its established trading posts and settlements in India and elsewhere continue in the correspondence in the class of Factory Records **G/1-40**. The entire class has been artificially constructed, bringing together in series records of all the Company's factories in an alphabetical sequence by name of factory. Within each factory series a range of different types of documents are bound up roughly chronologically, correspondence being only one part of this varied assembly of papers. None of the factory records series have indexes.

Included in this class are records of the Company's settlement on the island of St Helena and the Company's Agency at the Cape of Good Hope. St Helena and the Cape were not 'factories' like the Company's trade and storage

establishments in the Indian Ocean. Those in the 'east Indies' were trading centres managed by factors and merchants whose task it was to promote and oversee East India Company trade directly with the indigenous merchants of those areas.<sup>17</sup> St Helena was a Company settlement in a different sense: a Company plantation run by Company 'appointees' (not factors) to serve and supply the Company's ships. The records of the settlement and waystation of St Helena G/32, are discussed here because of their similarity in form to other factory record series. The so-called 'Cape of Good Hope Factory (or Agency) Records' G/9, are examined separately in Section 5.5. below.

St Helena was occupied by the Company in 1652 and was given to the Company in perpetuity in 1673. St Helena, by nature of its proximity and the friendly disposition of the Dutch government, had a continuous relationship with the Cape before the establishment of the Company's agency there in 1793. Only partial correspondence from St Helena survives in the St Helena Factory Records G/32 and as the volumes are not indexed they have only been sampled in this study. The St Helena consultations provide more correspondence references which will be discussed below.

The regular factories selected in this study are those which were thought to contain papers relevant to southern Africa: China G/12, Java G/21, Sumatra G/35, Surat G/36 and Miscellaneous Factory Records G/40. Surat was the most important of the Company's settlements in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the headquarters of export and import for the Company's trade in India from 1607 to 1687, when supreme control of the Company's <sup>western</sup> Indian presidencies passed to Bombay. From a sampling of surviving

correspondence for Surat (using sources found in other classes as a guide), none concerning Mozambique was traced, although the Surat Consultations of the same period contain some of the earliest records of trade carried out by the Company from Surat to Mozambique, (see, for example Surat Consultations G/36/2 - and Proceedings P below).

The remaining three factories, China, Java and Sumatra had a peripheral relationship with southern Africa and these records have also only been sampled in this study. The Consultations from those factories also include some copies of correspondence. A sample from letters received in the Sumatra Factory Records G/35/31, documents the purchase of slaves at Angola for the Company's settlement at Benkulen, on the west coast of Sumatra in 1765.

The Factories Miscellaneous series G/40 contains extracts and abstracts of various remnants of correspondence and other documents from a number of factories, mainly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The series includes letters describing trade at Mozambique G/40/1 in 1619 and from 1642 to 1643 in G/40/12; the annexation of 'Saldania Bay' (Table Bay) in 1620 G/40/8 and G/40/10, and the hospitality afforded Sir William Norris, Company ambassador to the Great Moghul, by Willem Adriaan van der Stel (the Dutch Governor of the Cape), in 1699 in G/40/19.

#### *General correspondence with India*

The correspondence continues in the eighteenth century from Factory Records G into the series 'Correspondence with India 1703-1858' E/4. As the Company's administrations in India grew, series of correspondence with each of the Indian presidencies was formed. There are four parallel series of letters sent from the Company's presidencies in

India to the Court of Directors from Bengal **E/4/20-147** (1709-1834); from India and Bengal (with the formation of the government of India as supreme administrative body in 1834) in **E/4/148-288** (1834-58); from Madras **E/4/299-448** (1709-1858) and from Bombay **E/4/459-611** (1709-1858) and the complementary series of Court's Despatches (letters going out to India) to Bengal **E/4/616-739** (1753-1833); to India and Bengal **E/4/740-855** (1834-58); to Madras **E/4/861-991** (1753-1858) and to Bombay **E/4/996-1112** (1753-1858).

The series of letters in **E/4** comprises letters from all departments filed together in date order. Indexes to the subjects of the Company's Despatches in **Z/E/4/1-72**, provide the means of access to both sides of the correspondence.

The seventeenth century correspondence from India in **E/3** and in **G** tends to exist either in the form of general letters (relating to several subjects), written every six months or so, and separate letters, containing important information on immediate events. By the eighteenth century, the general letters in **E/4** were standardised and arranged under various headings: shipping, trade etc. or within the newly created subject departments of the Indian administrations. Despite it seeming a more relevant source for the history of the Company's administration in India, the general correspondence with India **E/4** series does contain wide-ranging information concerning southern Africa prior to 1793. For example, there are documents on the Company's trading relations in India with southern Africa in despatches to Bombay **E/4/1004** and incidental matters which required contact with the Cape, including slavery on the southern African coast referred to in despatches to Madras **E/4/862**, the wreck of *Grosvenor* (1783) in letters received from Bengal **E/4/42**, and Richard Lewin's

intelligence mission to the Cape in despatches to Madras E/4/869 in 1781.

In the margins of the letters in from India and elsewhere are entries (marginal or 'shoulder notes') alongside the relevant paragraphs, which refer to accompanying enclosures to the E/4 incoming letters. The enclosures comprise copies and extracts of Proceedings or Consultations, correspondence, minutes and resolutions of Indian or overseas governments, departments or committees, (see Proceedings P below), which provide background papers relative to the matter discussed in the incoming letters. The enclosures are merely advance copies for the case in question discussed in the letter.

*'The Board's Collections'*

In compliance with the Board of Control's exercise of supervisory control over the Company's ordinary correspondence with India (and certain other Company administrations), the Company sent from 1784, copies of its despatches abroad to the Board of Control for approval before being despatched. These informative enclosures to incoming letters (in E/4) were detached by the Company and formed into bundles of background papers to justify to the Board the decisions and orders in the drafts of the outgoing despatches.

On the return of all the papers from the Board, the collections were subsequently bound by the Company in order of last use i.e. by paragraphs of outgoing despatches. They formed the Company's authority record in the series 'Board's Collections' F/4, (or collections compiled and collected by the Company for the Board's information). Though they were named 'Board's Collections', they<sup>probably</sup> never



formed part of the Board's own archives but are <sup>more likely to have been</sup> part of the Company's archives.<sup>17a</sup> They contain nothing of southern African relevance before 1793. The later Board's Collections will be discussed in Section 5.6. below.

### *Consultations or Proceedings*

The Company directed its overseas settlements, trading stations, factories, agencies and later presidencies overseas, routinely to send records of proceedings of those governing bodies to London for information as a record of the business abroad. The regular formal meetings of the Company's executive committees of merchants and later administrators at its settlements and governments in India and elsewhere, were recorded on similar lines as the meetings of the Court of Directors at home. From the early days of the Company the records of these meetings were referred to as 'Consultations' until 1860, when they were described as 'Proceedings'.<sup>18</sup>

Manuscript copies of the correspondence, minutes and resolutions of the proceedings of Company business abroad, were routinely sent to London, some months after their creation to supply a record to the Company of the flow of business being conducted by its servants overseas.

The subordinate factories in India continued as entities, but with the growth of Company administration they were incorporated into presidencies and divided into committees of local council in the eighteenth century. The early proceedings of factory and presidency executives are located in the Factory Records series G and after incorporation into Presidency administration, are located in the class of Proceedings P. The creation of a separate class of Proceedings P as distinct from the consultations

in Factory Records G, was a retrospective, artificial, archival action of the nineteenth century, incorporating each factory series as it came under the Presidency government.

The factory consultations include both the brief recording by a factor in a diary of important outside events observed impinging on his factory; or two or three factors gathered together in the Company's name, 'consulting' on Company business. Select Committees of the governing Councils were created from 1756 to deal with secret business from the Secret Committee.<sup>19</sup> The Secret Consultations are the records of these Select Committees.

Together the Factory consultations in G and Proceedings P classes, form the most comprehensive records of the detail of Company overseas administration from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. They are an important source for southern Africa because they contain much detailed information concerning India's trade with southern Africa - particularly from Surat and Bombay to Mozambique.

The Surat consultations G/36 (including both factory and presidency), are incomplete, with many gaps. Samples taken from the consultations reveal references to Company's goods traded with Mozambique from 1660 to 1663, for example in G/36/2.

Consultations for St Helena G/32 are also not complete. Volumes which were sampled for this study before 1793 include references to slaves imported from Mozambique and Angola, G/32/2,3,5,6,25; and goods imported from the Dutch settlement at the Cape G/32/5,55-56.

### 5.3. CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT (c1700-1784) AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL'S SUPERVISION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1784-1858)

#### 5.3.1. Before 1784

As a private overseas trading concern, the Company's activities naturally grew alongside the British government's own official foreign relations. As the Company's concerns often ran parallel with those of other trading nations, it was inevitable that some framework should develop in which the Company's and government's foreign relations would be co-ordinated. One of the three Principal Secretaries of State charged with government oversight of foreign relations conducted informal relations with the Company to ensure it kept in line with government policy on India and the east. During the French wars (1744-84), the Committee of Secrecy provided the vehicle for discussion with the government, meeting informally with the Secretary of State to discuss matters concerning the safety of the Company's possessions and political interests overseas.<sup>20</sup>

After 1765, having gained control of the revenue of a large part of India, the administrative and military structure grew rapidly to support the trading organisation's new role as an imperial power with its own armed force to support it.<sup>21</sup> By 1784 it had gradually become accepted that the British government should in some way assume overall responsibility for the administration of the Company's territorial possessions in India.<sup>22</sup> State involvement in Indian affairs increased informally and was eventually formalised in 1784 by the establishment of the Board of Control.

The class 'Home Miscellaneous Series' **H** contains within it an 'East Indies Series' (H/93-190). This series constitutes papers from the government's State Paper Office, which had originally formed part of the working documents of the Secretary of State who had held responsibility for Indian affairs, because they had implications for the government's wider foreign policy. The 'East Indies' series contains remnants of papers which reflect the informal or *ad hoc* relationship the Company had had with the government before the formation of the Board of Control. These papers were transferred to the Board of Control on its creation as background papers and for precedence and by the time of the creation of the India Office, they had accumulated as a collection of historical papers.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the papers relevant to southern Africa in the 'East Indies Series' of the class Home Miscellaneous **H**, appear to be the only surviving copies and extracts of papers originating in the Company's Committee of Secrecy and which were sent by the Company to the government.

The documentary remnants of the government's side of these discussions on southern Africa reflect the Committee's expressions of concern to the government about the security of the Cape of Good Hope at its pivotal position on the sea-route to India, backed up by shipping intelligence reports from the Cape in **H/102, 105, 107-108, 118, 120, 124, 140, 143, 145-146, 150**; the proposal to capture the Cape in 1781 to secure the sea-route and to the Company's urging of the government to capture the Cape in 1781-82 in **H/154-155** and **H/161** and reports on Madras intelligence officer Richard Lewin's attempts to set up a residency at the Cape 1781 to 1782 in **H/153**. Further related papers on Lewin are in Home Correspondence **E/1/75** and

**E/4/626,869,1001**, Cape of Good Hope Factory Records **G/9/25** and **P/D/2,3**.

No Committee of Secrecy papers survive within the Company's own archives before the late 1770s. The Company's own surviving papers on its relations with the government are in the Minutes of the Committee of Secrecy **L/P&S/1/4-5,7,9**.

### **5.3.2. The Board of Control, 1784-1858**

The Board was established in 1784 formally to supervise, 'superintend, direct and control' the Company's civil and military governments (as well as the business connected with Indian revenue). The Board's most important function was operating as the government office for and influencing and controlling the Company's political activities. This function was exercised through the Company's Secret Committee, established at the same time as the Board of Control.

The work often required the Board to resolve Company matters which in some way involved other state departments. The Board played a prominent political role (yet underrated and little explored by historians) in controlling and co-ordinating Company's interests which overlapped with the government interests in southern Africa, between 1784 and 1858.

#### *Minutes*

The Board held ordinary formal meetings to discuss its business. The meetings are recorded in Minute Books of the Board of Control **F/1/1-7**, covering the entire period of the Board's existence. They present a continuous record of the (non-secret) matters it dealt with including those relating to southern Africa. Minutes featuring southern Africa

begin from 1804 and continue to 1816. Thereafter, those affairs tended to be dealt with by the Board's various departments (see below).

The minutes of Board of Control meetings reflect its increasingly influential role in the Company's external or political affairs. The Board's first President, Henry Dundas had supported the Company's request to the government for the capture of the Cape in 1795 in order to secure the Company's Indian trade and settlements. The second occupation of the Cape in 1806 was also achieved with assistance from the Company negotiated by the Board. The Company achieved its objective in acquiring the security of the Cape on the sea-route used by its ships, but rejected taking on the administration of the colony.

In return, the Colonial Office pressed the Company through the Board to allow the supply of Indian goods (for which the Company held the monopoly) to reach the Cape. The Board, as facilitator between departments of state in the conduct of Company-related business, also obtained the eventual agreement of the Company to supply them through its agency at the Cape. The Board's role in the negotiations is highlighted in F/1/3.

Further examples of the Board's role as facilitator between the Company and the government include the proposal to supply Sepoys from the Company's military forces to strengthen the garrison at the Cape in 1806 (liaison with the Secretary for War) F/1/3, the resolution of the question of the sequestration of Agency property at the Cape by the Dutch in 1804 (liaison with the Foreign Secretary) F/1/5 and the scheme of Cape Governor Lord Charles Somerset to export Cape horses for the cavalry in

India in 1816 (liaison with the Secretary of State for the Colonies) **F/1/6**.

*Secret minutes*

The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors transmitted information and orders on secret matters to and from the Board of Control. The Secret Board of Control (initiated by Henry Dundas in 1785) met to discuss business referred to it by the Company's Secret Committee. The meetings of the Secret Committee and the Board, together with the correspondence between the two reflect the dynamic interaction between Court and Board.

Two volumes cover the minutes of the Board of Control's secret meetings, for the period 1785 to 1805 in **L/P&S/2**. The only secret matters concerning southern Africa are in **L/P&S/2/1** and record the Secret Committee informing the Board of their appointment of an Agent at the Cape in 1793 (which received the Board's approval) and the supply of the Cape from Bengal in 1796.

*Secret Committee papers*

The Court's Secret Committee's relations with the Board are recorded in its own surviving minutes, which pick up after the Committee of Secrecy papers in **L/P&S/1/9**. Those of relevance to southern Africa include the consideration of a proposal by Lieutenant Henry Pemberton to set up a supply station on the eastern Cape coast in 1785 (the original is in the Cape Factory Records **G/9/1**). The Secret Committee's papers are also important because they indicate the origins of the establishment of the Company's first Agency at the Cape in 1793. Significantly John Pringle, the Company's first Agent at the Cape was an appointee of the Secret Committee and not of the Court of Directors (see also other

related papers in Bombay Political and Secret Consultations P/E/7 and St Helena Consultations G/32/58).

*Secret home correspondence*

The Board's separate secret home correspondence includes matters which had an impact on other British government departments, mainly concerning certain aspects of war, peace diplomacy and the security of British territories in India and elsewhere (including the Cape, by association), and is located in Secret Home Correspondence L/P&S/3/5-93 with indexes in Z/L/P&S/5/3-4.

Relevant southern African matters emerge in 1846, and 1857-1858, and relate to requests to the Colonial Office to authorise the instructions for obtaining horses from the Cape for the Indian cavalry (1846) L/P&S/3/20,57; to the Admiralty, War Office and Colonial Office for military and other assistance required from the Cape during the Sepoy Rebellion (1857-58) in L/P&S/3/55,101,102,111,137; and liaison with the Colonial Office on the request from the Governor General of India to exile the King of Delhi at the Cape (1857-58) L/P&S/3/61.

*Secret Correspondence with India*

These are secret letters sent from the Company's governments in India to the Secret Committee; and secret despatches drafted by the Secret Committee and forwarded to the Board for approval before being sent to India. The more complete sets were kept by the Board, but both the Board's and Secret Committee's records are intermingled in L/P&S/5 (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.).

Secret correspondence (copies kept by the Secret Committee and Board of Control) with India survives in Board's drafts



of secret letters and despatches to India **L/P&S/5**, but very little secret correspondence relates to southern Africa. Of considerable significance here are the secret papers in **L/P&S/5/563** on the appointment of John Pringle as agent to the Secret Committee at the Cape with strong overtones of Henry Dundas' influence, in November 1793. Not much of this correspondence concerns southern Africa before 1793, but a few items sampled for 1798, 1801 and 1808 feature trade between India and the Cape in **L/P&S/5/23** and the sending of Indian Sepoys to protect the Cape in 1806 **L/P&S/5/31, 541, 567**.

#### *General correspondence*

The non-secret general correspondence between the Board and the Company is inter-related. Correspondence between the Company and the Board of Control is located in Company's Correspondence with the Board **E/2** and in Board's Home Correspondence **F/2**. Letters from the Company to the Board are in **E/2/1-28** and the Board's letters to the Company are in **E/2/29-50**. The southern African-related letters cover the period from 1797-1816, 1857-58 (Company to Board) and from Board to Company, from 1796-1858. The inter-related correspondence is dominated by affairs concerning the opening of trade with the Cape, Lord Charles Somerset's horse breeding scheme, assistance from the Cape to India during the Sepoy Rebellion 1857-58 and the discussion over the feasibility of sending groups of emigrant labourers from India to Natal in the early 1850s.

The Board's out-letter books of home correspondence survive in **F/2** with indexes in **Z/F/2** and include letters to the Company as well as to other government departments. The letters cover similar subjects as in **E/2**, and cover the period 1795-1816.

### *The 'Board's Collections'*

The Board received copies of the Company's despatches to India together with copies of the enclosures to the incoming letters to which the despatch replied, for their approval before being despatched by the Company. The informative enclosures to incoming letters, (attached by the Company for the Board to understand the Company's decisions and orders in the draft despatches) are known as 'Board's Collections' F/4. Although named 'Board's Collections' by the Company, these records originated in the Company, and were returned by the Board to it. The relevant southern African-related Board's Collections are discussed in Section 5.6. below.

The Board kept their own copies of the draft despatches with its approvals or amendments (which are in F/3 but which were omitted from the survey because Company's copies of the original final drafts of the same outgoing despatches, signed with the Board's approval, are in E/4 (see under general correspondence with India in section 5.2.2.)).

### *The Board's departmental records*

The Board organised itself largely into departments reflecting aspects of the Company's main business,<sup>24</sup> particularly after the Company's re-organisation of 1834. A large number of Board's records were arranged and separated in the early 1800s by department.<sup>25</sup>

Because the functions of both Company and Board were transferred to the India Office in 1858, the two streams of inherited records from the departments of each body were rationalised and weeded. Records were sometimes taken partially or borrowed from one series and another (perhaps

less complete) set discarded. Some Company departments' records have become incorporated with the later India Office related departments' records (see discussion in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.). As a result the records of the later Company committees and Board departments comprise a scrambled mixture of records of different provenance. It is often difficult today to determine which records belonged to which body and the inherited functions and provenance remain obscured. This is particularly true of the Military Department correspondence.<sup>26</sup>

Most of the relevant general letters relate to Company affairs at the Cape. They concern the Board's liaison with the War Office, Admiralty, Colonial Office and the Treasury.

Three of the Board's departments most involved with matters concerning the Cape were the Judicial and Public Department **L/P&J**, the Military Department **L/MIL** and Political and Secret Department **L/P&S**. The correspondence undertaken by these departments of the Board illustrate the continuity and detail of the liaison required on government business impacting on the Company.

#### *The Military department*

The Board of Control's Military department's home correspondence has (again due to uncertainties in arrangement in the 1960s) been placed in the Company's Military records in the 'compilations and miscellaneous': military miscellaneous series **L/MIL/5/499-507** (an artificial series first created in the India Office Military Department in the late nineteenth century). Board letterbooks on military matters are in **L/MIL/5/509-510**.

These records form a central focus of business conducted by the Board on military matters, requiring liaison with other government departments on military related matters, for example, the War Office, Admiralty and Colonial Office. Notably, from 1857 to the end of the Company's operations in 1858, there was a sudden flurry of Cape-related business arising from the outbreak of the Sepoy Rebellion in India between 1857 and 1858.

The records include the Cape government's suggestion that disaffected regiments of Sepoys could be sent from India to the Cape in **L/MIL/5/504**. They also concern arrangements within the British colonies in South Africa to free British Army regiments to go as reinforcements to India during the Sepoy Rebellion in **L/MIL/5/501**, the conveyance of troops, stores and horses; copies of reports from Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape and references to intelligence of a possible uprising of chiefs Sarhili and Mhala, in the eastern Cape colony between June 1857 and June 1858 during the cattle killing in **L/MIL/5/501**; requests from the War Office between April and August 1858 for the Company to build a sanitorium at the Cape to acclimatise British soldiers going to India and for the recuperation of those returning from India in **L/MIL/5/503,510**; the proposals to recruit Africans from the Cape and Natal for service in the Company's Indian armies and emigration of Cape African soldiers for service in the West Indies in **L/MIL/5/502,504**.

Also among the Board's papers are (Military) Home Correspondence letter-books which also contain southern African documents from 1849-50 and which include early interest in obtaining horses for India from the Cape **L/MIL/5/509**. The accounts for the Cape Remount Agency

(1857-60) are in **L/MIL/5/519** and correspondence and other related accounting records are in **L/AG/24/29/1,5**.

*The Revenue, Judicial and Legislative department*

The Board's Revenue, Judicial and Legislative department dealt with matters arising from the domestic affairs of British India. The committee's papers have been merged with the Company's Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee records in **L/P&J/1**. The department's papers include a series of 'emigration home correspondence' **L/P&J/1/84,86-87** with registers in **Z/L/P&J/1/1-4**, which illustrate the Board's facilitatory role between the Company and the Colonial Office on the proposals by the Government of Natal to allow immigration of labourers from India into the colony, discussed between 1856 and 1858.

*The Political and Secret department*

The Board's Political and Secret department's southern African related documents focus on foreign relations where the Company had had trade and political relations. The Board's Political Home Correspondence and Political General home correspondence **L/P&S/3/111,122-123,137**, covering 1836 to 1858, contains references to the re-awakening of the Company's interest in opening trade to Mozambique (1836), and the offer of the Cape Governor, Sir George Grey to receive regiments of disaffected Sepoys at the Cape during the Sepoy Rebellion.

The Board's Political and Secret Department secret home correspondence is in **L/P&S/3/20** and copies in **L/P&S/3/97** includes letters on the arrangements for the Company's commercial agents, Dickson & Burnies' funding of horse shipments in 1846 during the North West Frontier Campaign.

#### 5.4. THE COMPANY'S MANAGEMENT OF ITS OWN AGENCY AT THE CAPE (1793-1804; 1807-1836) AND COMMERCIAL AGENTS AT THE CAPE (1836-1858) FROM LONDON

##### 5.4.1. THE COMPANY'S OWN AGENCY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

From 1795 until 1804, and from 1807 until 1836, the Cape Agency functioned as the largest service and supply point within the East India Company's trade area. Unlike most of the Company's other establishments, the Cape Agency had the additional attraction of being strategically located on the sea-route to India and conveniently placed within a secure, British administered possession and later colony. The Agents were mainly concerned with obtaining supplies for the Company's ships, its settlement at St Helena and for obtaining and regulating the supply of Company goods imported from India and China to the Cape. These were all subsidiary to the wider trading affairs of the Company. The Agency was the only Company establishment anywhere in southern Africa, and from 1793 the focus of formal Company activity in southern Africa was at the Cape of Good Hope.

#### *The Company's executive control over the Cape Agency*

##### **The Secret Committee**

The Secret Committee had originally appointed the first Agent in 1793 to assist in a planned attack on French bases at Mauritius and Réunion, with the Agent also taking on extra functions as Commissary (supplying food, stores and transport). The attack did not transpire, but the Agent was to remain until 1794, withdrawing to the safety of St Helena until the capture of the Cape in June 1795. During these two years the Agent was controlled by the Secret Committee.

*Minutes*

The appointment of John Pringle as the Secret Committee's Agent at the Cape of Good Hope in 1793, and the Board of Control's approval of his appointment are recorded in the Secret Committee's minutes in **L/P&S/1/9**. Secret Minutes of the Board of Control recording their approval of Pringle's appointment are in **L/P&S/2/1**.

*Secret correspondence with the Agent*

The first in-coming letters from John Pringle as Agent are recorded in the Secret Committee minutes in **L/P&S/1/9** between 1794 and 1798 copies of which were forwarded to Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control. Copies of letters from the Secret Committee to the Agent have not survived.

**The Court of Directors**

From 1795 until 1836 the Court of Directors maintained supreme control the Agency. The Agency's purpose was to obtain supplies for the Company's ships at the Cape, its settlement at St Helena and to regulate the supply of Company goods imported from India and China into the Cape - all subsidiary to the wider trading affairs of the Company.

*Minutes*

Although matters concerning the Cape Agency are only summarised in the Court Minutes, the minutes in **B/122-191** provide a continuous summary record of the Court's control of the Agency. As most of the letters from the Company to Agency have not survived, it is still possible to get an indication from the minutes as to the frequency of the communications, and sometimes the subject of the letters going out.

Relevant references include the Company's role in supplying the Cape with eastern goods B/126-128, 151, the Cape's trade relations impacting on the Company B/123-124,130, the appointment of successors to the Agents B/162,174, Pringle's overdrawn commission B/165-167, disputes between the Agency and the Cape Customs House B/173, the survey of the south-eastern coast of Africa by Captain William Owen from 1821 B/174 and the payment of Company pensioners at the Cape B/173. Much of the business from this period concerned matters referred to London by the Agents, or appeals for assistance through or without recourse to the Agency.

#### **The Company's Secretary**

From 1795 until 1804, and resuming from 1807 until 1836, the Agency functioned in the more normal sense and under the regular control of the Secretary and the Committee of Correspondence. The Company tended to treat the Cape as part of its home establishment because it was not in the east Indies, and was neither a factory run by a council of merchants trading with the local people as in India, nor a Company's settlement or government.

#### *Secretary's correspondence*

After 1795, except for occasional secret business, the Secretary corresponded directly with the Agent, either initiating fresh action or responding to the Agent's incoming letters. The Agent sent his routine correspondence to the Company's Secretary. After receipt, the Agency's letters appear to have been dealt with by the Committee of Correspondence. Unfortunately, no regular series of outgoing letters from the Company to the Agency has survived, but entries in the Court Minutes B indicate the frequency, but not often the content of outgoing letters. The Cape



Agency, St Helena and China's correspondence was dealt with in a similar way to 'home correspondence', which was under the control of the Secretary.

Unfortunately (except for part of a volume of copies of Accountant-General's paragraphs prepared for insertion in Secretary's letters to the Cape Agent), the bulk of copies of letters (drafted by the Committee of Correspondence) and sent out to the Cape in the Company Secretary's name, have not survived in London.

These letters may have been lost in the periodic destruction of East India Company records by the India Office in 1858-60, 1867 and 1877.<sup>27</sup> Originals of letters sent from the Company to the Agent have not survived in South Africa<sup>28</sup> and it is uncertain whether remnants survive elsewhere in private collections. Despite the missing Company despatches, other surviving records create a clear enough picture of the Agency's operations.

Surviving relevant letters are in Home Correspondence **E/1** and include the letters of appointment for John Pringle **E/1/242** and William Hawkins **E/1/259** as Agents at the Cape. Incoming Letters to the Secretary in **E/1/128-189** concern the Cape establishment, filling of vacancies, and letters from other Agency employees. Miscellanies **E/1/233-240** contain references to the introduction of Company trade at Cape, letters concerning other government departments and the Cape; and the termination of the agency 1803-05; two letters from the Company's Secretary to the Cape Agent in 1804 about the salary of an Agency employee, Thomas Maxwell **E/1/240**.

### **The Committee of Correspondence**

The most active Company committee controlling the operations of the Cape Agency was the Committee of Correspondence. It had the closest and most important relationship with the Cape Agency from 1795 to 1834. The Committee directed the range of business undertaken by the Agency at the Cape of Good Hope by scrutinising the Agent's incoming letters, drafting replies in response and initiating directives to the Agency, with the approval of the Company's Secretary, and ultimately, of the Court of Directors. The Committee also controlled and regulated the Agency establishment, the filling of vacancies from the wider Company ranks and the fixing of salaries.

This relationship between the Committee of Correspondence and the Cape Agency is continuously recorded from 1795 to 1830 in the Committee's papers in class D. The Committee's minutes provide a fairly unbroken record of its business and indicate the close involvement of the Committee with the Company's Agency at the Cape between 1797 to 1830. They include the fixing of salaries, filling of vacancies and more continuously, the drafting and formulation of the Company's instructions, orders embodied in paragraphs and replies to letters for the Agent at the Cape on the wide-ranging business it carried out there.

Only summaries of letters drafted by the Committee of Correspondence to the Agent can be traced in the Committee minutes D from 1799, but in many cases there is no substantial indication of content.

The Reports produced by the Committee D/37-78 and Memoranda D/126-139 include many subjects examined in detail and reflect the Committee's formulation of Company policy to be

communicated to the Agency, which was recommended to the Court, and in most cases, accepted. Relevant papers relate specifically to trade between the Cape and India and matters concerning the Cape Agency and its establishment.

#### **The Secret Committee of Correspondence**

Only one volume of minutes of the Secret Committee of Correspondence (the Committee of Correspondence sitting in secret session), survives in L/P&S/1/13. In it is the discussion of the appointment of a successor to Pringle after his death in 1815. This is another indication of the importance of the Cape Agency to the Company at large and of the role of the Committee of Correspondence as controller of that establishment within the structure of the Company.

#### ***Other Company committees and departmental records***

##### *Accounting records*

The Company was accountable to its shareholders for a true record of investment and returns. The Cape Agency, although on the periphery of main trade, was nonetheless responsible for reporting to the Company a record of incoming and outgoing sums, purchases, sales and investments. The Accountant General's department exercised overall scrutiny of the Company's books including those produced by the Agency.

Records in the Accountant-General's department which are relevant to the Company period and to the Cape Agency are found in the Company's main books of account; records relating to accounting procedure and control; among the accounts and statements prepared for special purposes and within records of the sections and services of the Accountant-General's department.

There are Company ledgers in L/AG/1/1/27-33 (1796-1836); Commerce Journals L/AG/1/6/24-27 (1814-1824) and General Commerce Journals L/AG/1/13/1-4, (1814-1835). General Commerce Journals and ledgers L/AG/1/13 include a great deal of transactional evidence and details probably copied in from the original incoming accounts of the Cape Agency. Some of the original account books sent from the Agency itself have survived in G/9/2-5 (see Section 5.5. below) but it appears that a quantity of original accounting records from which the ledger entries are derived, were probably destroyed in 1860.<sup>29</sup>

Records relating to accounting procedure and control include miscellaneous papers in L/AG/9/8/1 on Pringle's submission on Cape currency and exchange control at the Cape in 1813 and 1822.

Transactions itemised in the incoming Cape accounts were also included in a summary form in wider Company accounts compiled for special purposes. For example for Parliament, Treasury and the Board of Control and located in L/AG/10-11 from 1808. Published accounts which include sections on the Cape covering 1808-1821 are also in L/AG/10/2/4-6; East India Budgets for Parliament L/AG/11/1/2-4 1814-26 and miscellaneous home accounts L/AG/18/2/5-6 also include Cape Agency figures, 1814-36.

The series Home and Overseas Correspondence of the Accountant General's Department L/AG/29/1, includes an important volume L/AG/29/1/14, which contains 'Paragraphs prepared by the Accountant General for insertion in the public and other letters to the different Presidencies in India, China, Cape of Good Hope, St Helena etc.' The Cape paragraphs cover 1807 to 1836 and are preceded by the only

copy of instructions issued to the Cape Agents (see also section 5.5.1. below and Chapter 4 facing page 145 for extract). These paragraphs comprise the only substantial remnants of part of the contents of Company's letters and despatches to the Cape. The paragraphs describe accounting procedures and aspects of the Agency's transactions.

There are other departmental records concerning the posts, complement and salaries of the Agency establishment in the Accountant General's Department establishment matters **L/AG/30/6** and establishment statistics and returns **L/AG/30/12** 1817-1836 include extracts of material concerning the Agency at the Cape and on the appointment of William Hawkins in 1823. Cape Agency establishment matters are also referred to in Parliamentary Papers **V/4** 1830 vol. 5 and Parliamentary Collections **L/PARL/2/66**.

#### *Marine Affairs*

Marine Department Minutes contain only a few references to letters from Agent Joseph Luson in **L/MAR/1/3** in 1814, **L/MAR/1/10** in 1821 and other shipping matters concerning the Cape during the Agency period.

#### *Agents' Employment records*

The Company's 'writers' (clerks and copyists or civil servants running its bureaucracy in India) were entrusted with the day to day running of the Company's affairs abroad. The post of Company's Agent at the Cape was also filled from the ranks of its overseas and home civil servants, subject to the patronage practiced at the time.

The candidate submitted the standardised autograph petition for employment to the Court and a certified copy of his baptismal entry or a sworn affidavit. These petitions are

in Haileybury (East India College) records class J. Nearly all surviving petitions in the series of Writers' Petitions J/1/1-19 (with indexes in Z/J/1-2) are accompanied by a certificate of age and frequently include documents on the personal, family and educational background of the men employed, with occasional specimens of handwriting or arithmetic.

The series contains the autograph Writers' Petitions and other related personal and educational certificates of two of the Company's Agents at the Cape - John Pringle and William Hawkins, both of whom had served as Company civil servants in Bombay and Madras respectively. During their tenure as Agents, they both remained on their establishments and maintained their seniority, but were paid from the profits of the Company's sales at the Cape. The documents do not in any way refer to their service at the Cape. Hawkins' papers are in J/1/9 and Pringle's in J/1/12. Joseph Lusson, the second Agent at the Cape, (chosen from the Company's home civil service Accountant-General's department), does not appear in the volume of Home Establishment Petitions 1804-1834.

On taking up the appointment, the candidate entered into a bond with two sureties for the faithful performance of his duties. The names of the notables standing surety for each candidate are recorded in the Court Minutes B. The agreements entered into at the time of employment became collectively known as the 'covenant'.<sup>30</sup> These bonds and agreements are in the Biographical Series: Bonds, Agreements and Warrants O/1 from 1740.

One of the series Bond and Agreements: Overseas Servants O/1/1-196 and its indexes Z/O/1/1-4, contains bonds of

surety and deeds of covenant for all three Agents at the Cape. O/1/234 (see full text in O, Appendix, Vol 2) contains bonds for John Pringle, his wife and servants and for Joseph Lusson (1807) and O/1/59 for William Hawkins (1823). The covenants outline in general terms their conduct, liability and restrictions from certain activities and tailored to the function of the Agent (or Assistant Agent) at the Cape.

The letter of appointment for Pringle's second term as Agent in 1807 is in Home Correspondence Miscellanies E/1/242 and for Hawkins in E/1/259. Hawkins' appointment is in B/175 and D/8. An extract of Hawkins' appointment is also in Establishment Returns L/AG/30/6.

#### 5.4.2. APPOINTED COMMERCIAL AGENTS AT THE CAPE, 1836-1858

After the termination of the Company's trading function in 1834, the Company no longer required its own agency at the Cape. It was decided that what interests remained could be undertaken by appointed commercial agents already operating at the Cape. From 1836 to 1858, Dickson, Burnies & Co. (a branch of a London-based firm) attended to the Company's needs.

#### ***The Company's executive control over the commercial agents at the Cape***

##### **The Court of Directors**

##### *Minutes*

The Company did not have as close or extensive a relationship with Dickson, Burnies and Co. at the Cape from 1836 to 1858, as it had had with its own Agents. The Company's general relations with its appointed agents at the Cape (1836 to 1858) can be traced in a summary form in the minutes of the Court of Directors B/192-236 (1836-1858)

and recorded in the Court Minutes **B** and Finance and Home Committee minutes 1836-58 and reports 1836-54 **L/F/1** on pensions and the steps in the termination of the agency; and Financial Home Correspondence **L/F/2** (1836-54) comprises correspondence on financial subjects. A summary picture can also be obtained of the more routine Company policy executed through the commercial agents in Court Minutes **B/192-236**.

### **The Company's Secretary**

#### *Correspondence*

There are some general letters from the Company's Secretary to Dickson, Burnies & Co. in Company's Home Correspondence miscellanies **E/1/272-276,280,299** (1836-1853) - probably the tail-end of the Committee of Correspondence control after its abolition and the transfer of that business to the newly re-organised Committees - in particular the Finance and Home Committee, which became the most active committee dealing with the commercial agents at the Cape from their appointment in 1836.

### **Company committees and departments**

After the Committee of Correspondence had been abolished in 1834, the direction of the business handled by the commercial agents was mostly controlled by particular Company committees.

#### *Political and Military Committee*

The Company's Political and Military Committee papers in **L/MIL/1** contain no references to southern Africa. The Committee's home correspondence **L/MIL/2** does contain many relevant documents, but the series is disordered and access is difficult. However, because most of the same and together with additional documents in **L/MIL/2** originate



from the Board's role in liaison with other government departments over military matters, these subjects are covered in the series of Board's military papers in **L/MIL/5/499-507**, discussed in section 5.3.

#### *Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee*

The Company's Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee papers comprise Minutes **L/P&J/1/1-10**, from 1834-1858; Reports **L/P&J/1/12-16** and References **L/P&J/17-83**. They include coverage on the Company's interest in opening trade to Mozambique in 1836, some routine matters of shipping expenses of Dickson, Burnies and Co. at the Cape, their attempt to export sheep from the Cape to improve breeds in India; and the proposal to transport convicts from India to Cape. Minutes of 1836-41 in **L/P&J/1/2-3** and reports **L/P&J/1/12** contain details of correspondence and arrangements with the agents with regard to steamer supplies, fuel, sheep breeding exports and bills for payment from 1837-40.

#### *Finance and Home Committee*

The Company's Finance and Home Committee was primarily concerned with major financial subjects, other than those dealt with by the Accountant General's Department. Of relevance here are the aspects of financial policy of the British Government as it impacted on India and other associated places, including banking, bullion, currency and exchange, pay, public expenditure, mails, marine questions etc. The Finance and Home Committee's relevant papers comprise Minutes **L/F/1/5-52** 1836-1857 and reports **L/F/1/53-99**.

The minutes of the Finance and Home Committee **L/F/1/1-47** cover the winding up of the Company's own Agency from 1834

to 1836, the transfer of pension payments at Cape to Commissary of Cape Government, the appointment of Dickson, Burnies and Co. as agents to the Company and the range of business they dealt with on the Company's behalf until 1858. This involved mainly routine payments, claims for pensions and the supply of coal to Company steamships, but there are also references to purchases of horses for the Company's armies in India from Cape, the discovery of coal at Natal and Mozambique, and the erection of lighthouses on the Cape coast. The reports of the Finance and Home Committee **L/F/1/53-89** arise from the same subjects as the minutes, covering 1834-54.

The Finance Department Home Correspondence in **L/F/2/7-170** includes the Committee's correspondence with Dickson, Burnies & Co. mainly on pension payments at the Cape.

#### *Appointment records*

Papers on Dickson, Burnies' appointment are in Home Correspondence **E/1/272** and Finance and Home Committee minutes **L/F/1/4**, reports **L/F/1/55** and correspondence **L/F/2/7** and **L/F/2/11**. An extract of their appointment is also in Establishment Returns **L/AG/30/6**.

### **5.5. THE RECORDS OF OPERATIONS OF THE AGENCIES AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1793-1858**

#### **5.5.1. THE COMPANY'S OWN AGENCY AT THE CAPE, 1793-1836**

The Agency at the Cape was the focal point of Company activities in southern Africa from 1795 to 1803 and from 1808 to 1836 - its only establishment in the region. The records which arose from the activities of the Agency are scattered throughout the East India Company's archives, and have been drawn together here.

### **Agency of the Secret Committee**

For the first two years of its existence (1793-95), the Agent at the Cape functioned under instructions from the Company's Secret Committee. The Agent's wartime duties as Commissary at the Cape until 1794 were reported to the Secret Committee. They are located in Cape Factory Records **G/9/26** (1794-1795), **L/P&S/19** and after his return from St Helena in **G/9/1** and **G/9/6** (1795-1800). There are also stray letters from the Agent to the Secret Committee in **E/1/94** (1795-1796 - and duplicates of those in **G/9/6** and **G/9/26** and **L/P&S/19**). These are all probably the original incoming letters noted in the Minutes of the Secret Committee **L/P&S/1/9**. Some of the original incoming letters from Pringle to the Secret Committee 1794-95 are in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records additional papers **G/9/26** and Political and Secret Miscellaneous records **L/P&S/19**. A few letters in from Pringle to the Secret Committee and other letters concerning the Company and the Cape from 1795 to 1807 are in the Company's Home Correspondence miscellaneous letters received **E/1/94-116**.

After 1795, when Pringle was directed by the Company's Secretary and the Committee of Correspondence, fewer secret matters are recorded - only two further letters to the Secret Committee on wartime intelligence in 1808 and 1815 in **G/9/26**.

After 1798, and in peacetime, secret business tailed off, but occasional secret matters were forwarded to the Secret Committee and these are in **G/9/26** (1808, 1815), and **G/9/6** 1795-1800 and **G/9/7-8** 1814 and 1816. Most of the letters concern shipping and convoy arrangements during wartime. The only existing letter from the Secret Committee to the

Agent is recorded in the Minutes of the Secret Committee  
L/P&S/1/10 (1812).

### **Established Company Agency**

#### *Agent's Instructions*

The only surviving copy of the more detailed instructions issued to any of the Cape Agents are those issued to John Pringle in 1807, which are located in a volume containing paragraphs for letters to the Agency drafted by the Accountant General's department, L/AG/29/1/14.

#### *Defence of the Company's charter*

To the Company, the most important function that its Agent at the Cape performed, was to uphold the Company's charter. The charter, the British acts and regulations on the conduct of trade to and from the Cape as set out in Statutes and Charters A/2, British Acts V/1, local proclamations; the Agents' deeds of covenant O/1/59 and O/1/234 and the Agents' instructions of 1807 L/AG/29/1/14, provided the documentary framework for the Agency's operations until 1836. These were supplemented by direct orders and written instructions received from the Company as necessary.

Breaches of the charter at the Cape are reported in detail in the Cape Factory Records G/9, especially the case of the *Lady Flora*, (1821-1825) G/9/5,9, and G/9/16 and the seizure of the *Marchioness of Ely* and *General Hewett* and in the Legal Adviser's papers L/L/6/2; and other related references in Court Minutes B/173, Committee of Correspondence D/7-9, Home Correspondence E/1/257 and Accountant-General's Correspondence L/AG/29/1/14.

### ***Correspondence with the Company's Secretary***

#### *Reports to the Secretary*

After the second occupation of the Cape when the Agency was on a permanent footing, the Agent corresponded on ordinary matters chiefly with the Company's Secretary. A few of Agent John Pringle's letters to the Secretary are in Home Correspondence, miscellaneous letters received **E/1/90**, (to the Secret Committee **E/1/94**, 1795-96 and duplicates of those in **G/9/6** and **G/9/26** and **L/P&S/19**); **E/1/108**, **110-111**; **113** 1804-06, and other Agency employees whilst they were in London).

#### *The Cape of Good Hope 'Factory' (or Agency) Records*

The series chiefly comprises letters from the Agents to the Company and copies of the Agents' own correspondence. The existing Agency correspondence in **G/9**, the Court Minutes **B/122-191** and Accountant General's correspondence in **L/AG/29/1/14** indicate that the Agents wrote a fairly regular quarterly 'packet' of letters to the Secretary in London, in which the ordinary business transacted there on behalf of the Company in the previous months was reported. If it was necessary, special separate letters on particular subjects were sent to the Company immediately.

The bulk of the Agency's surviving letters to the Company and copies of its correspondence dates from 1807, when the Agency was placed on<sup>a</sup>/<sub>L</sub>normal, stable footing under the control of the Court of Directors. These records have been placed (perhaps incongruously) in the artificially constituted class of Factory Records **G**, in the series 'Cape of Good Hope Factory Records' **G/9**. The records comprise letters from the Agent to the Company, the Secretary and Secret Committee and copies of letters received at and sent from the Agency; some accounting records and miscellaneous

documents. The series G/9 is not similar in character to other Factory Records series. It does not contain regular sub-series of proceedings, consultations and diaries which are evident in many other regular factories' records.

The regular letters from the Agent at the Cape to the East India Company, together with enclosures and copies of relevant correspondence are in G/9/1-9 (Nov 1799-Jun 1803; 1808-1828)<sup>are</sup> all bound in the same volume. Additional similar material found in the unsorted Cape Factory material, placed in G/9/26 (1802-16) and extracts in G/9/9A (1829-31). G/9/9A is a disparate volume of extracts from letters (1829-31) in the second series, G/9/6-9. They may have been extracted in this volume to present important material to East India Company committees or meetings, or of special interest to a particular department but the precise use of this volume is uncertain. It is similar to the volume of extracts from Accountant General's correspondence (L/A/G/29/1/14) and may also have originated in the Accountant General's department. The letters cover all aspects of the Agency's work.

Volumes in G/9/10-24 comprise what could be described as copies of the Agency's 'home correspondence'. The Agents sent these copies of all Agency correspondence to the Company as a record of business, including those written from and sent to persons at the Cape; as well as with India and China and other Company-controlled agencies or settlements. Unlike letters to the Company from India in E/4 and F/4 the enclosures or accompanying attachments to the Agents letters to the Company, were not separated and sent to the Board. These copies of Agency letters were sent by the Agent as a record of the work of the Company's

representatives and the proper conduct of Agency affairs, or as background to matters referred in the letters in.

The copies of the earlier correspondence were bound separately into the volumes of letters to the Company in G/9/1-5 and G/9/7-8 (1806-1823) and then in separate volumes of letters received G/9/10-17 (1808-36) and G/9/18-24 (1808-36) with additional documents in G/9/26 (1794-95). These letters are to and from the governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, St Helena, Mauritius, the Agents at Mauritius and Rio de Janeiro, the Select Committee of Supercargoes at Canton, and locally from the Governor of the Cape and Colonial Secretary, the Admiral commanding the Cape Station, Comptroller of Customs, commanders of East India Company ships, individual company servants and Cape residents.

Although there are no consultations or proceedings, either in the Cape Factory Records G/9 nor in the later Proceedings class P, for the Cape of Good Hope Agency, there are however, two documents called 'diaries of transactions' at the agency 1808-1809 in G/9/1, which may be the remnants of the 'day-books' that the Agents were directed to keep in their covenants (see O/1/59 and O/1/234). They are probably the closest thing to the diaries in other factory record series.

The later letters from the Agent to the Company are similar in form to the incoming Indian letters, in that paragraphs are numbered sequentially in reply to the numbered paragraphs of Company in-coming letters. Like the letters from India, Cape letters were also sent in duplicate and triplicate, for safety.

There are no indexes to the Cape Factory Records G/9, but one of the purposes of this study was to produce a complete detailed archival listing of the whole series, which included the additional papers on the Cape from the unsorted and unclassified Factory Records papers, now in G/9/25 and G/9/26 (see G/9 in Appendix, Vol. 2). To facilitate access, a chronological list of the correspondence has been drawn up at the end of the listing to bring together letters from the same year which have been scattered throughout the series (see G/9 section, Appendix, Volume 2). The index at the end of Volume 2 now provides good general coverage of the G/9 descriptive listing.

As they are the most substantial surviving records of the Cape of Good Hope Agency, the Cape Factory Records are invaluable for the study of the East India Company's activities in this part of the southern hemisphere. The correspondence reflects chiefly the limits of the Company's interest at the Cape.

A fairly good picture of the Cape Agency business can be built up for the period 1795 to 1836, particularly if used in conjunction with the central East India Company records, the Minutes of the Court of Directors B, the papers of the Committee of Correspondence D, and the East India Company Home Correspondence E/1. The Cape-related records yield a good deal of information on the nature of Company policy towards the Cape and throw much light on the development of the colony's early trade.<sup>31</sup>

The Cape of Good Hope Factory Records are however not a very valuable source for the study of the local history of the Cape during the Agency's existence. They illustrate



very little of the daily lives of the inhabitants, colonised or colonisers, apart from brief mentions of a slave rebellion, severe hurricanes G/9/22, droughts, smallpox epidemics G/9/3,7,12,19, Lord Charles Somerset's Cape horse breeding scheme G/9/8,14,20-22, Pringle and Hawkins' attempts to introduce Cape wine to England G/9/4-9a,16-17,19,21-23 and India G/9/1-7,9,11,16,23; and some references to the sixth Cape frontier war of 1834 G/9/17,24.

#### *Agency accounting records*

The Agent appears to have sent quarterly and annual copies of the Agency's accounts to London. Some accounting records sent from the Agency itself which have survived are in G/9/2-5. A cashbook, wastebook, ledger and journal (1812-13) are in G/9/3, but many others noted in the Agents' letters have not survived. Some were destroyed in the 1860s, but most were copied into the Company's larger 'General' ledgers, L/AG/1/1 in summary form. A quantity of original accounting records Cape Agency invoices, journals and ledgers for 1811-13 covering 1814-1836 were probably destroyed in 1860.<sup>32</sup> The replies given by the Accountant General in Home Correspondence extract paragraphs for the Agency, L/AG/29/1/14 detail much of the accounting procedures and financial state of the Agency.

#### *The supply of St Helena*

One of the most important functions of the Cape Agency was to keep the Company's settlement at St Helena supplied from the Cape. After 1795, during the Agency's existence at the Cape the Agent was the nearest Company official to the island settlement. The details of this business as reported by the Agent are in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9 and also in the St Helena Consultations G/32/55-56,77;

letters from St Helena to the Court G/32/134-138, 146-149; Despatches to St Helena G/32/150-159. The St Helena records<sup>as a whole</sup> have not been included in the survey because they have not been fully listed, have no indexes and because the business transacted during the Cape Agency period is now accessible through the Cape Factory Records listing.

#### *The supply of eastern goods to the Cape*

The secondary Agency function of supplying the Cape with Company monopoly eastern goods will be found in the G/9 records, in the Indian presidency records E/4 as well as in the Canton factory records for supplies of tea. Because the Canton records are not indexed, only a sample of records have been presented to show that the opposite side of the correspondence exists and can be traced if necessary. Sample surveys of the Canton consultations G/12/163 and G/12/220 reveal the dependence of the Cape Agency on the Canton factory for supplies of tea and other China goods.

### 5.5.2. APPOINTED COMMERCIAL AGENTS AT THE CAPE

#### *Correspondence*

After 1836, the chief business undertaken by commercial agents on behalf of the Company at the Cape was the supply of the Company's steamships with coal. The dawn of steam navigation via the Cape had roughly coincided with the end of the Company's own Agency at the Cape and from the mid-1830s Cape Town was a convenient point for taking on supplies of coal. Other routine matters handled were the payment of East India Company pensions at the Cape, granting passages for individuals, shipping concerns, Customs disputes and provision of supplies for troops and invalids.

Most of the records dealing with these matters are in Financial Home Correspondence L/F/2 (1836-54) and the correspondence relates to the appointment of Dickson, Burnies and Co. and the range of business which they undertook on behalf of the Company - mainly about pension payments at the Cape.

**5.6. OTHER COMPANY/BOARD INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA INITIATED IN LONDON, INDIA OR AT ST HELENA WHICH FELL OUTSIDE THE OPERATIONS OF THE COMPANY'S AGENCIES AT THE CAPE, OR IN WHICH THE AGENCIES WERE ONLY INDIRECTLY INVOLVED, 1793-1858**

During the established Company Agency at the Cape and during the period when commercial agents acted on behalf of the Company, a number of matters emerge from the archives of both the Company and the Board concerning southern Africa which cannot easily be included in the sections above. They are matters initiated by the Company or the Board in London, or by the Indian or St Helena governments, which either did not form part of the Agency's normal operations, or in which the Agency had only some indirect involvement. Of particular note is the consistency of appearance of documents in the Board of Control's records which are scattered across the archives. These subjects have been grouped together below in the following themes.

**5.6.1. Defence, military co-operation and interchangeability**

There are many references in the archives to instances of mutual support and co-operation between the Cape and India in military and naval operations and emergencies. The British government initiated the attack on Dutch forces at the Cape with the support of the Company in 1795. During his retreat to the safety of St Helena in 1795, John

Pringle had provided Admiral Elphinstone with local intelligence in the planning of the attack. Pringle's contribution is found in St Helena Consultations G/32/58 and in his letters to the Secret Committee in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9/1,6 and G/9/26.

The Company's ships *Bombay Castle* L/MAR/B/125G, *Exeter* L/MAR/B/138F and *Brunswick* L/MAR/B/349C were fitted out as men-of-war and assisted in the operation.<sup>33</sup> Other papers on the capture of the Cape are in Home Correspondence: miscellaneous letters received E/1/90 and Correspondence with India: Bengal letters received E/4/56-57 and St Helena Consultations G/32/58 and references to the Company's reward to Elphinstone are in Committee of Correspondence minutes D/1-2 and Committee of Correspondence reports D/37.

During the first occupation of the Cape the Company had accumulated a number of its own intelligence papers on the Cape, which no doubt informed the planning of the operations of the second occupation in 1806. An example is a memorandum on the Cape by Sir John Murray, Military Auditor General, Bengal Army, located in the Home Miscellaneous class H/388. Reports of Company forces' involvement in the second occupation of the Cape are in Letters from the Company to the Board, E/2/2 Board's Collections F/4/209, Secret letters to Bengal L/P&S/4/4 and the Minutes of the Secret Committee L/P&S/1/9.

The Company's military establishments in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and St Helena had recruited men at the Cape from 1795 for which references have been found in St Helena Consultations G/32/58; Cape Factory Records G/9/6; Home Correspondence: miscellaneous letters received E/1/94; Correspondence with India: Bengal letters received

**E/4/56-57**; letters received from Madras **E/4/324**; Despatches to Bengal **E/4/646**; Board's Collections **F/4/3** and **F/4/74** and in Madras political and military consultations **P/253/57**.

A number of Cape men (and their descendants) served in the Company armies in India and in St Helena, for example the Van Renens of the Bengal Army and the Cloetes of the Madras Army. Lieutenant Henry Daniel Cloete of the Madras Infantry made a claim for a medal in the War of the Axe, 1847-49, despatches to Madras **E/4/988** and letters received from Madras **E/4/441**. There is also evidence of the interchangeability of military and civil personnel between India and the Cape, for example George, Earl Macartney had been a Governor of Madras before he became Governor of the Cape in 1796; Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, an army commander in Bengal, went as an invalid to the Cape (see Correspondence with India: letters received from Bengal **E/4/101**) and substituted as Governor in 1821 (despatches to Bengal **E/4/705** and Board's Collections **F/4/659**); Sir Peregrine Maitland, Commander-in-chief of the Madras Army became Governor of the Cape in 1844; Sir Henry Pottinger, Indian Army became Governor of the Cape in 1847, (despatches to Madras **E/4/970**), before returning to India as Governor of Madras. He was succeeded at the Cape in 1852 by Sir Harry Smith, another experienced military commander in India.

In 1806 a proposal was made to strengthen the Cape garrison with Sepoys from the Company's Indian regiments. There are scattered references to the discussion on the proposal in Court Minutes **B/143-144**, Committee of Correspondence Minutes **D/3**, Minutes of the Board of Control **F/1/3**, Board of Control Home Correspondence **F/2/2**; Home Miscellaneous **H/88**, Minutes of the Secret Committee **L/P&S/1/10**, and Secret Correspondence with India: Board's drafts

**L/P&S/5/541,567**. Military convicts court martialed in India were also sent to the Cape. The agreements securing this are in Correspondence with India: despatches to Indian and Bengal **E/4/766**, Minutes of the Secret Committee **L/P&J/1/4**.

The Agent at the Cape provided local assistance in the naval raids on the French islands and capture of Mauritius in 1810 with references in Home Miscellaneous **H/701**, Cape of Good Hope Factory Records **G/9/7**, and **G/9/10**. The Agent had also assisted in arrangements for emergency aid in the mutinies in India in 1809, noted in Cape Factory Records **G/9/7** and in 1815, recorded in Board of Control Minutes **F/1/6** and Cape of Good Hope Factory Records **G/9/26**.

On receiving news of the Xhosa uprising of 1851, the Governor-General of India made immediate preparations to assist the Cape authorities. These references are in Correspondence with India: Bengal Despatches **E/4/812** and Board's Collections **F/4/2430**.

Most intensively, during the Sepoy Rebellion the Indian governments relied heavily upon military reinforcements, naval transport, horses, fodder and recuperative facilities at the Cape. The activity is documented in a number of references: Court Minutes **B/234-236**; Home correspondence miscellanies **E/1/307,309**; letters to the Board of Control **E/2/25-27**; Despatches to Bengal **E/4/837, 839, 842, 845, 847, 850-855**; Board's Collections **F/4/2701, 2719**; Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee **L/F/1/47** and in Military Miscellaneous series: Board of Control military papers **L/MIL/5/499,501,503,509-510** and **519**. Captain Griffiths Jenkins' emergency mission from India to obtain reinforcements from the Cape is documented in Correspondence with India: letters received from India and

Bengal **E/4/275**, Board's Collections **F/4/2719** and India Secret Consultations **P/SEC/IND/209**.

During the Sepoy Rebellion Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape, agreed to the request from the Governor-General of India to accept the King of Delhi in exile at King Williams Town in the eastern Cape. Although it never transpired the preparations for arrangements unfolded in Board of Control's Political and Secret Home Correspondence **L/P&S/3/56,60** and **101**. Grey also offered to receive mutinous regiments from India at the Cape but this was rejected by the Company. This is recorded in letters to the Board of Control **E/2/26**, despatches to Bengal **E/4/853**, Board of Control military papers **L/MIL/5/504**, Board's political home correspondence **L/P&S/3/111**, and **L/P&S/3/137**.

In 1816 the Cape Governor Lord Charles Somerset proposed a scheme to export Cape horses to India to serve in cavalry regiments. The proposal had been forwarded by the Agent to the Company and also from Somerset to the Colonial Office who had approached the Board of Control about it. The Company however, had declined to take up the proposal. The records concerning Somerset's proposals are scattered in several classes: letters to the Board of Control **E/2/5**, letters from the Board **E/2/32**, Correspondence with India: despatches to Bengal **E/4/692**, Minutes of the Board of Control **F/1/6**, Board's out-letters **F/2/4** and Cape Factory Records **G/9/8,14** and **21**.

The need to obtain suitable horses from the Cape was revived again, this time by the military establishments in India in the 1830s, during the North West Frontier campaign of 1846, and through the 1840s, when Company army officers from all the Indian presidencies visited the Cape as

remount officers to select horses for immediate use and for breeding. There are many references to the selection of horses in Correspondence with India **E/4**, Board's Collections **F/4**, Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee **L/F/1** and Board's secret home correspondence **L/P&S/3**.

Cape horses were heavily in demand during the Sepoy Rebellion and to meet the demand a Company remount agency was resumed at the Cape between 1857 and 1858. Papers on the Remount Agency expenditure are in Miscellaneous accounts **L/AG/24/29/1** and **5** and the accounts of the Remount Agency have been placed in Board's military papers **L/MIL/5/519**. Records of the sections and services of the Accountant General's department include **L/AG/24/29/1** and **L/AG/24/29/5** which comprise a series of vouchers, receipts, invoices and copies of correspondence, audit papers and memoranda from the Commissary Department at Cape for War Office expenditure at the Cape on behalf of the Company for assistance during the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857-58. Further complementary records of transactions of the remount agency at the Cape, have been placed in **L/MIL/5/519**.

In the late 1850s several proposals emerged to recruit Africans from the Cape and Natal for army service in India and the West Indies. Papers on these proposals are in letters to the Board **E/2/25,27**, letters from the Board **E/2/48-49**, despatches to India and Bengal **E/4/848-849,852** and Board of Control military papers **L/MIL/5/502,504**.

#### **5.6.2. Security of Company shipping**

Surviving minutes of the Committee of Shipping in **L/MAR/1/10-11** show that the Company initiated, sponsored and benefited from several improvements to navigation at



the Cape: the erection of lighthouses and floating lights on the Cape coast, and improvement in communication with ships. The Company also had to negotiate with the Admiralty over arrangements for the transport of supplies from the Cape to St Helena. Company marine business involving the Cape continued until the withdrawal of the Company's shipping monopoly in 1834. In these matters the Agency had liaised with the local Cape authorities to have them carried out. Examples are in Court Minutes **B/154**, Home Correspondence: miscellanies **E/1/247,297**, Bengal letters received **E/4/90**, letters received from India and Bengal **E/4/210,235**, letters received from Madras **E/4/325**; Board's Collections **F/4/2394,2564**, Cape Factory Records **G/9/2,7** and Finance and Home Committee minutes **L/F/1/34,37,40**.

New surveys and charts increased the security of Company shipping round the coast during the first half of the nineteenth century (see also section 5.7.): the Bird Island surveys of 1816 are recorded in Minutes of the Committee of Shipping **L/MAR/1/24**; William Walker's survey work and chart of the south-east coast of Africa of 1818 are presented in Home Correspondence: miscellanies **E/1/254**; and Minutes of the Committee of Shipping **L/MAR/1/7,24**; Captain William Owen's survey of the south coast, and his tables on longitude and latitude after completion of the southern African survey are referred to in Court Minutes **B/174**; Minutes of the Committee of Correspondence **D/8**; Home Correspondence: miscellaneous letters received **E/1/146,257**; Correspondence with India: despatches to Bengal **E/4/706**, despatches to Bombay **E/4/1041**; Accountant General's department: ledgers **L/AG/1/1/32** and Commerce Journals **L/AG/1/6/26-27**. Captain Moresby's survey of the Mozambique Channel is documented in correspondence with India: letters received from Bombay **E/4/504**, despatches to Bombay

**E/4/1044**; Board's Collections **F/4/725** and Bombay Marine Consultations **P/411/78**.

### **5.6.3. The development of the Company's trade in southern Africa**

There are many general references to trade between India and Mozambique in Correspondence with the East **E/3** and Correspondence with India **E/4**, particularly to and from Bombay, for example despatches to Madras **E/4/873-895**, despatches to Bombay **E/4/1065,1106**; Board's Collections **F/4/2061** and Bombay commercial reports **P/419/40**. Company interest in opening trade between India and Mozambique increased in 1806/7 and is recorded in Home Miscellaneous **H/494** and Minutes of the Secret Committee **L/P&S/1/10**.

In 1810 papers were compiled for the expedition of the Company's ships *Ternate* and *Sylph* under Captain Smee and Lieutenant Hardy which was to explore the east coast of Africa, to try to find evidence for verifying the hypothesis that the biblical King Solomon's Ophir was on the Zambezi river in Mozambique. These papers are in the Marine Miscellaneous series **L/MAR/C/586** and Bombay Public Consultations **P/344/34**. In 1836 interest in the area revived and evidence of this is in the Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee **L/P&J/1/2,23** and Board of Control's Political General correspondence **L/P&S/3/122-123**.

There are several nineteenth century references to trade with Angola and Delagoa Bay which mostly illustrate that the St Helena government was required to find other avenues for supplies of sheep, cattle and grain than could be relied upon from the Cape Agency. From a sample taken, (concentrating particularly on the non-Cape business),

evidence emerges from the Despatches to the Company from St Helena, of the island's occasional dependence on Angola for supplies, for example in 1827. These incidences are recorded in St Helena Consultations G/32/82-83, G/32/155; and in the journals of the voyages of the *Georgiana* L/MAR/B/156E-F and *St Helena* L/MAR/B/327A. The continuity of the Cape-St Helena business during the Agency period can now be traced through the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9.

#### **5.6.4. Exchange of resources**

After 1806 when trade was formally extended between the Cape and India items other than those which the Indian governments were required to supply to the Cape Agency were also being exchanged between the Cape and India. For example, the exchange of plants between botanical gardens at the Cape and those in the Indian presidencies in Home Correspondence E/1/100, letters received from Bengal E/4/60, letters received from India and Bengal E/4/271, letters received from Madras E/4/327, Bengal despatches E/4/648, despatches to Bombay E/4/1014 and Bengal Public Consultations P/5/12. Cape hops sent to improve beer brewing in India are referred to in correspondence with India: despatches to India and Bengal E/4/760.

Merino sheep and horses from the Cape were exported to improve the breeds and increase the armies' stocks in India. Many references to sheep can be found in correspondence with India E/4, and also in Board's Collections F/4/817, 976, 1618, 1669, 1789, 1833 Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee L/P&J/1/3-4, and References to the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee L/P&J/1/30 and to exports of horses in Board's Collections F/4/1581, 1651, 1728, 2363, 2400, 2701.

In the early 1840s coal discoveries in Natal and Mozambique prompted the Company to investigate whether the supplies could be marshalled for its steamships at the Cape. There is a number of references to the coal discoveries and their subsequent investigation in correspondence with India: letters received from India and Bengal **E/4/178**, letters received from Bombay **E/4/539,542,547**, despatches to India and Bengal **E/4/770,773**, despatches to Bombay **E/4/1073**; Board's Collections **F/4/1868,1944,1960,1978,1994**; Minutes of the Finance and Home Committee **L/F/1/10,12,15,16**; and Bombay marine consultations **P/413/5-7**. Exchanges in resources even extended to wildlife. The export of two giraffes from the Cape at the request of the Raja of Alwar is documented in correspondence with India: letters received from India and Bengal **E/4/200** and Board's Collections **F/4/2194**; and cochineal insects obtained from the Cape are referred to in correspondence with India: letters received from India and Bengal **E/4/157**.

#### **5.6.5. Slavery and labour**

The Company charged its Bombay government with the supervision of the suppression of the slave trade on the East African coast. Captain William Owen's involvement during his survey of the coast may be found in Board's Collections **F/4/905**. Other papers on the end of the slave trade in Mozambique are in Board's Collections **F/4/2536,2614,2684**, Bombay Political Proceedings **P/394/60** and Bombay Political Proceedings **P/395/8**.

The Natal government's request for supplies of Indian labourers to work in the colony in the 1850s and subsequent discussions in London and India are recorded in letters to the Board of Control **E/2/27**, letters from the Board **E/2/48-49**; Correspondence with India: letters received from India

and Bengal **E/4/267**, letters received from Madras **E/4/439**, despatches to India and Bengal **E/4/834, 836, 849**, despatches to Madras **E/4/987**; Board's collections **F/4/2677**; Minutes of the Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee **L/P&J/1/9-10**, Revenue, Legislative, Judicial Committee: Board's emigration home correspondence **L/P&J/1/84, 86-87**, and in Madras public consultations **P/249/55**.

#### **5.6.6. Other miscellaneous involvement**

The Company received a number of miscellaneous requests which in some way concerned southern Africa, for example for assistance, humanitarian aid, patronage, or for scientific research. Examples include a financial contribution for the relief of the new English settlers in the eastern Cape in 1824 in Home Miscellaneous **H/740** and Home Correspondence miscellanies **E/1/260**; requests to explore the interior of the Cape by a former Company servant Lieutenant Francis Studley, Bombay Infantry, in Home correspondence: miscellaneous letters received **E/1/140** and miscellanies **E/1/255**; the Company refused patronage for Major W Fraser's surveys and engravings of the Cape in Home correspondence: miscellanies **E/1/245**; but contributed to donations for erecting an English Church in Cape Town (now St George's cathedral) noted in Court Minutes **B/181**, Committee of Correspondence reports **D/78** and Home Miscellaneous series **H/740**.

Examples of scientific involvement include Captain George Everest (Bengal Army)'s references to geodetical operations at the Cape in miscellaneous letters received **E/1/145** and miscellanies **E/1/258**; a note from Sir John Herschel in 1847 forwarding copies of his astronomical observations at the Cape for the Company's library in miscellaneous letters received **E/1/189**. Lieutenant Manvell Johnson was sent to

the Cape from St Helena to gather information from the observatory to assist the construction of an observatory on St Helena - see St Helena Consultations G/32/90.

There are numerous letters to and from individuals at the Cape, mainly concerning trade or personal requests for Company support, scattered throughout the archives, but particularly in Home Correspondence E/1. The Cape was visited by many Company civil and military servants and their families in order to recuperate from the ravages of the Indian climate. There are many scattered references to individuals claiming payments and assistance from the Agent, and these are well documented in Cape of Good Hope Factory Records G/9 and Auditor's references D/147-252.

#### **5.7. REFERENCE COLLECTIONS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE BOARD OF CONTROL.**

##### **5.7.1. *Official Publications***

Collections of parliamentary papers from the Company and Board periods, dating back to the 18th century were absorbed into the records of the Parliamentary Branch of the India Office. The relevant series Parliamentary Collections L/PARL/2 includes collections of Parliamentary Papers on subjects or areas which were mainly of interest to the Company and Board of Control. Papers on similar subjects were brought together and bound in volumes.

The collections are arranged mainly by subject and date mostly from the second half of the 18th century onwards. The collections also include papers relating to other areas in which Company had an interest. The printed and published parliamentary versions are located in the Official Publications Class Parliamentary Papers series V/4.

Of particular interest here are the references to Company interests in southern Africa in the Inquiry into the Affairs of the East India Company 1812-13 and 1830 in L/PARL/2/55, 60, 64, 66, 69-70, 72-74 which contain a number of references to the Cape and also to trade with Mozambique. The printed versions are in Parliamentary Papers V/4.

The class of Official Publications V contains reference copies of various British and Indian official publications which were received by the Company and its successors for reference purposes. A reason for this was that since the Board of Control was nominally a government department, it was entitled to receive copies of all relevant papers. These collections were brought together in the India Office. British Acts in V/1 contain original printings of most acts relating to India up to 1837 and include many of the acts and regulations relating to the Company's trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope. The Company's own copies are in the class of Charters and Treaties A/2. Parliamentary papers V/4 contain the printed, officially published versions of those originating in and prepared by the Company in L/PARL/2.

#### **5.7.2. *Charts, maps and plans***

Because the sea route to India lay along the entire southern African coast, it was of considerable importance to the East India Company to have access to the most current charting and mapping of the coast. The safety of its shipping in those notoriously dangerous waters, where they were obliged to sail,<sup>34</sup> was vital.

A reference collection of charts and maps began to accumulate within the East India Company during the eighteenth century as a result of developments in land and

sea surveying and which were essential as reference material for the Company's officials in London. It is possible that the Board of Control maintained its own collection of maps, which may explain the inclusion of some of the more colonial mapping on southern Africa when the two collections were later subsumed in the India Office map reference collection, class X. The map collection forms an important part of the official archive, illustrating the expansion of East India Company trade and British administration of India.

The collection contains manuscript and printed maps, plans, charts, drawings, atlases and geographical memoirs relating to India and adjacent countries, and to East India Company shipping routes. The map collection is chiefly representative of India and other areas of Asia, but significant areas of southern Africa are also present. Coverage of the southern African coastline may be found in surveys, charts and harbour plans from Angola, Namibia, the Cape and Natal coasts to Mozambique.

The X class features the important work of the East India Company Hydrographers Alexander Dalrymple<sup>35</sup> (1779-1806), James Horsburgh (1810-1836) and John Walker (1836-1873). Dalrymple had argued that there was a need for proper co-ordination and publication of hydrographical information from journals deposited in East India House by returning ships' captains. The journals (located in classes L/MAR/A-B) included daily observations for position, hourly observations of conditions at sea, notes of land and dangers observed, often hand-drawn coastal profiles, and sometimes plans of harbours.<sup>36</sup>



The Company had not, by the late eighteenth century, established any system of chart compilation.<sup>37</sup> However this changed, when its ship *Colebrooke* was wrecked on Anvil Rock in False Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope in August 1778. The loss of the ship provided the immediate reason for Dalrymple's appointment as Hydrographer to the Company the following year.

Dalrymple enlisted the help of ships' officers to provide information, including sitings of rocks and shoals from journals, in order to correct errors and propose the best tracks for the Company's ships to follow at different seasons. The analysis and compilation of such valuable observations would alert captains on future voyages to particular dangers and would go a long way to prevent further wrecks.<sup>38</sup> After the loss of the *Colebrooke*, Dalrymple paid particular attention to work on False Bay observations. He assembled and printed a series of accounts of ships sighting the rock.<sup>39</sup>

Dalrymple's work was dominated by production of selected coastal charts and harbour plans. Aided by his examination of the recorded information from ships journals, Dalrymple regularly refined and updated the charts with more accurate information recorded by individual captains.

After his work on False Bay, Dalrymple concentrated on the Indian Ocean, which included small scale work on the Mozambique channel, between 1782 and 1783.<sup>40</sup> This was followed by a series of coastal charts covering the most frequented coasts in the Indian Ocean and East Indies. The coastal charts included Madagascar, Mozambique channel and the east coast of Africa to Linde.<sup>41</sup>

Dalrymple was appointed to carry out the official inquiry in 1783 into the loss of the Company's ship *Grosvenor*<sup>42</sup> which also included proposals as to the means of rescuing survivors on the south east coast of Africa. A number of references to the loss of the ship and Dalrymple's enquiry may also be found in Court Minutes B, Committee of Correspondence papers D and Correspondence E. Between 1784 and 1785 he turned his attention to smaller-scale charts of the Indian Ocean, particularly the Mozambique channel which was more frequented by English ships.<sup>43</sup> Dalrymple's series of five small-format charts of the Mozambique channel was issued in 1790-91.<sup>44</sup>

Office reference sets of Dalrymple's works were bound into albums, which form five overlapping reference collections: X/3627/1-2 covering 1769-1802; X/3624/1 covering 1769-1807 with newer material and later states; X/3625 covering 1775 to 1781 which was submitted as the product of the fulfilment of his contract with the Company, and X/3626/1 which includes prints from plates hired out by Dalrymple to the commercial chartmaker Samuel Dunn for publication as part of *New Directory of the East Indies* (1787).

The coverage of the southern African coast is made more valuable as Dalrymple reproduced plans from other sources as insets alongside his own work. Dalrymple's work on southern Africa depicts selected stretches of coastline and harbour plans of Angola, Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique.

James Horsburgh continued to use Dalrymple's plates and published a few new charts of his own on southern Africa. Through the East India Company's Chart Office, he continued to issue sets of charts for Company's voyages to ships'

captains including the remaining supplies of Dalrymple's work. Increasingly, as the Admiralty produced more authoritative charts, Horsburgh purchased and included these with the issued sets of his own and Dalrymple's work. Horsburgh concentrated on the production of oceanic charts, to accompany his book of sailing directions to the East Indies. His southern African charts comprise a chart of the south east coast of Africa and plan of the River Knysna (1818) and a plan or eye-sketch of Bird Islands, Doddington Rocks and adjacent coasts (1816), which are located in **X/10305**, **X/3628/1** and **X/3634/1**.

John Walker took over Horsburgh's charts, revised many of his engraved plates and also moved away from harbour plans to oceanic charting. He did not produce additions to charting of southern Africa, because after the 1820s the survey of the southern African coast was largely transferred to the Admiralty, whose charts he continued to issue alongside the earlier harbour plans, e.g. **X/3635**. In the 1860s the publication of nautical charts was transferred to the Admiralty while the India Office concentrated on the topographical mapping of India.

Dalrymple and Horsburgh's work for the Company was distinct from the commercially produced charting of their time and was of extreme importance in the years before the early 1820s when the Admiralty took on the responsibility for charting and surveying the entire southern African coast. The reference collections also include a representative set of the Admiralty charts which largely superseded the Company's hydrographic work commencing with Captain W F Owen's survey of the coast of southern Africa from 1822 to 1825. Owen's surveys are located in **X/3634**.

Later interest in Africa in particular instances has ensured a certain degree of coverage for information and reference purposes in mainly modern military mapping, especially with the opening up of the interior of southern Africa in the nineteenth century. Single charts from the later Company and India Office period include 'a new map of Africa exhibiting its natural and political divisions drawn from the most recent materials' X/3547 (1832) and a map and view of Port Natal (Durban) X/10287 (1838).

Class W comprises maps originally located in the records of East India Company and India Office departments, attached to files of letters or bound into volumes. It also includes maps removed for reasons of security and preservation from volumes or files in the India Office Records and in order to facilitate access. A relevant example is 'Chart of South Africa embracing the Rev<sup>d</sup> David Livingstone's travels beyond Kolobeng and the Great Lake Ngami to Sisheke' by a surveyor at Bombay, 1853, W/F/4/2536.

References to many of the related papers surrounding the generation and dissemination of the charts and maps discussed here, are discussed in section 5.6.2. above.

In conclusion, this chapter synthesises the results of the survey of select series and classes in the East India Company's and Board of Control's archives, and isolates intellectually those found to contain sources for the study of southern Africa. It analyses the relevant sources found in relation to the functions of the Company and Board in the context of their involvement with southern Africa. It brings out the dynamics of the inter-relationships of Company, Board, British government and the Cape Agency (both the Company's own and their appointed commercial

agents) against the backdrop of wider East India Company operations. Overall this chapter is intended to give balance and weight to the results of the survey and to provide an introduction and guide to the archival presentation of data from the survey in the Appendix (Volume 2).

## Notes to Chapter 5

---

<sup>1</sup> The scheme in the table has been adapted from notes accompanying a training seminar to Oriental and India Office Collections staff by Dr. A.S. Cook, 7 and 14 Jun 1995.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The numbers of items within classes has been used as found throughout the inventory to the India Office Records in Martin Moir's *General Guide to the India Office Records* (London, 1988), pp. 127-275, unless changes have been made since publication.

<sup>3</sup> J. Shaw, *Charters relating to the East India Company from 1600 to 1761* (Madras, 1887), p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, *op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 80-82.

<sup>10</sup> East India Company, *By-laws, constitutions, orders and rules for the good governance of the Corporation of the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies and for the better carrying on and managing of the said Company* (London, 1774-1853); see IOR: V/27/220/6-8.

<sup>11</sup> P. Auber, *An analysis of the constitution of the East India Company*, (London, 1826), p. 184.

<sup>12</sup> The different secret committees and their distinct functions have not been adequately explained in the past. There is confusion in the descriptions of these committees and their records in the current India Office Records finding aids. There is a lack of clarity about the distinction between records of the Committee of Secrecy and the Secret Committee. After 1784 the Committee of Secrecy resumed its previous original function of the control of the protection of shipping until 1834. This function was not related to the functions of the statutory Secret Committee set up in 1784, which was the medium of liaison between the Company and the British government over confidential Indian matters. The confusion of the difference in functions of and records created by the two committees awaits full investigation.

<sup>13</sup> W. Foster, *A guide to the India Office Records 1600-1858* (London, 1966, reprinted from the 1919 edition), p. 5

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9; or belonged to the Auditor of Indian Accounts

<sup>15</sup> Moir, *General Guide*, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> M. Moir, *General Guide* p. 137 and M. Moir, 'A study of the history and organisation of the Political and Secret Departments of the East

17<sup>a</sup>

The likelihood of the Board's Collections having been Company's rather than Board's records was argued at India Office Records archivists meetings during 1997. The Company probably bound one of the many sets of collections in existence as the authoritative set seen and returned by the Board. The physical make-up and markings of the volumes are similar to other characteristically East India Company stationery (e.g. the vellum bindings). This proposition requires development and the presentation of further archival evidence.

---

India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office 1784-1919 with a summary list of records (unpublished Diploma in Archive and Administration thesis, University of London, 1966), p. 55.

16<sup>a</sup> *see foot of page*

<sup>17</sup> F.C. Danvers, *List of Factory Records of the Late East India Company Preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London*, (London 1897), p. v.

17a *see facing page*

<sup>18</sup> Moir, *General Guide*, p. 218.

<sup>19</sup> C.H. Philips, 'The Secret Committee of the East India Company', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* X (Pt 2) 1940, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 315.

<sup>21</sup> P. Lawson, *The East India Company - a history*, (London, 1993), p. 164.

<sup>22</sup> W. Foster, 'The India Board 1784-1858', in *Transactions of the Historical Society* (1918), p. 61.

<sup>23</sup> S.C. Hill, *Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records*, (London, 1927), p. vi.

<sup>24</sup> Moir, *General Guide*, p. 50.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 141.

<sup>26</sup> A. J. Farrington, *Guide to the records of the India Office Military Department* (London 1982), p. 21.

<sup>27</sup> F.C. Danvers, *Report on the records of the India Office*, pp. 3-5; M. Arkin: *Storm in a Teacup*, p.174 note 2; Home Miscellaneous Series IOR:H/722, ff. 310-312, 359, 427, 472.

<sup>28</sup> Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup*, pp. 235-236. Arkin makes no reference to any South African locations of East India Company sources in Cape Town in his two main works on the Cape Agency. This absence of records has been confirmed by recent correspondence with the main relevant archives and manuscript repositories in Cape Town.

<sup>29</sup> Home Miscellaneous Series, IOR:H/722, ff. 310-312; M. Arkin: *Storm in a Teacup*, p.174 note 2.

<sup>30</sup> A. J. Farrington, *The records of the East India College Haileybury and other institutions* (London, 1976), p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> M. Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape: a history of the Agency under Pringle, 1794-1815, based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records"' in *Archives Year Book for South African History* II (Cape Town, 1960), p. 325.

<sup>32</sup> Home Miscellaneous Series IOR: H/722, ff. 310-312; M. Arkin: *Storm in a Teacup*, p.174 note 2.

<sup>33</sup> F.C. Danvers, *List of Marine Records* (London, 1896), p. xix.

---

16a

The link between the older Company's Correspondence with the East in E/3 and the Factory Records in the G class was asserted by Dr Andrew Cook in his illustrated series of seminars for OIOC staff on 7 and 14 June 1995 and in subsequent India Office Records archivists meetings. This discussion of the links and connections between the two series requires development and the presentation of further archival evidence.



---

<sup>34</sup> I am indebted to Dr Andrew Cook, India Office Records map archivist, for explaining and outlining this synopsis of East India Company charting and mapping.

<sup>35</sup> For a recent comprehensive study of Dalrymple's work and catalogue of his charts, see the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Andrew Cook, 'Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), Hydrographer to the East India Company and to the Admiralty, as publisher : a catalogue of books and charts', (University of St. Andrews, 1992).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

## CONCLUSION

All researchers delight in finding fresh material which provides new information on their subject of study. The delight at finding it is greater when swift access is given, in this case to archives, via well-produced, substantial and accurate finding aids. The daunting, time-consuming task of combing through impenetrable volumes of documents on perhaps irrelevant material evaporates when the contents of archives are accurately described and introduced, and the information required is found quickly.

The joy of discovery for the researcher, is equalled by the joy of the archivist who produces the finding aid - who has made the archives accessible for researchers. For this archivist it is a particular joy to have opened up the extensive sources on southern Africa in the archives of the East India Company and the Board of Control for the first time.

At the outset, some existing evidence pointed to substantial material within the India Office Records on southern Africa. However, the inadequacy of existing finding aids indicated the difficulty in accurately answering the questions as to why southern African sources are in these archives, what they are about and how extensive they are. Filling this gap in the existing archival knowledge about these archives has been the purpose of this study.

The task of uncovering a virtually indeterminate amount of material was tackled by a systematic examination of existing finding aids and survey of the archives

themselves. The survey created a working archival descriptive listing across the classes and series of the East India Company and Board of Control's archives. These descriptions formed the foundation of the inventory for the guide to the archives themselves, presented in the Appendix, Volume 2.

The survey completed, the data was analysed and synthesised to make sense of the results of the archive survey and present them in a coherent form. The analysis and synthesis of the mass of data has made possible a contextualised discussion and explanation of the sources.

This is the essence of the study. The overall result of the work has enabled most of the questions initially asked to be answered. Ultimately, it has provided the basis for the production of a complete subject or topical archives guide with an area studies approach. The guide selectively brings together sources on southern Africa in the archives of two bodies - the East India Company, 1600-1858 and its later supervisory body, the Board of Control, 1784-1858 - which form a part of one sizeable archive repository: the India Office Records. In this way the guide reveals the two bodies' interest in southern Africa during the period of their combined existence - 1600-1858.

This study enables the history of the relationship between the East India Company and Southern Africa to be explored in more depth through the medium of the archives created by the East India Company and the Board of Control. For the first time the extensive sources which exist in a lesser known corner of the British Library are made easily accessible to researchers in southern Africa, the United Kingdom and elsewhere.

It draws researchers' attention to the range and depth of the sources found within these archives. It makes these archives intellectually accessible and available to researchers of southern Africa evaluation before physical examination. It makes the planning of research in advance possible and facilitates the greater use of these sources to inform academic opinion. The guide makes a useful addition to collections of related archives, particularly in South Africa and India, but also in institutions holding complementary archives elsewhere.

Naturally, this study has its limitations and shortcomings. The class of Proceedings (about 46 500 volumes) is vast and could be only superficially sampled in this study. It contains a wealth of detailed information on India's relations with southern African which awaits further exploration, particularly the Bombay consultations and proceedings, which emerge in the involvement of the west of India with southern Africa. The same is true of the western India Factory Records, which are bound to contain further information on relations with the south-east African coast, but which could not be thoroughly investigated in depth because of the inadequacy of the finding aids and lack of contemporary indexes.

An interesting area which could not be resolved by this study is the exact nature of the Board of Control's political role and why it featured so strongly in the archives in the context of southern Africa. It is an important area which requires extensive study, not only in the India Office Records, but in the Public Record Office and in private collections, but was neither appropriate nor possible here.

There are some series which throw up many questions for investigation, particularly on provenance. The lack of archival investigation required may have resulted in inaccurate information presented on the provenance of some series. The injustice of the classification scheme applied to India Office Records and the confusion that it causes in an understanding of the archives is another extremely important area for further study. However it is hoped that the analysis and explanation of the inter-relationships within the Company and Board and consequently, within the records they created as presented in this study, will also assist researchers to understand the archives more broadly.

It would be useful to discover more information about southern African sources missing from the India Office Records. For example, the copies of letters or letterbooks containing copies of despatches from the Company to their Agents at the Cape. No direct evidence has been found in the India Office Records of their actual destruction, or whether they were sold as waste as was the case with some papers selected for weeding. Remnants may have survived and may now be submerged in the collections of other institutions, such as East India Company documents in the John Rylands University collections.

Similarly it would also be interesting to discover what became of the archives of the Agents at the Cape of Good Hope. Were they taken away by the last Agent, William Hawkins in 1836, and lost after his death on the return voyage? Did they ever reach the Company's record-keepers or were they left with the commercial agents in Cape Town and subsequently lost? No evidence has emerged of their existence in collections in relevant repositories in Cape

Town, but perhaps the remnants exist in southern Africa or elsewhere.

Originally, this study was to have produced a guide to India Office archives as well as those of the Company and Board of Control. The constraints of time to complete this study within a reasonable period have prevented this. The most important new work to add to this study would be to provide coverage for the whole of the India Office Records in a sequel to this guide, from 1858 to 1948.

A guide to the southern African sources in the India Office archives would certainly complement this guide and reveal as rich and extensive sources for the later period 1859-1948. For example, the survey of the India Office Records located sources for subjects which emerged after the East India Company period, such as the emigration of Indians to almost all of the southern African colonies and the involvement of the Indian Army in the operations in Nyasaland (1897-1909) and during the Boer war in South Africa (1899-1902). These investigations and unresolved questions must remain for future examination and would become a useful supplement to this guide.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains only secondary sources cited in this study. References to primary documentary sources are to the India Office Records (IOR) and will be found in full in the Appendix (Volume 2).

- Marcus Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape - a history of the Agency under Pringle 1794-1815 based on a study of the "Cape of Good Hope Factory Records" in *Archives Year Book for South African History*, Vol. II, (Cape Town, 1960), pp. 177-344
- Marcus Arkin, 'John Company at the Cape' reprint from *South African Journal of Economics* 29, (30), Sep 1961, pp. 185-194
- Marcus Arkin, 'Supplies for Napoleon's Gaolers: John Company and the Cape-St. Helena trade during the captivity, 1815-21', in *Archives Year Book for South African History*, Vol. I, (Cape Town, 1964), pp. 169-230
- Marcus Arkin, 'Agency and Island - John Company and the twilight years of the Cape-St. Helena trade, 1822-36' in *Archives Year Book for South African History*, (Cape Town, 1965), pp. 269-330
- Marcus Arkin, *Storm in a Teacup: the later years of John Company at the Cape, 1815-36*, (Cape Town, 1973)
- Peter Auber, *An analysis of the constitution of the East India Company* (London, 1826)
- John Bastin, *The British in West Sumatra, (1685-1825): a selection of documents mainly from the East India Company records preserved in the India Office Library etc.* (Kuala Lumpur, 1965)
- C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: the British Empire and the World 1780-1830*, (London, 1989)
- G.C.M. Birdwood, *Report on the old records of the India Office, with supplementary note and appendices* (London, 1890)
- G.C.M. Birdwood and W. Foster, *The register of letters etc. of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, 1600-1619* (London, 1893)

- Maurice Boucher, *The Cape of Good Hope and foreign contacts 1735-1755* (Pretoria, 1985).
- Maurice Boucher and N. Penn, *Britain at the Cape 1795 to 1803*, (Houghton [Johannesburg], 1992)
- K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: the study of an early joint-stock company 1600-1640*, (London, 1965)
- Andrew S. Cook, 'Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), Hydrographer to the East India Company and to the Admiralty, as publisher: a catalogue of books and charts,' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1992)
- Andrew S Cook, Unpublished notes accompanying British Library Oriental and India Office Collections staff training seminar on the India Office Records, 7 and 14 June 1995
- Michael Cook, Review article: 'Transferring power' in *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4 (5), Apr 1972 pp. 433-437
- Frederick Charles Danvers, *Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on the Records of the India Office Vol 1 Part 1: Records relating to Agencies, Factories and Settlements now under the Administration of the Government of India*, (London, 1887)
- Frederick Charles Danvers, *List of Marine Records of the late East India Company* (London, 1896)
- Frederick Charles Danvers, *List of Factory Records of the late East India Company preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London*, (London, 1897)
- F.C. Danvers and W. Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East [1602 to 1617]*, 6 vols. (London, 1896-1902)
- Dictionary of South African Biography* 5 vols (Cape Town) 1968-87
- [East India Company], *By-laws, constitutions, orders and rules for the good government of the Corporation of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies and for the better carrying on, and managing the trade of the said Company*, 3 vols. (London, 1774-1853)
- Richard Elphick, *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*, (Johannesburg, 1985)



- Anthony Farrington, *The records of the East India College, Haileybury, and other institutions* (London, 1976)
- Anthony Farrington, *Guide to the records of the India Office Military Department* (London, 1982)
- Anthony Farrington, 'India Office Library and Records', unpublished British Library Oriental and India Office Collections briefing paper, 6 December 1995
- Anthony Farrington, Unpublished 'Catalogue of East India Company ships' journals and logs, 1600-1834', [1997]
- J. Favier, *Les archives Nationales: État Général des Fonds* (Paris, 1980)
- Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *India Office Records Report for the years 1947-1967* (London, 1970)
- William Foster, *A Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858* (London, 1966, reprinted from 1919 edition)
- William Foster, 'The India Board 1741-1858', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (London, 1918), pp. 61-85
- William Foster, *The East India House, its history and associations*, (London, 1924)
- William Foster, *John Company* (London, 1926)
- William Foster, *The English Factories in India* [1618 to 1685], 17 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1955)
- Michael Fry, *The Dundas Despotism*, (Edinburgh, 1992)
- Holden Furber, *Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville 1742-1811*, (Oxford, 1931)
- Jill Geber, 'The English East India Company at the Cape and the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records', in *South African Archives Journal* 36 (1994), pp. 54-64
- Jill Geber, 'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) of the British Library' in *African Research and Documentation* 70 (1996), pp. 1-35

- V.T. Harlow, 'The British Occupation 1795-1806', in chapter VII, *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VIII (Cambridge, 1936)
- V.T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire 1763-1793*, Volume 1 (London, 1952)
- V.T. Harlow, and A.F. Madden, *British Colonial Developments 1774-1834: select documents*, (Oxford, 1953)
- David P Henige, *Colonial Governors from the fifteenth century to the present* (Madison, 1970)
- S.C. Hill, *Catalogue of the Records of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records* (London, 1927)
- India Office Library and Records, *Reports of the India Office Library and Records*, 1967-1990
- Mabel V. Jackson, *European Powers and South-East Africa: a study of international relations on the south-east coast of Africa, 1796-1858* (London, 1942)
- Hudson Ralph Janisch, *Extracts from the St. Helena Records*, (St. Helena, 1885)
- John Keay, *The Honourable Company: a history of the English East India Company*, (London, 1991)
- Jill Kinahan, *By Command of their Lordships - the exploration of the Namibian coast by the Royal Navy, 1795-1895* (Windhoek, 1992)
- Joan C. Lancaster, 'India Office Records', in *Archivum XV* (1965), pp. 293-302
- Joan C. Lancaster, *A Guide to lists and catalogues of the India Office Records* (London, 1966).
- Joan C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records and the India Office Library: the move to the new building', *Archives IX* (41) April 1969, pp. 2-10
- Joan C. Lancaster, 'The India Office Records', reprint from *Archivum IX*, (43), April 1970, pp. 130-141
- Joan C. Lancaster, 'The scope and uses of the India Office Library and Records with particular reference to the period 1600-1947', in *Asian Affairs IX* (1) Feb 1978, pp. 31-43
- Philip Lawson, *The East India Company - a history* (London, 1993)

- A.M. Lewin-Robinson (ed), *The letters of Lady Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas from the Cape and elsewhere 1793-1803, together with her journal of a tour into the interior and certain other letters* (Cape Town, 1973)
- P.J. Marshall, *Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1753-1813*, (London, 1968)
- B.B. Misra, *The central administration of the East India Company, 1773-1834*, (Manchester, 1959)
- Martin Moir, 'A Study of the history and organisation of the political and secret departments of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the India Office 1784-1919 with a summary list of records' (Unpublished Diploma in Archives Administration thesis, University of London, 1966)
- Martin Moir, 'The Examiner's Office: the emergence of an administrative élite in East India House (1804-58)', in *India Office Library & Records Report for 1977* (London, 1978)
- Martin Moir, *A General Guide to the India Office Records* (London, 1988)
- Martin Moir, 'Kaghazi Raj: notes on the documentary basis of Company rule: 1773-1858', in *Indo-British Review* XXI (2) 1996, pp. 185-193
- S.I. Gorerazvo Mudenge, 'Afro-Indian relations before 1900, a southeast central Africa perspective', in Shanti Sadiq Ali and Ramchandani, R.R. (eds), *India and the Western Indian Ocean States: towards regional co-operation in development* (New Delhi, 1981)
- Peter Philip, *British Residents at the Cape 1795-1819* (Cape Town, 1981)
- C.H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, (Manchester, 1940)
- C.H. Philips 'The Secret Committee of the East India Company', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* X (1940), Part 2, pp. 299-315; Part 3, pp. 699-716
- Alex. Pringle, *The Records of the Pringles or Hoppringills of the Scottish Border*, (Edinburgh, 1933)
- Public Record Office, *Manual of Records Administration* (Kew, 1993)
- R. Raven-Hart, *Before Van Riebeeck - callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*, (Cape Town, 1967)

- Reader's Digest, *Illustrated History of South Africa: the real story*, (Cape Town, 1988)
- Eric Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, (2nd ed, London, 1964)
- E.B. Sainsbury, *A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company [1635 to 1697]* 11 vols. (Oxford, 1907-1938)
- W.N. Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, East Indies Series [1513-1634]* 5 vols. (London, 1862-92)
- J. Shaw, *Charters relating to the East India Company from 1600 to 1761* (Madras, 1887)
- Society of Archivists, *British Archival Practice* (London, 1996)
- Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (London, 1777).
- Timothy Thomas, *Indians Overseas: a guide to source materials in the India Office Records for the study of Indian emigration 1830-1950* (London, 1985)
- L.C.F. Turner, 'The Cape of Good Hope and Anglo-French rivalry 1778-1796' in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand* 12, (1), 1966, pp. 166-185
- E.A. Walker (ed), *The Cambridge history of the British Empire, VIII, South Africa, Rhodesia and the Protectorates*, (Cambridge, 1936)
- H. Yule, and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: a glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive* (3rd edition, Sittingbourne, 1994)

## PUBLISHED ARTICLES BASED ON THIS STUDY

Copies of three articles based on this study, appear on the pages which follow:

- Jill Geber, 'The English East India Company at the Cape and the Cape of Good Hope Factory Records', in *South African Archives Journal* 36 (1994), pp. 54-64
- Jill Geber 'Southern African sources in the Oriental and India Office Collections (OIOC) of the British Library' in *African Research and Documentation* 70 (1996), pp. 1-35
- Jill Geber, 'Sources for southern Africa in the Oriental and India Office Collections', in *Africa Quarterly* 36, 1 (1996), pp. 55-82.