COUNTY, COMMERCE AND CONTACTS:
HAMPSHIRE AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By James H. Thomas

ABSTRACT

The East India Company's eighteenth-century provincial impact was both extensive and profound. Its relationship with the key seaboard county of Hampshire is examined and assessed via what the county and Company had to offer each other in terms of supplies and services, and via the links with, and impact upon, the Isle of Wight. That many Company employees were drawn to Hampshire and what individual case studies can reveal are also examined.

THE BACKGROUND

Economy and society in eighteenth-century Hampshire were characterised by diversity, richness, strength and considerable change over time. The county (which during the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century included the Isle of Wight) developed symbiotic relationships with the great contemporary trading ventures. The most notable of these was the Honourable East India Company, granted a monopoly charter in December 1600 and set to become England's greatest commercial enterprise. With its own army, maritime service and extensive bureaucracy, awarding pensions and providing an asylum after-care service, as well as paying wages in advance to its sailors, it was instrumental in the British Empire's promotion.

Though well-served by historians, there is still, nevertheless, much to be learnt about the Company's extensive and complex provincial relationships. This paper examines four key questions in terms of the Company's relationship with Hampshire. What did Hampshire and the Company offer each other by way of supplies and services? To what extent did the Isle of Wight? Why were so many employees drawn to Hampshire and what impact did they have? What can individual case studies reveal about the relationship?

COUNTY AND COMPANY

Hampshire and the East India Company had much to offer each other. A lengthy coastline, highly developed maritime experience and, consequently, a recruitment pool of talented hands were just some of the features Hampshire brought to the relationship. Christchurch, Cowes, Lymington, Portsmouth and Southampton offered convenient port facilities. There were ship building sites and skills aplenty, timber supplies, well-developed overland communications, extensive capital and labour. Naval presence in Portsmouth, particularly strong after the 1690s, meant that craft and materials could be loaned between the Company and the navy as and when need arose. Repair work and naval protection were provided for the Company's vessels -- Indiamen -- though these conditions changed somewhat after the war of 1739-48 (Thomas 1995, 53). Eighteenth-century England's maritime trade was threatened by privateers and foreign navies, particularly those of France, Spain and the United Provinces, and by corsairs from Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis. Exerting an impact out of all proportion to their size and synonymous with cruelty and slavery, corsairs were replicated in Eastern and Far Eastern waters by Joasmi, Mahratta and Chabu pirates, as well as those of the distant Sulu Sea. What went through the minds of the Anglesea's crew, outward-bound from Portsmouth, wrecked north of Goa and then captured and enslaved by Angria's forces in 1738, can only be
wondered at (Hackman 2001, 59). While co-operation between the East India Company and the navy was essential, Portsmouth also became the Company’s principal provincial depot. The town’s port facilities and well-developed overland communications system with London, especially after 1710, made it safer to load and unload passengers, and some outward-bound cargo, especially silver, at Portsmouth, rather than running the Channel’s maritime gauntlet. The county’s wealth ensured a ready supply of investors, keen to see their money grow, seemingly inexorably, following tales of fabled wealth to be made in the distant East.

For its part, the East India Company provided a welcome additional injection into Hampshire’s economy, as did the other great contemporary trading ventures such as the Hudson’s Bay, Levant and Royal African Companies, whose provincial impact awaits thorough examination. Company passengers needed food, lodging and transport, as well as financial assistance though, for some, frustration and extra expenditure played a part. When William Hickey and Captain Henry Mordaunt, his long-suffering travelling companion, reached Petersfield en route for Portsmouth in the early 1780s, Hickey observed irately:

‘The Forty-second Regiment was marching into that town at the time we entered it, on their way to Portsmouth, where they were to embark for India. The officers had engaged almost all the horses in the place; and before we could procure four, without which Mordaunt would never stir, it became dusk and began to snow. I, therefore, proposed staying where we were comfortably housed until the next morning...’ (Quennell 1960, 313).

Frustration apart, Company and county had much to offer each other, whether in the form of investment potential, status, respectability or commercial and financial advancement.

Hampshire farmers responded positively to demand, Portsmouth’s regular market providing much-needed last minute foodstuff supplies, particularly fruit and greens. Farmers operating up to thirty miles away from Portsmouth, as well as those on the Isle of Wight, were encouraged to expand production, given the opportunity of a non-naval source of income for their supplies. Thus Jeffery Cranborn was paid £94 8s. in October 1706 for beef and peas supplied at Portsmouth to the newly-built Company escort vessel Bombay which blew up the following year in an engagement with pirate chieftain Kanhaiji Angria off India’s Malabar Coast (BL B/48, 359; Hackman 2001, 19). The regularity of Company fleet departures ensured rhythm in terms of both demand and payment for services rendered. Arboriculture was similarly encouraged, the Company needing timber for ship construction and repair work in yards at Buckler’s Hard, Bursledon and Gosport. Such a policy took time to become effective, however, so that the Company, like the navy, was forced to look further afield (Mackay 1965, 316, 320; Albion 1926, 194-5). Company demands certainly helped to take up the slack of fluctuating naval orders occasioned by war and peace. Nor was it just a matter of stimulating farming, arboriculture and shipbuilding. Other sectors of Hampshire’s economy were also encouraged. Substantial Gosport brewer Henry Player was paid £35 10s. in late October 1706 ‘for Beer supplied the Bombay Frigt at Portsmouth’ (BL B/48, 359). The village of Twyford, south of Winchester, produced small amounts of linen for Company use between 1700 and 1730 (Ex inf. M. Gale). From Sowley ironworks near Lymington, where expanding demand in 1789 led to recruitment of additional hands, came iron supplies for the Company, some of it being ‘conveyed by water carriage to Reading, and there manufactured into iron wire’ (Salisbury Journal, 30 November 1789; Moore 1988, 34; Warner 1793, 1, 231).

The Company also required financial services. Supplies of silver, whether for direct Company use in India, for various Company-backed mints or for use by diamond merchants, left via Portsmouth, often in great amounts. The storage and loading of silver became the most onerous of the local Company agent’s manifold, demanding, responsibilities. The port’s absence of banking houses, however, until Grant and Burbey opened their High Street establishment in October 1787, presented the Company with a storage headache. The solution, albeit temporary, was provided by private residents. In spring 1709 Captain Jeyes Seawell or Sewell allowed the Company to store 20 chests of silver
in his house, receiving a quarter per cent commission in return (BL B/49, 448, 452, 469, 479–80).

In the dockyard church, dedicated to St Ann, is a handsomely bound Bible having silver corners and clasps, with a central plate stating that it was the gift of ‘Jeyes Sewell’. It is rather moving to think that part of his Company commission was used thus. Money-changing services, such as those offered by High Street sword cutlers and jewellers Zachariah and Company (Hampshire Telegraph, 17 June 1811) brought more cash to Portsmouth. Foreign coins, frequently turning up in loose change, presented some local enterprising individuals with yet another opportunity. Thus in April 1788 James Hunt endeavoured to pass off to local silversmith William Reid, 38 counterfeit pagodas, described in the Recorder’s case notes as ‘an East India gold coin.’ For his troubles, Hunt was subsequently sent to New South Wales for seven years (PCRO SF5/2). As with the money, so Portmuthians similarly grew inured to native-born lascar seamen waiting for repatriation, treating them as commonplace.

The East India Company also provided employment opportunities galore to Hampshire residents, ranging from deckhands to porters, from agents to supercargoes, from shipbuilders to warehouse keepers. Many of the Company’s administrative positions required, by their very nature, not only skills, but also patronage and sureties. Thus Lymington baronet and former town mayor Sir Robert Smith and lawyer James Smith of the Middle Temple, provided £500 worth of security for Robert Smith to serve as a Company writer in December 1708 (BL B/49, 385–6). In October 1711 William III’s faithful Huguenot military commander, Henry Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, wrote to the Company from his residence at Rookley near Micheldever, supporting Thomas Hall’s case for employment. Having seen service under him in Portugal, Hall had now fallen on hard times and desired ‘to be Employ’d in the South Sea, or the East India or African Company; I believe he will Serve very well in any of those Stations...’ (BL E/1/3: Earl of Galway to John Ward, 6 Oct. 1711). In November 1721 Charles Bulkley of Lymington and Thomas Bulkley, a London mercer, provided £2,000 security for relative John Bulkley to become a Company writer (BL B/56, 120). Francis Colston of Froyle stood surety of £2,000 with Goodmans Field gentleman Richard Nicholson for his namesake son to go to the East as a 3rd Supra Cargo early in November 1726 (BL B/59, 120).

Once appointed, Company bureaucrats would receive gifts and supplies from Hampshire-based family members, arrangements frequently being made by an intermediary. A sample is set out below in Table 1.

### Table 1  Silver gifts to India 1726-1735

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sender</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>John Brackstone</td>
<td>Southampton</td>
<td>Brackstone Fort St David</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>400 oz of silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Revd. Christopher Eyre</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Thomas Eyre Vizagapatam</td>
<td>Factor</td>
<td>225 oz of silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Dr. Harris</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Edward Harris Fort St David</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>£200 worth of pieces of eight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>Dr. Harris</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Edward Harris Fort St David</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>£100 worth of silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>Dr. Harris</td>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>Edward Harris Fort St David</td>
<td>Writer</td>
<td>£108 worth of silver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The company and the Isle of Wight

While a strong relationship between the Company and Hampshire evolved over time, one also developed with the Isle of Wight. Over 100 square miles in area and of major defence...
importance, the island was seen as a ‘granary ... the chief source of malt, salt, flour, and biscuit for the navy’ (J and J Jones 1987, 51, 82, 17). The communities of St. Helens, Ryde, Cowes, Carisbrooke and Newport were affected extensively by Company presence. Outward-bound ships ‘not only take in their poultry, ... here’, observed one eighteenth-century writer about St. Helens,

‘but likewise their water, which is found to be preferable to that of most other parts. East Indiamen have been known to carry it to their destined ports, and bring some of it back, in as sweet a state as when taken from the spring. And ... when at sea, it recovers itself sooner than any other’ (Hassell 1790, II, 31,34).

Ryd and Cowes were affected too, though in slightly different ways. Portsmouth’s unhealthy nature and the weather aided Ryde’s growth. Somerset incumbent Revd. John Skinner commented in 1818 that the community had:

‘much increased within these seven years, many excellent houses being built for the accommodation of the company coming here for the purposes of bathing: also for the passengers of the East and West India fleets which may be detained by the wind’ (BL Add. MS. 33652, f. 10v.).

Cowes, with valuable anchorage, building and entrepot facilities, and warehouses at the River Medina’s mouth, grew in the eighteenth century. Well-developed links with both Portsmouth and the American colonies provided the port’s economic mainstay. When the 1775–83 struggle strained and then snapped the colonial link, however, Cowes, was forced to reappraise its future. In this regard it was subsequently assisted in April 1820 when the Company moved a depot there (Hampshire Telegraph, 17 April 1820).

Near-neighbours Carisbrooke and Newport differed as communities, one having an agrarian economy, the other being the island’s bustling capital, much activity being generated by a military presence. The island had served various military purposes since mediaeval and Tudor times and continued to be important, especially between 1793 and 1815. But Company troop mutinies, particularly between 1760 and 1783, necessitated increased control and in 1786 the Company was licensed to recruit and then train troops in the island, numbers being restricted to a 2,000 maximum. While Carisbrooke’s castle was surveyed as a possible training site, a recruits’ depot eventually operated at Parkhurst between 1801 and 1815 (East India Registry and Directory 1803–1815). While the military always had an impact upon a community, that of the Company’s army brought income, resources and employment possibilities to the island’s economy, strained as it had been by the struggles of 1775–83 and 1793–1815.

The Company’s relationship with the island also created career opportunities and the chance of adventure. Island pilots earned good wages taking Indiamen from Spithead to the Downs anchorage off the Sussex/Kent coast, for a 20-guinea fee in 1808 (GL MS. 30195, 181, 187–8) such was the nature of the heavy responsibility involved. But the island’s treacherous waters, particularly those off the ‘back of the Wight’ and near Bembridge Ledge, coupled with wreckers’ activity, occasioned danger and harm as loss of the Henry Addington late in 1798 made abundantly clear (Thomas 2004, 51–72). There were also opportunities for life-changing experiences. Brading-born William Wicker became a naval midshipman, aged thirteen, in 1780, switched to Company service five years later and then voyaged to distant China on the 777-ton Pitt under Captain George Cowper (Farrington 1999, 179). Aged 20, Shorwell-born George Jolliffe was 6th mate on the 1221-ton Alfred for her voyage to India and China in 1793. He advanced to 2nd mate on the 406-ton Martha, wrecked on the Hughli river’s Gasper Sand early during her homeward run in August 1797 (Hackman 2001, 56). What tales could such men regale upon their return home as, indeed, could Company spouses of some island lasses? Island lifestyles were affected too, homes containing exotic wares, curious oriental artefacts and some of the increasing numbers of books available on India and China.

ATTRACTIONS AND IMPACT

While some Company personnel at senior maritime rank were Hampshire-born (1.75% between 1787 and 1820) (Thomas 1999, 153), many of the venture’s servants were attracted to
the county. With its healthy climate, invigorating sea air, and freedom from foreign invasion, particularly after 1805, Hampshire proved ideal for both convalescence and permanent retirement. In 1810, for example, physician James Clark pronounced that Yarmouth's climate was beneficial with regard to health (Winter 1981, 4). The Company's voluminous records include correspondence from personnel ensconced in the county for health reasons. Captain William Roberts wrote from Lymington to the Company's Court of Directors in August 1776. His health now repaired, and having been there for two years, he wanted to resume his duties in Bengal 'without prejudice to my rank'. Now married and 'his Wife being in the Straw' he wished to wait for a while longer as she was 'very far gone with child' (BL E/1/60, item 116; E/l/61, items 25, 26). Late in May 1787 Lieutenant P. Tolfrey of the Bengal Establishment wrote from Southampton, pointing out that he had been 'obliged to resort immediately to the sea side' for his health's sake. So, too, did Nathaniel Kindersley who wrote from Southampton in June 1793 that he had returned there 'for the recovery of my health' (BL E/1/80, f.574; E/1/89, items 247, 273). There was a clearly discernible pattern of Company personnel returning to Hampshire to recuperate and repair their broken constitutions.

For some senior Company employees Hampshire's attractions led to them becoming residents in the county, a sample being tabulated below. There were senior bureaucrats such as Charlton, Haverkam and Hornby, sea and military officers such as Bromfield, Coote, Osborne and Stibbert and a few nabobs including the far from popular Richard Barwell. There was a preponderance of such residents in the southern half of Hampshire; Lymington was much favoured by Company personnel, while others preferred the charm and tranquillity of communities such as Hamble, Hambledon, Portswood and Rockbourne.

Their accomplishments while in Hampshire also merit comment. Osborne purchased Melchet Park near Sherfield English in the early 1790s, erecting a miniature Hindu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Died</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Barwell</td>
<td>Nabob</td>
<td>Stanstead House</td>
<td>1804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Blake</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Watcombe House, Brockenhurst</td>
<td>1759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Bromfield</td>
<td>Captain, Maritime Service</td>
<td>Lymington ?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Carnac</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Cams Hall, Fareham, 1767-1774(?)</td>
<td>India, 1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Charlton</td>
<td>Member, Bombay Council</td>
<td>Lymington</td>
<td>1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Eyre Coote</td>
<td>C-in-C, India, 1779-83</td>
<td>West Park, Rockbourne. 1763-?</td>
<td>Madras, 1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Haverkam</td>
<td>Secretary, Calcutta Revenue Committee</td>
<td>Hambledon</td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Home</td>
<td>Lieutenant Colonel</td>
<td>Yarmouth</td>
<td>1814(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Hornby</td>
<td>Governor of Bombay</td>
<td>Hamble</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Morgan</td>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>Purbrook Park</td>
<td>1808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Osborne</td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Melchet Park 1791-?</td>
<td>Post 1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Seward</td>
<td>Military Service</td>
<td>Romney</td>
<td>1803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles Stibbert</td>
<td>General; Acting C-in-C, Bengal, 1780-83.</td>
<td>Portswood House, Southampton, 1809</td>
<td>1786–1809</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
temple there in 1800, designed by noted artist Thomas Daniell (1749–1840), to commemorate his admiration for Warren Hastings. This structure, however, had been demolished by 1908 (VCHH IV, 540–2; Bernstein 2000, 287). Seward, ‘formerly in the military service of the Hon. East India Company’, retired to Romsey. He took command of the local Volunteer Association and was described after his death in March 1803 as a man whose ‘benevolent disposition and urbanity of manners will long endear his memory to a numerous circle’ (Hampshire Telegraph, 4 April 1803).

Some Company personnel were admitted to a town’s honorary ranks: their contacts and influence could be of future value to the community. Lymington elected three Company servants to the ranks of their free burgesses — Captain Philip Bromfield in 1774, Major William Roberts six years later and Lieutenant-Colonel William Home of Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, in 1814. Skipper of the 657-ton Salisbury, the highly experienced Bromfield, who had voyaged to the East at least six times, was among 39 admissions in 1774. In the early 1780s he served on the Committee of the Marine Society (Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, 28 February 1782; Whitehall Evening Post, 11–13 March 1783). Long connected with Lymington, Roberts was one of three burgesses elected in 1800. Home was one of four so honoured in 1814 (Farrington 1999, 99; Hackman 2001, 189; King 1976, 194–5). In contrast, Portsmouth admitted only General John Carnac to the ranks of burgesses in February 1774 (East 1891, 385).

Some former Company servants contributed to country house building in Hampshire. Portswood House, near Southampton, was designed by John Crunden (c.1741–1835) and constructed in 1776 for General Giles Stibbert, the highly-capable Commander-in-Chief of Company forces in Bengal. Early in 1786 he ‘received the public and unanimous thanks of the Court of Directors, on account of his long and faithful service, having risen ... after a long course of meritorious services’ (Sussex Weekly Advertiser, 11 December 1786).

Portswood House created an impact. The ‘seat and its embellishments,’ according to an early guidebook, formed ‘one of the greatest ornaments to the neighbourhood of Southampton with’

’spacious offices, and every sort of convenience and accommodation; and is certainly altogether a most complete and commodious residence. It has a large and handsome suite of rooms for company, furnished in a style of elegant simplicity, rather than magnificence’ (Anon 1801, 209–4).

Richard Barwell, returning to England in the 1770s with £400,000, set himself up in magnificent style on the Hampshire-Sussex border at Stanstead House, which he purchased for £102,500 in 1781. Five years later he commissioned notable architects Bonomi and Wyatt to rebuild the house, an undertaking that was five years in the achieving. To his chagrin, however, his neighbours shunned him (Piper 1917–9, 297–8). By contrast, some of his visitors were impressed, William Pitt Amherst observing in August 1791:

‘The House makes a very noble appearance, and is handsome within. The park and Grounds very fine. Mr. Barwell took us over the whole’ (BL MSS. EUR F1140/4, n.f.)

Barwell had the grounds landscaped in the new French style by Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown (1716–1783) who had also worked on nearby Warnford Park for owner John de Burgh, 11th Earl of Clanricarde (Brown 2011, 235).

Some Company employees’ building works, however, did not go to plan. Living opulently at Cams Hall since 1767, General John Carnac became involved in developing Southampton’s Polygon. The community’s rise as a spa resort and the desire to ape fashionable Bath, Harrogate and Tunbridge Wells was part of the thinking behind the project. A conglomeration of assembly rooms, gardens, a hotel, housing and fashionable shops, the development was to be polygonal in shape. Conveniently opposite was a brick, tile and lime works with ‘Plenty of good Brick and Tile Earth’ (Hampshire Chronicle, 23 January 1775). Designed in 1768 by architect Jacob Leroux, the scheme was promoted by Carnac and local property speculator Isaac Mallorie. Almost inevitably, however, the scheme failed. Though some of the premises were leased out to glittering London personnel,
the scheme was financed inadequately. Mallortie went bankrupt in 1773, while Carnac, failing to ship his Indian fortune to England, returned to India under a cloud (Lloyd’s Evening Post, 11–14 June 1773; Patterson 1970, 81).

TWO CASE STUDIES EXAMINED

Case studies regarding the relationship between the East India Company and Hampshire can be revealing, as the examples of James Morgan and William Haverkam demonstrate. On 19 December 1774 James Morgan of Winchester wed Mary, spinster daughter of College Headmaster Joseph Warton in St Swithun upon Kingsgate church, where, exactly a year before, her father had remarried (Phillimore & Chitty 1902, 110). In February 1775, the newly-weds left for India with his regiment where he served for at least twelve years. By late July 1787 Morgan was renting Purbrook House from the trustees of Peter Taylor (d. 1777), MP for Portsmouth, who had had the house built (Fairer 1995, 586). Described as ‘an elegant mansion, which is universally admired’, Purbrook House was erected ‘at the foot of the down’ in idyllic surroundings (Gentleman’s Magazine, LXX (1800) Pt. II, 729–30). By January 1790 the Morgans had moved to Above Bar, Southampton, and subsequently to Winchester. There, on 29 November 1808, Morgan died ‘at his house ... , an old and very respectable inhabitant’. He was interred in the Cathedral (Fairer 1995, 650; Gentleman’s Magazine, LXXVIII (1808), Pt. II, 1043). Morgan’s military experiences, rich and colourful, contrasted sharply with those of William Haverkam.

On 1 April 1785 merchant William Haverkam wrote to the Chairman of the Calcutta Revenue Committee, to which body he was Secretary, explaining that he would have to resign. His ‘Health was much impaired’, his duties having become ‘too laborious’. After nearly fifteen years in post, he sought three years’ leave of absence ‘for the recovery of my health, that I may have a future prospect of returning to the Service’. Committee chairman William Cowper duly forwarded his request to Governor General John Macpherson (1745–1821), attesting to Haverkam’s ‘Merit and to the Zeal and unwearied Application with which he has fulfilled, from the first of his Appointment to it, the laborious Duties of his Situation as first officer under us’ (BL E/1/80, f. 400).

With his wife and two children Haverkam left Bengal on 12 December 1785 aboard the 789-ton Indiaman Francis, after a nineteen-year absence from England (Hackman 2001, 111; London Chronicle, 11–14 August 1792). He explained subsequently that this was justified by ‘indisposition’ and ‘not having acquired a competent Fortune for the maintenance of my family.’ By March 1787 he was residing in Hambledon. A community which Revd. Gilbert White strongly disliked ‘on account of its morals and dissipation ...’ (R. Holt-White 1901, I, 255), the extensive parish had a mixed agrarian economy concentrating on cereals, sheep and timber production, though the last-named was declining (The Annual Hampshire Repository, II, 1801, 195–202). Haverkam was drawn to the village because his maternal spinster aunt, Frances Heilman, had lived there since at least 1780 (TNA Prob. 11/1222, ff.68–9). He certainly hoped living in Hambledon would be relatively inexpensive. But, having made all the appropriate financial arrangements with the Company, he found it difficult to do so ‘with the strictest observance of Oeconomy without meanness, and Liberality without being Prodigal’. As a result, he was obliged to draw upon a Company promise of £400 per annum ‘from the time of my leaving Bengal’ (BL E/1/80, ff. 397–v).

Haverkam lived in Hambledon for five years, succumbing to ‘a long and painful illness’ in August 1792 (London Chronicle, 11–14 August 1792; Diary or Woodfall’s Register, 15 August 1792; Gentleman’s Magazine, LXII (1792), Pt. II, 768). He certainly ended his days anything but poor, despite his earlier concerns. Having requested that his funeral be performed ‘at the smallest expense possible consistent with decency and custom’, for which Hambledon’s long-serving Revd. William Stevens (Goldsmith 1994, 90,103) and sexton Mr. Padwick received £5 and £2 respectively, Haverkam bequeathed to each of his children, William and Ann Elizabeth, £2,000
stock in 4% annuities, at 21 or marriage in the case of the latter. The accruing interest was to be used for their maintenance and education. Haverkam’s son also received his silver tankard, ‘it being a Family piece of plate’, his gold watch, seals and gold-headed cane. Haverkam’s four married sisters received £10 apiece for mourning, his two nieces £5 each and his aunt Frances Heilman £10. His brother-in-law, Charles Bowker, received 5 guineas for a mourning ring and was joint executor with Haverkam’s widow, Anna Catherine, who received the balance of the estate (TNA Prob 11/1222 ff.67-8). She did not appear to spend much time grieving, however. Left well provided for and with two young children to raise, she married Stafford widower Richard Warren at Hambledon on 8 December 1794 (Moens 1893, I, 316). The community’s tranquillity should have helped Haverkam considerably, but seemingly his time and efforts in India had exacted a higher price from him than he realised.

Clearly, therefore, the relationship between Hampshire and the East India Company in the eighteenth century, was complex, far-reaching and multi-faceted. While Hampshire’s salubrious air offered Company employees the chance of mending broken spirits and of becoming permanent residents, they, in turn, brought much to Hampshire. The Company helped Hampshire society become more intricate, richer and better informed. Lifestyles, the demand for goods and services, the social mix and the response to all things fashionable of an Indian or Chinese nature certainly changed Hampshire. Employment and investment opportunities abounded, with the added incentive of a pension upon service completion. Nabobs, retired officers and former merchants became the social norm for Hampshire. Communities, whether substantial or small, were affected. Basingstoke, Cowes, Fareham, Havant, Lymington, Petersfield and Southampton felt the Company’s all-pervasive impact, as did smaller communities such as Bishops Waltham, Boarhunt, Hambledon, Heckfield, St Helens, Selborne, Twyford and Wickham. Whether as bureaucrats, contractors, chaplains, soldiers or sailors for the Company, as artists or musicians, they contributed to making Hampshire a powerful, rich and vibrant segment of eighteenth-century England. That a Company sea officer could bring home Chinese dogs which an Anglican clergyman could then write about in a small Hampshire village in September 1787 (Johnson 1982 edn, 277) showed how the World was shrinking, thanks in part to the crucial relationship between county and commerce.

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