

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick**

**Permanent WRAP URL:**

<http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/150023>

**Copyright and reuse:**

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it.

Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

For more information, please contact the WRAP Team at: [wrap@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:wrap@warwick.ac.uk)

**'AN ENDLESS VARIETY OF FORMS AND PROPORTIONS':**  
**INDIAN INFLUENCE ON BRITISH GARDENS AND GARDEN**  
**BUILDINGS, c.1760-c.1865**

Two Volumes: Volume I

Text

**Diane Evelyn Trenchard James**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

University of Warwick, Department of History of Art

September, 2019

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
.	.
<b>Glossary of Indian Terms .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>List of Illustrations .....</b>	<b>xvii</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1. Chapter 1: Country Estates and the Politics of the Nabob .....</b>	<b>30</b>
Case Study 1: The Indian and British Mansions and Experimental Gardens of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal .....	48
Case Study 2: Innovations and improvements established by Sir Hector Munro, Royal, Bengal, and Madras Armies, on the Novar Estate, Inverness, Scotland .....	74
Case Study 3: Sir William Paxton's Garden Houses in Calcutta, and his Pleasure Garden at Middleton Hall, Llanarthne, South Wales .....	91
<b>2. Chapter 2: The Indian Experience: Engagement with Indian Art and Religion .....</b>	<b>117</b>
Case Study 4: A Fairy Palace in Devon: Redcliffe Towers built by Colonel Robert Smith, Bengal Engineers .....	151
Case Study 5: Indian Stones in a Suffolk Garden: The Pyramid at Great Bealings built by Edward Moor, Bombay Army .....	166
Case Study 6: The Indian and British gardens of James Forbes, East India Company Merchant, Topographer, Revenue Administrator and Artist .....	183
<b>3. Chapter 3: Indian Style: Inspiration and Appropriation .....</b>	<b>199</b>
Case Study 7: Thomas and William Daniell and the Architecture and Gardens of Sezincote, Gloucestershire, and Melchet Park, Hampshire .....	215

Case Study 8: Humphry Repton and the Building of Brighton Pavilion .....	<b>241</b>
Case Study 9: The ‘Hindu’ Bridge at Dromana, Co. Waterford, Ireland: Political Statement or Honeymoon Fantasy? .....	<b>269</b>
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>302</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>306</b>
<b>Illustrations .....</b>	<b>Volume II</b>

## Acknowledgements

I would firstly like to thank my supervisor, Rosie Dias, for her help, encouragement and support throughout my research and the difficult last years of writing my thesis. My research and my invaluable trip to India were funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, for which I am very grateful. Thanks also go to the Company of Arts Scholars for their Research Award which enabled me to frequently travel to the British Library for primary research.

My appreciation goes to the staff of the many archives, libraries, museums and record offices in UK, Ireland and America who helped with my researches. Thanks also to the authors, academics and researchers who assisted me particularly Raymond Head, who kindly spent time with me early in my studies; also, Tillman Nechtman, Andrew Ginger, Andrew MacKillop, Crispin Bates, Ashok Malhotra, Alijos Farjon, and Susan Johnson-Roehr, for their kindness in sharing their knowledge, and help in accessing documents and information. Thanks also to Margot Finn, Kate Smith, Helen Clifford, Ellen Filor, and Jan Sibthorpe of the *East India Company at Home* project for supporting my endeavours.

My appreciation is also extended to the owners and staff of the many properties I visited, for their kindness in allowing me to walk their landscapes and for sharing archival information particularly Larry Bartel, Jonathan and Selina Peto, Ronald and Erica Munro Ferguson, Rob Thomas, Louise Austin, Helen John, Edward Peake, Stephen Twigger, the Reverend Nick Brown, Barbara and Nicholas Grubb, and Lewis Wasserstein.

A big thank you to the History of Art Department staff, Michael Hatt, Louise Bourdua, Jenny Alexander, Louise Campbell, Julia Brown, and Claire Nicholls, to the Warwick Graduate School for their support, and the staff of the University of Warwick Library. Many thanks also to my fellow PhD students: Claire FitzGerald, Kayoko Ichikawa, Anne Musset, Carlo Avilio, Charlotte Stokes, Stefano Colombo, Matteo Carpinello, and Delia Moldovan, and to my garden historian friends, Timothy Mowl, Dianne Barre, Jeri Bapasola, and Clare Hickman for their inspiration.

An immense vote of thanks goes to my family who have supported me through the years and encouraged me along the way. To my father who will be one hundred and two this year, a big thank you for all your help and advice over the years. Thanks also to my daughter, Ruth, and her family, Damian, Mabel and Tabitha, and to my son Dominik, and his family Rosie and Keely, for their support and understanding. I dedicate this thesis to my husband, Philip, without whose advice, help, and encouragement, my thesis would not have been possible.

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the short-lived development of Indian design in British architecture and gardens between c.1760 and c.1865, coinciding with the height of the trading and territorial ambition of the East India Company and the return of military officers and government officials from India to Great Britain and Ireland. Although only a relatively small number of gardens and houses in rural counties were built with elements of Indian onion domes, *chhajja* cornices, minarets, or temple pools, their presence within – as well as absence from – the British countryside is indicative of the careers, aspirations and motivations of those involved (both directly and less directly) with empire, as well as of the controversial position which they often occupied in political and social spheres.

The thesis demonstrates that ‘nabobery’ is only one of the appropriate lenses through which to analyse Indian design in British gardens and architecture in this period. The first chapter explores ways in which East India Company returnees established domestic roots via various building and landscaping projects as they endeavoured to re-join British society, though not as a homogenous group of ‘nabobs’, but as individuals manifesting their personal motivations and concerns. The second chapter examines how returnees, who had spent many years in India’s interior, researching, collecting, and painting Indian art and architecture as an integral part of their Company work or leisure activities, used their scholarship to memorialise India in more modest houses and gardens. The last chapter establishes how views of India’s landscapes were used by architects, landscapers and patrons with no previous contact with India, adapting Indian design and imbuing it with new significance and meaning. Through new scholarly research across nine case studies, the thesis therefore illuminates a variety of practices and motivations underpinning the aesthetics of the Indian-influenced garden and architecture in the period.

## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

## **Abbreviations**

BL	British Library
BO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
DEV	Devon Record Office
EH	English Heritage
EIC	East India Company
EICAH	East India Company at Home
GA	Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester
IOR	India Office Records
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	National Archives, London
NIA	Archives Départementales des Alpes Maritimes, Nice, France
NPG	National Portrait Gallery
OA	Oxfordshire Archives, Oxford
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
RA	Royal Academy
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects

## Glossary of Indian Terms

### **Al'hinna**

Henna, or Mehndi (*Lawsonia inermis*), the shoots and leaves of this plant are used as a dye to decorate parts of the body.

### **Amalaka**

A segmented or notched disk in stone, inspired by the shape of the Indian gooseberry (*Phyllanthus emblica*).

### **Baboo**

A Hindu man, especially one of a relatively high status; also used for a Bengali with a veneer of English education.

### **Bangla**

A cottage built for early European settlers in Bengal, later used to describe a bungalow.

### **Bagh**

Garden, orchard, or pleasure garden.

### **Banian (banyan)**

A Hindu trader, especially from the province of Gujarat. Applied in Calcutta to native brokers attached to houses of business, or people employed by a private individual.

### **Banyan**

The Indian Fig Tree (*Ficus religiosa or indica*). When the branches drop shoots to the ground, they take root and support their parent branches, so that one tree will often cover a large expanse of ground.

### **Bibi**

Has undergone a variety of meanings: a Mughal lady; a lawful wife; a European maid-servant; a courtesan.

**Brahmin**

A member of the highest priestly caste of the Hindus.

**Budgerow**

A keelless barge, formerly used by Europeans travelling on the Ganges.

**Bulbul**

A bird: a species of the genus *Pycnonotus*, belonging to the Thrush family, sometimes called the ‘nightingale’ of the East.

**Camitop**

God-grove in Tamil Nadu.

**Chadar**

Kashmiri water ramp, or waterfall.

**Champa (champak)**

The Indian tree *Michelia champaca*, a species of magnolia with orange-coloured highly fragrant flowers.

**Charbagh**

Persian formal garden, quadripartite, where a square garden is divided into four equal parts.

**Chhajja**

Mughal and Hindu term for projecting eaves usually supported on large carved brackets, giving protection from sun and rain to buildings.

**Chhattri**

An umbrella-shaped pavilion.

**Chunam**

Prepared lime; fine polished plaster made from shell, sea sand.

**Culgiah (culgee)**

A jewelled plume surmounting the sarpech upon a turban.

**Diwan**

Tax Collector; the head financial minister or treasurer of a state under Muslim governments.

**Diwani**

The office of diwan; the right to the revenues of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.

**Durbar**

An Indian ruler's court; a public audience or levee held by an Indian ruler, or by a British colonial ruler.

**Firman**

A grant or permit.

**Furlough**

Leave of absence; a permit or licence given to a soldier (or more rarely, an official) to be absent from duty for a stated time.

**Garbhagriha**

'Womb-house', a cave like sanctum, which holds the main deity.

**Ghat**

A path or stairs leading down to the river; a quay or ferry.

**Guru (Gooroo)**

A teacher of spiritual education.

**Howdah**

A seat for riding on the back of an elephant, typically with a canopy.

**Iwan**

In Islamic architecture, an entrance vaulted space, or, a hall facing a court in a madrasa or mosque.

**Jaghirdar**

The holder of a jaghir.

**Jaghir**

An hereditary assignment of land and of its rent as annuity from the king's or government's share of a district's produce. For private use or for the maintenance of a public (especially military) establishment.

**Jali**

Pierced marble screen.

**Jemadar (Jamadar)**

Second in rank in an EIC native company of sepoys.

**Jugnee**

An ornament or jewel worn by women as a necklace.

**Khusa-grass**

Cuscus grass (*Vetiveria zizanioides*) with fragrant fibrous roots.

**Koyilkatu**

Temple forest in Tamil Nadu.

**Lakh**

One lakh in the eighteenth century was 100,000 rupees.

**Linga (lingam)**

A phallic symbol of Shiva worship.

**Maithuna**

Sculptures of couples engaged in various aspects of lovemaking.

**Maqbara**

A mausoleum.

**Maratha**

A Hindu warrior race.

**Medhumad'ha**

A water nymph in Hindu mythology.

**Mogree**

Especially in South Asia: Arabian jasmine (*Jasminum sambac*).

**Munshi**

A writer, interpreter and educated teacher of languages, particularly Persian, Urdu and Arabic.

**Musjid (masjid)**

A mosque for daily prayers. Jami-masjid, a mosque serving the population of an area.

**Musnud**

A seat made of cushions, especially one used as a throne by an Indian prince.

**Nawab**

A Muslim official who acts as a deputy ruler or viceroy of a province or district under the Mughal empire; any governor of a town or district, or person of high status.

**Nizam**

The title of the hereditary ruler of Hyderabad.

**Nullah**

A watercourse, river-bed, or ravine; a drain or channel for rain or floodwater.

**Palanquin**

A covered box-litter, usually for one person, carried on two horizontal poles by four or six bearers.

**Pinnace**

A small light vessel, usually having two square schooner-rigged masts, often in attendance on a larger vessel and used to carry messages.

**Punkah**

In India, a large cloth fan on a frame suspended from the ceiling, moved backwards and forwards by pulling on a cord.

**Purgunna**

A sub-division of an administrative district, comprising a number of villages.

**Raja**

Originally: an Indian king or prince, later extended to a petty chief or dignitary (*zamindar*) or a member of the Hindu nobility in India.

**Ryot**

A peasant or cultivating tenant.

**Ryotwari** characterized by

Peasant system of land tenure; relating to land tenure in India by agreement between the government and the cultivators, without the intervention of a *zamindar*.

**Sadashiva**

The perfect aspect of Shiva. Sometimes represented in sculpture with ten arms and five heads.

**Sarasvati (Saraswati)**

Sarasvati is the goddess of the third sacred river, meeting the Ganga and the Yamuna rivers underground.

**Sarpeach**

An ornament of gold, silver or jewels worn in front of the turban.

**Sati (suttee)**

A former practice in India where a widow was consumed on to her husband's funeral pyre.

**Shiva**

The third deity of the Hindu triad, to whom are ascribed reproductive powers (symbolised in the Lingam and the Yoni). The sacred Hindu river, the Ganges (ganga) flows from his hair.

**Shringara-rasa**

One of the nine rasas in the classical dance arts of India. Translated as erotic love, romantic love, or attraction to beauty.

**Stupa**

A solid dome or tumulus-like structure built to contain relics of Buddha.

**Tatties (tatty)**

A screen or mat usually made of the fragrant khasa (cucus grass) (*Vetiveria zizanioides*) which, having fragrant fibrous roots, was fixed to open windows and doors and kept constantly wet, providing a cooling effect in the house.

**Tirtha**

Among Hindus a place of pilgrimage and bathing, generally on the banks of holy rivers.

**Trimurti**

The Hindu Trinity or Triad, Brahman, Vishnu and Shiva.

**Toorkey**

A horse from Turkistan.

**Tulsee**

A species of basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), sacred to Vishnu, frequently planted in the vicinity of a Hindu temple.

**Tykhana**

An underground chamber to which to retire during the heat of the day.

**Veda**

Any one of the four Vedas, the ancient sacred books of the Hindus.

**Wazir**

The principal minister of a Mughal Prince.

**Yoni**

A figure or symbol of the female organ of generation as an object of veneration among Hindus.

**Zemindar**

Under Mughal rule, a landowner responsible for collecting land revenues on behalf of the rulers. Under British rule they paid the land revenues direct to the British government.

## List of Illustrations

### Introduction

- I: Basildon Park, Berkshire, October 2013. Author's Photograph.
- II: Sezincote House, Gloucestershire, August 2014. Author's Photograph.

### Chapter 1: Country Estates and the Politics of the Nabob

- 1.1 Gillray, James (1756/57-1815), *Count Roupee*, published by Hannah Humphrey, hand-coloured etching, published 5 June 1797. National Portrait Gallery, London, ref: NPG D12616.
- 1.2 Palladian garden-house near Madras. Inscribed on mount: 'House built by Thomas Powney Esq., 2 miles from Fort St George on the Mount Road', c.1790. Watercolour. The British Library Board, ref: Add.Or.740.
- 1.3 The individual garden houses on Garden Reach and Fort William, 1785. Mark Wood, *A Survey of the Country on the Eastern Bank of the Hugly, from Calcutta to the Fortifications of Budgebudge including Fort William and the Post at Manicolly Point*, 1780-84 (published 1785). British Library Board: Maps K.Top.115.38.
- 1.4 Grimm, Samuel Hieronymus (1733-1794), *Stansted House and Park*, 1782. Watercolour. British Library Board, Add MS 5675, f. 39(70).
- 1.5 *Hook House, Hampshire, the Seat of John Hornby*, 1830. Lithograph by Graf with hand-colouring by Graf.  
<https://www.sandersofoxford.com> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 1.6 Gonsalves, Jose M. (fl. 1826-c. 1842), Government House, Parell, Bombay. Lithograph, coloured, 1833. British Library Board, ref: X840(2).
- 1.7 *A view of Parell House and the signal flagstaff from Lowice Castle*. May 1811. British Library Board, ref: WD315.
- 1.8 Hook Summer House on the Beach near Hook. Survey of Southampton River, The Brambles and Cowes Road, with The Adjacent Parts, by Lieut. Murdoch Mackenzie, 1783. Published 1808. British Library Board, ref: Maps SEC.1.(17).
- 1.9 India House, Margate, August 2014. Author's Photograph.

## **Case Study 1: The Indian and British Mansions and Experimental Gardens of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal**

- 1.10 Zoffany, Johann (1733-1810), *Warren Hastings*, 1783-84. Oil on canvas. Yale Center for British Art, ref: B2012.17.
- 1.11 Gillray, James (1756/57-1815), *The Bow to the Throne – alias – The Begging Bow*, published 6 May 1788 by S. W. Fores. British Library Board, ref: P3310.
- 1.12 William Prinsep (1794-1874), *Belvedere House*, 1838. Watercolour. The British Library Board, ref: WD4382.
- 1.13 The grand rear entrance to Belvedere House, Alipore., 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 1.14 D'Oyly, Sir Charles (1781-1845), *The Suspension Bridge at Alipore, over Tolly's Nulla*, Plate 21 of 'Views of Calcutta and its Environs'. Lithograph, coloured 1848. British Library Board, ref: X 666.
- 1.15 Belvedere House and Estate in A. Upjohn's, *Map of Calcutta and Its Environs, from an Accurate Survey, taken in the Years 1792 and 1793*, c.1794. The British Library Board, ref: Maps K.Top.115.43.2.TAB.
- 1.16 Hastings House, Alipore, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 1.17 William Hodges (1744-1797), *A View of the Fort of Bidjegur*, 1787. Aquatint with etching, coloured. Plate 10 of 'Select Views in India'. British Library Board, ref: X307(10).
- 1.18 William Hodges (1744-1797), *Natives drawing water from a Pond with Warren Hastings' House at Alipur in the distance* (on the right), 1781. Oil on canvas. Private collection.
- 1.19 Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), *Warren Hastings with his Wife Marian in their Garden at Alipore*, c.1784-7. Oil on canvas. Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata, ref: C1311.
- 1.20 Shaykh Zayn al-Din, *A Shawl Goat*, c.1779. Watercolour on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, ref: Museum no: IS.51-1963.
- 1.21 St. Germains, Near Edinburgh, 2013. Once the home of Warren Hastings' EIC friend and colleague David Anderson. Author's Photograph.
- 1.22 George Stubbs (1724-1806), *Yak*, 1791. Oil on canvas. The Royal College of Surgeons of England, Hunterian Museum, ref: RCSSC/P 268.
- 1.23 Foot, Jesse (1744-1826), *John Hunter's House*, Earl's Court, 1822. Wellcome Collection.

- 1.24 *A View of Purley Hall with Warren Hastings and his menagerie of exotic animals*. English Naïve School, late eighteenth century). Oil on canvas. Sotheby's Early British Paintings Sale, July 2009.
- 1.25 *Plan of Daylesford in the County of Worcester*, 1786. Gloucestershire Archives, ref. D3732/1.
- 1.26 Daylesford House, west view, showing the dome and plain finial spike, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 1.27 An engraving of the Garden Façade of the House from John Preston Neale's *Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, 1822.
- 1.28 *Photograph of a pen and wash drawing of Daylesford House in 1805 by the Honorable Anne Rushout*, Gloucestershire Archives, ref: GPS/108/3.
- 1.29 William Hodges (1744-1797), *A View of the Mosque at Mounheer [Maner]*. Oil on canvas. Christie's.
- 1.30 Hôtel de Salm, Paris. Michael Kenna: Forty-six photographs for *Thomas Jefferson's Paris Walks*, 2012.
- 1.31 Ivory pieces of furniture, part of a gift from Mani Begum of Murshidabad to Warren Hastings. V&A Museum, London, ref: 1085-1882.
- 1.32 Thomas Banks, Fireplace with Indian women supporters, and a Hodges inspired frieze. Historic England Archive, ref: 1422/34.
- 1.33 Detail of Hodges inspired frieze, on the Thomas Banks fireplace. Historic England Archive, ref: 1422/34.
- 1.34 Skelton, William (1763-1848), after Hodges, William (1744-1797), *A View of Inside of a Zenanah*. Engraving. Plate 4 of William Hodges' *Travels in India, during the years 1780, 1781, 1782, & 1783* published in London in 1793. British Library Board, ref: W2126(4).
- 1.35 Detail of a fireplace central section at Daylesford. Historic England Archive, ref: 1422/50.
- 1.36 The extent of the Daylesford garden, with the straightened stream leading through the Dell to the Great Pool. *Plan of the Parish of Daylesford*, 1844 (tithe map, formerly Worcestershire). Oxfordshire Archives, ref. PAR85/15/T1/1.
- 1.37 The Orangery at Daylesford designed and built by John Davenport, c.1790. Author's Photograph, 2012.
- 1.38 A coach arrives via the west drive at Daylesford. Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata/Calcutta.

- 1.39 *Proposed Bath Tent/House at Adlestrop*, by Humphry Repton (1752-1818).  
Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Archive, ref: DR18/8/7/12.

**Case Study 2: Innovations and improvements established by Sir Hector Munro, Royal, Bengal, and Madras Armies, on the Novar Estate, Inverness, Scotland**

- 1.40 Attributed to David Martin (1737-1797), *Sir Hector Munro*, 1785. Oil on canvas. National Portrait Gallery, ref: NPG 1433.
- 1.41 The twenty-first century Novar House, with piend-roofed pavilions.  
<http://mapio.net> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 1.42 The Mansion House at Novar. David Aitken, Surveyor, *Plan of the Farm and Policy of Novar*, 1777. Private Collection.
- 1.43 Coade stone plaque of the Munro arms with two soldiers as supporters, 1796. Author's Photograph, 2013.
- 1.44 *The Death of Munrow*, manufactured c.1830. Lead-glazed earthenware figure made in Staffordshire and painted with enamels. V&A Museum, ref: C.1-2007.
- 1.45 Hill Forts and Serpentine Path at Novar. David Aitken, Surveyor, *Plan of the Farm and Policy of Novar*, 1777. Private Collection.
- 1.46 The straight, precise boundaries of the field systems can clearly be seen, together with the new plantations and Sheet Park. David Aitken, Surveyor, *Plant of the Farm and Policy of Novar*, 1777.
- 1.47 Sketch of the Mains of Newtown Garrioch. George Kay, 'The landscape of improvement: A case study of agricultural change in North-East Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 78:2 (1962).
- 1.48 A square-shaped British battle formation from twenty-four preparatory paintings depicting the Battle of Pollilur, Seringapatam, Mysore, India, after 1780. Ink and gouache on rice-paper backed with cotton. Sotheby's Arts of the Islamic World Sale, October 2010.
- 1.49 Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan with their army, from twenty-four preparatory paintings depicting the Battle of Pollilur, Seringapatam, Mysore, India, after 1780. Ink and gouache on rice-paper backed with cotton. Sotheby's Arts of the Islamic World Sale, October 2010.
- 1.50 Military cartouche from *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.51 Buildings and statues in the restyled garden at Novar. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.

- 1.52 Detailed view of the walled garden, and Factor's House. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.53 Ordnance Survey, 25" map, 1st edition, surveyed 1874, published 1880. Ross and Cromarty Ross-shire Sheet LXV.10.
- 1.54 An Indian-type building, perhaps kennels, to the north west of the mansion. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.55 The fields named after Indian battles and places, containing geometrically shaped clumps of trees. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.56 Contents of the Plan with the Indian and local names of the Parks. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.57 The Cold Bath, and Dairy, in Bath and Dairy Park, Novar. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.58 Mercury and the Gun Ports to the East of the landscape. *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir Hector Munro K.B.*, 1788. Private Collection.
- 1.59 Remains of the Gun Ports, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 1.60 The Dunmore Pineapple, a garden building in the walled garden of Dunmore Park, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 1.61 The Mains of Novar, with the Fyrish Monument silhouetted on the hilltop, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 1.62 The Gates of Negapatam, or the Fyrish Monument. Photograph: <<http://www.walkhighlands.co.uk>> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 1.63 Auchernach Walled Garden, Glen Nochty, 2011. Photograph: Peter Aikman. <<http://www.geograph.org.uk>> [accessed 15 April 2019].

### **Case Study 3: Sir William Paxton's Garden Houses in Calcutta, and his Pleasure Garden at Middleton Hall, Llanarthne, South Wales**

- 1.64 *Sir William Paxton*, [n.d.]. Private Collection. Photograph: National Botanic Garden of Wales.
- 1.65: Boats and bridges in the East Calcutta Wetlands. Photograph: <<http://My.forumias.com>> [accessed 13 February 2013].

- 1.66 Embankments dividing the ponds in the East Calcutta Wetlands. Photograph: Patrick Barkham. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/09/kolkata-wetlands-india-miracle-environmentalist-flood-defence> [accessed 13 February 2016].
- 1.67 *Ganga*, eighteenth century, Kangra School, India. Opaque watercolour on paper. The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, ref: ICMS IMJ 417631.
- 1.68 Mark Wood, *The Survey of the Country on the Banks of the Hugly River Extending from the Town of Calcutta to the Village of Ooloobareah, and which includes the Fortress of Fort William and Works at BudgeBudge. Surveyed by Order of the Government 'twixt the Years 1780 and 1784*. British Library Board, Maps K.Top.115.37.
- 1.69 The shoreline of the wetlands and lakes from the monsoon seasons is clearly depicted on the right of the map, near Eetally and Serampoor. Detail of Mark Wood, *The Survey of the Country on the Banks of the Hugly River Extending from the Town of Calcutta to the Village of Ooloobareah, and which includes the Fortress of Fort William and Works at BudgeBudge. Surveyed by Order of the Government 'twixt the Years 1780 and 1784*. British Library Board, Maps.115.37.
- 1.70 Tenby Baths on the sea-front, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 1.71 Emmanuel Bowen, Map of the Middleton Estate, showing a 'Fish Pond' to the north of Middleton Hall. Detail of Map of South Wales, 1729.
- 1.72 'Mannerist' entrance front with icicle work on the columns and floral arch. Photograph: National Monuments Record of Wales, Thomas Lloyd Collection.
- 1.73 John Preston Neale, 'Middleton Hall', Vol. 5 (first series), *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Scotland, and Wales*, 1818.
- 1.74 Map of the Middleton Estate in 1815. Thomas Hornor monograph, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815)*. Private Collection.
- 1.75 Station 3: From the North Steps of the Mansion, a view out to Paxton's Tower (right) and the far hills. Hornor, Thomas (1785-1844), *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815)*. Private Collection.
- 1.76 Station 10: To the left of the scene a decorative bridge crosses over to the trellised Hermit's cell, with the Hermit's garden to the right. At the top of the waterfall is a viewpoint from another decorative bridge. Hornor, Thomas (1785-1844), *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815)*. Private Collection.

- 1.77 The waterfall in 2016, without its decorative elements, 2016. Author's Photograph.
- 1.78 The three-stepped cascade in Picturesque woodland, 2016. Author's Photograph.
- 1.79 View north to the seventh terrace, across two chadars at Nishat Bagh, Srinagar, Kashmir, India. Photograph: Maryann Thompson, 1987. <https://dome.mit.edu/handle/1721.3/42784> [accessed 13 January 2019].
- 1.80 Dam holding back the upper reservoir, has a robust, almost military design, 2016. Author's Photograph.
- 1.81 Detail from Horner's map in the 1815 album, showing the winding drive up to the house over a decorative bridge between East Lake and South Lake. Hornor, Thomas (1785-1844), *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815). Private Collection.
- 1.82 Station 4: View from bank of Llyn Mawr looking back at mansion, with a substantial sailing ship in the centre of the painting and a small decorative bridge to the right. Hornor, Thomas (1785-1844), *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815). Private Collection.
- 1.83 Station 7: *The Grotto of Hygrea*. Site of the first bathhouse with grotto and chalybeate spring. Hornor, Thomas (1785-1844), *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815). Private Collection.
- 1.84 The remains of the plunge pool at the chalybeate well, 2016. Author's Photograph.
- 1.85 Station 13 'well screened by a grove', the second, neo-classical bath-house, with its own cascade to the left, showing the different levels of water achieved. Hornor, Thomas (1785-1844), *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815). Private Collection.
- 1.86 The military-looking Paxton's Tower, also known as Nelson's Tower, 2016. Author's Photograph.
- 1.87 Haldon Belvedere (Lawrence Castle). Photograph: <http://www.haldonbelvedere.co.uk> [accessed 13 January 2019].

## **Chapter 2: The Indian Experience: Engagement with Indian Art and Religion**

- 2.1 William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils. Engraved by the best hands, from the originals drawn in China ... To which is annexed, a Description of their temples, houses, gardens, &c.* (London: 1757) British Library Board, ref: 56.i.7.

- 2.2 Chinese Tea-House and bridge at Shugborough in Staffordshire, 2011. Author's Photograph.
- 2.3 Chinese House at Stowe, 2004. Author's Photograph.
- 2.4 The Chinese Temple at Wrest Park, Hertfordshire, 2015. Author's Photograph.
- 2.5 The Chinese Room at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire. <<https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk>> [accessed 15 April 2019].
- 2.6 Marlow, William (1740-1813), *A View of the Wilderness, with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque, in the Royal Gardens at Kew*. Coloured engraving. Cloake Collection ref: LDORL: 03234.
- 2.7 John Johnson, Water-colour painting of a waterfall near Halyial with an artist sketching in the foreground, c.1795 – 1801. A sheet from Captain John Johnson's West India and Mysore Sketchbook. British Library Board. WD1055, f.32.
- 2.8 Hickey, Thomas (1741-1844), *Portrait of Colin Mackenzie*, 1816. Mackenzie is accompanied by three of his Indian assistants, the Jain statue of Gomatesvara at Karkala on the hillside behind. British Library Board, ref: Foster 13.
- 2.9 Tippoo's Tiger, a Mechanical Organ Made for Tipu Sultan, c.1793. Victoria and Albert Museum, ref: Museum No. 2545 (IS).
- 2.10 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), and Wales, James (1747-1795), *View of Indra Sabha outward*, Ellora cave system, 1803. British Library Board, ref: X432/6 (7).
- 2.11 The Ajanta Caves, Aurangabad, Maharastra, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.12 Ceiling Paintings in the Ajanta Cave System, Aurangabad, Maharastra, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.13 Elephanta Caves, near Bombay, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.14 Elephanta Cave 1. Shiva slaying Andhakasura. Author's Photograph, 2014.
- 2.15 The three faces of the Hindu god Shiva (the Trimurti), Elephanta Caves, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.16 Phillips, James (active 1775-1800), after a painting by James Wales, based on an original drawing by James Forbes, *The Temple of Elephanta*, 1790. Line Engraving. British Library Board, ref: P182.

- 2.17 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), 'Cape Cormorin, taken near Calcad', 1792 Aquatint coloured. Plate 1 from the fourth set of Thomas and William Daniell's 'Oriental Scenery', 1804. British Library Board, ref: X432/4(1).
- 2.18 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840, *Hindoo Temples at Agouree, on the River Soane, Bahar*, September 1796. Published by Robert Bower. Aquatint, etched and hand coloured. British Library Board, ref: 10 Tab.30.(1).
- 2.19 The lingam of Shiva in the central shrine at Elephanta, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.20 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840) after drawing made by James Wales, *Sir Charles Warre Malet, Concluding a Treaty in 1790 in Durbar with the Peshwar of the Maratha Empire*, 1805. Oil on canvas. Tate Collection, ref: T12511.
- 2.21 Rohilla Temple in the Towneley Collection reproduced by Richard Payne Knight in his *Discourse on the Worship of Priapus and its Connection with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients*, 1786. Beinecke Library, Yale University.
- 2.22 Zoffany, Johann (1733-1810), *Charles Towneley in his Sculpture Gallery*, 1782. Oil on canvas. Art Gallery and Museum Burnley.
- 2.23 Atkinson, James (1780-1852), *A Sati or Widow-Burning*, 1831. Oil on canvas. British Library, ref: F165.
- 2.24 Two examples of the Ninefold plan used in the construction of Mughal buildings. <[www.approachguides.com](http://www.approachguides.com)> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 2.25 Nanha, The Persian style *Babur's garden* (The Garden of Fidelity at Kabul), from the *Baburnama*, c.1590. Opaque watercolour on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum: ref: IM.276-1913.
- 2.26 The Taj Mahal, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.27 Mazhar Ali Khan, *A Panorama of Delhi* [from the Red Fort] (detail with *chhatti*), 25 November 1846. British Library Board, ref: Add. Or.4126.
- 2.28 The Bara Imambara Gateway, Lucknow, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.29 Smith, Robert (1787-1873) Part of the Nawab Vizir's marching Equipage, October 1814. Pencil drawing of a fish-shaped car. British Library Board, ref: WD 312, f.10v.
- 2.30 Zoffany, Johann (1733-1810), *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match*, c.1784-86. Oil on canvas. Tate Collection, ref: T06856.
- 2.31 Attributed to Faizullah, *A Dancer Balances a Bottle*, c.1770. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

- 2.32 Zoffany, Johann (1733-1810), *General Claude Martin with his Friends*, 1786-87. Oil on canvas. Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata/Calcutta, ref: R2066.
- 2.33 After Zoffany, Johann (1733-1810), *Colonel Polier Watching a Nautch*, 1786-88. Opaque watercolour on paper. Museum Rietberg, Zürich, ref: 2005.83.
- 2.34 Constantia, Lucknow, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.35 Decorative detail, Constantia, Lucknow, 2014. Author's Photograph.

**Case Study 4: A Fairy Palace in Devon: Redcliffe Towers built by Colonel Robert Smith, Bengal Engineers**

- 2.36 Postcard: The Hotel Redcliffe (Redcliffe Towers), Paignton, Devon. Early 20th Century.
- 2.37 Jivan Ram, Raja (Raja Jirvan Raja), *Portrait of Robert Smith, Bengal Engineers*, c.1830, oil painting. British Library Board, ref. Foster 870.
- 2.38 Mackenzie, Colin (1754-1820), A Company officer planning to sketch a ruined temple, 1790-1810. Watercolour. British Library Board, ref: WD 586.
- 2.39 Smith, Robert (1787-1873), *Sketches of the Line of March with Elephants, Camels, Hackeries, horsemen and coolies*, 1814, pencil on paper, British Library Board, Sketchbook No XIII: Ganges and Lucknow, ref. WD311, f. 25.
- 2.40 Smith, Robert (1787-1873) engraved by William Daniell, *View of the Cascade*, Prince of Wales Island, 1818. Aquatint. Penang State Museum Board, ref. RM 12,414.
- 2.41 Smith, Robert (1787-1873), *Barrackpore House*, 1815-1819, Oil on canvas. British Library Board, ref: F86.
- 2.42 Ismail Khan, View of the *Qutb Minar from the East*, 1860-1865. Watercolour on ivory, oval with a gilt frame. British Library Board, ref: Add.Or.4692.
- 2.43 Smith, Robert (1787-1873), *Inside the Main Entrance of the Purana Qila, Delhi*, 1823. Oil on canvas. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, ref: B1976.7.73.
- 2.44 Robert Smith's Bungalow (known as the Fraser Bungalow), 2014. Author's Photograph.

- 2.45 Smith, Robert (1787-1873), *An Attack on an Indian Fort, probably Bharatpore*, n.d. Oil on canvas. Christie's Arts of India Sale, September 2003.
- 2.46 Gate of the Jama Masjid, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.47 Van Deman, Esther Boise (1862-1937), *The Villa Mills* c.1910. Photograph, cellulose nitrate. Van Deman, American Academy, Rome.
- 2.48 Benoist, Félix (1818-1896), *Nice, Vue prise de l'extrémité du Mont Boron*, 1864, lithograph. Archives départementales des Alpes Maritimes.
- 2.49 Fossat, Vincent (1822-1897), *Nice, Le Château de l'Anglais Smith*, 19th century. Watercolour. Nice, Bibliothèque de Cessole, no. d'inv: 4437 (C.5).
- 2.50 Le Château de l'Anglais, Mont Boron, Nice, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 2.51 Postcard: *La 'Maison de l'Anglais', Château de Mont Boron*, n.d.
- 2.52 Platel, Victor, Le Cap de Nice et Le Château du l'Anglais, 1875. Photograph (detail). Didier Gayraud Collection.
- 2.53 Antique Steel Vignette Paignton after J. W. Tucker, 1840-1870, steel engraving. *Views in Devonshire and Cornwall* (Exeter: Henry Besley, n.d., 19th century) [www.rareoldprints.com](http://www.rareoldprints.com) [accessed 25 November 2016].
- 2.54 Early drawing of Redcliffe Towers n.d. Redcliffe Hotel, Paignton.
- 2.55 Plan of the Mansion and Grounds, Redcliffe Towers, n.d. Copy of an original map. Redcliffe Hotel, Paignton.
- 2.56 Roundels on Redcliffe Towers, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 2.57 The Central Rotunda, Redcliffe Towers, Paignton, Devon, 2013, with the door of the plunge-pool tunnel, opening above the beach. Author's Photograph.
- 2.58 Lotus fountain in the hotel carpark, framed by holm oak trees, remnants of Robert Smith's garden, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 2.59 Remnants of a Flagstaff tower in the Redcliffe garden, 2013. Author's Photograph.

#### **Case Study 5: Indian Stones in a Suffolk Garden: The Pyramid at Great Bealings built by Edward Moor, Bombay Army**

- 2.60 Edward Moor's Hindu Pyramid, at Bealings House, Great Bealings, Suffolk, 2014. Author's Photograph.

- 2.61 Turner (nee Palgrave), Mary Dawson (1774-1850), *Major Edward Moor*, 1810. Etching. National Portrait Gallery, ref: NPG D17970.
- 2.62 Entrance to the Elephanta Caves, Bombay, India, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.63 Sketch by Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840) and Daniell, William (1769-1837) of the Elephanta Caves, July 1793. Victoria and Albert Museum, ref: IS.152-1984.
- 2.64 Bronze figure of Ganesa, 18th century, Maharashtra. British Museum, Moor Collection, ref: 1940,0716.1.a.
- 2.65 The small statuette of Ganesa at the Frontispiece to Edward Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, 1810.
- 2.66 Rajasthan school, *Shiva and Parvati on a Terrace*, c.1800. British Museum, ref: 1940,0713,0.51
- 2.67 *Female devotee worshipping Siva in the form of a linga*. Circa 1800, possibly from Jaipur. Gouache on paper. British Museum, ref: 1940,0713,0.52.
- 2.68 *Parvati or Some Other Holy Female at the Ceremony of Linga Purja in Honour of Mahadeva*. Plate 22 in Edward Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, 1810. Line drawing by M. Houghton, engraved by J. Dudley.
- 2.69 The pyramid at Great Bealings, topped by Moor's Trimurti statue, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.70 The side niche holds the small statue of Brahma, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.71 'No.1 The Trimurti or Hindu Triad, from a very ancient Granite in the Museum at the India House', Plate 82 of 105, Edward Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, 1810. Line drawing by M. Houghton, engraved by J. Dudley.
- 2.72 'Trimurti the Hindu Triad, from a very ancient Granite in the Museum at the India House', Plate 81 of 105, Edward Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, 1810. Line drawing by M. Houghton, engraved by J. Dudley.
- 2.73 *Great Bealings Tithe Map and Book of Reference*, 1840. Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich), ref: FC31/C4/4.
- 2.74 The pyramid in its setting on the ridge above a hollow in the ground, in the Bealings landscape, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 2.75 OS Map 25" First Edition 1881, 76/3. Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich).
- 2.76 Indentation in the grass to the left of the photograph shows the original line of the drive, near the pyramid, which stands high on a rise in the landscape, 2014. Author's Photograph.

## **Case Study 6: The Indian and British Gardens of James Forbes, East India Company Merchant, Topographer, Revenue Administrator and Artist**

- 2.77 Forbes, James (1749-1819), in the frontispiece to *Oriental Memoirs*, standing by Edward Moor's Hindu Trimurti statue. First volume of 'Oriental Memoirs', published 1813.
- 2.78 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'Bulbul, or Indian Nightingale, on a Sprig of the Custard Apple Tree', 1813. Plate 12 from the first volume of Forbes' 'Oriental Memoirs'. British Library Board, ref: 455.c.7.
- 2.79 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'Red, Blue and White Lotus, of Hindostan', 1813. Plate 88 from the third volume of 'Oriental Memoirs'. British Library Board, ref: 455.c.9.
- 2.80 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'View of Cubbeer Burr, the celebrated Banian Tree on the Banks of the Nerbudda', engraving, 1813. Plate 4 from the first volume of James Forbes' 'Oriental Memoirs'. British Library Board, 455.c.7.
- 2.81 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'Garden House in a Village near Baroche in Guzerat, 1813. Engraving. Plate 50 from the second volume of Forbes' 'Oriental Memoirs'. British Library Board, ref: 455.c.8.
- 2.82 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'Scene in the Garden at Vezelpoor near Baroche'. Second volume of 'Oriental Memoirs', 1813. Yale Center for British Art.
- 2.83 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'The Gate of Diamonds at Dhuboy', 1813. Plate 58 from the second volume of Forbes' 'Oriental Memoirs'. British Library Board, ref: 455.c.8.
- 2.84 Forbes, James (1749-1819), 'Specimen of Hindoo Sculpture on the Gate of Diamonds at Dhuboy'. Engraving, 1813. Plate 59 from the second volume of Forbes' 'Oriental Scenery'. British Library Board, ref: 455.c.8.
- 2.85 Henry Sayer, Survey of Great and Little Stanmore, which includes Stanmore Hill. London Metropolitan Archives, *Great and Little Stanmore in the County of Middlesex, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Lord of these Manors*, ref: ACC/0668/029 (photostat), ACC/262/26 (original).
- 2.86 The Dower House, Stanmore (called Stanmore Hall in the records), c.1800. Watercolour on paper. London Metropolitan Archives, Wakefield Collection, ref: k1273846.
- 2.87 Stanmore Map with temple, by the lake. London Metropolitan Archives ref: ACC 453/10/3, Release and Uses and Covenant of Surrender of Copyhold with Conveyance of Pews, 1815.

### **Chapter 3: Indian Design: Inspiration and Appropriation**

- 3.1 The remains of the eclectic Alton Towers gardens, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 3.2 George Dance the Younger, The Guildhall, London.  
[www.guildhall.cityoflondon.gov.uk/](http://www.guildhall.cityoflondon.gov.uk/) [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.3 Hodges, William (1744-1797), *A View of a Musjid, Tomb at Jionpoor*, 1786. Plate 13, *Select Views in India*. Aquatint with etching. British Library Board, ref: X744 (13).
- 3.4 Beaudesert Gatehouse, Staffordshire, 2011. <<http://Expressandstar.com>> [accessed 15 April 2019].
- 3.5 *Gatehouse at the entrance of the Park*, 1814. Humphry Repton's 'Red Book' for Beaudesert, Staffordshire. The Taylor Collection.
- 3.6 Plaw, John (1745-1820), *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas, and Rural Dwellings* (London: J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1800), Plate 7.
- 3.7 Lugar, Robert (1773-1855), *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas* (London: J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1805, repr.1815), Plate 32.
- 3.8 Gastineau, Henry (1791-1876), *Hafod House*. Engraving by J. C. Varrall National Library of Wales.
- 3.9 Smith, Robert (1787-1873), *The Muharram procession to the Great Imambara, Lucknow*. Oil on canvas. Christie's Travel, Science and Natural History Sale, April 2012.
- 3.10 The Pagoda at Alton Towers, 2014. Author's Photograph.
- 3.11 John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening*. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), p. 1178.
- 3.12 No 24 Kensington Palace. Photograph by John Piper (1903–1992). Tate Archive: ref: TGA 8728/1/23/56.
- 3.13 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), 'Gate of the Loll-Baug at Fyzabad', 1801. Aquatint, coloured. Plate 3 from the first set of Thomas and William Daniell's 'Oriental Scenery'.
- 3.14 Oriental Place, Westcliff, Brighton, 1820. Perspective View from the sea showing terraced housing leading to the domes of the Athenaeum and Oriental Garden. RIBA: RIBA31499.

- 3.15 *Vue de la Place de Dely et du Palais du Grand Mogol*, 1760. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie, LI-72 (8)-FOL.
- 3.16 Western Pavilion, 9 Western Terrace, Brighton. Built 1825 by Amon Wilds. Photograph: The Voice of Hassocks <<https://commons.wikimedia.org>> [accessed 9 November 2013].
- 3.17 Clifton Baths and Tepid Swimming Baths, Gravesend, Kent, c.1870. Built by Amon Henry Wilds of Lewes, Sussex, 1836. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, ref: G2338.
- 3.18 Panorama: Temples of Ellora at the Surrey Zoological Gardens, 1843. *Illustrated London News*, 10 June 1843.
- 3.19 After Edward Fox (1788-1875), *The Entrance to the Royal Palace, Brighton*, 1835. Lithograph by T. Cooper, for ‘Views in Brighton’. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove.
- 3.20 Jenkins, Edward (active 1825), *Entrance Screen and Arcade, New Market House*, Bennington Street, Cheltenham, 1822 (demolished in 1867). RIBA Library and Drawings, ref: RIBA83591.
- 3.21 North Gate of Brighton Pavilion, erected in 1832, designed by Joseph Good. Photograph: Tony Mould. <https://www.mybrightonandhove.org.uk> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.22 Northgate House, Brighton, 2015. Architect: John Henry Good (1775-1857), 1830. <http://www.ipernity.com> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.23 Lenton Lodge, Derby Road, Nottingham, 2012. Photograph: Stephen Richards. <https://www.geograph.org.uk> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.24 Wyatville, Sir Jeffry (1766-1840), *Unexecuted design for a Villa, Meiningen, for Bernhard II Erich Freund von Sachsen-Meiningen, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen: south elevation (design E, Oriental style)*, 1838. RIBA, ref: RIBA95563.
- 3.25 Blechen, Carl (1798-1840), *Inside the Palm House on the Pfaueninsel near Potsdam*, 1832/1834, Oil on paper. Collection of Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
- 3.26 Vorontsov Palace Southern façade, Alupka, Crimea. <<http://www.mapofukraine.net>> [accessed 15 April 2019].
- 3.27 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), *The Jumma Musjed, Delhi*, 1797. Line-etching and aquatint, with watercolour. Published by Rob[er]t Bowyer. Wellcome Collection.
- 3.28 *Iranistan the Residence of Mr. Barnum*. The Bridgeport History Centre.
- 3.29 New Haven Railroad Station, Connecticut, 1848-49. Yale University Library.

## **Case Study 7: Thomas and William Daniell and the Architecture and Gardens of Sezincote, Gloucestershire, and Melchet Park, Hampshire**

- 3.30 Wilkie, Sir David (1785-1841), *Thomas Daniell*, 1838. Oil on canvas. Tate Collection, ref: N00231.
- 3.31 *View of the Fort of Madura*, part of the ‘India’ series. English Blue and White Transferware, c.1810, by the Herculaneum Pottery Co. <http://www.knightsbridgeantique.com> [accessed 10 September 2015].
- 3.32 *Les Vues de l'Indoustan*, a framed Zuber wallpaper panel. After Pierre-Antoine Mongin, c.1806. Christie’s West-East-The Niall Hobhouse Collection Sale, May 2008.
- 3.33 Westall, Richard (1765-1836), *Portrait of William Daniell*, c.1800, pen and ink on paper. Royal Academy of Arts, ref: 05/5020.
- 3.34 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), *Old Court House and Writer's Building, Calcutta*, 1786. Etching coloured, with aquatint. British Library Board, ref: P95.
- 3.35 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘View at Nijeibabad, near the Coaduwar Gaut’, *Rohilcund*, 1804. Plate 13 from the fourth set of William and Thomas Daniell’s ‘Oriental Scenery’. Aquatint, coloured. British Library Board, ref: X432/4(13).
- 3.36 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘The Waterfall at Courtallum in the Tinnevelly District’, 1804. Aquatint, coloured. Plate 3 from the fourth set of William and Thomas Daniell’s ‘Oriental Scenery’. British Library Board: X432/4(3).
- 3.37 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘The Western Entrance of Shere Shah's Fort, Delhi’, 1796. Coloured aquatint. Published by Rob[er]t Bowyer, March 1796. Wellcome Collection.
- 3.38 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), *Gate of the Tomb of the Emperor Akbar, at Secundra, at Agra*, 1795. Coloured aquatint. Wellcome Collection.
- 3.39 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘An Ancient Hindoo Temple in the Fort of Rotas’, 1796, Plate 11, from Thomas and William Daniell’s first volume of ‘Oriental Scenery’, British Library, ref: P921.
- 3.40 Daniell, William (1769-1837), *An Hindoo Temple erected in Melchet Park, in the County of Wilts*. Coloured aquatint engraving. Originally published/produced in 1802. The British Library Board, ref: P2176.
- 3.41 OS Map Wiltshire Old Series, 1 inch to 1 mile, Sheet 15, supervised by Lt. Col William Mudge, Tower of London, 1811.

- 3.42 Espin, Thomas (1767-1822), *A View of Lifford Hall, Kings Norton, Worcestershire, the Residence of Mr Dobbs*. Watercolour. <<https://the-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogues/cheffinsfineart/>> [accessed 6 March 2013].
- 3.43 Jones, Thomas, *Maeslough House*, 1776. Oil on canvas, Private Collection. Ann Sumner and Greg Smith, eds, *Thomas Jones (1742-1803): An Artist Rediscovered*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).
- 3.44 Coade stone bust of Warren Hastings, erected in Melchet Temple. RIBA ref: 18516.
- 3.45 Zoffany, Johann (1733-1810), *David Garrick and his Wife by his Temple to Shakespeare, Hampton*, c.1762. Oil on canvas. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, ref: Accession No: B1981.25.737.
- 3.46 Sezincote House, 2015. Author's Photograph.
- 3.47 Hayter, George (1792-1837), *Charles Cockerell*, 1819. Founder's Library, Trinity St David, Lampeter.
- 3.48 Worcester Lodges designed by C. R. Cockerell. Catalogue Cover, Sezincote Estate Sale, 1880. Private Collection.
- 3.49 Plan of the Sezincot Estate ... for sale by Norton, Trist, Watney & Co., 1880. Sezincote Estate Sale, 1880. Private Collection.
- 3.50: Rushout, Anne (1768-1849), Sezincote, 1824. Watercolour and graphite on wove paper. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, ref: B1977.14.9516. BB1977.14.9516.
- 3.51 The main block of Sezincote House, 2015. Author's Photograph.
- 3.52 Edy, John William (1760-1820) after Colebrooke, Robert Hyde (1762?-1808), 'The Mausoleum of Hyder Aly Khan at Laulbaug', Plate 12, *Twelve Views of Mysore, the Country of Tipoo Sultan*, published 1801 by Edward Orme.<<http://www.bobins.splrarerebooks.com>> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.53 Lewis, Frederick Christian the Elder (1779–1856) after John Martin (1789-1854), *The Entrance Door of East Front of Mansion House*, c.1818. Aquatint. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, Accession Number B2002.18.2.
- 3.54 The Farm Buildings and Stables, Sezincote Estate, Gloucestershire. Author's Photograph, 2013.
- 3.55 The East Pavilion, known as the Tent Room, Sezincote House, 2014. Author's Photograph.

- 3.56 Lewis, Frederick Christian the Elder (1779-1856), after John Martin (1789-1854), *East View of the Mansion House*, c. 1818. Aquatint, 43.8 x 57.2cm. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, Accession No. B2002.18.4.
- 3.57 The arched Orangery and previous Aviary, Sezincote House, 2015. Author's Photograph.
- 3.58 The formal south garden and octagonal fountain. Lewis, Frederick Christian the Elder (1779–1856), after Martin, John (1789-1854), *South Front of Mansion House and Conservatory*, 1817. Aquatint. British Library Board, ref: P1602.
- 3.59 Daniell, Thomas (1749–1840), *Temple, Fountain and Cave in Sezincote Park*, 1819. Oil on canvas. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, Accession No. B1976.7.106.
- 3.60 View out into the wider landscape from the Sezincote Orangery. Sketchbook of John Martin, pre.1834. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, ref: WA863.1475.
- 3.61 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), Preliminary Sketches for Garden Buildings, at Sezincote, Moreton-in-Marsh, 1795. RIBA Collections, ref: RIBA12240, Library ref: SA31/2(3) (J5/16(3)).
- 3.62 The Temple Pool, Sezincote, Gloucestershire, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 3.63 The Coade stone temple of the Hindu sun god Surya, with Aruna, the god of the sunrise. <http://www.hansvanlemmen.co.uk>[accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.64 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), Preliminary Sketches for Garden Buildings at Sezincote, Moreton-in-Marsh, 1795. RIBA Collections ref: RIBA12241, Library ref: SA31/2(4) (J5/16(4)).
- 3.65 Rushout, Anne (1768–1849), *Temple Pool, Thornery, Sezincote*, c.1824. Watercolour and graphite on cream wove paper. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, Accession No. B1977.14.9519.
- 3.66 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), Preliminary Sketches for Garden Buildings at Sezincote, Moreton-in-Marsh, 1806. RIBA Collections ref: RIBA3951, library ref: J5/16(5).
- 3.67 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840) and William Daniell (1769-1837), ‘An Hindoo Temple at Madura’, 1798. Detail of Plate 16, ‘Oriental Scenery’, Part II, coloured aquatint. British Library Board, ref: P951.
- 3.68 Sezincote Bridge and Snake Pool, 2013. Author's Photograph.
- 3.69 Martin, John (1789-1854), Belshazzar’s Feast, 1820. Oil on canvas. Tate Britain.

## Case Study 8: Humphry Repton and the Building of Brighton Pavilion

- 3.70 Downman, John (1750-1824), Humphry Repton, c.1790. Watercolour on ivory. <<http://www.historicalportraits.com>> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.71 Trade Card of Humphry Repton, 1783. RIBA, ref: RIBA35563.
- 3.72 Pre-emptive ‘peep’ of the mansion in Stoneleigh Park, the Red Book of Stoneleigh Park, 1809. Stoneleigh Abbey Charitable Trust.
- 3.73 Humphry Repton in the grounds of Stoneleigh Park. Red Book of Stoneleigh Park, 1809. Stoneleigh Abbey Charitable Trust.
- 3.74 After Thomas Hearne (1744-1817), printed in Richard Payne Knight’s *The Landscape*, 1794. British Museum, ref: 1873,0510.2679.
- 3.75 After Thomas Hearne (1744-1817), printed in Richard Payne Knight’s *The Landscape*, 1794. British Museum, ref: 1873,0510.2678.
- 3.76 Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *Project for Mrs. Jenning’s House in Windsor Park*. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019, ref: RCIN 917462.
- 3.77 Humphry Repton, *Some Remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture*, 1808. Published with *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: 1808).
- 3.78 Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *View from the Principal Floor of Carleton-House*, 1808. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2019, ref: RCIN 917091.
- 3.79 Ward, Francis Swain (c.1734-1805), *Mausoleum of Sher Shah, Sasaram, Bihar*. British Library Board, ref: F25.
- 3.80 Maréchal, Jean-Baptiste (act. 1779-1824), *Extérieur de la Halle au Blé*, 1786. Pen and wash. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
- 3.81 Cross Section of the Dome, Riding House, and proposed Tennis Court at Brighton, 1800. RIBA, ref: RIBA66841.
- 3.82 William Porden’s Stable Dome and Complex, 2013. Author’s Photograph.
- 3.83 Augustus Pugin (1812-1852), ‘Interior of the Royal Riding Stables at Brighton’, John Nash, *Views of the Royal Pavilion*, 1826. Royal Pavilion Museums Brighton and Hove.
- 3.84 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘Mausoleum of Sultan Purveiz, near Allahabad’, 1796. Aquatint, coloured. Plate 22, ‘Oriental Scenery’ Part I. British Library Board, ref: P.932.

- 3.85 Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), ‘Flower Garden, Valleyfield, Fife’ in Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor at the Architectural Library, 1803).
- 3.86 ‘West Front of the Pavilion’ from Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, drawn 1806, published 1808. Royal Pavilion Museums Brighton and Hove.
- 3.87 Repton, Humphry (1752-18180, ‘General Ground Plan’ in *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, 1808. Royal Pavilion Museums Brighton and Hove.
- 3.88 The Chinese Dairy at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, c.1803. Engraving. British Library Board, ref: K.Top VII, 10b.
- 3.89 The Temple Pool in Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, drawn 1806, published 1808. Royal Pavilion Museums Brighton and Hove.
- 3.90 ‘The Pheasantry’, from Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, drawn 1806, published 1808. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017, ref: RCIN 918082.
- 3.91 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘Part of the Palace in the Fort of Allahabad’. Plate 8 from ‘Oriental Scenery’ Part I, published in 1795. British Library Board, ref: P918.
- 3.92 ‘The Aviary and the Stable, Brighton Pavilion’, from Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, drawn 1806, published 1808. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2017, ref: RCIN 1150259.
- 3.93 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘Hindu Temples at Bindrabund on the River Jumna’, ‘Oriental Scenery’ Part I. Etching and aquatint with hand-colouring. British Library Board: General Reference Collection 10 TAB.30 (1).
- 3.94 Detail of the Viewing Platform, ‘North Front of the Parade’, from Repton, Humphry (1752-1818), *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, drawn 1806, published 1808. Royal Pavilion Museums Brighton and Hove.
- 3.95 Daniell, Thomas (1749-1840), ‘North East View of the Cotsea Bhaug’, on the River Jumna, 1795. Aquatint, coloured. Plate 3 from ‘Oriental Scenery’, Part I, 1795. British Library Board, ref: P913.
- 3.96 After Pugin, Augustus Charles (1767–1832), ‘East front of the Royal Pavilion’ from Nash, John (1752-1835), *The Royal Pavilion at Brighton*, 1826. Aquatint. Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove.
- 3.97 Hindu columns and lotus-flower minaret bases at Brighton Pavilion, 2013. Author’s Photograph.

- 3.98 Pugin, Augustus Charles (1812-1852), *Ground Plan of Royal Pavilion, Dome Stables and Gardens*, 1820s. Royal Pavilion and Museums, Brighton & Hove ref: FA100683.
- 3.99 *Beauties of Brighton* by Crowquill, Alfred (1804-1872), 1825. Pen and ink and watercolour. Victoria and Albert Museum, ref: P.6-1932.

### **Case Study 9: The ‘Hindu’ Bridge at Dromana: Political Statement or Honeymoon Fantasy?**

- 3.100 The Hindu Bridge at Dromana, Co. Waterford, Ireland, 2014. Author’s Photograph.
- 3.101 Sake Deen Mahomet in court robes. Welcome Trust.
- 3.102 W. Bond, after James Northcote, *Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*. From the frontispiece of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan and Charles Stewart, *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814).
- 3.103 Roberts, Thomas Sautelle (1749-1778), *College Green, Dublin*, 1816. Aquatint with etching, coloured. British Library Board ref: Maps K.Top LIII.
- 3.104 Lee, Anthony (1737-1767), *Portrait of Richard Wingfield*, n.d., Viscount Powerscourt. Oil on canvas. Private collection. Christies/Bridgeman Art Gallery.
- 3.105 Drury, Susanna (c.1698-c.1770), *East Prospect of The Giant’s Causeway*, c.1739. Ulster Museum ref: BELUM.U1652.
- 3.106 Evans, William (1798-1877), *Spanish Arch, the Claddagh in Distance, Galway*. Watercolour and graphite on paper. National Gallery of Ireland, ref: NGI.2008.36.16.
- 3.107 Evans, William (1798-1877), *Cabin at Renvyle*, 1838. Watercolour. National Gallery of Ireland, ref: 1838 Portfolio 10.
- 3.108 MacDonald, Daniel (1821-1853), *An Irish Peasant Family Discovering the Blight in their Store*, 1847-48. National Folklore Museum, University College Dublin.
- 3.109 Roberts, T. S., *View of Dramana [Dromana]*, 1799. Aquatint, Coloured. British Library Board, ref: Maps K.Top.55.20.
- 3.110 Grose, Daniel (c. 1766-1838), ‘Dromana House 1’ (Waterford). Roger Stalley (ed.), *The Antiquities of Ireland: A Supplement to Francis Grose* (Dublin: Irish Architectural Archive, 1991).

- 3.111 Henry Jones, *A Plan of Dromana The seat of the R[igh]t Hon[ou]r[a]ble John Earl of Grandison and of Villiars[sic] Town a new & neat Colony erected by his L[or]dship for the advancement of the Linen Manufacture*, 1751. Irish Architectural Archive, ref: IAA 94/73.
- 3.112 Henry Villiers-Stuart, 1st Baron de Decies, in his Lord Lieutenant robes. Private Collection.
- 3.113 Martin Day, A Design for Elevation of Dromana House, c.1822. Georgian Society Archive at the Irish Architectural Archive.
- 3.114 The nine-bay entrance façade of the Georgian main building. n.d. but before demolition in 1957. Georgian Society Archive at the Irish Architectural Archive ref: 23/46/3.
- 3.115 Plan of the Gateway of Dromana [1826/36]. Georgian Society Archive at the Irish Architectural Archive.
- 3.116 Miniature of Theresia Pauline Ott (Lady Villiers-Stuart). Private Collection.
- 3.117 Connollys Folly, Co. Kildare. Photograph: Ilja Klutman, Ballinakill, Ireland. <<https://www.thejournal.ie/double-take-conollys-folly-4151767-Aug2018/>> [accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.118 The ‘Wonderful Barn’, Castletown. <<http://sharonmccormickdesign.com>>[accessed 16 April 2019].
- 3.119 The bridge over the river Finisk and the Dromana Gateway (Hindu Gateway), 2014. Author’s Photograph.
- 3.120 Martin Day, *Sketch of Lodges at the Bridge of Dromana*, 1849. Private Collection, copy in Irish Architectural Archive.
- 3.121 The symmetrical entrance door and false door under the Dromana Gate arch, 2014. Author’s Photograph.
- 3.122 Hope End, Herefordshire, 2013. Photograph: Timothy Mowl.
- 3.123 Ordnance Survey 1842, six-inch map, Sheet 29. British Library Board

## **Introduction**

This thesis explores the influence of Indian design on British architecture and gardens from the end of the eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, a period which encompasses the height of the trading and political ambitions of the British East India Company (EIC) and the return of military officers and government officials from India to Great Britain and Ireland. During this period, elements of Indian design became evident in Britain, with country houses built or adapted by returnees to incorporate onion-shaped domes, deep *chhajja* cornices, turrets and minarets, and landscape gardens featuring temple pools, Indian sculpture and other architectural forms derived from the subcontinent. Focusing on a series of Indian-influenced mansions and gardens constructed in Britain during this period, the thesis illuminates – via a series of case studies – the forms that these buildings and landscapes took and sheds lights on the reasons and meanings underpinning their creation. It examines the factors which influenced this rather exclusive taste for Indian-derived ornamentation, including paintings and drawings of India, architectural pattern books, the Picturesque movement and its theorists, and the appropriation and collection of Indian artefacts. In doing so, the thesis also, conversely, unpicks the reasons why only a small number of returning EIC officers, administrators, engineers, and collectors deployed Indian design for the external appearance of their houses, gardens and garden buildings, many opting for Palladian architecture and a ‘Capability’ Brown-type landscape, with memorabilia from India displayed in interior rooms.

Central to the thesis are the narratives of EIC officers and administrators, whose engagements with both Indian art and contemporary British politics shaped the building and landscaping projects which they initiated on return to Britain. While Indian art and architecture was generally unfamiliar and often misunderstood in Britain during this period, these men drew upon emerging knowledge of the forms and iconography of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist cave systems, as well as of the symmetrical formality of Mughal forts, mausolea and gardens. Their creations can be seen as the practical manifestation of a cultural shift, which in scholarship took place with the publication of translations of Persian and Sanskrit texts by Indologists such as William Jones, Charles Wilkins and Nathaniel Brassey Halhed. Incorporating

these influences within the aesthetic framework of the Picturesque movement which developed in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century, they fused oriental knowledge with fashionable British tastes to create novel, hybrid constructions that incorporated personal narratives and engaged with contemporary political issues. Crucial also to the analysis is my consideration of the role played by artists who visited and toured India, and by the landscape designers and architects who responded to the imagery that these artists produced. The aquatints and oil paintings of William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell were particularly influential in acquainting the British public with the subcontinent's varied landscapes and architecture. Claiming "on the spot" authenticity, but handily framing these representations through the lens of British Picturesque aesthetics, they provided useful templates which could be deployed back in Britain by landscape designers and architects such as Humphry Repton and Robert Lugar, in a period when representatives from neither profession visited India. While in India, many EIC officers and administrators had supported the artists whose sketches and aquatints contributed to the development of an Indian form of Picturesque. For both returnees and artists their time in India was the catalyst for new ventures once home.

### **The Role of the East India Company**

Founded in 1600 with a Royal Charter permitting a monopoly of trade with Asia, the Company had, by the eighteenth century, established factories at the major ports of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.<sup>1</sup> Its ships carried spices, fabrics, indigo, saltpetre, and opium to trading posts set up in the Moluccas and China and to European markets, achieving dominance over other European nations and trading companies, including the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Danish.<sup>2</sup> But, with a weakening of the Mughal Empire and the gradual emergence of regional states, conflict eventually broke out between the EIC and the *Nawab* of Bengal and his French allies as a result of the

---

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary transcript of the charter is in the British Library, see IOR/A/1/2. For the early years of the EIC see K. N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-40* (London: F. Cass, 1965); Anthony Farrington, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia, 1600-1834* (London: British Library, 2002); Philip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Longman, 1993). The EIC was first known as the 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies'.

<sup>2</sup> For information on the size of the European Companies' Trade see Maxine Berg and others, 'Private Trade and Monopoly Structures: The East India Companies and the Commodity Trade to Europe in the Eighteenth Century', in *Chartering Capitalism: Organizing Markets, States and Publics*, ed. by Emily Erikson (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2015), pp. 123-145.

blurring of trade and governance in the region.<sup>3</sup> The Company forces under Robert Clive, defeated the *Nawab* in 1757 at the Battle of Plassey, consolidating the presence of the EIC in Bengal. Victory was accompanied by gifts to Clive worth £234,000 and two years later a *jaghir* worth around £27,000 a year.<sup>4</sup> These riches allowed Clive to invest in diamonds worth £300,000 in 1757 and to purchase Dutch EIC bills worth £230,000, making him one of the wealthiest returnees from India.<sup>5</sup> A further uprising at the Battle of Buxar in 1764 (see Case Study 2) saw the *Nawab* finally defeated, the dispute later settled by the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765 when the EIC was appointed the *diwan* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Mughal Emperor, giving the Company powers to collect tax revenue in those regions.<sup>6</sup> After Plassey and the gaining of the *diwani*, the Company began to shift in character from a merchant enterprise to a political entity guarded by three Presidency armies in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. EIC servants, following the example of Clive, often acquired significant wealth through the acceptance of presents from *nawabs* and other Mughal officials, and private trading in diamonds, textiles, salt, and opium became an established norm.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, only eleven ships a year were dispatched to India and China.<sup>7</sup> With a huge increase in personnel required to administer and protect trade interests, by the early nineteenth century over one hundred ships were at sea carrying mail, tea, spices, textiles and passengers from India.<sup>8</sup> In 1796 the number of British troops in the three Presidency armies was 13,000, supported by 57,000 Indian troops, rising by 1806 to 24,500 with 130,000 Indian troops, and still further by 1857 to 39,500 British and 311,038 Indian troops.<sup>9</sup> To these statistics must be added the numbers of civil servants who managed the

<sup>3</sup> P. J. Marshall, *The New Cambridge History of India: Bengal: The British Bridgehead: Eastern India 1740-1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 87-88.

<sup>4</sup> Huw V. Bowen, 'Clive, Robert, first Baron Clive of Plassey (1725-1774)', ODNB <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5697>> [consulted 7 March 2019].

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Marshall, *British Bridgehead*, p. 89. The Mughal Emperor was guaranteed a tribute from the EIC by the treaty.

<sup>7</sup> P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II, the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Arthur N. Gilbert, 'Recruitment and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 15.1 (Autumn, 1975), pp. 89-111 (p. 107); Edwin Collen, Chapter XI: Army in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire*, 26 vols (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1907-1909), IV(1907), pp. 333, 335, 338.

three Company Presidencies, the writers, factors and merchants, surgeons and administrators, who supported the system, the courts, the supply chain, and the armies. With most men beginning their EIC careers either as a cadet or ensign in the army, or a writer in the trading factories, career trajectories were often rapid though frequently curtailed through the prevalence of disease, with many dying on the six-month journey to India or within their first two years on the subcontinent. With the expansion of the EIC, and the collection of the *diwani*, opportunities arose for young writers to rise to senior positions becoming part of the Presidency administration, revenue collectors, or Residents in the Mughal courts. In the army, a young ensign could have an equally meteoric ascent, working his way through the ranks, perhaps reaching the rank of major, or lieutenant-colonel. Many aimed high, their sights trained on making a fortune and then retiring to a country estate in Britain (a route which would have been unthinkable were it not for the opportunities offered by Empire). Company servants and military officers were not highly paid, but private trading alongside their Company activities helped to bolster their wealth.<sup>10</sup> Some high-ranking officers and officials meddled with local politics, gaining rich gifts as recompense for subversively helping disaffected Indian nobles to obtain princely thrones.<sup>11</sup> On their return they poured their fortunes into British and Irish country estates and seats in parliament, gaining the pejorative label of ‘nabobs’, after the wealthy Indian *nawabs* whose conspicuous consumption and corruption they seemingly emulated.<sup>12</sup>

The powerful motivations of money and land which led many men to travel to India continued until 1773 when an Act of Parliament prohibited Company servants from receiving presents from native Indians, or engaging in private trade.<sup>13</sup> Despite a fall in their income from such ventures, findings from my research suggest that returnees who travelled to India at least twice, before they settled down and

---

<sup>10</sup> P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 118-128, 220-256.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, pp. 158-179. Nawab is derived from Persian etymology.

<sup>12</sup> James M. Holzman, ‘The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1926), p. 7. The word ‘nabob’ was little used before the Battle of Plassey 1757, but it appeared in British literature in the 1760s, rising again at the end of the 1780s and continuing throughout the early days of the nineteenth century. By 1850 the term had almost disappeared.

<sup>13</sup> The East India Company Regulating Act, 1773.

improved a country estate back in Britain, were the most likely to build in Indian design. This length of time spent in India appears to have been a contributory factor for the creation of Indian-influenced gardens in Britain, which is also reflected in the case studies.

### **The Scope of the Thesis**

The historical parameters for my analysis have been established, for several reasons, as beginning c.1760 and ending c.1865. The start date was chosen specifically to examine the British lifestyle in India after the battle of Plassey in 1757, but before the gradual collapse of Mughal Empire began in the early nineteenth century. Central to the reception of returnees to India in the eighteenth century was the politically and socially-loaded use of the word ‘nabob’ which began to appear in British literary sources and satirical cartoons around 1760. Prior to Plassey, the word ‘nabob’ had referred to the Mughal *nawabs*, but following the seminal victory the term began also to denote wealthy EIC servants and military figures who on their homecoming encountered denigration of both their fortune and their conduct in India.<sup>14</sup> This growing criticism of returnees significantly impacted their lifestyle choices and the decisions they made in respect of their country estates. The terminating date of c.1865 allows for an examination of changes in the colonial regime and in British perceptions of India and EIC conduct. In the eighteenth century EIC officers and administrators mixed relatively freely with Hindus and Muslims with many men taking Indian wives or *bibis*, but after British missionaries were given permission to travel to India by the EIC Charter Act of 1813, a rift opened between the British and the Indian natives leading to the so-called Indian Mutiny of 1857, the demise of the Company, and the installation of a more rigid imperial regime.

In terms of the focus of the thesis, a wide variety of Picturesque gardens and buildings in Britain and Ireland was initially examined to establish what should be designated as Indian design. One of the complicating factors here was the indiscriminate use of the term “Indian” in the eighteenth century to denote objects and styles not only originating in the subcontinent but also manifesting Chinese,

---

<sup>14</sup> Hasan Chowdhery, ‘The Fabulous Nabob: Miscegnations of Empire and Vocation in Eighteenth-Century British Literature’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Auburn University, Alabama, 2006), p. iv.

Turkish, Moorish or Egyptian influences. The term “Indian” is further complicated by the fact that the visual paradigms of art and architecture within the subcontinent itself originate from several religious, political and cultural contexts, not all of them indigenous. To gain first-hand experience of Indian architecture and landscapes I embarked on a research visit to India to view the major buildings and gardens in Bombay, Lucknow and Calcutta, and the cave systems of Ellora, Ajanta and Elephanta many of which were sketched by the British Picturesque artists. I viewed the scale, form and proportions of Indian architecture visiting many monuments, including the Jama Masjid, the Qutb Minar and Red Fort in Delhi, the gardens of the Taj Mahal at Agra, Akbar’s tomb garden at Sikandra, and the gardens and mansion of Constantia at Lucknow. Following on from my research visit, for the purpose of this thesis, Indian design was defined as exhibiting elements specifically present (though not necessarily originating) in the subcontinent, for instance detailed design features - onion-shaped domes, *chhajja* cornices, minarets, *chhattri*, *jali* screens (most of, within India, originated with the architecture of the Delhi Sultanate) - and the display of Hindu or Mughal symbolism within temples, pools, caves, fountains and groves. However, early in my research I decided to exclude Chinese, Moorish, Turkish and Egyptian styles from the main discussion areas of my thesis, as an in-depth analysis of the motifs, architecture, and gardens of such countries would move the research focus from Indian design. In addition, as this thesis shows, the period under study saw the increasing recognition of an Indian-influenced style, and a sharpening of knowledge about Indian art, as distinct from other Eastern modes.

Even when confined to the subcontinent, the term “Indian” was problematic to define, as the art and architecture of the subcontinent was itself influenced by myriad factors, including the iconography of a variety of Indian religions – including Muslim, Hindu, Jain and Buddhist. This diversity allowed misconceptions, and likely made an Indian-influenced style as a standalone concept incomprehensible for architects and landscapers who had no experience of Indian art and culture. Nevertheless, as the Company presence in India increased, knowledge of the indigenous art and design of the subcontinent became more sharply focussed through first-hand knowledge, through the establishment of orientalist societies, and through the journals, publications and sketches of soldiers, surveyors, engineers, revenue collectors and artists who ventured from the Indo-British forts and cities into the

heartland of the subcontinent. The publication of aquatints in the Picturesque style by artists such as Hodges and the Daniells led to the dissemination of knowledge of Indian architecture and cave systems, which subsequently contributed to the adoption of Indian design in Britain.

My thesis also needed to establish a geographical scope in relation to its consideration of the building projects undertaken by returnees from India, as well as by others influenced by Indian aesthetics. From the early stages of my research it was clear that there were important examples of Indian-influenced landscape and architectural projects situated across the four nations of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and that the social and political contexts which shaped these constructions were key to understanding the motivations of, and decisions made, by those who built them. Although the EIC armies and civil service were staffed by men from across the four nations, the demographics fluctuated during the period. In the late-eighteenth century the Irish were few in number, as Catholics were prohibited to join the lower ranks of the army until 1793, but by 1815, after restrictions were lifted, they made up almost fifty per cent of army recruits.<sup>15</sup> Welshmen often registered with the EIC at English ports or in London, so their presence within the EIC army was less than the Scots, English and Irish, although Andrew Mackillop contends that the Welsh contribution to the historiography of empire has been downplayed.<sup>16</sup> Hugh Bowen notes that patronage helped many Welshmen enrol in the EIC, gaining further support from associations they joined in India, and mixing with personnel from the other three nations.<sup>17</sup>

Both Mackillop and Lowri Ann Rees use life stories of EIC personnel to develop their arguments on how returnees fitted back into their home societies; their object-based analyses on acquisition of estates and the need for improvement of land

---

<sup>15</sup> C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London, 1989), p. 127; Huw V. Bowen, ‘Asiatic Interactions: India, the East India Company and the Welsh Economy, c. 1750-1830’, in Huw V. Bowen (ed.), *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 168-192.

<sup>16</sup> Bowen, ‘Asiatic Interactions’, pp. 168-192; Andrew Mackillop, ‘A ‘Reticent’ People? The Welsh in Asia, c.1700-1815’ in Huw V. Bowen (ed.), *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 143-167 (p. 143).

<sup>17</sup> Bowen, ‘Asiatic Interactions’, pp. 168-192.

reflects the choice made in this thesis for object-based discourses.<sup>18</sup> Networking and patronage through the clan system in Scotland also aided EIC recruitment and support in India, but Mackillop argues that for sojourning Scots, contrary to the perceived view of ‘nabobs’ as wealthy upstarts, their main aim was to return home and contribute to the economic welfare and political growth of Scotland, an assessment which is borne out in Case Study 2.<sup>19</sup>

Although countless men from the four nations left Britain to work for the EIC, many chose to resettle in counties within travelling distance of London, near sea-bathing resorts and spas, or close to friends and comrades. Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Hertfordshire, were the most frequented English areas, while the Scots and Welsh were more likely to return home to resume family networks. As Rees demonstrates, the Welsh who made fortunes from their EIC service mostly returned to Wales, their wealth increasing the social standing of their families and contributing to socio-economic and political development in Wales.<sup>20</sup> The Irish had more complex identity challenges having experienced both English and Irish political and military regulation; Barry Crosbie suggests that many EIC men believed India was as much Irish as it was British, which initiated a reluctance to return home from the subcontinent to ‘turf smoke, whiskey and potatoes.’<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Case Study 9 in the thesis which deals with an Indian-influenced architectural design for an Irish estate was notably created not by a returnee from India, but by a landowner who never visited India, but who recognised the affinity between the poor of India and Ireland which had promoted reciprocal contributions to famine relief.

---

<sup>18</sup> Andrew Mackillop, ‘The Highlands and the Returning Nabob: Sir Hector Munro of Novar, 1760-1807’, ed. by Marjory Harper, *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 233-261; Lowri Ann Rees, ‘Might and Spite – The Former Middleton Hall Estate’ in *Buildings and Places in Welsh History: A New History of Wales*, ed. by Huw V. Bowen (Llandysul, Ceredigion: Gomer Press, 2013), pp. 90-98.

<sup>19</sup> Mackillop, ‘Returning Nabob’, pp. 233-261. For Scottish patronage see P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 12-13. An important perspective on patronage systems is offered by P. J. Marshall, who discusses reasons why men were likely to join the EIC, identifying the motivation for embarking on such a life-changing experience.

<sup>20</sup> Lowri Ann Rees, ‘Welsh Sojourners in India: The East India Company, Networks and Patronage, c.1760-1840’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45, 2 (2017), 165-187.

<sup>21</sup> ‘A Memoir in the Life of Captain Thomas Dennehy’ (facsimile of private papers in the personal possession of Professor C. A. Bayly, St. Catherine’s College, University of Cambridge), f. 3., quoted in Barrie Crosbie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 81.

The rebuilding of a sense of British identity for returnees (who had often left for India at a young age) to Wales, Scotland, England, and Ireland, and their perception of nationhood has been usefully explored by Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret M. Scull in their *Four Nations Approaches to Modern ‘British’ History: A (Dis)united Kingdom?* which examines the ‘refashioning of a “British” metanarrative’, following Hugh Kearney’s contention for the need of an all-encompassing ‘four nations’ designation.<sup>22</sup> However any examination of ‘Britain’s’ relationship to empire needs to consider the composite nature of Britain and the identities of and relationship between the respective players. As England was the major protagonist, with both the EIC headquarters and the British parliament in London, the word “English” or “England” was often used in historical texts when referring to matters concerning the nations of Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, so it was necessary throughout my research to be mindful of this conflation. I also needed to be aware of the dichotomous identity of many of these returnees – at once “British” but – particularly in the cases of those with estates in Wales, Scotland and Ireland – shaped by local networks, histories and politics.

Finally, I had to consider the scope of the thesis in relation to issues of gender, particularly in light of the recent publication of a number of studies highlighting the importance of women in representing, contributing to, and challenging empire. From the time of the EIC charter until later in the seventeenth century British women were discouraged from travelling to India. But by the late-eighteenth century women gained access to the subcontinent by virtue of their relationship with male relatives, a scenario which varied very little in the subsequent century.<sup>23</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century the numbers of women travelling alone to

---

<sup>22</sup> Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret M. Scull, *Four Nations Approaches to Modern ‘British’ History: A (Dis)united Kingdom?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 4; Hugh Kearney, ‘Four Nations in Perspective’ in *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*, by Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Phillips (eds) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 10-19 (p. 10).

<sup>23</sup> For editions of the diaries and letters of women travellers to India see Nancy K. Shields, *Birds of Passage: Henrietta Clive’s Travels in South India 1798-1801* (London: Eland Publishing Ltd., 2009); Mary Ann Prior, *An Indian Portfolio: The Life and Work of Emily Eden* (London: Quartet, 2012); Ketaki Kushari Dyson, *A Various Universe: A Study of the Journals and Memoirs of British Men and Women in the Indian Subcontinent 1765-1856* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006). Secondary sources on women and empire include *British Women and Cultural Practices of Empire, 1770-1940*, ed. by Rosie Dias and Kate Smith (New York and London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019); *Gender and Empire*, ed. by Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Clare Midgley, ‘Introduction: Gender and Imperialism: Mapping Connections’, in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. by Clare Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 1-18. For women

India increased, leaving many letters, journals, diaries, sketches and published works, describing their social sphere and their travels around India. The women, like many officers in the field, sketched through the western lens of the Picturesque, but although their sketches were published in travel texts they were not frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy. As these women had little direct influence on the introduction of Indian design into Britain and Ireland (those influences coming instead from a limited number of artistic sources, namely the publications of William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell), the narratives of colonial women – while important in many other contexts – do not have a major role in this thesis, but evidence from their journals is drawn upon where appropriate.

### **Existing Scholarship**

This thesis offers an interdisciplinary analysis, drawing upon narratives and methodologies across various disciplines and fields of enquiry. One of the key areas of analysis involves the role of British artists (both professional and amateur) in representing India and disseminating views of its landscape and architecture in this period. A number of important studies have been published in recent years on the drawings, paintings and prints produced by British artists, surveyors, soldiers, collectors and administrators who travelled to and through India. This scholarship has elucidated the artistic practices and aesthetic modes through which the Indian landscape was engaged with and represented. Among these, Hermione De Almeida and George H. Gilpin's *Indian Renaissance* is invaluable for its discussion of the sense of drama and romance that Indian art, architecture and landscape invoked for British artists.<sup>24</sup> However, the breadth and thematic concerns of its analysis mean that the distinctiveness and individuality of the work of the artists, EIC surveyors and military officers and their careers and patronage, are only partially revealed. Artists' unique responses to Indian landscapes and architecture are addressed in Giles Tillotson's *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges*, Geoff Quilley's *William Hodges 1744-1797: the Art of Exploration*, and Mildred Archer's

---

travellers and the Picturesque see *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel*, ed. by Jordana Pomeroy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005); Romita Ray, 'The Memsahib's Brush: Anglo-Indian Women and the Art of the Picturesque' in *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture*, ed. by Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), pp. 89-115.

<sup>24</sup> Hermione de Almeida, and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005).

*Early Views of India: Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell.*<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, it is their patronage and the appropriation of their work in Britain which is of most interest in this thesis, issues which are not given much attention in these artist-focused studies. Meanwhile, Beth Fowkes Tobins' *Colonising Nature*, and Romita Ray's *Under the Banyan Tree* usefully identify the gradual adaptation of the British Picturesque to an Indian Picturesque.<sup>26</sup> Ray's text focuses on the reinvention of the construct of the British Picturesque into naturally picturesque views of India, but the lives of the artists and surveyors in the field appear subsumed under copious historical detail and lyricism, their later impact unknown.

The importance of surveying and sketching to the EIC's colonial project in India is discussed by Jennifer Howes in *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie*, and by Matthew H. Edney in *Mapping an Empire*. Howes' text examines the contribution made by surveyors and officers to the visualising and contextualisation of India which was significant to the findings of this thesis.<sup>27</sup> Edney's work on EIC mapping confirms the importance of surveyors to the success of the EIC but also identifies that their maps represented and self-legitimised the notion of empire.<sup>28</sup> The significance of these two texts lies in the prominence given to surveyors, who, as part of their EIC work plotted hill forts and fortifications, the British Picturesque gradually transforming into an Indian military Picturesque. My thesis develops the idea of the Indian military Picturesque, demonstrating that it continued to have aesthetic and experiential currency when men such as Hector Munro and Robert Smith returned to Britain and undertook building and landscaping projects.

---

<sup>25</sup> Giles Tillotson, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015); Geoff Quilley, 'William Hodges, Artist of Empire' in *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration*, ed. by Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (Greenwich: Yale University Press for the National Maritime Museum; New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2004), pp. 1-7; Mildred Archer, *Early Views of India: Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1786-1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980).

<sup>26</sup> Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Colonising Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters 1760-1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Romita Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

<sup>27</sup> Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821)* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765 – 1843* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997).

An important area of scholarship for the purposes of this thesis deals with the reception of Indian art, both its critical fortunes and collecting by Europeans. Partha Mitter's *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* has been influential in establishing a broad history of responses to Indian art in the West, a history characterised by assessments which ranged from bafflement to the openly hostile, with only episodic instances of scholarly engagement and appreciation.<sup>29</sup> His study has been particularly useful for my research since it establishes the shifting understandings of British officers, administrators, artists and collectors to the Hindu iconography and eroticism of the Maharastran cave systems. His study is necessarily limited, however, in its consideration of the more practical engagements with Indian art undertaken by returnees from India. Elsewhere, the practices of EIC men involved with the collection of Indian artefacts have been explored by Maya Jasanoff in an important study which highlights the significance of collecting not simply as a facet of imperialism, but as a microcosm of it – 'British colonial expansion in this period [was] collecting writ large'.<sup>30</sup> This is highly suggestive for my research, given that the collections and Indian-styled buildings of the men discussed in this thesis were displayed, conceptualised, and built on retirement from an imperial career, suggesting the ongoing and open-ended nature of imperial work. It was also important to consider the new meanings works might acquire through these cross-cultural and often politically-motivated modes of collecting, and here scholarship on appropriation was helpful. James O. Young's and Conrad G. Brunk's *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation*, Julie Sanders' *Adaptation and Appropriation*, and Robert S. Nelson's essay on appropriation in his and Robert Schiff's *Critical Terms for Art History* examine cultural appropriation in terms of legacy, considering for instance how objects displayed in museums away from their original country or sites often developed alternative cultural values.<sup>31</sup> This resonates with the EIC men's collections of cultural artefacts hidden within country house estates (where they often became associated with the narratives and careers of

---

<sup>29</sup> Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

<sup>30</sup> Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006), p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> James O. Young and Conrad G. Brunk, *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009) and Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Robert S. Nelson, 'Appropriation', *Critical Terms for Art History* by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (eds) (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

individuals) or displayed within the institutional space of the India Museum at the EIC's Leadenhall Street headquarters.

Other key scholarship for my analysis of Indian-influenced architecture and gardens in Britain focuses on the domestic architecture of colonial India. Swati Chattopadhyay has examined the colonial garden houses inhabited by the British in the commercial city of Calcutta and the relationship between the administrative centre of the city and the native community.<sup>32</sup> Although historians are keen to illustrate the city as divided between 'white' and 'black' towns, Chattopadhyay contends that for the most part, the British and the native population lived side by side.<sup>33</sup> But newcomers to India found familiarity within colonial Calcutta (which Chattopadhyay describes as the 'colonial uncanny'), its savage flat lands reframed into a semblance of an English landscape fronted by Neo-classical buildings. This revisioning of empire connected them to Britain, which resonated later in the ways in which returnees created homes linked to this vision of India. Eugenia Herbert, meanwhile, has explored the "garden imperialism" of the British in India, taking in the landscaping of colonial residences, hill stations, cities, commemorative spaces and botanical gardens.<sup>34</sup> Chattopadhyay's and Herbert's texts have been useful in illuminating how EIC men experienced domestic buildings and gardens that largely no longer survive. In the thesis, I build upon their findings by demonstrating how such Indian experiences shaped building projects on return to Britain.

All the above texts were influential to some degree on the compilation of this thesis, however, they are specific to their own field of scholarship. My thesis is interdisciplinary, weaving together many aspects of the men's military, administrative or surveying careers, together with their homes and gardens in the Indian cities, leisure activities, collections of Indian artefacts, and their researches into Indian art, languages and religions. My thesis also pays attention to the work

---

<sup>32</sup> Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), and 'The Other Face of Primitive Accumulation: The Garden House in British Colonial Bengal' in *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* by Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (eds) (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 169-198.

<sup>33</sup> Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*, p. 82.

<sup>34</sup> Eugenia W. Herbert, *Flora's Empire: British Gardens in India* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

undertaken by EIC men in the field, and the impact that this had on their own building projects in later life, something which has not been sufficiently explored by scholars; for instance the work of Robert Smith, an EIC surveyor, who restored Mughal monuments in Delhi in the 1820s is examined in Case Study 4. By contrast, my thesis offers a more holistic picture of the relationship between Indian careers – artistic, administrative and military – and the subsequent creation of an “Indian” style in British architecture and landscaping, both directly (by those who had travelled to India) and indirectly (by those who used the visual representations available to them).

Recent scholarship on the domestic lives of returnees to Britain has expanded our understanding of how their wealth, taste and social status was perceived and negotiated as they re-entered society. Tillman W. Nechtman’s *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* explores the social and political relationships forged by returnees, and the criticisms they experienced, suggesting that the so-called ‘nabobs’ – through their distinctive manners, wealth, and Indian collections – transferred elements of the subcontinent’s culture to Britain.<sup>35</sup> However, Nechtman treats returnees as a homogenous group, ignoring the individuality of purpose that shaped their various homecomings. His broad-brush narrative is complicated and given nuance by the various case studies and returnee narratives of this thesis, which has drawn upon – as indicated in the previous section – useful literature on emigrant histories within the four nations, as well as a more detailed biographical approach which illuminates the careers and motivations of individual returnees.<sup>36</sup>

In recent years, new scholarship has been published on British homes and gardens that were inspired by representations of Indian landscapes and architecture. The *East India Company at Home, 1757-1787* (EICAH) project has been extremely useful in identifying where EIC returnees settled in England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Tillman W. Nechtman, *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 165-170; Rees, ‘Welsh Sojourners’, 165-187.

<sup>36</sup> The improvements by EIC men on Welsh and Scottish estates on their homecoming are discussed in Huw V. Bowen’s *Wales and the British Overseas Empire* and Marjory Harper’s *Emigrant Homecoming: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*. EIC patronage and networks are discussed by Rees in ‘Welsh Sojourners’ 165-187.

<sup>37</sup> The project ran for three years between 2011 and 2014. *The East India Company At Home, 1757-1787: the British Country House in an Imperial and Global Context* <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/>> [accessed 29 August 2017].

With a research team led by Margot Finn, the three-year project's numerous case studies examined how luxury goods, both Chinese and Indian, shaped country estates in Britain.<sup>38</sup> Although this thesis draws on certain case-studies from within that research, it looks afresh at the lives of British men and their careers with the EIC, and the Indian forms they employed on their return home, focusing specifically on the areas of garden and architectural design. This allows for broader, in-depth exploration of the contribution of Indian art, religion and literature to British architecture and garden design, and the significance of the artists' published works on India. Although very helpful to my thesis, with the EICAH project not considering the country houses of Ireland there is an absence of scholarship for that country. My chapters and case studies address the need for all the four nations of Great Britain and Ireland to be included in research regarding Indian design in landscapes and garden buildings.

Prior to the EICAH project, although there were plentiful primary and secondary records on British mansions and landscapes in India, scholarship on Indian design in Britain was very limited. No book had been published since the 1980s specifically on Indian influence in British architecture and gardens for the period covered by this thesis, or indeed, the later period of Indian influence, c.1865-2019. A few articles and texts from the 1970s and 1980s deal specifically with this subject, the first being Patrick Conner's *Oriental Architecture in the West* where two chapters describe buildings that were influenced by the style, and the development of Brighton Pavilion. These were helpful in identifying properties in both India and Britain which exhibit Indian design; however, with seven chapters in the book discussing Chinese style compared with the two on Indian design, the discrepancy in the reception of an Indian-influenced style in Britain can clearly be seen.<sup>39</sup> Edward Malins' article 'Indian Influences on English Houses and Gardens at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century' in *Garden History*, points out how few English buildings exhibit Indian design, but focuses primarily on Sezincote, Gloucestershire (see Case Study 7), and the Turkish design of Hope End in Shropshire. Raymond Head's unpublished dissertation *Sezincote: a Paradigm of the Indian Style*, and his later

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), pp. 113-156.

equally wide-ranging *The Indian Style* remain the only scholarly texts to hypothesise on the development of the Indian design in Britain and Ireland, as his articles for *Country Life* on Robert Smith and his mansion Redcliffe Towers in Devon (see Case Study 4) lack full scholarly referencing.<sup>40</sup> With no recent definitive text on Indian design in British mansions and gardens for this period, and – crucially – on the *issues* surrounding the use of the style, there is clearly scope for the scholarly cross-disciplinary analysis provided by this thesis.

## Methodology

Having established the scope of the thesis, research questions were stimulated from case study investigations providing a framework for the thesis. These parameters assisted the emergence of hypotheses on the prevalence, nature and meanings of Indian design in British and Irish gardens and garden buildings. The key questions I considered were:

1. To what extent was Indian design a style chosen principally by EIC returnees from India, or was there some other correlation?
2. What was the distribution of Indian design in Britain and Ireland?
3. What formal characteristics did Indian-style buildings and gardens in Britain and Ireland manifest?
4. What factors influenced the introduction of the style?
5. How much resistance was there to the style?
6. To what extent did the trial of Warren Hastings and other “nabob controversies” affect adoption of the style?

The first question considers whether the select taste for Indian ornamentation and architecture during the period c.1760-c.1865 could be primarily attributed to returning military officers and government officials returning from EIC posts, or whether it could be also ascribed to influences from literature, pattern books, consumer goods, and the fashion for the Picturesque. My findings suggest that almost all the known examples of Indian design in Britain and Ireland can be

---

<sup>40</sup> Raymond Head, *The Indian Style* (London: George Allen & Unwin (Publishers) Ltd, 1986); Edward Malins ‘Indian Influences on English Houses and Gardens at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century’, *Garden History*, 8.1 (Spring 1980), 46-66.

attributed to either returnees from India, or the aesthetic works of the Picturesque artists who had travelled to India in the late eighteenth century. The second question addresses the extent of the distribution throughout the four nations, which was answered by researching over 100 country house estates to ascertain whether the mansions, gardens, or garden buildings exhibited elements of an Indian-influenced style. My findings established that Indian design was only evident in ten major examples throughout the four nations which were incorporated into this thesis's nine case studies.

The third question of the form of Indian-style gardens and buildings was addressed through examination of all nine case studies. My findings were surprising in that, although Mughal design was expected to be a major stimulus, it was the Hindu temples and caves which had the most influence on the British gardens and architecture. However, if Repton's designs for Brighton Pavilion had been accepted by the Prince of Wales then a broader conception of Indian design would likely have gained in popularity with both Hindu and Mughal features appearing in the architecture and gardens of many country estates. My fourth research question relates to major influences on the introduction of Indian design to Great Britain and Ireland. My findings from my research are two-fold. Firstly, the introduction of the style was influenced by EIC men who memorialised India in their collections, many of which were utilised for research into Indian religions, languages, literature and art. But, more significantly, my findings indicated that it was the Picturesque sketches and aquatints of Hodges and the Daniells which had the most influence on architectural and landscape design throughout this period, and the landscaper Humphry Repton, who endeavoured to understand the iconography, and formal characteristics of Indian art and architecture.

The resistance to Indian design at the core of my fifth question required clarification, necessitating additional research on the broader political, social and cultural contexts in which returning from India should be understood. My findings confirmed that for many returnees who wished to fit seamlessly back into Georgian society, for instance Sir Francis Sykes at Basildon Park (Fig. I.) (a close friend of Hastings), a Palladian mansion and a 'Capability'-Brown-style landscape was their likely choice of construction. Notably, this was also a tactic used by plantation and

slave owners, for whom it was imperative to conceal the source of their wealth after the 1807 Act of Parliament outlawed the purchase or ownership of slaves.<sup>41</sup> One EIC administrator who, through banking and an agency in Calcutta, financially assisted prominent members of parliament and society in India and England was Sir Charles Cockerell at Sezincote (see Case Study 7). He displayed his Indian wealth more conspicuously than most by creating a mansion, gardens, and garden buildings invoking a vision of India in the British countryside (Fig. II). However, as the Cockerell family agency had assisted individuals with connections to slavery in Mauritius and Jamaica, perhaps being discreet possessors of financial information helped Cockerell avoid censure. Alternately, by drawing attention to his Indian career, perhaps attention was deflected away from Cockerell's own family slave ownership and plantation wealth.<sup>42</sup>

My last research question concerned the ramifications of the trial of Warren Hastings, necessitating consideration of whether political scandals like this increased the belief that those returning from the East were tainted by greed, corruption and immorality. At the time of Hastings' trial, the censorious word 'nabob' increased in parliamentary debate, satirical cartoons and literature. My findings revealed that the word 'nabob' was more likely to be used in caricature, in literature, plays, and poetry during this period, and indiscriminately applied to all EIC officers and administrators who returned from India with a modicum of wealth. Hastings was derided as an example of the 'nabob' class, and, lampooned wearing Indian costume and a turban, his fortune, ownership of jewels, properties and ships, were minutely scrutinised and widely reported in the press. As a result, many returnees not wishing to display their own wealth and Indian careers memorialised India somewhat covertly, through their

---

<sup>41</sup> 'Slave Trade Abolition Bill', House of Commons Debate 10 February 1807, Hansard 1803-2005, vol. 8, cc. 17-22 <<https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1807/feb/10/slave-trade-abolition-bill>> [accessed 26 June 2018].

<sup>42</sup> The Slavery Abolition Act 1833 provided compensation to slave owners for the loss of slaves as business assets. John Cockerell, Sir Charles Cockerell and Sir Charles Rushout Cockerell claimed compensation of £1450 5s as mortgagees for 52 slaves in Mauritius. John Cockerell held 457 slaves in Mauritius and 7 in the Cape of Good Hope while Samuel Pepys Cockerell owned 1,998 slaves in Jamaican plantations and claimed over £35,000 in compensation. Legacies of British Slave-Ownership, University College, London <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/>> [accessed 26 June 2018]; Philip Salmon, 'Cockerell, Sir Charles, 1st bt. (1755-1837) of Hyde Park House Mdx. And Sezincote, Glos.' <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/cockerell-charles-1755-1837>> [accessed 10 April 2019].

collections of weapons, armour, artefacts, paintings and manuscripts which were closeted in their mansions' interiors.

My thesis's specific research questions required consultation of significant literature on the subject – archival, as well as published primary and secondary sources – consulted at numerous archives, libraries, galleries and museums, with, in particular, major assistance from the British Library, Bodleian Library, the National Library of Wales, the National Library of Scotland, the Special Collections at University College Cork, Brighton Pavilion archives, London Metropolitan archives, the RIBA archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and numerous County archives. With help from an array of national societies and organisations, together with the many County Gardens Trusts, as full a picture as possible was gained of the use of the style in Britain and Ireland. Over one hundred sites in the four nations were studied and found to have links with India, the EIC, or the artists who had embraced Indian design. But of these, ten gardens and properties were chosen for thorough site explorations, to walk the landscape, examine extant garden buildings, but also view sites where all evidence on the ground had vanished with the passage of time. Information was gathered in the form of photographs, field notes and interviews with present owners, leading to a large accumulation of site data. These ten sites contributed to nine cases studies to reflect the evidence found.<sup>43</sup>

To handle the data, I employed a variety of methodological approaches to maximise the analysis. Quantitative and qualitative methods were first used, with hypotheses formulated based on the theses' main and subsidiary parameters. A quantitative approach was used to ascertain the prevalence of an Indian-influenced style used in country house and garden design. Returnees from India were located in specific counties, with an assessment made of the differing types and styles of their gardens and buildings. This approach helped at first to structure and present the data, and to formulate deductions, giving depth to the research findings. Qualitative methods were employed using the field observations, archival document analysis, and exploration of primary and secondary texts, with case studies chosen to test the

---

<sup>43</sup> Two examples, Melchet Park and Brighton Pavilion, which were both heavily influenced by Thomas and William Daniell were combined into one case study.

results emerging from the data.<sup>44</sup> However, during the research process it was found that the qualitative and quantitative theories (which have been conceptualised within the social sciences), were not completely compatible with historical data and analysis, particularly in cases where objects – the garden buildings or landscapes – had ceased to exist. In the absence of physical constructions or evidence on the ground, other support in the form of letters, documents, maps, sketches, diaries and journals, was required to identify the sites.

Recently a more appropriate methodology has emerged, appropriate to garden history, that of an object-based approach, which has enabled historical and global analysis of individual objects. Since 1986, when Arjun Appadurai encouraged social examination of objects and their circulation in *The Social Life of Things*, global history has gained importance. The ways in which the individual narratives of objects are understood has changed considerably to acknowledge their contribution to religious, artistic, cultural and political histories, and their movement across time and space.<sup>45</sup> New approaches (relevant to this topic) have allowed object-based analyses and narratives to emerge, for instance in recent work by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, and by Margot Finn and Kate Smith. Gerritsen and Riello in *The Global Life of Things*, through a case study structure, examine the way in which luxury objects travelled the world, connecting history and material culture.<sup>46</sup> In *The East India Company at Home* Finn and Smith also use case studies to emphasise how stories of luxury objects, many from the Indian subcontinent, informed matters of British identity and power through country house histories and stories of the movement of people, fashion and goods.<sup>47</sup> Such a methodology allows the relationship between an object and its owner or collector to be explored from within an object biography, with the object's exchange and consumption examined and evaluated.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> See Keith F. Punch, *Introduction to Research Methods in Education* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2011) and Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd., 1995).

<sup>45</sup> Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63.

<sup>46</sup> *The Global Life of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>47</sup> *The East India Company at Home 1757-1857*, ed. by Margot Finn and Kate Smith (London: UCL Press, 2018).

<sup>48</sup> Chris Godden and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, 31.2 (Oct. 1999), pp. 169-170.

This emphasis on object stories through case studies was very appropriate for this thesis, and highly suitable for the subject matter. Employed throughout, this approach allowed hypotheses to emerge through analysis of objects and their history, reflecting on how country houses and their gardens mirrored the changes occurring in British society during this period, whilst also accommodating individual biographies. The use of an object-based format enabled original findings to emerge concerning how and why the visual forms, symbols and iconographies of a geographically-distant culture were adopted and displayed in British homes and estates. While this methodology holds the danger of precluding a more thematic approach, care was taken to mitigate against this by grouping case studies within three chapters, each chapter providing a clear framework – via an extended introduction – linking key themes and concepts that emerge from the embedded case studies.

### Aesthetics

Since my thesis engages throughout with important eighteenth-century aesthetic categories, it is important to set out here what some of those are. Naturally, the most frequently utilised relate to Indian art and architecture in its various manifestations – Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Mughal, with regional variations found in each of these categories. Since the chapters themselves discuss, at relevant points, the British reception, scholarship and collecting of specific works of Indian art, the section below is restricted to the clarification of two key terms that recur throughout the thesis, namely the Picturesque – a broad and mobile aesthetic framework which came to be applied to both the Indian landscape and to the incorporation of Indian forms in British gardens and architecture – and *Chinoiserie* – a phenomenon that offers a telling counterpoint to the more restrained use of Indian design in British gardens and interiors.

Alexander Pope is often identified as the progenitor of the Picturesque movement with his declaration that: ‘All gardening is landscape-painting.’<sup>49</sup> Although this

---

<sup>49</sup> No. 606: Alexander Pope, 26-28 August 1742, quoted in Joseph Spence, *Observations. Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men: Collected from Conversation*, ed. by James M. Osborn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, p. 252.

pronouncement predated by several decades the emergence of the Picturesque, Pope did consider that gardens should appear to be natural:

Consult the genius of the place in all;  
That tells the waters or to rise, or fall ...  
Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending lines;  
Paints as you plant, and, as you work, designs.<sup>50</sup>

Pope's interest, though, lay in the allusions found in classical and eighteenth-century Italian gardens.<sup>51</sup> Classical references woven into the fabric of buildings and landscapes, texts and poetry were still popular in the mid-eighteenth century, for instance at William Shenstone's Leasowes (developed as a ferme ornée between 1743 and 1763), and the vast politically-inspired landscape at Stowe designed between 1711 and 1748 by a succession of architects and landscape designers.<sup>52</sup> Nigel Everett in *The Tory View of Landscape*, indicates how Brown created informal landscapes often commissioned by Whig party followers, who advocated changing the control of nature from rigid topiary, avenues and parterres to the command of personal territory, using the wider landscape to artificially extend their estates, linking their park improvements with Whig ideas of liberty, and antiquity.<sup>53</sup> But it was not until after Brown's death, by which time his serpentine lakes, ha-has and shelter-belts had become unfashionable, that the Picturesque theorists published their works.

Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque*, Richard Payne Knight's *A Sketch, from the Landscape* and William Gilpin's *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* established the Picturesque as a concept separate from the categories of the Sublime

---

<sup>50</sup> Alexander Pope to Lord Burlington, 'Epistle IV: Of the Use of Riches', *Moral Essays, in Four Epistles* (Glasgow: R. Urie, 1754), pp. 78-79. First published in 1731.

<sup>51</sup> It is possible that Pope based his gardens at Twickenham on classical texts such as Pliny the Younger's Letters, see Robert Castell, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London: the author, 1728); John Dixon Hunt, 'Pope's Twickenham Revisited' in *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), pp. 26-33.

<sup>52</sup> The various architects at Stowe included Charles Bridgeman (1690-1738), John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), James Gibbs (1682-1754), William Kent (c.1685-1748), and Lancelot 'Capability' Brown (c.1716-1783).

<sup>53</sup> Nigel Everett, *The Tory View of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 38-39.

and the Beautiful, both given theoretical prominence by Edmund Burke in his 1757 *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*.<sup>54</sup> The Picturesque theorists maintained that landscapes should essentially appear pictorial, composed along similar lines to the paintings of artists such as Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin and Salvator Rosa.<sup>55</sup> This predilection for Picturesque views and woodland scenery swept away the previous smooth landscape improvements of Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown, in which taste had been equated with ‘the heightened display of property and the appropriation of nature to personal use’.<sup>56</sup> Instead, Picturesque landscapes were deemed successful because of their compositional similarities to paintings – comprising a foreground, middle ground and distance, placing trees where they would frame a view, and incorporating objects (whether man-made or natural) that pleased the eye because they were rough, weathered or sinuous rather than smooth and straight. Picturesque theorists advocated that British landscapes should be developed to resemble pictorial views with a variation of vegetation, eye-catching follies (including constructed “ruins”) and meandering bodies of water.

The Picturesque also played an important role for travellers. In the final decade of the eighteenth century, political unrest and revolution in Europe made Continental travel a hazardous journey for Grand Tourists, so remote regions of Great Britain, including the Lake District and Wales, were promoted as alternative destinations noted to be particularly amenable to the detection of Picturesque beauty. Tourists were urged to seek out Picturesque viewpoints and sketch on the spot at various ‘stations’ using a ‘Claude glass’ to manage the extensive view and render it on paper. William Gilpin in 1782 prompted further cultural debate by suggesting in *Observations on the River Wye* that travellers should consider ‘the face of the

---

<sup>54</sup> Uvedale Price, *Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purposes of Improving Real Landscape* (London: Hereford, 1794-1798); Richard Payne Knight, *A Sketch, from the Landscape, a Didactic Poem* (London: 1794); William Gilpin, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to Which is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting* (London: R. Blamire, 1794); Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: R and J Dodsley, 1757).

<sup>55</sup> Tillotson, p. 12.

<sup>56</sup> Everett, p. 39

country by the rules of picturesque beauty'.<sup>57</sup> He recommended that untamed areas of Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the Lake District, should be viewed as if they were landscapes, advocating that tourists seek out such scenes, even going so far as to reject conventional points of interest on a route that did not manifest Picturesque qualities.<sup>58</sup>

Away from Britain and Ireland, the Picturesque offered a handy visual template that could be both deployed by British artists and recognised by viewers in the metropole. Many artists, both professional and amateur (the Picturesque was available and accessible to both) spent years in the Indian subcontinent, sketching and painting the decaying architecture of the Mughal rulers, Hindu caves and temples, and tropical vegetation. This thesis argues that, since no British architects visited India in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was these artists who were influential in the development of Indian design in country house architecture and landscape gardening. The publication and exhibition of their work on their return home enabled the British, for the first time, to view the landscapes and buildings of India, developing through the paintings and aquatints what Ray suggests was a 'colonial sensibility'.<sup>59</sup> Through artists' use of the Picturesque, the viewing public and political elite began to understand the landscapes and monuments of the subcontinent, and its 'ambiguities, pleasures and desires', and to accommodate them within their own familiar frameworks of understanding.<sup>60</sup> The 'unpredictability and open-endedness of travel', an enjoyable part of the Picturesque, gave the artists the freedom to travel through India and later to transfer their awareness and knowledge of the subcontinent through colonial landscapes, knowingly or unwittingly engaging with Britain's political stance on India.<sup>61</sup> With Picturesque artists gaining patronage from EIC senior administrators, they were encouraged to illustrate military fortifications; John E. Crowley notes how this new interpretation of the Picturesque

---

<sup>57</sup> William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales, &c, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (London: T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, 1800), p. 1. First published in 1782.

<sup>58</sup> John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Massachusetts Press (MIT), 1992), p. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Ray, p.3.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

style transformed into a military Picturesque at key moments.<sup>62</sup> Hodges' landscapes with ruined forts and military stations demonstrate his involvement with the EIC military through Hastings' patronage and his encouragement to depict 'strategic and political successes in India', while EIC officers in particular engaged in a production of Picturesque views which was heavily underpinned by their own military experiences.<sup>63</sup>

The second aesthetic category which is useful to consider and define in relation to the analysis that follows is *Chinoiserie*. In the context of this thesis, consideration of *Chinoiserie* and its scholarly investigation highlights both a lack of recent research into Indian influence on British architecture and gardens, and the absence of a similar term to describe a taste for an Indian-influenced style in eighteenth-century Britain. There are a number of possible explanations for the respective fortunes of Chinese and Indian design in eighteenth-century Britain, but the most obvious is that Indian design was less conspicuous within contemporary print culture than *Chinoiserie*. The architect William Chambers had visited China in 1748 with the Swedish East India Company later producing his *Designs of Chinese Buildings*, the first style-guide to Chinese design.<sup>64</sup> This book was particularly influential, giving gentlemen and architects the architectural detailing they needed to build Chinese temples, tea houses and bridges on their estates, but also examples of figures, boats, script, ceramics, and furniture which could be used in interiors. *Chinoiserie* scholars such as David Porter have analysed *Chinoiserie*'s cross-cultural aesthetics and relationship to British identity, also suggesting that, like Indian design, *Chinoiserie* was at first considered only of novelty value but gained prominence as a fresh alternative to the classical designs of Greece and Rome. Porter contends that *Chinoiserie* was an almost obsessive fashion, crossing the boundaries between vulgar and cultivated taste, fine art and fashion, before becoming legitimised 'to represent a competing aesthetic standard worthy of comparison to classical and renaissance norms.'<sup>65</sup> Dawn Jacobsen emphasises that the style was purely a European construct,

---

<sup>62</sup> John Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture 1745-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 2011), pp. 177-203.

<sup>63</sup> Crowley, pp. 180-183.

<sup>64</sup> John Harris and Michael Snodin, *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 1

<sup>65</sup> David Porter, 'Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste', in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3: Aesthetics and the Disciplines (Spring 2002),

inspired by a region of Asia to which European access was highly restricted.<sup>66</sup> Because *Chinoiserie* was a fantasy style, based on the designs of a little-known distant country, it did not appear to have political or moral barriers in the way that Indian art often seemed to. Its ability to spread to Britain and Ireland was partly due to the design's adaptability, as it was easily absorbed into the Baroque and the Rococo. The widespread use of *Chinoiserie* is exemplified by Emile de Bruijn's identification of over 169 past and present locations of Chinese wallpaper within Britain and Ireland.<sup>67</sup> Although wallpaper, alongside other objects including lacquerware, porcelain and silk was imported from China, the abundance of Chinese figurative designs added to ceramics, fabrics, or garden buildings were of European creation, for instance armorial dinner services were sent to China to be emblazoned with British coats of arms surrounded by Chinese figures and scenery.<sup>68</sup> By contrast, although thousands of British people travelled to India and became increasingly familiar with Indian art, its spirituality, iconography and often overt sexuality was difficult to comprehend, or to translate into domestic wares. Indian textiles, inspired by nature, were based on stylised patterns or plants so were unlikely to inspire a proliferation of architectural garden features. And there was no definitive text produced in the eighteenth or early-nineteenth century on Indian architecture and gardens to rival William Chambers' definitive text on *Chinoiserie*, the architect Sir John Vanbrugh being the only British architect to have travelled to India before the nineteenth century, spending a short time as an EIC writer at Surat in the late seventeenth century. However, he did not publish on Indian-influenced design, and there is little visual evidence to suggest that Indian elements were introduced into his architectural projects.<sup>69</sup> This lack of an authoritative text was key to the relative lack of Indian design in British architecture and gardens.

---

395-451 (p. 400); David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapter 2, pp. 17-36. For a recent study of the aesthetics of Chinese design and trade globalisation see Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie; Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

<sup>66</sup> Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 2007), p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Emile de Bruijn, *Chinese Wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (London and New York: Philip Wilson, 2017), map of Chinese wallpaper locations, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Kate Smith, 'Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares', *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* (2014), pp. 1-22 <<https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/armorial-porcelain/>> [accessed 25 March 2019].

<sup>69</sup> Vaughan Hart, *Sir John Vanbrugh: Storyteller in Stone* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), Preface and p. 3; R. Williams, 'A Factor in His Success. The Missing Years: Did Vanbrugh Learn from Mughal Mausolea?', *Times Literary Supplement* (3 Sept. 1999), pp. 13-14; R. Williams, 'Vanbrugh's India and his Mausolea for England', in, *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape*

\*\*\*\*\*

In what follows, three chapters explore the advancement of Indian design in Britain and Ireland. The contribution of EIC returnees, Picturesque artists, and landscapers who engaged with an Indian-influenced style is analysed in specific case studies which, through much original research, explore the wider social and imperial aspects of the chapters and give context to the issues explored. The archival and cross-disciplinary nature of the case studies emphasises important aspects of the men's lives and careers in India, and of the complexity of the British and Indian colonial relationship. The case study approach allowed hypotheses to develop as to why so little Indian design survives in country house mansions and gardens, compared to the wealth of *Chinoiserie*. Significantly, only three influences emerged on the inspiration for Indian design in Britain and Ireland – the experiences and knowledge of EIC returnees, the Picturesque sketches and aquatints of artists who had travelled around India, and the work and authorship of the landscaper Humphry Repton. These findings are compelling as no other research has been carried out on such a challenging project, with past publications inherently descriptive and failing to interrogate both the underlying motivations for the adoption of Indian design and the broader circumstances which led to or inhibited it.

The first chapter's themes of nabobery and political ambition are illustrated by case studies which illustrate how EIC returnees who owned landed estates leveraged their wealth and landed status to gain seats in parliament or subvert the judicial system. But the findings from my research show that although wealth was used to gain social and political status, the returnees also commemorated their years in India within their estates, for instance naming fields after battles, using sluices and pipes to move water around their estate, or constructing hot houses to raise exotic plants. By using skills learnt while in the employ of the EIC, they also improved their locality, introducing new farming practices, controlling water to provide bathing facilities, and experimenting with the rearing of animals and plants for national economic gain. Through its research and analysis of the men's individual

---

*Architecture in Baroque England 1690-1730*, ed. by Christopher Ridgway and R. Williams (Stroud: Sutton in association with the National Trust, 2000), pp. 114-40. Vanbrugh's sketch of the 'Lofty and Noble Mausoleums' in the English Cemetery at Surat was included in his recommendations to Church Commissioners for the siting of burials away from British churches.

experiences in India, the chapter offers new, original hypotheses for the design of their mansions and gardens, particularly in relation to the design of William Paxton's Picturesque garden and baths, and through the reconstruction of cartographic evidence in the Novar landscape of Hector Munro.

The second chapter looks at the importance of work and – particularly – leisure practices in the lives of EIC men in India, considering sketching as both a leisure activity or EIC work, as well as the collecting Indian artefacts, weapons, paintings, or manuscripts. The individuals in this chapter's case studies were all employed by the EIC – an army major, an engineer, and a revenue collector – and used sketching to record caves, monuments, landscapes, flora and fauna. They memorialised India in different ways on their return, displaying Hindu fragments and statues in their gardens or deploying EIC surveying and building skills to construct mansions to house their paintings of the subcontinent. The findings for this chapter reveal that the men's collecting practices contributed to the knowledge of Indian religions, whilst also revealing an affinity with spiritual practices encountered in the East. The conflicted position of being a devout Christian, living in a country with a variety of religions during a period in which religion started to emerge as an aspect of colonial policy is also examined. The chapter's importance to the thesis (and beyond) lies in its identification and analysis of the significance of individual experiences – professional, aesthetic, emotional and even spiritual – to the construction of homes and landscapes designed to accommodate Indian objects, memories and encounters.

The final chapter turns the lens away from the lives and projects of returnees to emphasise the importance of artists' sketches and aquatints of Indian buildings and landscapes in the adoption of Indian design in Britain. It explores the importance of the Daniells' *Oriental Scenery* not just for inspiring the Hindu design of Sezincote's garden, but also as a springboard for Humphry Repton's design for Brighton Pavilion which – as a result of Repton's viewing of *Oriental Scenery* – made innovative use of Hindu, Jain and Mughal elements. Although unexecuted, Repton's design went on to provide a source for John Nash's eventual commission by the Prince of Wales for the Pavilion. The chapter demonstrates the convoluted forms that such appropriation could take, exploring, in the final case study, the Dromana Gateway in Ireland, itself

inspired by Brighton Pavilion. In charting the evolution of Indian-inspired design from the Daniells, through Repton and Nash, to Dromana, I map out and offer a new assessment of the journeys Indian design could take. But, crucially, I also argue for the significance of an Indian-influenced style and the possibilities it offered beyond superficial and culturally-meaningless appropriation. Proposing a new assessment of the Dromana Gateway, I contend that it was intended to commemorate solidarity between the *ryots* of India and the Irish peasants during the so-called Great Famine, indicating how Indian design might present a meaningful engagement with Indian culture and imperial politics even by a landlord who had never visited India himself.

## Chapter 1: Country Estates and the Politics of the Nabob

From India's shore the youthful nabob came,  
With wealth sufficient, and a well-earn'd fame;  
'Twas worth and courage led him on to gain,  
And just return'd, he purchas'd this domain  
Return'd no idle pomp he wish'd to shew,  
And love had better blessings to bestow;  
For, in retirement, blest he is to find  
Domestic bliss and rectitude of mind.

Anon., 'The Nabob: A Tale'.<sup>1</sup>

From the mid-eighteenth century, large numbers of EIC officers, administrators, surveyors, and collectors, returned to their home nation, the majority had one goal in view, that of fitting back into society. This necessitated the acquisition of a mansion and land, a wife and family, to settle within the four nations of Britain. Although by the end of the eighteenth century much Indian memorabilia, trinkets, fabrics and other goods were displayed within the homes of these men, the deficiency of British buildings and gardens exhibiting a major use of Indian design requires explanation. This chapter examines the public reception to returnees and the political debate around the expansion of a 'nabob' class, as reasons for a lack of dissemination of the style. It explores the predicament of returnees from India, the majority of whom were categorised as a homogenous group called by the derisory term 'nabobs' despite the differences between them. Andrew Mackillop contends that 'no other type of eighteenth-century sojourner met such a welter of class prejudice, contempt, fear, and outright hostility,' as they endeavoured to blend back into British society.<sup>2</sup> This thesis, however, identifies them as returnees - individuals whose narratives abroad and lifestyles on return from India were vastly different from each other. They also shared a trajectory which had already been established by land owners whose wealth was derived from the trade in the British colonies including the West

---

<sup>1</sup> Anon., 'The Nabob: A Tale', from *Tales and Fables* (London: T. Hookham, 1788) pp. 1-11; *British Encounters with India, 1750-1830*, ed. by Tim Keirn and Norbert Schürer, (Houndsillls, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 81, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 238.

Indies. Indeed, many of those returning from the Caribbean wished their source of wealth to remain hidden, especially a few, like Paul Benfield of Woodhall Spa, who might endure double the vilification, as both a nabob and slave owner. It is the voices of the returnees from the four nations, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, which are paramount to this thesis, their repatriation experiences, and the mansions and landscapes they chose to build.<sup>3</sup>

After their homecoming, many chose a quiet existence, enjoying the company of friends and family within their local community, however, a small number flaunted their wealth and status, building opulent mansions and gardens and purchasing parliamentary seats, earning the ‘nabob’ designation. Although fortunes had been gained from activities in the service of the EIC (or Royal armies), or by private trading, it was how this wealth was dispersed on return which was significant. In the press, in poetry, prose and drama, returnees were widely identified as a villainous, corrupt and rapacious faction rather than individuals who were piecing together their previous lives in Britain, with many returning from three or four decades of service on the subcontinent. James Holzman writing a *Study on the Returned Anglo-Indian*, explains the difficulties the returnees received that they were: ‘Part of the backwash of imperialism which was contributing to the breakdown of the old order.’<sup>4</sup> However, he not only regarded returnees from India as part of a class war alongside slave traders and plantation owners, he also conflated the four British nations with England: ‘Indian Nabobs, Caribbean sugar planters, African slave traders, and government war contractors, were assailing insular and agricultural England.’<sup>5</sup> Even into the nineteenth century the group identification continued, Thomas Macaulay observing that the returnees’ abilities were overlooked: ‘The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the State; but at home their talents were not shown to their advantage, and their services were little known.’<sup>6</sup> Yet narratives of returnees from the four nations did not emerge until the twenty-first

---

<sup>3</sup> The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was not established until Acts of Union were agreed in 1801.

<sup>4</sup> Holzman, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, ‘Lord Clive (1840)’, in *The Historical Essays of Macaulay*, ed. by Samuel Thurber (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1894), p. 231.

century, with texts such a Harper's *Emigrant Homecomings* in which Scottish returnees were represented, and the Welsh in Bowen's *Wales and the British Overseas Empire*.<sup>7</sup>

By 1806 with over 24,500 men employed in the EIC army and many more employed in the Company's administration, only a handful were keen on their return to Britain to embark on a political career.<sup>8</sup> Most were eager to buy, lease, or build a mansion and garden to announce their improved status, while endeavouring to keep a low profile on their retirement from India. Scaremongering whipped up by the media was the work of a class system under threat rather than an imperilled parliament, and the reporting of a "nabob controversy" acutely misrepresented the majority of returnees.<sup>9</sup> However, the disparaging term 'nabob' was used only for a short time, with limited usage in the press in the early eighteenth century, common after Plassey in 1757, but almost disappearing after the 1790s (during the trial of Warren Hastings for instance) with only sporadic instances recorded after that date.<sup>10</sup> Although the term was heavily used, alongside 'Anglo-Indians' in the English press, it was less frequently emphasised in Scotland and Wales. In these two nations, although 'nabob' was applied to returnees who had gained vast amounts of wealth, they had also endeavoured to provide economic benefits to their country, in Scotland making: 'a deliberate attempt to ensure their peers recognised them and their wealth as innately virtuous, patriotic, and conducive to the public good.'<sup>11</sup> But even though many men returned to their communities and estates, their stay-at-home compatriots

---

<sup>7</sup> *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. by Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830*, ed. by Huw V. Bowen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> Edwin Collen, 'Chapter XI: Army' in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: The Indian Empire, 26 vols. New Edition* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1907-1909), IV (1907), p. 335. For later in the period see W. H. Sykes, 'Vital Statistics of the East India Company's Armies in India, European and Native', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 10.2 (May 1847), 100-131.

<sup>9</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 14. See also Huw V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 271-272.

<sup>10</sup> Chowdhery, p. iv; Helen Clifford, 'Accommodating the East: Sir Lawrence Dundas as Northern Nabob? The Dundas Empire and Nabob Taste', *East India Company At Home* (February 2013), <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Aske-Hall-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf> [accessed 8 October 2018].

<sup>11</sup> H. V. Bowen, 'Wales and the Making of British India During the Late Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Vol 22 (2016), 90-109 (p. 102); Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 238.

were still wary of the privilege, political power and land, which could be bought by colonial wealth.<sup>12</sup>

That said, with many thousands of EIC servants returning from India during the period between 1775 and 1850, it would have been understandable if the general populace presumed a proliferation of Indian minarets, domes, and temples would materialise in the country estates of wealthy returnees. But this was not the case. Although this thesis explores Mughal and Hindu influences upon British architecture and gardens it must be acknowledged that instances of Indian-influenced mansions and landscapes built in Great Britain or Ireland, were far from typical, the majority of EIC returnees invariably choosing a Neo-classical or Palladian style for their house and garden. Indeed, these styles likely mirrored the Indo-Classical architecture of the colonial cities of Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras, which, also based on the imperial styles of Greece and Rome were sometimes directly modelled on specific English Palladian buildings.<sup>13</sup> In Britain those who did prefer Indian architecture for elements of their house or landscape, appear to have been staunch Company men who had lived in India for many years and were immersed in its history, art and culture through membership of societies which studied Indian art and culture, or through extensive travel within the subcontinent. This hypothesis is illustrated in the three nations' case studies which follow this chapter, which identify three EIC men who built or revamped their estate, each of them involved with political or judicial activity after their retirement from the Company to live in England, Scotland and Wales. All three had spent many years in the subcontinent and on their return to Britain displayed strong interests in promoting economic growth both locally and nationally. Following the path of most returnees, the development of their British mansions and gardens was as individual as the men themselves, but one theme united them - all three were harangued in the press as 'nabobs', categorised as such by the inordinate sums of money they had acquired in India.

Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal, built his mansion on ancestral land at Daylesford in Gloucestershire disclosing his Indian connection only by a very restrained dome and lotus finial, and experimentation with Indian flora and fauna.

---

<sup>12</sup> Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', pp. 237-238.

<sup>13</sup> Government House in Calcutta was modelled on Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire.

This was probably prudent as he was closely associated with India through scathing political cartoons and press coverage, and Daylesford was designed and built while Hastings was on trial for seven years. Novar in Scotland, the family estate of Sir Hector Munro, an EIC army general, clearly illustrates how a fortune gained in India could be used to benefit both land and workers, particularly in times of unemployment. It also shows how the memorialising of India could be represented in the form of garden buildings and landscape, as well as the collection of Indian weapons and paintings. The last case study is that of Middleton Hall in Wales, bought by William Paxton who had worked in EIC administration. On his return he married into the landed gentry and gained a seat in the British parliament, thus following the trajectory which Edmund Burke described in his speech on the India Bill 1783: ‘Arrived in England, the destroyers of the nobility and gentry ... They marry into your families; they enter into your senate ... there is scarcely an house in the kingdom that does not feel some concern.’<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, on his estate, Paxton became a benevolent landowner, making changes to water-courses and landforms, re-creating the lake environment he had enjoyed in India. All three men used the wealth, knowledge and skills gained during their time in India, to enrich their estates, but they also aimed to improve the communities they served, and the economy of the country to which they made their homecoming.

### **Politics of the Nabobs**

Men who were allowed to gain Indian fortunes in the period following the Battle of Plassey in 1757 until the turn of the century, and particularly those who used their wealth to buy land and to gain a seat in parliament were often pilloried by cartoonists such as James Gillray who produced many caricatures satirising the returnees. Common themes were the wealth typically gained by private trading in textiles, indigo, diamonds or opium, and the acceptance of presents from Indian princes and *nawabs* - trinkets, diamonds or a *jaghirs* of land. Among those lampooned by Gillray was Paul Benfield ('Count Rupee') (Fig. 1.1), an EIC engineer and surveyor turned merchant, who bought the stately, Palladian, Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire for

---

<sup>14</sup> Edmund Burke, Speech on Fox's India Bill, 1 December 1783 (1783-1827) in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, Vol. 5: India: Madras and Bengal: 1774-1785*, ed. by P. J. Marshall and William B. Todd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 403.

£125,000, and also acquired a seat in Parliament.<sup>15</sup> Although dressed as a gentleman, Benfield's darkened countenance signified his status as an outsider.<sup>16</sup> The returnees' wives also came under scrutiny, Nechtman arguing that by their conspicuous consumption of India's material culture in the form of diamonds, perfumes and shawls, they were 'more obvious examples of the nabob peril than their husbands'.<sup>17</sup> This stance was certainly taken by the satirical publication *Criticisms on the Rolliad*, which lampooned Marian Hastings the wife of the Governor General of Bengal:

‘For sniff! – rich odours scent the sphere!  
‘Tis Mrs. Hastings’ self brings up the rear!<sup>18</sup>

With the slow disintegration of the Mughal Empire, a few Company employees had certainly accumulated great wealth as local rulers and *nawabs* in their struggle for power, sought British support by offering bribes.<sup>19</sup> Percival Spears described how the change from merchant to 'nabob' occurred:

Before 1750 the few Company's servants who acquired fortunes did so as merchants living in European settlements. On their return they invested their money in land ... and we hear no tales of extraordinary extravagance or pomp. It was the migration of the factor to the country districts after Plassey that changed their outlook from that of merchants desiring to get rich quickly to that of gentlemen desiring titles, and deference, prestige and social distinction. 'Nabobs' first appeared in England after Plassey. They entered Parliament in force at the election of 1768, and they were first publicly exposed by Foote in his play 'The Nabob'.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> P. J. Marshall, 'Paul Benfield, ODNB [accessed 11 February 2019]; *The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*, ed. by Margot Finn and Kate Smith (London: UCL Press, 2018) p 8.

<sup>16</sup> R. G. Thorne, 'Paul Benfield (1741-1810), Woodhall Park, Watton Woodhall, Herts., HPO [accessed 11 February 2019].

<sup>17</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 193.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Richardson and others, *Criticisms on the Rolliad. Part the First* (London: J. Ridgeway, 1791), p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 11-13.

<sup>20</sup> Percival Spears, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932, repr. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 32. For the structure of parliament when George III gained the throne see Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982), pp. 62-157; For Company men in parliament see Holzman, Appendix I.

*The Nabob*, a comedy by Samuel Foote first performed in 1772, described its protagonist, the returned ‘nabob’ thus: ‘preceded by all the pomp of Asia, Sir Matthew Mite, from the Indies, came thundering amongst us; and, profusely scattering the spoils of ruined provinces, corrupted the virtue and alienated the affections of all the old friends to the family’.<sup>21</sup> Even in the nineteenth century, those returning from India were scorned, Thomas Babington Macaulay, suggesting a ‘nabob’ used the language of an outsider: ‘astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires’.<sup>22</sup> While some plays and poems were favourable to the returnees, most were not. Richard Clarke in his poem *The Nabob: or, Asiatic Plunderer* (1773) took a high moral tone in an attempt to save returnees from their supposed vices, again treating them as a united group, a new upstart class:

An hireling group in this great realm is grown  
High Lords o'er millions, whose worn hands supply  
Their pride, their pomp, and feast of luxury.<sup>23</sup>

A later pamphlet by Joseph Price, took an atypical view, differentiating between the various returnees, arranging ‘those Gentlemen into their proper Classes.’<sup>24</sup> He believed that the designation of ‘nabob’ ‘so indiscriminately bestowed on all the gentlemen who have served in India, *properly belongs but to one*,’ Lord Clive of Plassey, the ‘only real and genuine English Nabob’.<sup>25</sup> Price identified the majority of returnees as ‘reputed nabobs’: ‘such gentlemen, who have served in different part of Asia, from twenty to thirty years, and being content with a modest fortune, have returned to their native country, and generally to their native place, whether England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland, to spend amongst their friends the remainder of their days.’<sup>26</sup> Those who acquired wealth in India, but returned a second time to replenish their fortune he designated as ‘spurious nabobs’. Price looked upon this class of ‘nabobs’ as having taken little care of their fortune, of being too generous with

<sup>21</sup> Samuel Foote, *The Nabob; A Comedy in Three Acts* (London: T. Cadell, 1778), p. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Macaulay, ‘Lord Clive’, p. 231.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Clarke, *The Nabob, or Asiatic Plunderers. A Satirical Poem* (London: the author, 1773), p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Price, *The Saddle Put on the Right Horse, or, An Enquiry into the Reason Why Certain Persons have been Denominated Nabobs; With an Arrangement of those Gentlemen into their Proper Classes of Real, Spurious, Reputed or Mushroom Nabobs* (London: the author, 1783), title page.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, pp. 22-23.

friends, or having too much ambition in raising their public status, that they needed to return to the subcontinent to replenish their wealth.<sup>27</sup> All three of the estates which feature in the following case studies, were built by returnees who Price would likely have labelled ‘spurious nabobs’ as they returned to India for a second time, to gain further career status or fortune.<sup>28</sup>

Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips estimate that up to the 1780s out of the thousands of returnees, around two to three hundred ‘nabobs’ returned to England.<sup>29</sup> That these men were viewed as a fundamental threat to the culture of Britain is argued by Tillman Nechtman, as, in taking memories of India home, they also carried with them the contagion of corruption.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the English way of life was thought by many, including Horace Walpole, to be endangered: ‘What is England now? - A sink of Indian wealth, filled by nabobs and emptied by Maccaronis! A senate sold and despised! A country overrun by horse-races! A gaming, robbing, wrangling, railing nation without principles, genius, character, or allies.’<sup>31</sup> Walpole was keen to link the Indian ‘nabobs’ with the Maccaronis who, influenced by French and Italian fashion in their dress and manners, brought a foreign culture to Britain. James Holtzman maligns ‘nabobs’ alongside the further afield ‘Caribbean sugar planters, and African slave traders’, designating them as nouveaux riches, who, engendering a class struggle, precipitated ‘changes in the ownership of landed estates and pocket boroughs’.<sup>32</sup>

Snobbery in various forms arose from the social elite who looked down on the perceived humble origins of some of the returnees, even though many officers and administrators were the younger sons of landed gentry or aristocracy. Countless Company men, although considered low-born, had risen to positions of power within the EIC by their own ability and had much to contribute to the British nation. The alarmist propaganda regarding the returnees caused consternation amongst the social

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> Price quoted a fourth group ‘mushroom nabobs’ who went to India, to make a quick fortune to the detriment of others, then returned to Britain to continue to swindle merchants by disreputable means.

<sup>29</sup> Philip Lawson and Jim Phillips ‘Our Execrable Banditti: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Albion*, 16.3 (Fall 1984), 225-241 (p. 227).

<sup>30</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 238.

<sup>31</sup> Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 13 July 1773, in *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, ed. by W. S. Lewis, 48 vols (New Haven, 1937–83), XXIII, p. 499.

<sup>32</sup> Holzman, p. 15.

elite, who feared that the lack of ancestry, love of luxury goods, and corrupt political practices from the East would engulf their way of life and dwarf their own more modest fortunes. Half-truths were peddled to the nation stirring up disquiet, the following invective by Lord Chatham delivered to the House of Lords being one example:

For some years past, there has been an influx of wealth into this country ...  
The riches of Asia have been poured in upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government.  
Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into Parliament by such a torrent of private corruption, as no private hereditary fortune could resist.<sup>33</sup>

Chatham's speech is about corruption certainly, but it is also about position and taste, and the recognition that 'nabobs' could buy country estates and live like landed gentry without any historical relationship to their lands. Although the number of MPs with East India connections increased in Parliament, members of the landed gentry were more concerned about the 'nabobs' buying ancient estates. Sir Roger Newdigate, MP for Middlesex, spoke about his concerns before contesting the 1768 election:

To restore the ancient *weight* and *dignity* of families, honours, and great estates, would ease the noble and great of their anxieties, who now sit brooding over their borough[s], eyeing with the utmost solicitude the birds of prey from the East and West who are hovering over them.<sup>34</sup>

Although such fears and slurs were widespread, some returnees like Hastings at Daylesford (Case Study 1), and Munro at Novar (Case Study 2), returned from India

<sup>33</sup> Lord Chatham, 'Speech of Lord Chatham on a Motion of Lord Rockingham to Inquire into the State of the Nation, delivered in the House of Lords, January 22, 1770', in Chauncey A. Goodrich, *Select British Eloquence, Embracing the Best Speeches of the Most Eminent Orators of Great Britain* (New York: Harper, 1852), pp. 116-117; William Pitt, *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, ed. by William Stanhope Taylor and John Henry Pringle, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1839), III, pp. 400, 405. The speech of Lord Chatham given on 22 January 1770 was first published in 1792, by Almon, from a report taken by Philip Francis.

<sup>34</sup> John Brooke, 'Newdigate, Sir Roger, 5th Bt. (1719-1806), of Arbury, Warws. and Harefield, Mdx.', HPO [accessed 24 October 2017]

to their ancestral lands, and were keen to improve their estates. Others, such as Paxton at Middleton Hall (Case Study 3), bought estates not in their native land but became MPs for their adopted constituency. Although Paxton stood for Parliament, he was not part of a Company returnee alliance. John Brooke maintains that there were at least five groups who stood for Parliament: EIC directors; former EIC and Royal Navy maritime officers; army officers from both EIC and Royal regiments; EIC civil servants; and Company stockholders.<sup>35</sup> In the 1754 election, only two men who had been to India gained a seat in Parliament.<sup>36</sup> In 1763 three men who had worked on the subcontinent were elected. It was the 1768 election that first saw a large increase of the number of East Indians in Parliament. In the five hundred and fifteen MPs who were elected, thirteen were Directors of the Company, and twelve were former Company administrators or officers.<sup>37</sup> Only three gained constituencies with which their families had been connected for many years, including Munro for Inverness Burghs and Henry Vansittart, of Foxley, Berkshire, for Reading.<sup>38</sup> Sir Eyre Coote was returned at Leicester, but all the rest were from venal boroughs, and, with less than 1,000 voters, likely to be influenced by payment of money. From the 1770s to the 1790s the number of Company men in parliament gradually increased, with forty-five Company men becoming MPs in 1784 over this period, causing much consternation in the House.<sup>39</sup>

With the large amount of press coverage, parliamentary debate and literature published describing the returnees as ‘nabobs’, it is no wonder that many returnees who acquired country estates preferred a low profile. Endeavouring to refute the criticisms, some returnees joined agricultural societies, to demonstrate their use of the latest techniques, whilst combining them with Indian traditional practices.<sup>40</sup> Others involved themselves in charity work, particularly in the relief of poverty and famine, or experimented with the new plants and animals they had introduced to Britain. Lastly with many missing the military way of life and having much expertise to offer, some gained senior positions within local militias. Innovations in

---

<sup>35</sup> John Brooke, ‘III: The Members’, HPO [accessed 24 October 2017].

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Eric Grant and Alistair Mutch, ‘Indian Wealth and Agricultural Improvement in Northern Scotland’, 35.1 *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* (2015), 25–44.

agriculture could cause much hardship, and, with traditional practices swept away, such as common land commandeered for sheep grazing, fields enclosed and villages disassembled for improvements, local militias were used to keep the peace and quell riots. Although these activities were not specific to returnees, their military expertise in dealing with dissent proved useful. For example, at Novar, a disagreement arose between tenants and the local populace over the seizure of sheep that had strayed, which ended in a violent struggle. Black Watch troops, commanded by Hector Munro, a returnee, were called out to restore order.<sup>41</sup>

### The mansions and gardens of returnees

With EIC officers and administrators spending most of their time in India in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, their abiding memories were likely to have included the EIC's white Indo-Classical buildings, the architecture giving an aura of authority, status and order, evoking the imperial heritage of Greece and Rome, and symbolising British control over India. Most Company men lived on the outskirts of the major British communities, either renting houses from *zemindars*, or building garden houses or *bangla*. The white classical detailing included entrance porticoes and loggias, such as those at Thomas Powney's Madras house (Fig. 1.2) and aligned classical architecture with European strength.<sup>42</sup> Reginald Heber, the Bishop of Calcutta, thought of the Indian cities in classical terms, having observed on his arrival to Calcutta a 'white staring European house, with plantations and shrubberies, [which] gave notice of our approach to an European capital'.<sup>43</sup> This was most likely Garden Reach where large, gleaming garden houses were interspersed with the traditional houses of the Bengali middle-class.<sup>44</sup> Mark Wood's *Survey of the Country on the Eastern Bank of the Houghly, from Calcutta to the Fortifications at Budgebudge* in the 1780s mapped the garden houses around Calcutta (Fig. 1.3).<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Hall, p. 22.

<sup>42</sup> Chattopadhyay, 'Garden House', pp. 169-198 (p. 171). Zemindars became landlords of areas of land after the Company's Permanent Settlement of 1793, which assumed that ownership of private property would be the bedrock of 'political stability and economic prosperity.'

<sup>43</sup> Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1825*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1828), III, p. 20.

<sup>44</sup> See Chattopadhyay, 'Garden House', pp. 169-198.

<sup>45</sup> London: British Library, Maps K.Top.115.38, Mark Wood, *A Survey of the Country on the Eastern Bank of the Houghly, from Calcutta to the Fortifications at Budgebudge, Including Fort William and the Post at Manicolly Point, and Shewing the Extent and Situation of the Different Courses, Embankments, Tanks, or Broken Ground, Likewise Representing the Sands and Soundings of the*

Those at Garden Reach hug the banks of the river, similar to the villas built to the west of London at Richmond and Hampton, with each plot of land demarcated with a tree boundary, and neatly labelled with the owner's name, the majority EIC servants.<sup>46</sup> Even suburban residences became known as garden houses, although they were often only a short *palanquin* ride to the Calcutta administrative centre. In 1812 Maria Graham described garden houses as: 'generally of only one story; they are a pretty style of architecture, having their porticos and virandas supported by pillars of chunam; the walls are the same material, either white or coloured ... the houses are surrounded by a field or compound, with a few trees and shrubs, but it is with incredible pains that flowers or fruit are raised.'<sup>47</sup> Yet Swati Chattopadhyay contends that the most pleasant garden houses were based on traditional Bengali rural houses, with 'a pond or tank stocked with fish, plentiful orchards of mango, coconut and other fruit trees, a bamboo grove acting as a windbreak and protection from the sun ... cattle sheds, and ... a granary.'<sup>48</sup> Although these viewpoints appear at odds with each other, they are both correct in their representation of British garden houses. Garden houses in the Indo-British cities were often Neo-classical in design, complete with porticoes and verandahs, but alternative buildings were often constructed within their compounds. A white chunamed classical house was used for receiving visitors, while a bungalow based on *bangla* huts, was used as a cool, airy, sleeping place away from the house.<sup>49</sup>

For many returnees to Britain, dreams of India likely included emulating the shining white garden houses and government buildings, which through their

---

*River at Low Water in Spring Tides, from January to May, from the Year 1780 till 1784*, published 1785.

<sup>46</sup> London, British Library, Maps K.Top.115.38, Mark Wood, *A Survey of the Country on the Eastern Bank of the Hugly, from Calcutta to the Fortifications at Budgebudge, Including Fort William and the Post at Manicolly Point, and Shewing the Extent and Situation of the Different Courses, Embankments, Tanks, or Broken Ground, Likewise Representing the Sands and Soundings of the River at Low Water in Spring Tides, from January to May, from the Year 1780 till 1784*, published 1785; Rosie Dias, 'A Map of Kolkata in 1785', *Picturing Places*, The British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/a-map-of-kolkata-in-1785> [accessed 6 April 2017].

<sup>47</sup> Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1812), pp. 124-25.

<sup>48</sup> Chattopadhyay, 'Garden House', pp. 169-198 (p. 174).

<sup>49</sup> Jeremiah P. Losty, *Sita Ram's Painted Views of India: Lord Hastings's Journey from Calcutta to the Punjab, 1814-15* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015), p. 9. Depictions of these two types of houses were drawn by Sita Ram, an Indian artist trained in court painting at the Murshidabad school. Gaining patronage from Francis Rawdon, Second Earl of Moira, and working alongside the artists George Chinnery and Charles D'Oyly, he became influenced by the Picturesque style of William Hodges, and Thomas and William Daniell.

construction and garden spaces ‘assured the recognition of power over the land’.<sup>50</sup> By building in a Palladian or Neo-classical style returnees recreated their memories of India, whilst also invoking the cultural prestige of classically-inspired architecture to support them in their resettlement in a foreign land - Britain. This conservatism allowed them to be unobtrusive when moving in wider landed gentry circles. Once retired and returned to Britain, to assist them with the repatriation, returnees frequently preferred to live in areas populated with other EIC servants, such as the spa towns, and bathing resorts where ailments could be relieved by the healing treatments proffered by establishments. Once such town, Cheltenham Spa was described as a gathering place, ‘the favourite residence of so many retired veterans from India that it acquired the sobriquet of ‘Asia Minor’.<sup>51</sup> It is, perhaps, no surprise that the returnees’ new houses fitted in easily with the Bath stone or stuccoed Georgian architecture of the spas and sea-bathing venues.<sup>52</sup>

Other areas where many EIC men repatriated were around Edinburgh or within striking distance of London.<sup>53</sup> Kate Harwood identifies around twenty estates in Hertfordshire which were owned by families with EIC connections.<sup>54</sup> Likewise, Clive Williams documents thirty-one properties in Berkshire that had been rented or owned by returnees, the county gaining the title of the ‘English Hindustan’.<sup>55</sup> In both counties very little seems to have been influenced by Indian design. The resettlement of returnees in Hampshire between 1750 and 1815 further illustrates the individual narratives and lifestyle of returnees, but also their reluctance to build or extend in an Indian-influenced style. They included Richard Barwell of Stansted

---

<sup>50</sup> Chatopadhyay, ‘Garden House’, pp. 169-198 (p. 179).

<sup>51</sup> W. E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1903), p. 3; Samuel Young Griffith, *Griffith’s New Historical Description of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826), I, p. v.

<sup>52</sup> See Patrick Baty, *The Anatomy of Colour: The Story of Heritage Paint and Pigments* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2017).

<sup>53</sup> Historic Environment Scotland Listing No: LB779, Preston Hall Policies, The Temple. Status: Designation. Preston Hall Temple (also known as the Folly), was designed as a mausoleum for the ‘nabob’, Alexander Callender, by Robert Mitchell c.1795. Unfinished when Callender died it was never used for that purpose. Although the *Folly Fellowship Bulletin* (October 2007) suggests that the Temple might have an Indian roof, the Historic Environment Scotland listing states it was Callender’s brother who moved a bell-roofed tempietto from the south garden to complete the classical octagonal monument.

<sup>54</sup> Kate Harwood, ‘Some Hertfordshire Nabobs’, in *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany*, ed. by Anne Rowe, (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007), pp. 51-77 (51)

<sup>55</sup> Sir Evan Cotton, ‘More Hastings Letters’, *Bengal Past and Present*, 37.1, No. 73 (Jan.–Mar. 1929), p. 66.

Park (Supreme Councillor, Bengal); John Carnac of Cams Hall, Fareham (Brigadier-General, Bengal army); and William Hornby, Hook House (Governor, Bombay).

These Hampshire men, their lives in India, and the variety of their narratives and outcomes, are characteristic of returnees to England, some of whom might possibly deserve the disparaging title of ‘nabob’, while most did not. While returnees were often singled out for gaining historical lands, marrying into the aristocracy, and gaining seats in Parliament, these spheres of influence applied in varying degrees to the Hampshire settlers.

One EIC administrator with a dubious reputation, Richard Barwell (1741-1804), was referred to as a ‘nabob’ in the Hampshire survey, and arguably deserved that title. Born in India, his father was governor of Fort William, in Calcutta, and a director of the EIC.<sup>56</sup> Although Barwell himself rose to become paymaster-general and mint-master by 1770, it was at Patna in 1771, and Dacca in 1773 where he made most of his fortune, in private dishonest dealings in salt and timber, and corrupt financial operations.<sup>57</sup> He returned to England in 1780 with a fortune of around £400,000, buying Stansted Park, Sussex (now Hampshire) (Fig. 1.4) in 1781 for £90,000.<sup>58</sup> In 1786 he engaged the architects Joseph Bonomi the Elder (1739-1808) and James Wyatt (1746-1813) to reconstruct the house by removing the wings and encasing it in white brick, with the grounds redesigned by Lancelot Brown to resemble the French landscape at Chantilly.<sup>59</sup> Acquiring a seat in Parliament, he married Catherine Coffin, the daughter of a customs official from Boston, Massachusetts.<sup>60</sup> Miss Iremonger a visitor to Sussex, wrote of Barwell on 24 July 1785:

---

<sup>56</sup> Lucy S. Sutherland, ‘Barwell, Richard (1741-1804) of Stansted Park, Sussex’, HPO [accessed 19 September 2017].

<sup>57</sup> T. H. Bowyer, ‘Barwell, Richard (1741–1804)’, ODNB [accessed 19 Sept 2017]. Although a supporter of Hastings, Barwell was prepared to bribe his way to a fortune but lost a large amount of money through gambling debts.

<sup>58</sup> Alfred Spencer, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, 4 vols (1775-1882) 7th edn (London: Hurst and Blackett, [n.d.]), II, p. 307; James H. Thomas, ‘County, Commerce and Contacts: Hampshire and the East India Company in the Eighteenth Century’, in *Proceedings Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 68 (2013), p. 174.

<sup>59</sup> James H. Thomas, ‘County, Commerce and Contacts: Hampshire and the East India Company in the Eighteenth Century’, in *Proceedings Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, vol 68 (2013), 169-170 (p. 174); A. Cecil Piper, ‘Stansted Park and its Owners’ in *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 8.3 (1919), 289-301 (p. 298).

<sup>60</sup> Lucy Stuart Sutherland, ‘Barwell, Richard (1741-1804) of Stansted Park, Sussex’, HPO [accessed 19 September 2017]; A Copy of Marriage Settlement of Richard Barwell and Catherine Coffin, 23 June 1785, is in Cornwall Record Office, BRA1076/24. The archives are closed until late 2019.

While I was at Uppark a marriage took place near there that surprized most People. Mr. Barwell, the great East Indian of Stansted, to Miss Coffin, a very pretty little Girl not 16, of American extraction. Till a fortnight before this Event he kept a very Beautiful Mistress close to his Park, by whom he has several Children, & till very lately He declared most strongly against Matrimony. He seems a good-natured man, but the Mogul prevales [sic] strongly, I think, in his way of Life and Conversation.<sup>61</sup>

With a sullied reputation, boorish behaviour and Indian birth and language, some of Barwell's neighbours declined to meet him, especially as he turned down an invitation by the local mayor, choosing to remain isolated within his own grounds, much as Mughal *nawabs* lived apart from their *ryots*. Gradually it was only his friends from London and India who called, William Pitt Amherst (1773-1857) (later Governor-General of India) on such a visit in 1791 observing: 'The House makes a very noble appearance, and is handsome within. The Park & Grounds very fine. Mr. Barwell took us over the whole.'<sup>62</sup> After being shunned for six months by his local community, Barwell made peace with his neighbours, throwing a 'magnificent dinner, ball, and supper', continuing the lifestyle of a 'nabob', his outlandish lifestyle likely causing alarm to other county returnees who wished to quietly integrate into their communities.<sup>63</sup>

Although many returnees preferred to congregate in spa towns, sea bathing was also popular with those living in isolated rural retreats near the sea. A Company man with a strong personality who settled in Hampshire in the late eighteenth century was William Hornby. He was recruited as a writer in 1740 rising to become Governor of Bombay between 1771 and 1784, and was responsible for the Hornby Velland, the linking of the islands of Bombay, commenced in 1782.<sup>64</sup> When he returned to England, he brought with him his family who were born in India, and one daughter who was likely to have been born to an Indian *bibi*. He constructed Hook House, Hampshire in classical style between 1785 and 1791 (Fig. 1.5), said to be

<sup>61</sup> Francis Bamford (ed.), *Dear Miss Heber: An Eighteenth Century Correspondence* (London: Constable, 1936), p. 18.

<sup>62</sup> London: BL, MSS Eur F140/4, Journal of W. Pitt Amherst, July 1790-September 1794.

<sup>63</sup> Spencer, pp. 308-309.

<sup>64</sup> Walter Hamilton, *The East-India Gazetteer*, 2 vols (London: Parbury, Allen, 1828), I. p. 264.

based on his Government House in Bombay (Fig. 1.6). Hornby is likely responsible for the serpentine lake formed by closing the entrance to the river Fleet from the river Hamble, and the wholesale removal of a failing medieval fishing village to an inland position to improve the view from his house.<sup>65</sup> An eighteenth-century building on a nearby beach named Hook Summerhouse, was likely developed by Hornby for either sea or cold bathing, and the building perhaps modelled on an earlier more modest Government House at Parell, Bombay (Fig. 1.7).<sup>66</sup> The Summerhouse appears on Lieutenant Murdock Mackenzie's 1783 map (Fig. 1.8) (on later OS maps named Hook Bungalow), and has an associated channelled stream and pool.<sup>67</sup>

Other returnees also settled by the sea in southern counties. Captain John Gould (1722-1784), a gentleman of Margate, Kent, was a merchant and a tea planter in Calcutta, owning a fleet of ships which sailed between Deal and Calcutta for the EIC. In addition to his houses in Deal and Margate he retained a house with warehouses in Calcutta.<sup>68</sup> In 1763 Gould leased in Margate a 'green or piece or parcel of pasture land...containing by estimation two acres'.<sup>69</sup> Returning from India in 1766, he left his Portuguese-Indian wife Henrietta Gould in Calcutta and built India House, Margate, likely in a garden house, or bungalow style on this land (Fig. 1.9). Originally in a rural position not far from the sea, it was near the burgeoning town and the Margate Bathing Rooms.<sup>70</sup> Likely completed in 1767, India House was suggested to be in the style of Gould's previous house in India, but there is little evidence.<sup>71</sup> Although still betraying its bungalow style, which Historic England

<sup>65</sup> Penny Daish, 'The Hook: Country Residence of William Hornby', in *The Hook: The Story of a Forgotten Country Estate*, ed. by Christopher Gibson (Warsash: Warsash Local History Society, 2013), p. 2; Nikolaus Pevsner and David Lloyd, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Book Ltd, 1967), p. 644. Hook House burnt down in 1903.

<sup>66</sup> Daish, p.1.

<sup>67</sup> London: BL Maps SEC.1.(17.), Lieutenant Murdock Mackenzie, *Survey of Southampton River, the Brambles and Cowes Road with the adjacent parts*, 1783 [Admiralty Chart].

<sup>68</sup> London: NA PRO Probate Record 11/1115/335, Will of John Gould, Late of Calcutta, April 1784; Historic England: India House. Listing No: 1351101, HE [accessed 21 March 2019]; Ian Priston, *India House: A Short History* (Margate: Boys and Maughan Solicitors, 2017), no pagination. In 1749 Gould was appointed a Commissioner for Restitution following the Siege of Calcutta in 1756, and owned property in Deal, Margate and Calcutta.

<sup>69</sup> Priston, *India House*. The land was bought from Richard Henneker for a year at ten shillings.

<sup>70</sup> London: NA PRO Probate Record 11/1115/335; Kent Archives: 1852 OS Map of Margate 10ft/1 mile, and 1873 OS Map of Margate 10ft/1 mile. Gould lived in Margate with his housekeeper Susanna Rogers, who was the mother of his son, John Gould born 1769.

<sup>71</sup> Priston, *India House*. Letter from Peter Reid, Architectural Historian and descendant of John Gould, *Country Life*, 140 (1 December 1966), p. 1459.

describes as ‘a crenellated Palladian villa on a diminutive scale’ it was later extended, the 1852 OS map showing extensive gardens at the back of the house.<sup>72</sup>

These returnees who made a new life back in Britain, used their Indian wealth to recreate a house memorialising India, as a passport to their integration back into society. Too much lavish spending, however, gained criticism, Barwell being suggested to have Mughal ways. To construct a mansion in Indian design would have indicated that the owner might bring corruption, lasciviousness and profligacy into the county, and therefore non-admission into British society. However, some like William Hornby and Captain Gould dared to be different. Perhaps like many other returnees, by choosing to build in a rural retreat in Britain they risked to architecturally honour their life in India.

Although in 1707 Great Britain became a three-nation state, with England, Scotland, and Wales, and Ireland joining the Union in 1801, all four nations were governed by the British parliament in London. With a greater population in England, authorship became England centric, with England often identified as a metaphor for Great Britain.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the three following case studies – Daylesford, Novar, and Middleton Hall – show how the wealth gained by men who had spent their youth in the service of the EIC, could engender innovation in the three nations, Scotland, Wales and England, whilst also daring in different forms to memorialise their military, cultural and social lives in India. The improving spirit of returnees is very rarely discussed, with scholars such as Nechtman tending to describe the group of ‘nabobs’ who chose to build houses and gardens with ‘eastern architectural flourishes’ as ‘emblems of a much larger peril’ to the general public.<sup>74</sup>

In the three following case studies, returnees from three British nations are given a voice in the nabob debate, depicting alternative ways that these EIC men chose to share their wealth to enhance both local and national economies, whilst also

---

<sup>72</sup> Historic England: India House. Listing No: 1351101; *Country Life*, 140, p. 1459; Kent Archives: 1852 and 1873 OS Maps of Margate 10ft/1 mile. Priston, *India House*. The house continued with links to the EIC having been used as offices by the Company after Gould’s death.

<sup>73</sup> G. A. Bremner, ‘The Expansion of England? Rethinking Scotland’s Place in the Architectural History of the Wider British World’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 18 (2018).

<sup>74</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 166.

being mindful of changing agricultural practices which were widely being adopted throughout Great Britain not just on ‘nabobs’ lands, and which sometimes led to poverty and emigration on a large scale.

## **Case Study 1: The Indian and British Mansions and Experimental Gardens of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal**

The inclusion of a case study on Warren Hastings' achievements is pivotal to this thesis as, although Hastings (Fig. 1.10) was used as a scapegoat for the ills of the 'nabob' class, his individual accomplishments in India were celebrated by those who knew him. According to the memorial in Westminster Abbey erected by his wife, Hastings had:

Preserved it [the Kingdom of Bengal] from invasion and while he secured to its inhabitants the enjoyment of their customs, laws and religion, and the blessing of peace, was rewarded by their affection and gratitude'.<sup>1</sup>

After his death a sculpture to Hastings' memory was erected in Calcutta with money raised by public subscription, with donations amounting to 41,493 rupees, received from diverse sections of EIC and Indian society including serving and past officers and officials, *nawabs, rajas, nizams, baboos*, with numerous small offerings from the native population.<sup>2</sup>

Hastings had endured jealousies and attacks from disaffected British colleagues on his political judgement in India, and he was impeached on his return to Britain for alleged EIC mismanagement in a seven-year trial (1788-1795). His acquisitions of properties and land in Berkshire and Gloucestershire were viewed as conspicuous displays of Indian wealth. However, he was acquitted of all misconduct at his trial, allegedly bankrupted by the proceedings. This case study endeavours to separate the myth of Hastings as the figurehead of the 'nabobs' from the reality of his Indian and British innovative gardens and scientific experiments, which were aimed in part at supporting economic growth.

---

<sup>1</sup> Hastings' memorial monument in Westminster Abbey, was donated by his wife, the plinth designed by John Bacon, the younger, the bust by Samuel Manning. 'Warren Hastings: Statesman and Diplomat' <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/warren-hastings> [accessed 13 February 2019].

<sup>2</sup> 'List of Subscribers and their Donations Towards the Erection of a Statue to Warren Hastings at Calcutta. Calcutta, Sept., 14th, 1820', *Selections from the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies, January 1816-June 1822*, vols 1-8 (Madras: Higginbottom & Co., 1875), pp. 409-412.

The influence of Hastings on the political culture of Britain has been hotly debated ever since he disembarked from India in 1775. To many, he was the epitome of a ‘spurious nabob’, gaining a fortune in the EIC and in private trading, but visiting India a second time to replenish his wealth.<sup>3</sup> Certainly, after an illustrious career, with twenty years of service in the EIC, Hastings’ fortune enabled the re-purchase of Daylesford, his Gloucestershire family estate. Nevertheless, questions on his political acumen in the subcontinent and his treatment of Indian princes and rulers were raised in Parliament by radical opponents such as Sir Philip Francis (1740-1818) a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal, and the orator, author and politician Edmund Burke (1729/30-1797).<sup>4</sup> Hastings was brought before parliament and impeached, the articles of his crimes alleging that due to: ‘inordinate ambition he had procured for himself exorbitant wealth and excessive power, tyrannically violated the duties of his station, affected the happiness of the native inhabitants and wantonly and wickedly degraded the honour of the Crown and the nation’.<sup>5</sup>

Pilloried in parliament, mocked in the press and lampooned by cartoonists, Hastings became identified to the populace as the epitome of a ‘nabob’.<sup>6</sup> James Gillray’s *The Bow to the Throne, alias, The Begging Bow*, 1788 (Fig. 1.11), depicted him in a shawl and turban, seated on a commode, offering pagodas and rupees to William Pitt, the Prime Minister and Edward Thurlow the Lord Chancellor of England, while King George III grovelled behind the commode salvaging gold coins. Always portrayed in feminising Indian dress (although he never wore it), Hastings’ persona was ruined and besmirched, his image identifying him with an immoral India. He was blamed for all the returnees’ alleged malpractices, including the purchase of country estates and seats in parliament. Many of his detractors argued that he was symbolic of a growing class which attacked the root of British identity

---

<sup>3</sup> Price, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Sophie von La Roche, *Sophie in London: 1786*, trans. by Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1933), p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> *Articles Exhibited by the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament Assembled, in the Name of Themselves and of all the Commons of Great Britain, Against Warren Hastings Esq., Late Governor-General of Bengal, in Maintenance of their Impeachment against him for High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, 2nd edn (London: J. Debrett, 1788), pp. 6-7.

<sup>6</sup> After seven years Hastings was exonerated of all crimes.

with a reverse form of colonisation, allowing the practices of an alien Eastern society awash with corruption, fraud and vast wealth to infiltrate Britain.<sup>7</sup>

However, like many of the returnees who had spent years on the subcontinent, Hastings endeavoured to compartmentalise his life. At home, away from political life, he memorialised India, its art, religion, culture, languages and customs, having shipped home paintings, aquatints, armour, ivory chairs, fabrics, perfumes, flora and fauna, in order to recreate the ambiance of India in his mansions and gardens. The following section delves into Hastings' EIC administrative career and his Indian homes, which galvanised his quest to develop experimental gardens in India and Britain to improve trade, produce and the generation of prosperity.

### **Experience in India**

Enrolled as an EIC writer, in January 1750, just seventeen years of age, Hastings left for India arriving first in Madras.<sup>8</sup> Moving on to Bengal later that year, he was stationed at the Company factory at Cossimbazar, Murshidabad, famed for its decorative ivory work, and the centre of Bengal's silk production.<sup>9</sup> Recognised by Robert Clive for his intelligence and potential, Hastings moved to Calcutta in 1761 to become a Member of the EIC Council. He travelled back to England in 1764 to see his son by his first wife, but the boy had died before Hastings reached port.<sup>10</sup> As his investments left behind in India failed to give him an income, Hastings returned to

---

<sup>7</sup> See *The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings Esq., Late Governor-General of Bengal, Before the High Court of Parliament in Westminster Hall, on an Impeachment by the Commons of Great Britain for High Crimes and Misdemeanours ... From Feb. 7, 1786, until His Aquittal, April 23, 1795* (London: J. Debrett, 1796).

<sup>8</sup> ‘On the 18 October 1750 I first set my foot on the land of Bengal’: Warren Hastings to Edward Baber, Sandgate, 6 October 1815, H. B., ‘Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings’, *Notes and Queries*, 155 (14 April 1928), p. 257; Deirdre Le Faye, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 19; *Macaulay’s Essay on Warren Hastings*, ed. by Margaret J. Frick (New York: Macmillan; London: Macmillan, 1900), p. 9; Charles Lawson, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings: First Governor-General of India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1895), p. 33; Clive Williams, *The Nabobs of Berkshire* (Purley on Thames: Goosecroft Publications, 2010), p. 186; Anon., *Sketches of India, or Observations Descriptive of the Scenery etc. in Bengal: Written in India in the Years, 1811, 12, 13, 14* (London: Black, Parbury, and Allen, 1816), p. 9. Hastings was joined at Madras by Francis Sykes, another young writer in the East India Company. They shared the same *banian* to look after their financial affairs.

<sup>9</sup> Lawson, *Hastings*, p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> Rev. G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rt. Hon. Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of Bengal*, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1841), I, pp. 49-50. Hastings had married Mary Buchanan the widow of Captain John Buchanan, who died in the so-called Black Hole of Calcutta. Mary Hastings died in 1759 after the birth of their second child, who also died soon after.

India in 1769 endeavouring to revitalise his career and wealth. While on the voyage he met the already-married Baroness von Imhoff (née Anna Maria Apollonia Chapuset) (1747-1837). This liaison was to cause Hastings much political anguish, as even after the Imhoffs had divorced, and Hastings and Anna Maria Chapuset (known as Marian) married, taunts of impropriety followed for the rest of their lives.<sup>11</sup>

Nonetheless, this period in India was eminently more successful for Hastings, who became Governor of Bengal in 1772, and Governor-General in 1774. However, not everyone approved of the Company's progress and direction under his leadership, particularly Philip Francis, who had been appointed to the Supreme Council of the EIC, and was described by Nathaniel Wraxall as: 'bursting with bile'.<sup>12</sup> Francis became a vehement critic of Hastings' plans, obstructing him whenever possible, reporting in a letter to John Bourke (a London merchant and friend of Edmund Burke) in November 1774, that dishonesty in the higher echelons of the Company was systemic: 'corruption is no longer confined to the stem of the tree, or to a few principal branches: every twig, every leaf is putrified'.<sup>13</sup> Francis sent an anonymous letter to the Court of Directors in October 1780, with a pamphlet distributed to all Members of Parliament, entitled *A State of the British Authority in Bengal, under the Government of Mr. Hastings*.<sup>14</sup> The wide distribution of the pamphlet ultimately led to Hastings being recalled from India.

<sup>11</sup> London: British Library, Add MS 39903, Warren Hastings Papers, Vol. XXXIII, f. 65; T. H. Bowyer, 'Hastings, Marian (née Anna Maria Apollonia Chapuset; other married name Marian von Imhoff, Baroness von Imhoff) (1747–1837)', ODNB [accessed 10 June 2015]. Although the divorce was finalised, dated Weimar, 1 June 1776 the decree did not reach Calcutta until July 1777.

<sup>12</sup> John Cannon, 'Francis, Sir Philip (1740–1818)', ODNB, [http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/10077](http://www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/10077) [accessed 6 February 2016]; Henry Benjamin Wheatley, ed., *The Historical and the Posthumous Memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, 1772–1784*, 5 (London: Bickers & Son, 1884), III, p. 440.

<sup>13</sup> John Cannon, ODNB. Philip Francis to John Bourke, 30 November 1774 in *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, ed. by Joseph Parkes and Herman Merivale, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1867) II, p.18. 'Letter Philip Francis to John Bourke' in Sophia Weitzman, *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929), p. 134; H. E. Busteed, *Echoes of Old Calcutta, Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the Days of Warren Hastings, Francis and Impey* (London: Thacker, 1908), p. 111. In India an animosity grew between Hastings and Francis, finally leading to a duel which took place on 17 August 1780 at Alipore, Hastings wounding Francis in the shoulder.

<sup>14</sup> See also *A state of the British authority in Bengal under the government of Mr. Hastings. Exemplified in his conduct in the case of Mahomed Reza Khan. With a Debate upon a letter from Mobareck ul Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal. From authentic Documents* (London: H. S. Woodfall, 1780); Weitzman, p.137. It is likely that Francis wrote the anonymous letter in the name of Junius.

## Homes and Gardens in India

During his career in India, Hastings had rented and bought several houses in Calcutta and Alipore, Walter Kelly Ferminger observing that Hastings had ‘a very lucrative mania for house building and house selling’.<sup>15</sup> After his marriage to Chapuset in 1777, the couple lived in various Bengal houses: Sooksagar which was built as an English farm on the banks of the Hooghly, for research into the growing of coffee and other products; Rishera, again on the Hooghly, used during the hot summer months; and a sea-bathing haven at Birkal below Kedgri on the coast.<sup>16</sup>

One conundrum not completely resolved is the construction of the house named Belvedere (Figs. 1.12, 1.13), which many authors incorrectly refer to as Hastings’ House. It is possible that after 1763, the house and adjoining lands at Alipore which passed into the ownership of Hastings after the departure of a deposed *nawab*, Mir Jaffar Ali Khan of Murshidabad, was the site of Belvedere.<sup>17</sup> The *nawab* had lived under British protection at Alipore from 1760 until he was reinstated to his *musnud* by the British, and it is possible he gave Hastings the land as a grateful gift.<sup>18</sup> Hastings applied in June 1763 to the Company Board for ‘permission to build a bridge over the Callighaut [Kalighat] Nullah, on the road to his Garden House’, which suggests he owned land in the area and had already constructed a property.<sup>19</sup> What is not known is whether this house was the Belvedere extant today at Alipore. However, the Reverend J. Long suggests there were two separate properties, and that

---

<sup>15</sup> Rev. Walter Kelly Ferminger, *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1906), p. 121.

<sup>16</sup> Revd. J. Long: *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government for the Years 1748-1767 Inclusive*, 2nd edn (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1973), p. xxix; Ferminger, p.110; Colesworthy Grant, *Rural life in Bengal* (London: Thacker, 1860), p.97. Tim Willasey-Wilsey, *The Enigmatic Warren Hastings and his Calcutta properties* (2014)

<http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/74.html> [accessed 28 February 2016]. Although Hastings owned Belvedere, Hastings House and Rishera, and possibly part-owned Sooksagar, Birkal was probably leased.

<sup>17</sup> Kathleen Blechynden, *Calcutta: Past and Present* (London: Thacker, 1905), pp. 89-90; Lord Curzon of Kedleston, *British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, 2 vols (London: Cassell, 1925), I, p. 139. Jaffir Ali Khan had been created as nawab after the battle of Plassey by Clive, who was Governor of Bengal, 1758-1760, and 1765-1767. Khan was deposed by Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760-1765, but allowed to live at Alipore, Calcutta, for protection under British rule 1760-1763. Blechynden, pp. 89-90; Curzon, I, p. 139. Both Blechynden and Curzon suggest that the land was given to Hastings in gratitude for giving the Nawab safe haven. After he had left India Hastings was still in touch with the family, the Nawab’s wife, Mani Begum, arranging for ivory goods to be sent to England.

<sup>18</sup> Rev. James Long, *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government 1748-1767*, Vol 1, (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1869), p. 324.

Hastings' garden house was situated to the west of Belvedere.<sup>20</sup> Major (later Colonel) William Tolly, an engineer in the East India Company, bought Belvedere from Warren Hastings in February 1780, after most likely renting the property for some years, excavating an old river bed nearby to form the canal, with its distinctive bridge known as Tolly's Nullah (Fig. 1.14).<sup>21</sup> Upjohn's 1794 map (Fig. 1.15) shows the large Belvedere estate with an avenue of trees along the drive to the house, and its extensive grounds, reaching up to Tolly's bridge, the gardens described by C. E. Buckland in later years:

In the middle of a park studded with groups of trees stands Belvedere House. Its architecture is of a free Italian renaissance style developed of an ordinary Anglo-Indian building. Its terrace overlooks a rich expanse of verdure, its flight of steps are environed by flowing creepers, its ground covered with lotus and water lilies. Its garden encircled with various trees, the banyan, the almond the bamboo, the cotton tree.<sup>22</sup>

The Hastings' main abode was their Alipore garden house, known as Hastings House (Fig. 1.16).<sup>23</sup> This building was considerably more modest than Belvedere, Eliza Fay describing the mansion thus in May 1780: 'The house is perfectly bijou; most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display ... The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out.'<sup>24</sup> Alexander Macrabie, Private Secretary and brother-in-law to Philip Francis, visited the newly built house: 'Tis a pretty toy but very small, though airy and lofty. These milk-white buildings with smooth shiny

---

<sup>20</sup> Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger, *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1906), p. 119.

<sup>21</sup> Blechynden, pp. 101-102. Without finding a purchaser the house was offered for rent at £350 yearly payable in London. After Tolly's death in 1784 *Belvedere* was advertised for sale, and again in 1802. Tolly spent years digging out an old river channel to form a canal, gaining permission to levy tolls on the boats which used the waterway.

<sup>22</sup> C. E. Buckland, *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors* (Calcutta: Lahiri, 1901).

<sup>23</sup> British Library Add MS 41606: Warren Hastings Papers Vol XXXIX An Inventory of the Household Goods, Furniture etc., belonging to the late Mrs. Hastings, 1837, f. 14; Blechynden, pp. 105. Lawson, *Hastings*, p. 38. Hastings referred to Hastings House in his letters as Alipore Gardens.

<sup>24</sup> P. J. Marshall, 'The Personal Fortune of Warren Hastings', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 17.2 (1964), 284-300 (p. 292); Eliza Fay, *The Original Letters from India of Mrs. Eliza Fay* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1908), p.135. P. J. Marshall suggests that Hastings House cost nearly £10,000 to build Eliza Fay made the mistake of assigning the name of Belvedere to the house she visited which was Hastings House. However, she could not judge the gardens for herself, as the windows had been 'hermetically closed – sashes, blinds and every opening, except where tatties were placed, to exclude the hot wind.'

surface utterly blind one.<sup>25</sup> The bright white surface was due to the application of *chunam*, which Hastings had encountered during the months he worked in Madras. Lord Curzon described the architecture and the Hastings House estate: ‘although it is on a smaller scale than many others … In the grounds, he [Hastings], a genuine horticulturalist and a trained botanist, planted rare trees from all parts of Asia’.<sup>26</sup>

Hastings House had a large verandah to the south, with the public rooms, and an adjacent bath house also finished with *chunam*.<sup>27</sup> Its landscape was part lawned, filled with exotic and British plants, numerous fruit trees, and a ‘tank of excellent water’.<sup>28</sup> Although the garden was experimental and influential in Indian exotics, Hastings also tested the viability of growing English flowers, having honeysuckle and sweet briar seeds sent out from England.<sup>29</sup> His cousin Samuel Turner later wrote to Hastings recalling his ‘great Partiality … for your Garden here and the Pains you bestowed to collect curious and valuable Exotics in it from all Quarters’, for instance endeavouring to establish cinnamon trees from Ceylon, reasoning that if cinnamon plantations could be created in India then the Dutch monopoly of the spice could be broken.<sup>30</sup>

This love of experimentation in Bengal also embraced an interest in breeding livestock, Hastings encouraging the collection and rearing of animal species from remote areas of the sub-continent for potential commercial benefits. Samuel Johnson, supported his innovative ideas:

---

<sup>25</sup> Curzon, I, pp. 139-140. The smooth, white, shiny surface of the exterior of the house was most likely Madras *chunam* which was composed of crushed sea-shells and sand. Philip Francis was a near neighbour of Hastings having built a house, The Lodge, to the east of Hastings House in 1775.

<sup>26</sup> Curzon, I, pp. 140-141.

<sup>27</sup> Lot 1 and Lot II Sale Advertisement: Part of the Estate of Warren Hastings, Esq. at Alipoor, 12 May 1785, *Calcutta Gazette; or, Oriental Advertiser*, Vol 3, No 63 (1785).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> D. Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London, Routledge, 1939), p. 110; Herbert, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> P. J. Marshall, ‘Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron’ ed. by Anne Whiteman and others (eds), *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth-Century History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 242-262 (p. 251). Letter of Sir J. Sinclair, 17 Sept. 1790, Add. MS. 29172, f.125. London: BL Add MS 29171, Correspondence Vol XL 1787-9, f.104, Turner, Allipoor to Warren Hastings, 10 February 1788.

There are arts of manufacture practised in the countries in which you preside, which are yet very imperfectly known here [Britain], either to artificers or philosophers. Of the natural productions, animate and inanimate, we yet have so little intelligence.<sup>31</sup>

Hastings, keen to acquire trade and cartographic knowledge useful to Bengal, promoted two expeditions to Tibet: that of George Bogle in 1774-75, and a later excursion in 1783-84 by Hastings' cousin Samuel Turner.<sup>32</sup> Turner's second Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama did not ultimately lead to trade relations being established, but he successfully transported animals from the area back to England. Hastings' experiments in plant cultivation and animal husbandry had practical applications, and this was also true for his views on the dissemination of knowledge. Immersing himself in Indian culture Hastings became an Urdu speaker and learnt to read Persian.<sup>33</sup> He reasoned that scholarship in Indian languages and culture would:

Educate Englishmen to rule with benevolence. Indians were to be reconciled to British rule by finding that Englishmen respected and admired their laws, their religion, and their institutions. Englishmen in India and, even more important, the British public at home were to be reconciled to Indians through a true understanding of Indian law, religion and institutions.<sup>34</sup>

He endeavoured to revamp the Indian legal system believing that Europeans should not interfere with the established Hindu or Muslim law which were 'consonant to the ideas, manners and inclinations of the people for whose use it was intended'.<sup>35</sup> On

---

<sup>31</sup> James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3 vols (Boston, MA: W. Andrews and L. Blake, Greenough and Stebbins, 1807), I, pp.196-197. Dr Samuel Johnson corresponded with Warren Hastings in 1774 and 1781.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Aris, 'Turner, Samuel (1759–1802)', *ONDB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/27864> [accessed 4 Feb 2016]

<sup>33</sup> Lord Teignmouth, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of Sir William Jones* (Philadelphia: Poyntell, 1805), p. 243; Marshall, *Statesman*, p. 244 *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843*, ed. by Martin Moir and Lynn Zastoupil (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp. 4-8. Teignmouth wrote that Hastings had 'a proficiency' in Persian.

<sup>34</sup> Moir, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Mary Evelyn Monkton-Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal 1772-1774* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 337-8; Marshall, *Statesman*, p. 246.

discovering that the translation of Islamic texts was more complicated than that of the code of Hindu law, Hastings opened a Calcutta *madrasa* in 1780, with forty boarders to study philosophy, eloquence, logic, law, grammar, and knowledge of the sciences.<sup>36</sup> With the support of Henry Vansittart he also encouraged Oriental scholarship in Britain, drafting a proposal to establish a Professorship of the Persian language at the University of Oxford, which would teach Persian to men planning to go out to India.<sup>37</sup> Although the project was encouraged by Dr. Johnson and the Chancellor of the University, little assistance or funding came from other quarters, so the project foundered.<sup>38</sup> By the time Hastings finally left India, his library consisted of over one hundred and ninety volumes in Persian and Arabic, Hindi and Sanskrit with many works on history, grammar, medicine and poetry.<sup>39</sup> He had acquired over two hundred and fifty Persian and Mughal paintings and drawings, also supporting the translation of ancient Hindu texts and publication of grammars including Nathaniel Brassey Halhed's 1778 *A Grammar of the Bengali Language*, and Sir Charles Wilkins' 1785 translation of the *Bhagavadgita*.<sup>40</sup>

Artists travelling in India in the late eighteenth century also looked to Warren Hastings for patronage. Johann Zoffany moved to India after his commissions in Britain dried up, gaining funding and contacts from Hastings, producing paintings for him such as *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match*, an event which Hastings had attended at Lucknow in 1784.<sup>41</sup> Tutored for seven years by the distinguished Welsh artist Richard Wilson, the landscape artist William Hodges, was the first professional landscape artist to travel to India.<sup>42</sup> He also contacted Hastings with a letter of introduction, gaining the sponsorship - a Company salary of 12,000 rupees a year,

---

<sup>36</sup> Marshll, *Statesman*, p. 248.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 245.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 246.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Gordon of Islington, *The Oriental Repository at the India House* (London: [1835]), p. 4; Marshall, *Statesman*, p. 245. Hastings sold his library collection to the East India Company.

<sup>40</sup> Oxford: BOD Johnson d.790, *Daylesford house, Worcestershire. The seat of... Warren Hastings. A catalogue of the valuable contents of the mansion*. Which will be sold by auction by messrs. Farebrother, Clark & Lye, 22d Aug., 1853, and 5 following days, by order of the executors of the late mrs. Hastings. (London, 1853), pp. 48-51. Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* (Hoogly, Bengal: 1778); *The Bhagvat-geeta, or, Dialogues of Kreeshma and Arjoon*, trans. Sir Charles Wilkins (London: C. Nourse, 1785).

<sup>41</sup> London: BL Add MS 39879, Warren Hastings Journal, Vol IX, 1 January 1784 – 7 September 1785, 5 April 1784. Hastings' diary records that he was present at Mordaunt's cock fight at Lucknow 5 April 1784.

<sup>42</sup> Tillotson, p. 31. Richard Wilson had worked in Italy in the 1750s and brought the style of Claude Lorrain back to Britain in 1756.

plus 5,736 rupees for which Hastings personally paid - and the connections he needed to work within the British community in India.

Hastings introduced Hodges to other patrons including Claude Martin, Sir Elijah Impey and Augustus Cleveland, the district collector of Bhagalpur, Bihar.<sup>43</sup> With his patrons' support Hodges stayed in India for six years, recording landscapes, cities, palaces and tombs, and reproducing aquatints of his travels on the subcontinent. His work certainly furthered the influence of Indian design, but it was also used for political purposes by Hastings. Hodges' burgeoning radical view of India, and Hastings' colonising fervour is expressed by Beth Fowkes Tobin:

Hodges's deployment of the visual and verbal discourse on ruins worked metonymically to construct the Mughal imperium as decadent and decayed, as an entropical force of ruination and devastation that invited British intervention and eventual usurpation.<sup>44</sup>

The artist was frequently requested to illustrate an 'Indian' landscape that represented the concerns of the EIC, observing troops in the field, and sketching and painting fortresses such as Fort Bijaigarh and the military stations of Pateeta and Lutteepoor (Fig. 1.17).<sup>45</sup> But Hodges, although present at the scene, portrayed the areas of conflict between British troops and the *Raja* of Benares, such as the *Ghauts at Benares* 1787, in the romantic Picturesque style of Claude Lorrain.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, in Hodges' 1787 *Dissertation on Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic Architecture*, he suggested that the general British populace had a very sketchy view of India and that they still viewed the subcontinent through literature: 'till very lately we had romantic and fabulous tales, and fastidious declamations, that were but sketches of truth, rather than faithful and authentic accounts'.<sup>47</sup> This criticism is somewhat at odds with his own practice, as in reality he was masking violence with Picturesque aesthetics.

<sup>43</sup> Natasha Eaton, 'Hodges's Visual Genealogy for Colonial India, 1780-95, in *William Hodges 1744-1797: the Art of Exploration*, ed. by Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (Greenwich: Yale University Press for the National Maritime Museum; New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2004), pp. 35-42 (pp. 3, 36).

<sup>44</sup> Tobin, p. 118.

<sup>45</sup> Quilley, p. 1; Tillotson, p. 88.

<sup>46</sup> Tobin, p. 119.

<sup>47</sup> William Hodges, *A Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic Architecture* ([London: the author, 1787], p.1).

Although the prevailing view was that the Western classical art was superior to all others, Hodges defended traditional Indian art as an alternative aesthetic mode, publishing his suggestions in *Travels in India*.<sup>48</sup> He advocated that non-classical architecture should not be judged by classical rules and proposed that Egyptian, Hindu, Moorish, and Gothic, had derived from a common visual memory of stalactite and rock formations. Hodges, like Repton later discovered, suggested that caves were likely the forerunner of Indian architecture:

Their improvements and enlargements ... must naturally bring on imitations of their forms by artificial excavations of rocks, or artificial grottos, caverns and catacombs ... the several species of stone buildings, which have been brought more or less to perfection (I mean the Egyptian, Hindoo, Moorish, and Gothic architecture), instead of being copies of each other, are actually and essentially the same ... The pyramid, the obelisk, the spire steeple and minaret, are evidently bold, stupendous imitations of the romantic forms of spiry, towering rocks.<sup>49</sup>

Hodges visited Hastings and his wife at Alipore, making a sketch of Hastings House, later using the sketch to create *Natives drawing water from a Pond with Warren Hastings' House at Alipur in the distance* (1781) (Fig. 1.18).<sup>50</sup> In September 1783 before Hastings and his wife left for England, Johan Zoffany painted a conversation portrait *Warren Hastings with his Wife Marian in their Garden at Alipore* (Fig. 1.19).<sup>51</sup> Standing under a jack-fruit tree, which has sacred significance in Hindu mythology, Hastings, his wife and her servant are resplendently dressed, but the painting records their sadness at leaving the landscape which had been their home for many years.<sup>52</sup> Holding his wife's hand Hastings indicates the symbols of their Indian life, the classically-styled mansion, troop of soldiers, the decorated *howdah*-topped

<sup>48</sup> William Hodges, *Travels in India During the Years, 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783* (London: the author, 1793), Ch. 4, pp. 59-77.

<sup>49</sup> Hodges, *Dissertation*, pp. 62-63, 75-76.

<sup>50</sup> London: BL Add MS 41609, Warren Hastings Papers, Vol. XXXVIII, Account of the Furniture ... in the Apartments at Daylesford House, January 1799; Lindsay Boynton: 'The Furniture of Warren Hastings', *The Burlington Magazine*, 112 (August 1970), pp. 512-20, fn. 9.

<sup>51</sup> Mildred Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), Plates X an XI. Hastings' conversation-piece has similarities to Arthur William Devis's *The Hon. William Monson and his Wife, Ann*, Calcutta, 1786 and *William Dent with his Brother, John, and an Indian Landlord*, Anand Narain, Tamluk, 1790.

<sup>52</sup> De Almeida, p. 135; Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 140.

elephant, and the cultivated grassland, trees, and animals. But, although they were leaving India, they did not leave their fortune behind.

Hastings, like many Company officers and administrators in mid-eighteenth-century India, made use of opportunities for private trading, David Nokes contending that he had shipped in his first year of office: ‘fifty-two chests of opium’ and had ‘handsome profits from his trade in rubies, emeralds and diamonds’.<sup>53</sup> That Hastings made a great deal of money from private trading is not in contention; his bills and accounts in the British Library show that enormous transactions were made for the sale of gems, for example: ‘Diamonds Received from India 1774-1783, £64840.10.0’, the frequency of the shipments being itemised.<sup>54</sup> Undoubtedly, by July 1783 Hastings had saved enough money to procure his Daylesford family estate, writing to his friend, and former Secretary, George Nesbitt Thompson: ‘I am yet unsettled, but am in treaty for an old family estate of no value, which has employed me in a longer negociation [sic] than would have served me for the acquisition of a province; and if I get it, I shall pay almost twice its worth.’<sup>55</sup> By early 1784 as his wife’s health was failing in the Indian climate, she left for England, Hastings following a year later.<sup>56</sup>

Hastings’ experimental work at Hastings House at Alipore influenced the plans he made for his new mansion and landscape at Daylesford. Revelling in the setting up of gardens to rear exotic plants and animals, he disseminated knowledge of new fibres and food products to his contacts in India and Britain, useful to the economy of the EIC, Britain and India. By linking the botanical gardens in Calcutta

<sup>53</sup> David Nokes, *Jane Austen: A Life* (London: Fourth Estate Limited, 1997), p. 48.

<sup>54</sup> Add. MS 29228 Warren Hastings Papers: Bills and Accounts, Vol II, 1778-1783, f.537.

Warren Hastings papers: Receipt from William Hosea: Rec’d the 8th of January 1778 from Mool Chund Jeweller, on acct the Honourable Warren Hastings. The receipt included: 1 Pair of Diamond Earrings, 1 Diamond Button; 1 Pair of Culgee Serpeach’s [sic]; 1 Ditto with 5 Emeralds and 2 Pearls; 1 Jugnee & halnee; 2 Pearls; 1 Accott Munee; 7 Emeralds; 1 Dook Doochy.’

<sup>55</sup> BL Add MS 29170, Warren Hastings Papers, Correspondence, Vol XXXIX, 16 March 1786-11 September 1787, f. 133, Letter to G. N. Thompson, 18 July 1786.

Mary Sturge Henderson, *Three Centuries in North Oxfordshire* (Oxford: and London: Basil Blackwell, 1902), pp.118-119. The same letter gives a list of seeds that Hastings wished to be sent from India for planting in his new home.

<sup>56</sup> London: BL Add. MS 39879, Warren Hastings Journal Vol IX, 1 January 1784–7 September 1785. Friday 2 January 1784, ‘Mrs Hastings leaves Calcutta, & embarks on her Budgerow’; Busteed, p. 336. Hastings’ houses at Alipore and Rishera were sold and all their livestock. Thompson and Turner bought part of the Hastings House estate for 27,000 sica rupees and agreed to care for the collection of animals and plants.

and Kew, London, he enabled seeds to be collected from remote areas of India, many of which were trialled in his gardens at Daylesford.

### **Return to England and Impeachment**

Hastings left India in February 1785, arriving in London in June 1785, expecting to be well received by society.<sup>57</sup> In line with his anticipations he had a meeting with William Pitt, the Prime Minister, attended Court, and was presented to the Queen.<sup>58</sup> Next, he began planning his Daylesford garden, sending for Indian plants, trees and animals, with requests for ‘Mango, Shereefa, and Lichee [seeds]; Seeds of Bootan Trees & Shrubs & plants; Buxar Sheep and Shawb [Shawl] Goats’ (Fig. 1.20).<sup>59</sup> He visited Scotland to see his friend David Anderson at St. Germains (Fig. 1.21), near Edinburgh, striving to learn the latest ‘progressive tenant management’, to improve the well-being of his tenants while also capitalising on profits.<sup>60</sup>

However, by March 1787 political manoeuvrings led to Hastings’ impeachment. Although he was eventually acquitted of all charges, there were doubts regarding the veracity of Hastings’ alleged poverty, and a lack of distinction between his and his wife’s finances. In correspondence Hastings admitted that although his wife’s fortune was £22,234, it grew to £40,000, by the sale of jewels.<sup>61</sup> Sir Stephen Lushington, Chairman of the EIC asked Hastings to write ‘a full, plain, and unequivocal account of your fortune’. Hastings replied:

I owe my Solicitors, and to various individuals £97,000. To answer this sum, I possess the estate of Daylesford in Worcestershire, which cost me including

---

<sup>57</sup> London: BL IOR/L/MAR/B/392, A & B. Hastings received another nineteen-gun salute as he disembarked.

<sup>58</sup> London: BL Add. MS 39879, Warren Hastings: Journal, Vol IX, 1 January 1784–7 September 1785. Diary entry: 23 June 1785: ‘At 2 went w[ith] Mrs H[astings] to Court: presented to the Queen.’

<sup>59</sup> London: BL Add MS 39880, Warren Hastings: Journal, Vol X, 8 September 1785 – 31 December 1787, f. 33. Diary entry: ‘Mango; Shereefa; Lichee; Long-ryan or tong-guan; Bhoots ... Ghacla; Sultan Champa; Seeds of Bootan Trees & Shrubs & plants; China; Saul; Lotus; Kât-golaub; Semmel; Cuchenar; Prâss; Comrunga; Rosemary Tree; Gumwood for H; Horse; Buxar Sheep; Shawb [Shawl] Goats’.

<sup>60</sup> Elisabeth Lenckos, ‘Daylesford’, *East India Company at Home* (August 2014), <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Aske-Hall-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf>.

<sup>61</sup> Stephen Lushington, *Correspondence between Sir Stephen Lushington Bart. and Warren Hastings Esq.*, (London: Richard White, 1795), pp. 7-8; *Morning Post and Fashionable World*, Issue 7382 (October 6, 1795). £10,000 was deducted from Marian Hastings’ fortune for the purchase of a house and furniture in Park Lane, London.

the original purchase, and what I have expended on the house, gardens, and lands, about £60,000 ... I have a diamond which I purchased for a remittance twenty-one years ago ... and its estimated value is £3,000 ... I have one share in the *Berrington*, and another in the *Phoenix Indiamen*, valued at the first cost £2,232 ... I do Sir most solemnly affirm to you, that I have no other property in the world which can be properly called as such.<sup>62</sup>

His declared fortune was ostensibly modest when compared with that of Robert Clive, but it represented only a fraction of the sale value of the goods Hastings had sent out of India during the thirteen years of his administration.<sup>63</sup> The EIC granted him an annuity which was back-dated to 1785, together with a further grant, but this could not possibly have covered his debts.<sup>64</sup> It is inconceivable that without further funds, or the sale of land or property, Hastings could have continued the excessive development of his house and garden. Joseph Farrington commented on this disparity: ‘The inconsistencies of Mr. Hastings declarations ab[ou]t his fortune, when put against his mode of living &c is flagrant.’<sup>65</sup> Unconcerned, Hastings continued spending, living above and beyond his income, considering his mode of existence as: ‘rather below than exceeding the rank of life which my former station might have entitled me to assume’.<sup>66</sup>

### Renting and Experimentation

As in India, Hastings leased and owned various properties, both during and after his trial. In 1786, he bought the ninety-one-acre Beaumont Lodge in Old Windsor, Berkshire, for £12,000, which he described, quoting Horace, as: ‘*a modus agri non ita magnus hortus ubi*’, and commissioned Hodges to paint the grounds.<sup>67</sup> Living

---

<sup>62</sup> Lushington, pp .6-7.

<sup>63</sup> De Almeida, p. 107.

<sup>64</sup> P. J. Marshall, ‘Hastings, Warren (1732–1818)’, *ODNB* [accessed 11 June 2015]

<sup>65</sup> Diary Entry: Sunday 12 February 1797. *The Diary of Joseph Farrington: September 1796-December 1798*, ed. by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 17 vols (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1979), III, p. 772. The gifts included a Stool studded with Pearls for nails; upon it the Initials C.R. formed with diamonds; and jewels worth £20,000 to the Princess Royal.

<sup>66</sup> Lionel James Trotter, *Warren Hastings: A Biography* (London: William H. Allen, 1878), p. 314; Lawson, *Hastings*, p. 35.

<sup>67</sup> London: BL Add MS 39902, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement Vol XXXII, Daylesford estate papers : ‘accompmts, statistics of live stock, notes on methods of cultivation, etc.’, 1781-1816, f. 91. Hastings commissioned from Hodges a painting of the Beaumont Lodge grounds — ‘Bo[ugh]t of W[ilia]m Hodges A Picture View from the Grounds of Beaumont Lodge £52.10s.0d’. Horace, *The Works of Horace*, trans. by Barten Holyday, 2 vols (London: Joseph Davidson, 1753), II, p. 174, ‘*a*

there until 1789, Hastings' diaries suggest he had continued to have livestock sent from India during this period, but few survived the long journey. Nevertheless, Samuel Turner informed Hastings:

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that I have embarked upon the *Berrington* two Chowry Cows and the remainder of the Shawl goats. Two Males & three Females which Captain Ley is so kind as to accept the charge of for you & I shall be happy to hear they are delivered safe.<sup>68</sup>

The shawl goats were sent to Bengal from Tibet to be reared at Calcutta, then dispatched to Hastings in England, as he was keen for Kashmir shawls to be made in England, and, if his goats flourished, he could break India's monopoly of trade in this fashionable item.<sup>69</sup> One pair of goats did survive, although the cows died on the journey.<sup>70</sup> Determined to bring cattle from India safely to England, Hastings offered a reward of twenty or thirty guineas for every Cow that arrived alive and in health.<sup>71</sup> Yaks which Turner had encountered on his visit to Bhutan, were also dispatched to England. One survivor gained fame (known as *The Yak of Tartary*), and was painted by George Stubbs in 1791 (Fig. 1.22), for Hastings, with a smaller copy for the surgeon, anatomist, and collector John Hunter.<sup>72</sup> Hunter had an experimental garden attached to his Earls Court villa (Fig. 1.23) where he kept his animal collection and conducted agricultural researches, having in his 'green-houses and hot-houses a great

---

*modus agri non ita magnus hortus ubi'* (with a not so large garden and moderate fields), Verse 5, 'Satira VI'; Lawson, *Hastings*, p. 48; Gleig, p. 296; Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's Outlandish Cousin* (London: The British Library, 2002), pp.74, 88; Lushington, p. 14. Philadelphia Hancock and her daughter Eliza visited the Hastings staying at Beaumont Lodge in August 1786 for three weeks, and in August 1788.

<sup>68</sup> London: BL Add MS 29172, Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, Vol XLI, 1790-1792, Samuel Turner, Letter from S. Turner to Warren Hastings, Alipoor 7 February 1790, f. 31.

<sup>69</sup> London: BL Add. MS 29172, Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, Vol XLI, 1790-1792, Letter of Sir J. Sinclair, 17 September 1790, f. 125.

<sup>70</sup> London: BL Add MS 29172, Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, Vol XLI, 1790-1792, Warren Hastings to Samuel Turner, Purley Hall, 16 September 1790, f. 124.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Samuel Turner, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; Containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part of Tibet* (London, n.p., 1800); Aris, ODNB; Turner wrote to Hastings: 'I had the pleasure to send two of this species to Mr. Hasting after he left India, and to hear that one reached England.' The original George Stubbs painting of the yak at Daylesford House was engraved to add to Samuel Turner's account of the embassy. The surgeon, John Hunter, commissioned another version in 1791, which now resides at the Royal College of Surgeons <http://surgical.rcseng.ac.uk>. [accessed 12 February 2019].

variety of the most choice and rare productions of nature.<sup>73</sup> After the sale of Beaumont Lodge in 1788 and before the purchase of Daylesford was completed, Hastings rented Purley Hall, again in Berkshire.<sup>74</sup> A late eighteenth-century painting, *A View of Purley Hall with Warren Hastings and his menagerie of exotic animals* (Fig. 1.24), implies that other animals had survived their harsh voyages from India and had been transported from Beaumont Lodge to Purley to become part of Hastings' experimental garden.<sup>75</sup>

### Indian Influences at Daylesford House, Gloucestershire

Although Hastings' impeachment trial had already started in February 1788 he bought Daylesford a month later for £11,424; the estate included 600 acres and the shell of a c.1720 unfinished house.<sup>76</sup> Samuel Pepys (S.P.) Cockerell, a young London architect, was chosen by Hastings for the task of rebuilding the house, which had originally been planned, by a previous owner, as a Palladian mansion with a central block and four corner pavilions.<sup>77</sup> Even before the purchase of the Daylesford estate was finalised, in July 1788 Hastings launched his ideas over dinner, giving Cockerell: 'instructions for the plan of our new house'.<sup>78</sup> Hastings wrote to his friend Anderson regarding his proposals: '[I] set Mr. Cockerell to work on a plan for

---

<sup>73</sup> Clare Hickman, 'The Garden as a Laboratory: The Role of Domestic Gardens as a Place of Scientific Exploration in the Long 18th Century, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 48.1 (2014), 229-247 (pp. 230-233).

<sup>74</sup> *Reading Mercury*, 4 May 1789. Hastings also purchased a house in Mayfair in the name of Marian Hastings.

<sup>75</sup> English School, *A view of Purley Hall, Purley on Thames, Berkshire, with Warren Hastings' Menagerie*, 18th century, Lot 4, Sotheby's Early British Paintings sale, London, 9 July 2009. Hastings had worked with Lord Pigot in Madras. He also exported exotic animals see George Stubbs' painting of the *Cheetah and Two Indian Handlers* (Manchester City Art Gallery).

<sup>76</sup> London: BL Add MSS 39889, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement Vol XIX, Journals 1787-1794, – Tour of Scotland 13-27 September 1787, f. 33; Gloucester: GA D4084/Box 52/2, *Letters concerning purchase of Daylesford House (Worcs.) by Warren Hastings from Jn. Knight (all written by T. Walford on Hastings' behalf)*, 1784-85; Lushington, p. 14; London: British Library, Add MSS 29232 f. 211, Miscellaneous Private Papers of Warren Hastings: 'There is the shell part only of an intended Mansion House upon the Estate.'; Andrew Ginger, 'Daylesford House and Warren Hastings', *The Georgian Group Report and Journal* (1989), 80-101 (pp. 81, 82). The sale was completed in 1789, with the remainder of the estate bought in 1791.

<sup>77</sup> For further details see Willem G. J. Kuiters, 'William Paxton 1744-1824: The History of an East Indian Fortune', *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. 111 (1992), pp. 1-22. Charles Cockerell and to a lesser extent John Cockerell, were part of the successful 'house of agency' Paxton and Cockerell, later Paxton, Cockerell, and Trail, which looked after the business dealings of Europeans in India. It is likely that Warren Hastings, or his agents, would have known of this company which had offices in Calcutta, and possibly knowledge of Samuel Pepys Cockerell as a rising London architect.

<sup>78</sup> London: BL Add MS 39881, Warren Hastings: Journal, 1st January 1788 – 23 October 1789, Vol. XI. Entry for 26 August 1788.

finishing the House, made my own plan for Kitchin [sic] Garden, shrubbery and other improvements'.<sup>79</sup> The design agreed for the exterior was a restrained, fashionable Neo-classical style, with light Mughal touches, while in contrast, the private rooms were to be exotically embellished.<sup>80</sup> Although ten years later Cockerell embarked on a more flamboyant Indian-influenced style at Sezincote, at this point he had a burgeoning London architectural career, and, with Hastings on trial, perhaps both men agreed that a discreet form of exterior architecture would be prudent. Nevertheless, the subdued Indian influence in the house was an example of European aesthetic response to the design of the subcontinent, seen through the lens of William Hodges. Six of the artist's Indian paintings and drawings from the Royal Academy's 1787 and 1788 exhibitions were displayed at Daylesford, including *Indian Views* (Nos. 7, 8, 9) and the *Antiquities of India*, with at least two specifically painted for Warren Hastings by Hodges: 'Several of the subjects I had collected in my journey were painted for the Honourable the then Governor General; two of them on a large scale, viz, the Falls of Mootejerna, and the Ruins of Rajemahel.'<sup>81</sup> Works by Thomas and William Daniell were also displayed, Hastings having visited the artists in 1785.<sup>82</sup>

Andrew Ginger contends that elements in the architecture of the south façade of the new house indicate that Cockerell encased the shell of the old house. Certainly the central block corner pavilions appear to have been retained, seen in the map *Plan of Daylesford in the County of Worcester, 1786* (Fig. 1.25), the result having similarities to the Mughal nine-fold architectural plan (see Fig. 2.24).<sup>83</sup> The

<sup>79</sup> London: BL Add MS 45418, Anderson Papers, Vol. III. Letters from Warren Hastings to David Anderson 11 September 1788 f. 27.

<sup>80</sup> 'Cockerell, Samuel Pepys 1753-1827', *Encyclopedia of Interior Design*, ed. by Joanna Banham, 2 vols (Abingdon, Routledge, 2015), I, 288-290.

<sup>81</sup> London: BL Add. MS. 39889; Hodges, *Travels*, p. 36; Norton, 'Daylesford, S. P. Cockerell's Residence for Warren Hastings', *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (October 1963), 127-133 (p.130); Isabel Stuebe, 'William Hodges and Warren Hastings: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Patronage', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 115, No. 847 (October, 1973), 657-666; 'Catalogue', *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy* (1787) (London: T. Cadell, 1787); 'Catalogue', *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy* (1788) (London: T. Cadell, 1788); Hodges, *Travels in India*, p. 36.

<sup>82</sup> London: BL MS 39902, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement Vol XXXII, 1781-1816, Daylesford Estate and notes on W. Hastings' pictures, bequeathed by Miss M Winter, f. 92; London: BL Add MS 39883, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement, Vol XIII, Diary E, 18 June 1794-31 May 1799, f. 42, 'Went with Mr Hinchman to W. Daniels' & viewed his drawings'.

<sup>83</sup> *Plan of Daylesford in the County of Worcester, 1786*, Gloucestershire Archives, Ref. D3732/1. Andrew Ginger contends that the main block was the original house to which Samuel Pepys Cockerell, added his extensions, however, it is not known whether Cockerell adapted the south wing

work on the exterior began in 1789, with the foundations of the house laid, continuing until 1793.<sup>84</sup> A shallow Mughal dome and central bow were added to the west front, capped by a Mughal finial spike and Coade stone ball, surrounded by lotus leaves (Fig. 1.26).<sup>85</sup> That this finial was at first possibly more decorative, with a three-part Indian inspired design, can be seen in the depictions of the house by John Preston Neale (1823) and Anne Rushout (1805) (Figs. 1.27, 1.28). Variations of this dome and finial can be traced to drawings found in William Hodges' sketchbooks owned by Hastings, with 'dome-capping with pleated leaves rising to a needle pierced by one or two ornaments'.<sup>86</sup> They can also be found in Hodges' *A View of the Mosque at Mounheer* (Fig. 1.29) which portrayed the tomb of Makhdu Shah Daulat at Maner, near Patna.<sup>87</sup> Hodges and Hastings had travelled together to view the tomb at Maner in the summer of 1781 which William Hodges described as: 'a square, with pavilions rising from the angles; and in the centre is a majestic dome, the top of which is finished by what the Indian architects call a cullus.'<sup>88</sup> The majority of the house, though, was Neo-classical in style, with, in Daylesford's central section, fashionable French *oeil de boeuf* windows, garlands and husks added, reminiscent of the Hôtel de Salm and Hôtel Alexandre in Paris (Fig. 1.30).<sup>89</sup>

---

or commenced the construction himself. See Ginger, pp. 80-101; Michael W. Fazio, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (2006), p. 47, n. 22. Many thanks to Dr. Jenny Alexander for pointing out the similarities between Daylesford and the Mughal nine-fold plan.

<sup>84</sup> London: BL Add MSS 39882, Warren Hastings Journal, 1789-94, fols. 8-9, f. 265, 8 December 1789, 'Sat 11 April 1789: foundations of house to begin Monday or Tuesday'; September 1793, '3 crates of plain tiles, 117 ditto with green oak borders'. London: BL Add MS 29231 Miscellaneous Bills and Accounts of Warren Hastings, 1749-1818, f. 45; Add MS 29230, Warren Hastings Papers, Bills and Accounts, Volume IV, 1787-1794, f. 204 onwards, Memorandum 11 July 1789. Materials were obtained from different locations; stone from the Barrington and Windrush quarries in the Cotswolds, slates from Chepstow, and plain and green oak bordered tiles from Josiah Wedgwood and Byerley, in Staffordshire, with wheat straw delivered to the Daylesford yard for onsite brick-making.

<sup>85</sup> BL Add MS 29230, f. 615: A model of the Dome was paid for in 1793: 'To a small Modile of Dome & Pagoda by Wm Roger for Mr Cockerell, 20 April 1793, £3.6.8'; Ginger, p. 1.

<sup>86</sup> Stuebe, p. 664.

<sup>87</sup> Hodges' drawings in the Paul Mellon Centre Volume I (14) and Volume II (15) cited in Stuebe, p. 664.

<sup>88</sup> Hodges, *Travels in India*, pp. 45-6. See William Hodges, *A View of the Mosque at Mounheer*, Lot Notes and Overview, Lot 409, Exploration and Travel Sale 7470, 26-27 September 2007, Christie's Auction House, King Street, London. <http://www.christies.com>. [accessed 12 February 2019]

<sup>89</sup> Ginger, p. 83. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 262-264. The design emphasises Cockerell's admiration for, and study of, the French Neoclassical style of architecture, The Château de Bagatelle was designed by François-Joseph Bélanger the Hôtel de Salm by Pierre Rousseau and Hôtel Alexandre by Étienne-Louis Boullée.

The interior decoration was an exuberant, romantic fusion of East and West, with Indian fabrics, rugs, statues, maps, silver ornaments, and inlaid tables.<sup>90</sup> Joanna Banham contends that Cockerell was the first architect to create a theatrical combination of Neo-classical, gothic revival and Indian design, to showcase Hastings' taste and his life in India.<sup>91</sup> Hastings' diaries, accounts and letters, sales and inventories, give an indication of the huge investment that had been lavished on the Daylesford décor.<sup>92</sup> Banham contends that Cockerell generally assigned spaces in the house on gendered terms, with a Gentleman's suite and library on the ground floor, and the feminine space of the Ladies' Room, or Boudoir, on the first floor, decorated in a softer Adam style.<sup>93</sup> This gendering concept appears to have been appropriated at Daylesford, the idea surfacing again at Middleton Hall, built 1793-5 for Hastings' colleague from India, Sir William Paxton (see Case Study 3).<sup>94</sup> Marian Hastings' classical, double-shell domed Boudoir, was a 'jewel-like space', its dome supported on palm-tree capped columns, behind which were alternate wall piers, mirrors and niches.<sup>95</sup> An oculus in the lower dome allowed a trompe-l'oeil sky to be seen, painted on the upper dome, illuminated by concealed windows.<sup>96</sup> Indian decorative items were incorporated into the Boudoir's décor: 'a pair of India muslin curtains, edged with silver spangles and beetle wings', a gold 'Oriental tazza, formed of rhinoceros horn', and an oriental fly trap, the handle composed of the finest jade stone, mounted and inlaid with gold, set with rubies and emeralds.<sup>97</sup>

Plasterers and painters worked at Daylesford for many months on the gilded classical public rooms where swags of rose pink and green flowers nestled amongst the classical columns and pilasters.<sup>98</sup> However, away from the public rooms, the

---

<sup>90</sup> BL Add MS 41606.

<sup>91</sup> *Encyclopedia of Interior Design*, ed. by Joanna Banham (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 288

<sup>92</sup> London: British Library, Add MS 29230, Warren Hastings Papers, Bills and Accounts, Vol. IV, 1787-1794; Add. MS 29231, Warren Hastings Papers, Bills and Accounts, Vol. V, 1749-1818.

<sup>93</sup> Banham, *Encyclopedia*, p. 288.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> London: BL RB.23 b.4295, Catalogue of the valuable contents of Daylesford House, Worcestershire, The Seat of the Late Right Hon. Warren Hastings [1853]. At first in the Boudoir by 1853 these were in the Drawing Room Lots 415 and 422.

<sup>98</sup> BL Add MS 29230, fols. 439, 452, 464, 473, 479; BL Add MS 29231, fols. 2, 3. The plasterers began work in 1790 which continued into 1791. Corinthian capitals topped the columns, with small capitals placed on the pilasters and bookcase columns and detailing 'Berries between the leaves gilt;

private areas were opulently decorated in gold and crimson, with alcoves in Oriental taste, and an Eastern-styled gaming room in the basement of the house.<sup>99</sup>

The Drawing room was the setting for ‘a Magnificent Suite of Curtains … of pale blue satin, with deep white satin borders, painted in flowers, ornamented with silver lace and spangles’ together with a ‘sofa of solid ivory, in the richest style of Oriental magnificence, superbly carved and richly gilt, the elbows finished with tiger heads; a companion couch, and eight ivory chairs’ (Fig. 1.31).<sup>100</sup> The ivory furniture had been commissioned for the couple by Mani Begum, the widow of the *Nawab* of Murshidabad.<sup>101</sup> Letters indicate that Hastings received several pieces of furniture from the Begum, but that Thompson most likely did not know the value of such goods:

Mrs Hastings desires me … to inform you that the Begum’s ivory chairs are of very great value, not of little, as you seem to estimate them. She requests that you will present her respects to the Begum … and desire that she will not order any velvet or other worked seat to the chairs, as they will make the whole seizable by the custom-house officers. She also begs that they may be sent by a ship that will swim.<sup>102</sup>

---

Small roses in the narrow Plaister; Small Leaf in the Architrave; Gilding in Cornice honeysuckles, Husks and bead in the upper part and tassled Leaf and Astragal in the Bed Mold’.

<sup>99</sup> BL Add MSS 41606, f. 29; Norton, 127-133 (p.131); Bryan Little (Presidential Address delivered at the Council House, Bristol, 19 April 1980), ‘Calcutta in the Cotswolds’, *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions*, Vol 98, (1980), 5-10 (p. 5). Letter to Edward Baber from Warren Hastings, Sandgate, 6 October 1815, ‘Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings’, *Notes and Queries*, Vol 155, 14 April 1928, 256-257 (p. 257).

<sup>100</sup> BL Add MS 41610, Inventories: Household goods of Mrs Warren Hastings (formerly Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin, at Daylesford, 1799-1853, Vol. XXXIX; Little, 5-10 (p. 5). These items were part of a suite of solid ivory furniture presented to Warren Hastings by Mani Begum, widow of Mir Jafar, the Nawab of Murshidabad (d. 1765). They were sold, at a Sotheby’s sale 4 December 2013, described as hand-carved and parcel-gilt with tiger heads decorating the elbows. In 1853 two chairs and one of the couches was bought by William Lowther, 2nd Earl Lonsdale. One chair is now in the permanent collection of the V&A and another one was sold at auction by Christie’s in 2006. The ensemble also included a companion couch, and eight ivory chairs.

<sup>101</sup> Gleig, p. 212. Included were ‘two chairs made from buffalo horn, according to Hastings: ‘most delicately formed and more to my taste than the others; not designed for fat folks, nor romps; nor proper for you, my elegant Marion, to use in the presence of your husband.’

<sup>102</sup> Gleig, p. 291. Sotheby’s sale of ivory furniture 2013, in the provenance indicates that the Sotheby’s 1853 sale listed: Lot 396: ‘a sofa of solid ivory, in the richest style of Oriental magnificence, superbly carved and richly gilt, the elbows finished with tiger heads’ and Lot 398: ‘a pair of elbow chairs in solid ivory, of corresponding style and magnificence’. Sotheby’s <http://www.sothbys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/a-connoisseurs-collection-l13306/lot.545.html> [accessed 12 April 2019]. When the Nawab of Murshidabad died Hastings appointed Mani Begum as Regent until her son was of an age to rule. Hastings wrote to his wife in November 1784 that the

In 1792 Thomas Banks was commissioned to produce two Indian inspired fireplaces, hybrids of Eastern and Western art, which survive in Daylesford House.<sup>103</sup> One features Hindu women fetching water from the Ganges (Fig. 1.32), with its central frieze (Fig. 1.33) the subject of conjecture since its inception.<sup>104</sup> George Cumberland endeavoured to take the credit for introducing Banks to the splendours of the ‘ancient Persian masters’, suggesting the scene was taken from an ancient painting ‘representing a Theatrical performance, on which he engrafted … a little more expression and grace than was to be found in the original – Grecianizing … these Persian Peruginos’.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, the original source for the chimney-piece frieze was likely an Indian painting published by William Hodges in 1793 (Fig. 1.34).<sup>106</sup> Although Hodges’ picture was not published until after the fireplace was commissioned and sculpted, it is possible that, through Hastings, Banks viewed the original drawing at an earlier date.<sup>107</sup> The second of the chimney-pieces made by Banks for Hastings featured Sarasvati the consort of Brahma, the Hindu creator of the universe, being anointed by two Elephants, illustrating Hastings’ continued interest in Indian religions (Fig. 1.35).<sup>108</sup>

---

Begum had been very disappointed he had not visited her at Murshidabad, as she had arranged a display of the ivory chairs and couches they had ordered.

<sup>103</sup> BL Add MSS 41606 fols. 10, 11.; London BL: Add MS 39879 Vol IX, Warren Hastings: Journal, Vol. IX, 1 January 1784 – 7 September 1785; BL Add. MSS 29227, f.31 cited in C. F. Bell, *Annals of Thomas Banks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 91. A receipt of John Bacon, dated 27 April 1863, suggests £63 was paid for the chimney-piece for Daylesford, and £2.17s. 6d. for packing cases. See also Norton, p.132, n.15. Anne Rushout’s paintings were most likely *From a Window at Daylesford*, 20 October 1830, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, ref: B1977.14.9553, and the photograph of a pen and wash drawing of *Daylesford House*, 1805, Gloucester GA ref: GPS/108/3. Hasting’s diary records that he was present at Mordaunt’s cock fight at Lucknow 5 April 1784.

<sup>104</sup> London: BL Add. MS 39882, Warren Hastings Papers, Vol. XII, Diary D, Saturday 1 September 1792; Bell, p. 88. ftn 13; See Madeleine Perridge, ‘Decorative India: Thomas Banks’ and John Bacon’s Chimneypieces for Warren Hastings at Daylesford House (1792–6)’ (unpublished MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2005) cited in Sarah Monks, *Making Love: Thomas Banks’ Camadeva and the Discourses of British India c.1790, Visual Culture in Britain*, 11.2 (2010), 195-218 (p. 198). A plaster model of ‘a chimney piece supported by two Hindu Females returning from the Ganges, the centre representing the interior of a ‘Haram’ was entered into a Bank’s sale in 1805 after his death. Exhibited at the Royal Academy Nos. 741 and 742.

<sup>105</sup> George Cumberland, *An Essay on the Utility of Collecting the best Works of the ancient Engravers of the Italian School*, Introduction, pp. 18-19, cited in Bell, p. 89. This scene was interpreted in various ways – Cumberland as a theatrical scene, Ambrose Poynter and Cosmo Monkhouse as the interior of a Haram. See Letter from Ambrose Poynter to Philip Hardwick R.A., 8 January 1863, *The Builder*, Vol 21 (17 January 1863), p. 45.

<sup>106</sup> Hodges, *Travels in India*, plate opposite p. 24; Peter S. Walch, ‘The Chimney-Piece at Daylesford’ *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 107, No. 743 (February 1965), 88, 90-91, n. 12.

<sup>107</sup> Walch, 88, 90-91 (p. 90).

<sup>108</sup> Bell, p. 90. For Sarasvati, see *The Mahabharata*, trans. by Bibek Debroy, 10 vols (Haryana, India: Penguin Books India Pty. Ltd., 2010), II, p. 205; Edward Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon: Sri Sarva Deva Sabha, The Audience Hall of the Gods* (London: J. Johnson, 1810), p. 126.

By September 1792 it appeared that most of the work on the house had been completed, but there was still much to be done in the garden, Hastings writing to his friend John D’Oyly: ‘You have made me a rich man, and I hope to live to repay you by ministering to you at Daylesford House … a desert of Grenadillas, Custard Apples, mangoes & Alligator pears, & add to them [a] dish of Coffee from the berries … bestowed on me.’<sup>109</sup> The house was finally completed around 1793 with Cockerell submitting his final accounts in 1795: £23,752. 3.10 ½ for sundry works, materials and carriage.<sup>110</sup>

### Daylesford Garden

Lord Curzon suggests that when Hastings and his wife retired to Daylesford, Hastings had laid out the grounds in the fashion of his ‘Indian country seat’.<sup>111</sup> Indeed, this is likely to be true as Hastings made frequent requests to relatives and former colleagues for seeds and plants to be dispatched from India for his arable crop experimentation, hoping to establish the Bhutan turnip, lychees, custard apples and mangoes in England.<sup>112</sup> Turner sent him seeds from a cinnamon tree at Alipore which had been in full blossom before Hastings left India.<sup>113</sup> Hastings supported the creation of the Calcutta Botanic Garden in 1787, and had exotic plants sent by the Superintendent, Colonel Kyd, who ‘sent, as mentioned in my former Letter, three Boxes containing the: Lychee, Vampier, Dwarf Peach, Jumbo Mallacca, Mango, China Pink flowering Tree, Bengal Rose, Innanas, Mangastion. … All these fruits I am confident (the Mangastion perhaps excepted) will thrive in the open air in England; if carefully habituated for the first two seasons.’<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> London BL Add MS 29172, Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, Vol XLI, 1790-1792, f. 326, Warren Hastings to Sir John D’Oyly, Park Lane, London, 30 September 1792. Sir John D’Oyly as Resident to the Nawab of Murshidabad helped Hastings resolve the Nawab’s financial difficulties, which presumably included some political and monetary gain.

<sup>110</sup> London: BL Add MS 29231, ff. 552-553: ‘Abstract of the Amount of Expence of sundry Works done at Daylesford for Warren Hastings Esq and for Materials, Carriage & together with the Vouchers for the same’.

<sup>111</sup> Curzon, I, pp. 140-141.

<sup>112</sup> BL Add MS 29170, Warren Hastings Private Correspondence and Papers, Vol. XXXIX. 16 March 1786-11 September 1787, fols. 133, 178, Letter to G. N. Thompson, 18 July 1786; Thompson to Hastings, 31 Aug. 1786. Letter Warren Hastings to Thompson, London 19 May 1786; Gleig, pp. 296-297.

<sup>113</sup> BL Add MSS 29171, Warren Hastings Papers, Correspondence Vol XL 1787-9, f.104-05, Mr. Turner, Allipoor to Warren Hastings, 10 February 1788.

<sup>114</sup> BL Add MS 29172, Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, Vol XLI, 1790-1792, f. 40, Colonel Kyd’s letter from Calcutta, 12 February 1790.

Hastings had a grand vision for his garden including waterfalls, pools, and baths, and hot houses for growing exotic Indian plants. Before he left India, he designed in his notebook a ‘stove which he hoped would simulate a climate suitable for tropical fruit trees’.<sup>115</sup> At the city of Bath, Hastings met John Davenport, a nurseryman from Wem in Herefordshire, who had twenty-two years’ landscaping experience and expertise in building hot-houses and greenhouses, and had already worked on the nearby estate of Batsford Park.<sup>116</sup> Starting in 1789, Davenport was requested to construct the Gothic Greenhouse (now known as the Orangery), create two lakes and a walled kitchen garden, and to make alterations to the park and access roads.<sup>117</sup> He continued to work at Daylesford until 1791 having a major influence on the final design of the garden (Fig. 1.36), and, as a specialist in the construction of hot-houses, he realised Hastings’ experimental dreams.<sup>118</sup>

The Orangery was one of the first buildings to be completed in 1790 (Fig. 1.37). Heated by hot water pipes, and ideal for tender Indian plants, it was innovative at the time.<sup>119</sup> John Martin Robinson suggests that elements of its design were in ‘Batty Langley Gothick’, implying that Davenport, like many landscapers of the time, used the increasingly available architectural design books.<sup>120</sup> The landscaper’s new western drive, swept theatrically past the dome (with its original finial), to a new entrance on the south front (Fig. 1.38).<sup>121</sup> In November 1788 and in

---

<sup>115</sup> Desmond, *Indian Flora*, p. 296.

<sup>116</sup> Historic England, Batsford Park Listing entry: 1000431, Grade II\*.

<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000431> [accessed 22 March 2019]. Although a plan was drawn up by Davenport at Batford Park in 1783, it remained unexecuted.

<sup>117</sup> BL Add MSS 29172; BL Add MSS 39889, Warren Hastings Journal 1788-9, fols. 33, 63. On 12 January 1789 Davenport formally received his instructions to build ‘the garden walls, hot house [and to] hurry to start on the pleasure and flower gardens’, and agreed details for the drive, park perimeters, stables, kitchen garden and flower garden. Lady Bamford, *Daylesford House Gardens* brochure, n.d.

<sup>118</sup> Davenport was dismissed for incurring expenses for unapproved plans for a bridge over the Daylesford lake, presumably similar to other bridges he had executed at Kyre Park in 1784, and Scarthingwell Hall, Saxton, North Yorkshire, 1790-91.

<sup>119</sup> BL Add MSS 29172, f.99, John Davenport to Warren Hastings, 2 July 1790, f.226, John Davenport to Rev. Leigh, at Adlestrop, 21 December 1790; BL Add MSS 39889, 1788-9, f.63; BL Add MSS 39882, f.16; BL Add MSS 29172, fols. 99, 226, 1853 Sale Catalogue of Daylesford cited in Elizabeth Lenckos, ‘Daylesford’; John Martin Robinson (Historic Building Consultants), *Daylesford, Gloucestershire – The Orangery: Historical Support Document & Heritage Impact Assessment* (June 2011), p. 6. Robinson suggests that the Orangery detailing: ‘pinnacles, crenelated pediment, blank octofoil, and little pinnacle buttresses’, had been published in Batty Langley’s pattern books, and that the Gothick detailing was similar to that of Davenport’s later work at Clytha Castle.

<sup>120</sup> Robinson, p.6.

<sup>121</sup> The West View and its companion East View of Daylesford c.1805 are recorded in two oil paintings residing in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata/Calcutta.

1789, Davenport ordered thousands of trees, shrubs and plants for the garden costing £480.7.9, and, with Indian trees being too tender to survive the Gloucestershire winters, American exotics were planted on the hills.<sup>122</sup> Some of the newly planted trees can be seen in the Rushout watercolour (See Fig. 1.28), surrounded by wooden supports for protection, and in the foreground is most likely one of the new exotic American firs.

Hastings had rocks moved from the nearby Adlestrop Hill to Daylesford. The local rocks, naturally occurring blocks of limestone, known as ‘ruggs’, were linked to ‘The Grey Geese of Adlestrop Hill’, a nearby Neolithic Long Barrow.<sup>123</sup> A number of these stones were used in the construction of a rock-garden at Adlestrop, while at Daylesford larger stones formed a small island in the lake, and an artificial cascade.<sup>124</sup> Dining with his neighbour the Rev. Thomas Leigh at Adlestrop, in August 1798, Hastings met the landscaper Humphry Repton, who was working on a water garden at Adlestrop, including a bath-house (Fig. 1.39), also altering a water feature which emanated from a pool becoming a ‘lively stream flowing through a flower garden with small rocky stone splashes, eventually falling into a lake’.<sup>125</sup> Hastings was already working on water control at Daylesford, including hot and cold baths, and although it is not known if he was advised by Repton, the week following Hastings noted in his journal that he had added additional ‘ruggs’ across the brook below his high waterfall.<sup>126</sup>

By June 1795 the garden was in full bloom, with the Orangery filled with passion fruit, lychees, custard apples, avacadoes, and mangoes, while the walled

<sup>122</sup> BL Add MS 29172, f.12, ‘To Mr Davenports Bill for Shrubs and Trees £480.7.9’ An Account of Governor Hasting’s Expenses at Dailsford to the 31 Dec[embe]r 1789, No.1 enclosed in Mr.W’s [Walklet’s] L[ette]r d[ated]: 7th Jan[uary] 1790.

<sup>123</sup> *The Gentleman’s Magazine* v.78, pt 1 (1808), p. 341-342; H. E. Donovan with report by Dr A. J. E. Cave, ‘Adlestrop Hill Barrow’, *Gloucestershire Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* Vol 60 (1938), 152-164 (pp.153-154). The Legend of The Grey Geese of Adlestrop Hill suggests ‘an old woman was driving her geese to pasture upon Adlestrop Hill, she was met by one of the Weird Sisters, who demanded alms, and upon being refused, converted the whole flock into stones, which became known as The Grey Geese of Adlestrop Hill.

<sup>124</sup> Donovan, p.154; *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, v.78, pp. 341-342.

<sup>125</sup> London: BL Add MS 39883, Warren Hastings Papers, Supplement, Vol XIII, Diary E, 18 June 1794-31 May 1799. Friday 17 August 1798 ‘I dined at Mr. Leigh’s: Mr Repton.

<sup>126</sup> BL Add MS 39883, f. 159, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement, Vol XIII, Diary E, 18 June 1794-31 May 1799: Friday 31 August: ‘I laid 2 add[itional] ruggs across the brook below the high waterfall.’

garden produced many varieties of soft fruit, both native and exotic.<sup>127</sup> In later years Hastings' friend Baber corresponded with him: 'I wrote you a hurried letter from Melchet with a description ... of the simple process for expressing and preparing the juice of Chillies for preservation.'<sup>128</sup> Presumably some of the plants grown in Hastings' hot houses were used to recreate a spicy cuisine, recollecting the dishes of his previous life in India. Hastings' agricultural methods became well known. Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (1752-1805/6), a Persian scholar and Indian administrator, visited Daylesford on his brief tour of England (1800-1802). He appreciated the experimental nature of the estate, not only admiring the tasteful gardens and grounds, but the 'arrangement and economy' of the farmyard, particularly the marble slabs 'a delicate and costly material', used in the Dairy.<sup>129</sup>

In 1810 Hastings received an invitation to dine with the Prince Regent at Brighton Pavilion, which he accepted, perhaps curious to view the construction of Porden's new Indian-style stables.<sup>130</sup> His parliamentary fame was revived in 1813, being recalled as a witness for the renewal of the EIC charter.<sup>131</sup> Unlike the last time he appeared before parliament, the members acclaimed him, and his services to the Company were celebrated.<sup>132</sup> Honours were heaped upon him: the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Oxford, membership of the Privy Council, however, elevation to the peerage, although expected and overdue, was never awarded.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> BL Add MSS 29172, f. 326, f. 103-106.

<sup>128</sup> *Notes and Queries*, vol 154 (3 March 1928), p. 152: Letter XXIV, Warren Hastings to Edward Baber from Daylesford House 24 Nov. 1811; Letter XXIII, Warren Hastings to Edward Baber sent from Melchet Park, 30 Oct 1811, Letter XXIV, Warren Hastings to Edward Baber from Daylesford House 24 Nov. 1811.

<sup>129</sup> *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, in Asia, Africa and Europe, during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, trans. Charles Stewart, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814), I, p. 215.

<sup>130</sup> Clifford Musgrave, *Life in Brighton: From the Earliest Times to the Present* (Rochester: Rochester Press, 1981), pp. 131-32; C. Musgrave, *Royal Pavilion* (London: Leonard Hill, 1959), p. 52; Geoffrey Tyack, 'A Pantheon for Horses: The Prince Regent's Dome and Stables at Brighton', *Architectural History*, Volume 58 (January 2015), 141-158 (p. 150).

<sup>131</sup> Gleig, p. 539.

<sup>132</sup> See Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Warren Hastings*, ed. by Arthur D. Innes, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.139-140. First published 1896.

<sup>133</sup> BL Add MS 29231 f. 522, Note of Fees on swearing the Right Honourable Warren Hastings a Privy Counsellor on 6 May 1814. See also Macaulay, p.140.

Hastings' architectural choice of a Georgian house with French features and subdued Indian detailing, has much to say regarding his position as a returnee. Building Daylesford at a time when he was on trial, with few political friends to protect him, it was unlikely that he would have commissioned an Indian-style mansion and garden like Cockerell at Sezincote. But in the Hodges'-inspired dome, the Indian detailing of the spire and internal decoration, Hastings subtly expressed his personal Indian narrative. In world terms, his experimental garden was extremely significant, as by the introduction of new species to Britain through his hot-house trials and exotic animal husbandry, he furthered both the knowledge and collection of seeds for botanical gardens and increased economic prospects by exotic animal breeding.

## **Case Study 2: Innovations and improvements established by Sir Hector Munro, Royal, Bengal, and Madras Armies, on the Novar Estate, Inverness, Scotland**

One of the most influential returnees to Scotland was General Sir Hector Munro (1726-1805) (Fig. 1.40), 8th Laird of Novar, who travelled to India for two long tours of duty with the EIC. He embarked on this career to gain funds to improve his family estate, and he later endeavoured to raise his family's and clan's status by portraying himself to his fellow countrymen as a hero. He developed his ancestral lands at Novar, Ross-shire, Scotland, with a refurbished mansion and agricultural improvements, giving poverty relief to his tenants, whilst also celebrating his Indian military campaigns.<sup>1</sup> This case study charts how these military campaigns - the successes and failures - influenced the progress of his estate on the two occasions he returned home. At Novar he employed a modern approach to estate management, constructing innovative buildings and landscape forms, serpentine paths and groves, improving the soil and applying the latest agricultural methods.

Munro was part of a well-educated landed-gentry, which provided Scottish soldiers from their estates to both the Royal and EIC armies. As a high-ranking officer in the EIC he had aspirations similar to other Scots, to serve in India with honour, whilst accumulating funds to enable them to return to their birthplace and improve their family's status and wealth. Andrew Mackillop suggests that this wish for home was: 'a determined, almost obsessive desire', causing Scotsmen to act with 'speed and efficiency', when in India but not necessarily with morality.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Scotland was pivotal for the operations of the British in India, supplying men, many of them Highlanders, for military training, and administrators, surgeons or ships' captains. This source of manpower was influenced by a variety of cultural, historical and financial factors, both in Scotland within the clan system, and in India through the EIC's officials and army generals.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Gifford, *The Buildings of Scotland: Highlands and Islands* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1992) p. 54.

John Gifford suggests that country houses in the Highlands were rarely surrounded by parkland, which makes Novar unusual.

<sup>2</sup> Mackillop, 'Returning nabob', p. 236.

Regulations regarding feudal rights and the non-entitlement to bear weapons after the Battle of Culloden in 1746, began to break allegiances to clan lords, and weaponry training ceased. Instead of the chieftains' estates being regarded as military powerhouses, they began to be seen as sources of income.<sup>3</sup> The customs of 'ownership and rent', 'landlord and tenant', took over from the tenets of 'kin, clan and chief', and this removal of military loyalty to the clan system with achievements in battle honoured with an award of land, irrevocably changed the nature of estate and kinship/tenant relationships.<sup>4</sup> Some characteristics of the traditional clan military life were, however, reproduced within the confines of the Royal and Company armies.<sup>5</sup> David Caldwell contends that: 'alongside poverty and landlord coercion, the right to wear traditional dress and bear arms may have provided an important motivation for Highland men to join the British army, as it allowed them to reclaim their traditional manhood denied by government legislation.'<sup>6</sup> Large numbers of unemployed, trained, fighting men longed for the ability to procure land and to gain prestige with their fellow-countrymen. To fight in India, Rosalind Carr asserts, was viewed as a means to achieve this goal, and to regain their independence.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, for the majority of Scottish returnees their homecoming strategy was not to demonstrate wealth and status, but to give service and benefit to their community (and their erstwhile clan), using skills they had learnt in India.

Although the legislature had endeavoured to break the grip of the clan system, young writers, soldiers, and officers who moved to India sought out clan patronage, and in turn encouraged their family members to move to India, turning an

---

<sup>3</sup> Ian Brown, *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 17-18; Tom Devine, *The Highland Clearances*, Refresh 4 (Spring 1987), p.6; Disarming Acts of 1716, and 1725, and the Act of Proscription, and Dress Acts 1746-47 <https://www.electricscotland.com> [accessed 16 August 2018].

<sup>4</sup> Devine, p.6; John Mackenzie, 'Essay and Reflection on Scotland and the Empire', *The International History Review*, Vol. 15, No.4 (November 1993), 714-139 (pp.728-29).

<sup>5</sup> Rosalind Carr, 'The Gentleman And The Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities In Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 28.2 (2008), 102-121 (p. 115).

<sup>6</sup> David Caldwell, *Scotland's Wars and Warriors: Winning Against the Odds* (Edinburgh, The Stationery Office, 1998), pp. 96-7 quoted in Carr, p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> Rosalind Carr, 'The Gentleman And The Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities In Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Volume 28, Issue 2, p. 103; Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 241. These ideas of masculinity and prestige often affected a man's choice of regiment, as holding a King's commission was considered to give a 'sense of moral and professional superiority', and, therefore, was perceived as higher-status than a similar commission in the EIC Army.

alien, social landscape into one of security, and nostalgia.<sup>8</sup> Seven of the fourteen Royal regiments serving in India between 1754 and 1784 originated in Scotland, comprising around 4,000-5,000 men, many of whom had aristocratic or landed-gentry connections.<sup>9</sup> George Bogle, a Scottish diplomat, wrote in 1771 from Calcutta, 'There are now so many of my Countrymen here that I am, every now and then, meeting with an old Acquaintance.'<sup>10</sup> Scots also figured highly within the officers' ranks of the EIC's Bengal Army, with 250 out of 800 officers listed as Scottish in the 1772 'Muster Rolls'.<sup>11</sup>

### Early Life and Army Career

Munro came from a cadet branch of the Munro family of Foulis.<sup>12</sup> His family clan connections proved extremely helpful in the furtherance of his army career in Britain and India. Through the patronage of family members, Sir Harry Munro of Foulis, and the Duchess of Gordon of Preston Hall, Midlothian, he saw action in the Jacobite Rebellion 1745-46, and in the Low Countries in 1747, and was appointed second major in the newly formed Royal 89th (Highland) regiment.<sup>13</sup> Arriving in Bombay in 1760, Munro served in the Royal army in Madras, but transferred to the EIC Bombay army at the end of the Seven Year's War, when hostilities ended after the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1764.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, war threatened again in October 1764, with Shuja-ud-Daula, the *Nawab Wazir* of Oudh, the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, and the former *Nawab* of Bengal, Mir Kasim, joining forces, attacking the EIC army at Buxar. Munro with 7,000 men overcame a conjoined Mughal army of 40,000, the

<sup>8</sup> There were many instances of Hector Munro facilitating cadetships for local Inverness young men. Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', pp. 244-45.

<sup>9</sup> *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants 1600-2000*, ed. by Marjory Harper (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 241, fn 46; G. J. Bryant, 'Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol 64. No. 177, Part 1 (April 1985), 22-41 (p. 24).

<sup>10</sup> Letter: George Bogle to his sister, Mary, from Calcutta 24 February 1771, Bogle Collection Mitchell Library, Glasgow quoted in Bryant, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup> London: BL L/MIL/10/131, 'Muster Rolls', Bengal Army 1772.

<sup>12</sup> Harper, p. 240.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Munros of Fowlis* (Inverness: Mackenzie, 1898), p. 515; 'Sir Hector Munro' <http://scottishmilitary.blogspot.co.uk> [accessed 12 April 2016]; George Usher, *Dictionary of British Military History* (London: A. & C. Black Publishers Ltd., 2006), p. 167; G. J. Bryant, 'Munro, Sir Hector (1725/6–1805/6)', *ODNB* [accessed 11 April 2016]; David R. Fisher, 'Callendar, Alexander (1741-92), of Crichton and Preston Hall, Edinburgh and Elphinstone, Haddington', HOP [accessed 13 April 2019]; 'General Sir Hector Munro', *The Tiger and the Thistle: Tipu Sultan and the Scots in India* <http://www.tigerandthistle.net> [accessed 4 April 2016]. The estate at Preston Hall is also the site of an octagonal temple, suggested to be influenced by Mughal design, erected by Alexander Callendar who served in India as a writer, merchant and resident 1759-1782.

<sup>14</sup> Harper, p. 240; Usher, p. 167.

victory confirming the Company's control of Bengal, leading to the Company being appointed Diwan of Bihar and Bengal.<sup>15</sup> Buxar proved to be the zenith of Munro's career and he was amply rewarded for his success, with prize money suggested to be at least £19,250.<sup>16</sup> This came not from the EIC, but from the new *Nawab* of Bengal, Mir Mohammed Jaffer Ali Khan Bahadur, and local landowners such as Balwant Singh, the *Raja* of Benares, who gave Munro over £13,000 in presents, and the promise of more money in future.<sup>17</sup>

Having achieved an enhanced reputation, a fortune, and a promotion to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, Munro left India in February 1765.<sup>18</sup> Arriving back in Scotland, Munro used his new wealth and enhanced reputation to become the MP for Inverness Burghs in 1768, defeating a prosperous West Indian merchant, Sir Alexander Grant.<sup>19</sup> The political system operating in Scotland benefited men with wealth, landed gentry status and Indian service, and Munro and other military returnees, such as Sir Robert Fletcher (M.P. for Cricklade 1768-1774), gained their seat in the 1768 election, the first major influx of Company men into Parliament.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Historic Scotland & Scottish Natural Heritage, *An Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, Supplementary, Vol. 2: Highlands and Islands*, 2003, p.31. Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', pp. 238-39.

<sup>16</sup> Welbore Ellis, A Report from the Committee Appointed to Examine into the Several Facts and Circumstances Relative to the Late Obstructions to the Executions of the Orders of this House [the House of Commons], 30th of April, 1771, vol III (London: n.p., 1803), pp. 170-71; Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 239.

<sup>17</sup> Welbore Ellis, A Report from the Committee Appointed to Examine into the Several Facts and Circumstances Relative to the Late Obstructions to the Executions of the Orders of this House [the House of Commons], 30th of April, 1771, vol III (London: n.p., 1803), p. 170; Holzman, p. 10. Although Munro later declared that he had refused £300,000 in presents, including a £12,500 for life jaghir, he had been ordered by the Company to refuse the jaghir. Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 239; Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 178. More money was to follow, but Munro, during his second term in India, was still endeavouring to collect this from Cheyte Singh, Balwant Singh's heir.

<sup>18</sup> *Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons* III (London: n.p., 1803), pp. 170-1, and Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, Ms 1337, f.38; Ms 1367 f. 100, cited in Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', pp. 238-39.

<sup>19</sup> Edith Lady Haden-Guest, HPO [accessed 14 April 2019]. It is intriguing that with postal communications taking up to a year to receive a letter and a reply to be sent, that Munro was still considered to be a suitable candidate to represent his constituents. Munro was MP for Inverness Burghs until 1802, being returned in his absence in 1780 whilst serving a second tour of duty in India.

<sup>20</sup> George K. Gilvary, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1008), p. 134; J. A. Cannon, 'Fletcher, Sir Robert (c.1738-1776), of Ballinasloe, Co. Roscommon and Lindertis, Angus', HOP [accessed 20 September 2017]. Fletcher was dismissed from the EIC for insolence, but was reinstated by Eyre Coote, then knighted for bravery, but later court-martialled and cashiered. He became M.P. for Cricklade 1768-1774.

## First Improvements

Hector Munro had inherited his familial estate in 1760, after the death of his father, the 7th Laird of Novar. Although he succeeded his father, Munro did not take immediate possession of the estate.<sup>21</sup> His mother, possibly living in the Dower House after her husband's death, survived her husband by thirty-seven years, so she was likely the person who first enhanced the estate in the Chinese taste around 1750. David Aitken's *Plan of the Farm and Policy of Novar, the Property of General Munro* 1777, made for Munro after his return to Scotland in 1768, records the remnants of *Chinoiserie* temples and pavilions in the landscape.

New alterations to the house following Munro's return, enhanced the exterior of the mansion and updated and enriched its interior.<sup>22</sup> The Anglo-Dutch style house was rebuilt in a classical square plan, with a two-storey, pediment-roofed pavilion at each end (Figs. 1.41, 1.42), seen in the Aitken 1777 plan.<sup>23</sup> A Coade stone plaque erected on the mansion wall, marked 'London: 1796', commemorated the status of the Munros with their emblem, the eagle, above the family arms (Fig. 1.43). The motto of the Order of the Bath, *Tria Juncta In Uno*, surrounding a central crowned eagle, commemorated Munro's knighthood awarded for his exploits at the battle of Pondicherry in 1778, and the fighting prowess of the Munros was depicted by two soldiers supporting the coat-of-arms.<sup>24</sup> These might possibly have represented two of Munro's three natural sons who all died in the service of the EIC. Hector Sutherland Munro was killed by a tiger in 1792 and was notably immortalised in Staffordshire pottery (Fig. 1.44).<sup>25</sup> The deaths of these three young men illustrates the many hazards that EIC men faced during their Indian careers.

<sup>21</sup> Lady Edith Haden-Guest, 'MUNRO, Hector (1726-1805), of Novar, Ross' HPO [accessed 12 April 2016].

<sup>22</sup> Gifford, p. 441.

<sup>23</sup> Novar Estate website <http://www.novarestate.co.uk> [accessed 30 December 2014]; Historic Scotland: Listed Buildings Ref: 338. Gifford, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> The Order of the Bath Motto: *Tria Juncta In Uno* (Three Joined in One).  
<http://www.debretts.com> accessed 20 April 2016.

<sup>25</sup> Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade's Stone* (Upton-on-Severn, The Self Publishing Association Ltd, 1990) p. 431. *Report of Cases upon Appeals and Writs of Error in the House of Lords, during the First Session of the Fifth Parliament of the United Kingdom*, 53 Geo. III. 1813, Vol. I (London: W. Clarke and Sons, 1814), pp. 439-440. The date of the Arms and Supporters is given in Coade's Gallery Listing as 1799: CG, 'Nova [...] Arms and Supporters at Sir Hector Munro's'. There appears to be tablet/letter or scroll above the left soldier on the plaque. The death of Hector Sutherland Munro (1775-1792) by a tiger on Saugor Island, Bengal, in December 1792 was reported in the *Madras Courier* (10 Jan 1793). The death of Alexander Munro (1787-1804) by a shark was reported in *The Globe*, 14 September 1805. Hugh Munro (1777-1814) became a Company writer who rose to Collector and Mintmaster in

The main emphasis of the Aitken survey was Munro's military life in India, and the status of his clan. Two Porter's Lodges (later known as the Gun Ports), built in 1791 at a cost of £75.13.4, guarded the wooded walk to the East of the estate which passed by an obelisk.<sup>26</sup> West of the mansion an eagle on a plinth was prominently positioned near the house, a lasting symbol of the Munros.<sup>27</sup> On Cat Hill to the south west two Eastern-style monuments were constructed, one fashioned like a circular Indian fort, the other topped with an umbrella-like feature (Fig. 1.45). In addition to their status, business ventures were significant to the Munros, hence the statue of the Roman god Mercury, which was placed on a pedestal to the south-east of the house. Mackillop suggests that Mercury was linked to the movement of ideas as well as the more generally understood people and commodities, and that having the statue in the garden proclaimed the 'positive properties of mobility'.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the alacrity which Munro showed in combining innovative ideas and disciplines gained in India, with clan and political patronage, corresponds with Mercury's mythological significance.

Nevertheless, the contents key to the 1777 map gave no doubt as to Hector Munro's reason for commissioning the map - the enhancement of the Mains (a model farm) and Policy of Novar – to illustrate areas of improvement, and sections already completed.<sup>29</sup> The most noticeable feature was that the fields were already enclosed with tree-lined borders to give shelter to crops (Fig. 1.46). With straight precise boundaries, these fields are often described as having military precision, pointing to Hector Munro's former career. Nonetheless, other Scottish estate plans from this period incorporated this style (Fig. 1.47), with new geometric fields, avenues, roads and paths, completely ignoring previous, time-honoured land-practices and patterns.<sup>30</sup> The medieval ridge and furrow system (cord rig or run rig), was

---

Bombay but died on ship in 1814 while returning to Britain, reported in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historic Chronicle, from July, to December 1815*, 85, 2 (1815), p. 84.

<sup>26</sup> Inverness: Highland Archive Centre: D538/C/9, *Estimate for Mason Work about Novar*.

<sup>27</sup> For details of the Munro family and the eagle symbol of the clan see John Scott Keltie, Thomas Maclauchlan and John Wilson, *History of the Scottish Highlands: Highland Clans and Highland Regiments*, vol 2.8 (London: MacKenzie, 1870), p. 321. The statue of the eagle might possibly have been erected in a previous century.

<sup>28</sup> Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth, eds, 'Mercurius' *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 935; Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 249.

<sup>29</sup> This would likely become more profitable with increased traffic on the new coaching road.

<sup>30</sup> George Kay, 'The Landscape of Improvement: A Case Study of Agricultural Change in NorthEast Scotland', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 78, 2 (1962), 100-111 (p. 105).

identifiable on the 1777 map, and in Scotland up to the time of the Jacobite rebellion and beyond, old agricultural techniques were handed down from father to son.<sup>31</sup>

Much of the arable land was divided up into small plots for tenant farmers, and the bare hillsides used for the commons, but as the land was often very stony, stones were collected up and deposited on the margins of the fields, demarcating one field from another. Over time these banks widened, wasting valuable land. Records show that at Novar this practice continued for many years.<sup>32</sup> Sir George Steuart

Mackenzie in his *General View of the Agriculture of Ross and Cromarty* asserted that: ‘The management of the native farmers is destructive’ and that as the soil was taken from one field to use on another, with no crop rotation, the land eventually became barren leaving the field fallow for a season and the weeds to multiply.<sup>33</sup>

The 1777 Novar plan distinguished between those areas already improved and other localities labelled ‘designed’ or ‘intended’ for improvement, for instance: ‘The Lawn intended around the House’; ‘A Small enclosure designed for a Poultry Yard, Horse Pond, and Bleaching Yard for the Servants at the Square’. These could be compared with work already carried out ‘A Plantation East the Stable mostly of spruces’; ‘An Inclosure lying South from the Temple & North The Garden’. Indeed, there was plenty of room for improvement as the map also denoted fields with poor thin Moor soil, and arable land covered with Broom.<sup>34</sup> Munro improved the soil with shell lime from Sunderland spread on the fields, and liming continued throughout the time of his improvements, rebalancing the soil by reducing its acidity.<sup>35</sup> Another notable feature of the 1777 map was the number of trees which were planted, with the hills forested with major plantations to the west and the north.<sup>36</sup> This afforestation seemed to have taken place over years, as on 9 June 1772 the Novar

---

<sup>31</sup> For details of early farming in Scotland see ‘Ancient Farming’: <http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk> [accessed 8 May 2016]; Sir George Steuart Mackenzie, *General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Ross and Cromarty* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813), p.19.

<sup>32</sup> Inverness: Highlands Archive Centre: Munro of Novar Papers, Statement and accounts 1773 - 1775 1575-1967, D538/A/2/7/v, Vouchers for work at Novar 1776 – 1777; D538/A/2/8/iv, Statement and accounts 1773 – 1775.

<sup>33</sup> Sir George Steuart Mackenzie, *General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Ross and Cromarty* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813), p. 20.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Moor to be Imp’d; ‘Moor Ground to be Planted’. *Plan of the Farm and Policy of Novar*, 1777.

<sup>35</sup> In June 1776, large amounts of lime were placed on the fields, by groups of limers engaged by Munro. Inverness: Highland Archive Centre: Liming Accounts, May and June 1776, D538/A/2/7/V, Loose vouchers, No. 31, Voucher Nos 2, 3, 4, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Historic Scotland, p. 32.

accounts already show that thirty-two workers, both men and women, planted ‘Firs, Oakes, Elms, Ash’s, Beeches, Birches, Plains, Quicks’.<sup>37</sup> Matthew Culley, a Scottish land reformer, visited Novar in 1775, and saw the beginning of the improvements to the house and landscape:

We ... arrived to breakfast at Colonel Monroe’s of Navarre .... After taking a general view of the plans he was executing as a farmer, we found he was improving a very barren soil in a most spirited and expeditious manner.<sup>38</sup>

With £120,000 spent by Munro on the refurbishments of his house and garden, Alexander Mackenzie suggests the lavish outlay was ‘to display his oriental wealth’, with most of his fortune spent on buying land between 1766 and 1787.<sup>39</sup> These purchases, however, could be considered political acquisitions, as Munro gave relatives life rents on the land, and thus a presence within nearby counties and Burgh administration.<sup>40</sup> Likely commissioned as Munro prepared for his second tour of military duty, Aitken’s 1777 survey and plan illustrated the establishment of agricultural improvements already achieved at Novar, whilst also giving an indication of further advancements to be carried out.

## Return to India

Munro’s reason for embarking for India for a second time, after nearly twelve years’ absence, was financial. During the intervening years, he had spent heavily on his political endeavours and estate improvements as well as losing money in the crash of one of Scotland’s largest banks, the Ayr Bank (Douglas, Heron & Co.).<sup>41</sup> The latter likely gave him the motivation to return to India, using his Company and

---

<sup>37</sup> Inverness: Highland Archive Centre, *Day labourer’s accounts*, D538/A/2/8/iv.

<sup>38</sup> Anne Orde, ed., *Matthew and George Culley, Travel Journals and Letters, 1765-1798* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.132; See Northumberland Archives ZCU/1 *Journal of Matthew Culley’s Tour in Scotland, 1775 with Notes on the same by his Brother, George Culley*; ZCU/43 Transcript by Dr. Angus Macdonald.

<sup>39</sup> Mackenzie, *History of the Munros*, p. 534; Mackillop, ‘Returning Nabob’ p. 246, and Table 12.2: Rentals of Novar, Culrain and Muirtown estates, 1761-99, p. 252; Haden-Guest, ‘Munro, Hector’, HPO [accessed 19 February 2019].

<sup>40</sup> Mackenzie, *History of the Munros*, p. 534.

<sup>41</sup> In 1772 the largest lenders to Ayr Bank were landowners in Scotland see Table 1 in Paul Kosmetatos, ‘The Winding Up of the Ayr Bank, 1772-1827’, *Financial History Review*, vol 21.2 (2014), 165-190 (p. 168).

Parliamentary contacts and his exemplary military record, gaining the post of Commander of the Land Forces, Madras Army, at Fort St. George.<sup>42</sup>

Unfortunately, Munro was not as effective in his second term overseas. Instead of returning to Bengal, which for the most part was firmly controlled by the EIC, he was posted to the politically and militarily tumultuous Carnatic.<sup>43</sup> However, capturing the French headquarters at Pondicherry on 17 October 1778, together with other outposts on the Malabar Coast, Munro seemed set for another successful tour of duty.<sup>44</sup> A public vote of thanks and a Knighthood of the Bath were awarded to Munro for the victory by George III.<sup>45</sup> But, the Malabar ports had allegedly been under the protection of Haidar Ali, the ruler of Mysore, who threatened retaliatory action against the Company as early as March 1779, which was ignored by Munro and the Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Rumbold. Miscalculating the strength of the combined armies of Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan, Munro's and Rumbold's troops and reinforcements were routed at the first battle of Pollilur, on 10 September 1780 (Figs.1.48, 1.49), leaving Haidar Ali in control of the Carnatic.<sup>46</sup> Considered to be the worst defeat of the eighteenth century by a British army in the Carnatic, the blame fell on both Munro and Rumbold. Warren Hastings, the governor-general of Bengal acted quickly, dismissing the Governor of Madras, and demoting Munro to serve as second-in-command under General Eyre Coote who took control of the Madras Land Forces.<sup>47</sup>

Drawing towards the end of his career and with financial difficulties uppermost in his mind Munro endeavoured, with the help of Coote, to claim not only his military reputation, but also the £12,500 owed to him by *Raja Cheyte Singh* of

---

<sup>42</sup> Bryant, ODNB [accessed 11 April 2016]

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Herbert Henry Dodwell, *Warren Hastings Letters to Sir John Macpherson* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1927), pp. 76-77. This action was part of the Anglo-French War (1778-1783) and links with the American Revolutionary War.

<sup>45</sup> National Archives of Scotland, Kinross House Papers GD 29/2137, 223 cited in Marjory Harper (ed.) *Emigrant Homecomings: The return movement of emigrants 1600-2000* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 240. This single award. K. B. was discontinued in 1815, see *The London Gazette*, 4 January 1815, No. 16972, p. 17 Supplement.

<sup>46</sup> For details of the Battle of Pollilur see Lewin B. Bowring, *Rulers of India: Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan and the Struggle with the Musalman Powers of the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893), pp. 88-92; Bryant, ODNB [accessed 29 Dec 2014]

<sup>47</sup> Bryant, ODNB [accessed 29 Dec 2014]

Benares, the heir of Balwant Singh.<sup>48</sup> He assisted Coote to defeat Haidar Ali at both Porto Novo and the second battle of Pollilur in 1781, before he returned to Madras with ill-health, planning to leave India.<sup>49</sup> However, he was persuaded to stay another year by Lord MacCartney, the new Governor of Madras. By October 1781, Munro was well enough to plan an invasion of the Dutch-occupied Negapatam, which was besieged and captured on 11 November 1781.<sup>50</sup> After the defeat, the Dutch base gave to the Company ‘between five and six lakhs in prize money (c.£50,000-60,000)’, and around £5,000 to Munro, as overall commander of the forces.<sup>51</sup> Having regained his military reputation and wealth, Munro resigned on 27 September 1782, anticipating orders from the EIC that he would be removed from India.<sup>52</sup> On returning to London in the summer of 1783, and dismissed by the Company for the rout at the first battle of Pollilur, he was given a Royal Commission as a major-general on British soil in compensation.<sup>53</sup> Returning home for the second time, Munro endeavoured to make his presence felt in the Ross-shire countryside, commissioning a portrait in 1785 (See 1.40) commemorating his battle triumphs at Buxar and Pondicherry, and turning his military brain and tactical skills to the upkeep of his family’s ancestral home.

### A Refurbished House and a Military Landscape

Munro resumed the running of his estate in 1783. On arriving in London, it is likely that he took advice on estate management, and the merit of using the traditional agrarian practices he had seen in India. In eighteenth-century-Scotland a plethora of agricultural improvement societies were inaugurated, including The Honourable

---

<sup>48</sup> National Archives of Scotland, Kinross House Papers, GD 29/2137, 111-112, 188, 195-6, 256-7 cited in Mackillop, ‘Returning Nabob’, p. 240.

<sup>49</sup> Joanna Close-Brooks; Bryant ODNB [accessed 29 Dec 2014]; Official and Private Correspondence and Papers of Warren Hastings, Vol. XV, 17 Sept-Dec. 1780, Sir Hector Munro, General, Commander-in-Chief in the Carnatic: Letters to W. Hastings: 1778, 1780. London: BL Add. MS 29146, fols. 229, 239, cited in Haden-Guest [accessed 19 February 2019].

<sup>50</sup> George MacCartney (4 May 1737 – 31 May 1806), was Governor of Madras 1781-1785, after the dismissal of Thomas Rumbold. Joanna Close-Brooks, *Exploring Scotland’s Heritage: The Highlands* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1986), p.79. The seized garrison held Haidar Ali’s supplies which proved extremely useful to the Bengal army needy of ‘currency, artillery and horses’.

<sup>51</sup> H. D. Love (ed.), *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800*, traced from the East India Company’s Records III (London: John Murray, 1913), p.239; National Library of Scotland, Stuart Stevenson Papers, Ms 8326, ff.154-6 cited in Mackillop, ‘Returning Nabob’, p. 240.

<sup>52</sup> Bryant, ODNB [accessed 29 Dec 2014]; Inverness: Highland Archive Centre, Munro MSS, Box 5: Letter, Dingwall, 15 January 1782: Andrew Robertson-Baillie Alexander Shaw, cited in Mackillop, ‘Returning Nabob’, p. 240.

<sup>53</sup> Bryant, ODNB [accessed 29 Dec 2014].

Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland (1723) which promoted innovative agricultural practices and management, while others, like the Edinburgh Society for Encouraging Art, Science, Manufactures and Agriculture (1755) encouraged links between agriculture and the sciences.<sup>54</sup> Indeed with many EIC officers arriving back from India, Munro's experiments at Novar were not unusual, for example General Patrick Duff of Carnousie, Banffshire (1742-1803), and Dr. Kenneth Murchison, of Tarradale, Ross-shire (d.1796) both made fortunes in the service of the *Nawab* of Oudh. They later purchased landed estates in Scotland, like Munro constructing model farms, endeavouring to increase productivity.<sup>55</sup> Sir George Steuart Mackenzie later remarked that in Scotland:

The fashions of the south were quickly introduced, and eagerly followed. By degrees many of the proprietors and their sons returned from serving in the army abroad, and from other occupations in different parts of the Kingdom and of the world, and brought with them not only improved manners, but much knowledge of which a considerable part was agricultural.<sup>56</sup>

Nonetheless, Munro's integration into Ross-shire's society was likely more problematic than before, as much attention was paid to returnees' fortunes, and Scotland was, according to Mackillop, 'ill at ease with the material and moral effect of Indian profits upon its society'.<sup>57</sup> As before, Munro endeavoured to allay these fears through work on his family estate, reinforcing the status of his family and using his global wealth on land improvements and poverty-relief.

It is useful to compare Aitken's 1777 survey with that of a later map, *A Plan of the Mains of Novar, the Property of the Honourable Sir H[ecto]r Munro K. B.*, made in 1788, five years after Munro had fully stamped his mark on the estate.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> See Charles W. J. Withers, 'William Cullen's Agricultural Lectures and Writings and the Development of Agricultural Science in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (1989), pp. 144-156.

<sup>55</sup> For details of the improvements of General Patrick Duff and Dr. Kenneth Murchison, see Eric Grant and Alistair Mutch, 'Indian Wealth and Agricultural Improvement in Northern Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 35, 1 (2015), pp. 25-44. The surveyor David Aitken also drew up a plan of Tarradale for Murchison in 1788.

<sup>56</sup> Mackenzie, *Counties of Ross and Cromarty*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>57</sup> Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 234.

<sup>58</sup> The present owner Ronald Munro-Ferguson commented in a conversation 19 June 2013 that the Chinese Temple was now a memorial to his late father, and ruins of the Indian 'Forts' survive on

The 1788 map has a distinctly military character, and, with its decorative cartouche featuring canons, trumpets and banners (Fig. 1.50), it seemed Munro was reasserting his importance as a Scottish fighting man. The mansion has central dominance with an intricate staircase to the rear, leading to a new walled garden, with two quadripartite sections and further divisions, possibly Mughal inspired (Fig. 1.51). Ornamental and fruit trees defined the segments (Fig. 1.52), the 1884 25" OS map showing remnants of trees in this formation (Fig. 1.53).<sup>59</sup> In the garden, the slightly off-centre large oval pool had a seated statue or fountain, the nature of which is open to conjecture, perhaps a classical Mermaid or Neptune figure, or, by contrast, a Hindu water god such as Ganga, Varuna or Makara. There was also a shadowy building, of unknown purpose (maybe kennels), topped with minarets and a dome, to the east of Temple Park (Fig. 1.54).<sup>60</sup> The 'Forts' depicted on the hills to the west of Novar, seem to have been enhanced in an Indian-influenced style, but they are much more indistinct than in the previous map and perhaps by this date unused.<sup>61</sup>

Recollections of India played a major part in Munro's landscape design, the extensive regimented fields which surrounded the house planted with single species clumps of trees in roundels, squares, triangles and diamond shapes reminiscent of troop battle formations (Fig. 1.55).<sup>62</sup> Significantly, many of the arable fields were named after places and battles on the sub-continent: 'Madras Park, Mount Delly Park, Bombay Park, Buxar Park, Trichenopoly [sic] Park, and Calcutta Park' (Fig. 1.56). To the east in Bath and Dairy Park, a stream from a cold bath flowed southwards to Fort Dauphin Park between two small Eastern-style buildings, perhaps a hot Bath and a Dairy (Fig. 1.57). To the west of the house the Eagle statue was still

---

Cat's Hill. Many of the features from the earlier map were illustrated including the Gun Ports, the Indian-influenced style Forts in the vast wooded plantations on the top of Cat's Hill, and the Porter's Lodges to the south east which had become pictorially more ornamental.

<sup>59</sup> Ordnance Survey, 25" map, 1st edition, surveyed 1874, published 1880 Ross and Cromarty Ross-shire Sheet LXV.10.

<sup>60</sup> Placed amongst the trees, and only sketchily drawn in, it was possibly never constructed.

<sup>61</sup> Historic Scotland, p. 32. As they first appeared on the 1777 map, their construction was too early to be considered Napoleonic defences as stated in Historic Scotland's *An Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes*.

<sup>62</sup> For European examples of battle formation in the mid-eighteenth century, see David Dundas, *Principles of Military Movements, Chiefly Applied to Infantry* (London: T. Cadell, 1788), adopted as the British Army's regulation drill book in 1792 – change, J. A. Holding, *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 238-45, cited in Cooper (2005), p. 536. For further information on the types of trees see Historic Scotland, p.33. Napoleon was only eight years old in 1777, so Indian forts to protect Novar would not have been required at the time.

very much in evidence on a small plinth on a mound close by, but the statue of Mercury had been significantly moved further east away from the house, and topped a mound in Mercury Park, in an area guarded by the octagonal Gun Ports (previous Porters' lodges) (Figs. 1.58, 1.59).<sup>63</sup> It is possible that Munro's commercial activities had decreased, with less need to display his mercantile interests, or the fusion of ideas.

Between 1790 and 1793 a large amount of work took place on the estate, with stone dykers, ditchers, fence makers, drain diggers and broom cutters at work in the fields, and masons, carpenters and plasterers employed on the enhancement of the mansion house, mains, and garden buildings.<sup>64</sup> Hot-houses were constructed, including a Pine House, presumably to grow pineapples and other tender exotic fruits.<sup>65</sup> Pineapples, considered a luxury, had been introduced to Scotland around 1732, by James Justice at Crichton, Pathhead, Midlothian, and in 1761 a pineapple-shaped garden building, a sign of status, was built by the 4th Earl of Dunmore, at Dunmore Park, Stirling (Fig. 1.60).<sup>66</sup> Although the planting of trees challenged traditional land usage, the exploitation of wood as a fuel was advantageous to the local economy as hill-peats began to be depleted. Munro was experimental in his planting at Novar, being the first to introduce the larch tree to Easter Ross, and by October 1792 over 16,150 native trees and exotics were established on the estate.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> The Gun Ports possibly feature in a c.1831 sketch by J. M. W. Turner when he visited his patron Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro, a later descendant of Hector Munro. J. M. W. Turner, *Gates: Either at Farnley or Novar, or a Design*, c.1830-41, Sheets associated with the Tour of Scotland, 1831. Tate: D34796, Turner Bequest CCCXLIV 329.

David Wallace-Hadrill suggests that this sketch might be of a scene at Novar, and associated with the 1831 Tour of Scotland by Turner. The Tate, D34796, Turner Bequest CCCXLIV 329.

<http://www.tate.org.uk> accessed 10 May 2016.

<sup>64</sup> *Victual Rent of Novar, Crop 1789 and Money Rent, Martinmas 1790-November 1791*, Inverness: Highland Archive Centre: D538/A/2/6/vii, various vouchers.

<sup>65</sup> 21 May 1792, *Charge and discharge, intromissions with Victual rent and Money rent (for Novar and Culrain), together with monies received*, Inverness: Highland Archive Centre, D538/A/2/6/vii, Fifth Branch of Discharge, Voucher No.6.

<sup>66</sup> Accounts for 1793: To John Chisholm for Casting the found of the pin house Shead by the piece £0.5.0; To Donald Graham for Cleaning the Rubbish about the pin house 6 days @6d per day, Inverness: Highland Archive Centre, D538/A/2/6/X, Branch 5, Voucher No. 13; Novar May 14 1793; Day labourers casting the found of the pinehouse, Inverness, Highland Archive Centre, D538/A/2/6/X Branch 1, Voucher No. 44. The Pineapple [www.historic-scotland.gov.uk](http://www.historic-scotland.gov.uk), ref: NGR NS 88927 88466 accessed 25 April 2016.

<sup>67</sup> He acquired three young larch trees from the Duke of Atholl who had pioneered the introduction of the larch to Scotland. Ian R. M. Mowat, *Easter Ross 1750-1850: The Double Frontier* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1981), p. 34. Inverness: Highland Archive Centre, D538/A/2/6/X, Discharge Branch 13, Voucher No. 16. *Victual Rent of Novar, Crop 1789 and Money Rent, Martinmas 1790-November 1791*, HAC D538/A/2/6/vii. 2000 Common Ash (3-4 ft); 2000 large

A Picturesque ruined folly was constructed on the summit of a nearby hill, Chnoc Fyrish, which gained fame as the Fyrish Monument, colloquially known as the Gates of Negapatam, later sketched by the artist J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) (Figs. 1.61, 1.62).<sup>68</sup> Reminiscent of an Indian fortress, commemorating Munro's heroism at the battle of Negapatam, it is an example of the military Picturesque.<sup>69</sup> The sham ruin described by Historic Scotland as 'nine massive circular columns of mortared rubble', with arches connecting the four central columns, was originally painted white, perhaps simulating *chunam*.<sup>70</sup> Backed by evergreens, the eye-catcher would have been even more noticeable than today, the white paint enhancing the monument against the dark green of fir trees.<sup>71</sup> Another example of the military Picturesque in Scotland, the Auchernach Walled Garden (Fig. 1.63) was built in 1809 by Lieutenant-General Nathaniel Forbes of the EIC Madras Army, also to resemble an Indian hill-fort.<sup>72</sup>

The building of the Fyrish Monument was likely undertaken as relief work to alleviate the poverty of the local population. Munro's accounts record that his tenants carried lime, sand and quarried stone to the Fyrish ruin in 1792.<sup>73</sup> Their work

---

Larches (2-3ft); 2000 Oaks (2-3 ft); 6000 small larches (1-2 ft); 2000 elms (5-6 ft); 2000 beeches (2-3 feet); fifty New England pine; fifty Balm of Gilead; fifty Silvar; eighteen apple trees, at a cost of £19.10.0d.

<sup>68</sup> J. M. W. Turner, *View towards the Cromarty Firth with the Fyrish Monument and Novar Mains*, 1831. Sheets associated with Turner's 1831 tour of Scotland. Tate: D34842, Turner Bequest, CCCXLIV 357.

<sup>69</sup> Gwyn Hedley, 'Follies of Britain: The Gates of Negapatam, Evanton', 2012, <http://thedabbler.co.uk> [accessed 21 January 2015]. Many texts refer to the Fyrish monument as famine relief, however, as the famines in Scotland were in the 1690s and 1840s-1850s, the most likely reason for the building was poverty and unemployment, caused by the Highland Clearances and enclosures in the eighteenth century.

<sup>70</sup> Historic Scotland, Number LB369, designated category B. <<http://portal.historicenvironment.scot>> [accessed 16 April 2019].

<sup>71</sup> Mackenzie, *Ross and Cromarty* p. 109. Adrian Clark, *Sir Hector's Follies*, November 2009, <<http://her.highland.gov.uk>> [accessed 18 June 2013]; Historic Scotland, p. 32. Other ruined monuments were constructed by Munro on the nearby hills of Meann Chnoc (Little Fyrish) and Creag Ruadh.

<sup>72</sup> Historic Environment Scotland Listing: Glen Nochty, Auchernach Walled Garden. Ref: LB16199. The walled garden was central to Nathaniel Forbes' improvements on the Auchernach estate, Strathdon, Aberdeenshire <[www.historicenvironment.scot](http://www.historicenvironment.scot)> [accessed 20 September 2017]. Many thanks to Dr. Andrew MacKillop for bringing this site to my attention, and for information on Nathaniel Forbes, 17 June 2013.

<sup>73</sup> '157 Bolts of Lime making 314 Loads at 3d per Load £3.18.6d; 118 ½ Bolts of Sand ... making in all 474 Loads at 3d per Load £5.18.6. Total: £9.17.0', 1792, *Note of expence for carrying Lime and Sand to the Ruin by Mr Hector Munro's Tenants*, Inverness: Highland Archive Centre, D538/A/2/7/vii, Voucher 4; 'Nove[mbe]r 31st ... 1792 Rec[eive]d (by William Reid) from Mr Geo[rge] Munro Factor of Nover [sic] the Sum of One Pound three Shillings Sterling in full pay[men]t for separating the Stones, Lime & Timber of the Ruin on Fyrish hill & laying up every article in different heaps & the same': *Charge and discharge, intromissions with Victual rent and*

on the Hill of Fyrish included tree planting with one hundred thousand trees planted in July 1791, and in April 1793 two hundred and thirty thousand fir plants were ordered at ten pence per plant, for the same hillside.<sup>74</sup> The work provided was likely very welcome, for poverty was near to famine levels for Scotland's small crofters and tenants. Robert Southey, the poet, and Thomas Telford, the engineer, travelled to Novar in 1818 as part of their tour of Scotland and saw the improvements, Southey describing their visit passing:

An estate which Sir Hector Munro expended the whole wealth which he acquired in India, so that he was obliged to go to India again and make a second fortune for the purpose of enabling him to live upon it. The spoils of the East have seldom been better employed, than in bringing this tract which was then waste ground, into a good state of cultivation. There are extensive plantations on the hills behind the house, and some odd edifices on the summits which he is said to have designed in imitation of the hill-forts in India.<sup>75</sup>

Munro's conspicuous monuments had a dual purpose: they were visible examples of his status and military prowess, but they were also poor-relief and unemployment projects. Choices made by Scotland's homecomers from India often impacted on local peasant populations which, similar to Ireland, had steadily risen during this period.<sup>76</sup> After the Jacobite rebellion and defeat at Culloden in 1746, the Highlands remained 'remote, uncouth, and dangerously anarchic'.<sup>77</sup> Analogous to Ireland, practices were devised to civilise the Highlands, including higher land-rents, new agricultural practices and village clearances to make way for sheep, causing poverty

---

*Money rent (for Novar and Culrain), together with monies received*, Highland Archive Centre, D538/A/2/6/vii, Third Branch of Discharge, Voucher No. 18. 'Stone was quarried for the ruin which measured nine roods and a quarter, and was taken up the hill by William Reid at a cost of £14.5.0': Inverness: Highland Archive Centre: D538/A/2/6/X, Discharge Branch 1, Voucher No. 72

<sup>74</sup> *Victual Rent of Novar, Crop 1789 and Money Rent, Martinmas 1790-November 1791*, HAC D538/A/2/6/vii. '21 July 1791 One Hundred Thousand Firs for the Hill of Fyrish at 1/3 £6.5.0'. *Outlays on the Improvements at Novar, Account, Victual Rent of Novar, Crop 1789 and Money Rent, Martinmas 1790 – November 1791*, Inverness: Highland Archive Centre: D538/A/2/6/vii, Branch 1. Inverness: Highland Archive Centre: Fyrish April 18 1793, D538/A/2/6/X, Discharge Branch 1, Voucher No. 54.

<sup>75</sup> Robert Southey, *Journal of a Tour Through Scotland 1819* (London: John Murray, 1929), p. 120.

<sup>76</sup> Eric Richards, *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2007), p. 5

<sup>77</sup> Richards, p. 8.

and depopulation. Commissioners of Forfeited Estates introduced new tenants, encouraged the English language over Gaelic, and brought in new crop rotations.<sup>78</sup> At first there was passive resistance, but gradually disaffection and rioting spread from larger estates, when experimentation with sheep-farming increased in the years after Munro's return.<sup>79</sup> Opposition arose from the local tenants who had been expelled from their rented land, the year 1792 becoming known as the so-called 'Year of the Great Sheep'.<sup>80</sup> At Novar, Munro tried to turn a large proportion of his land into a sheep-walk, causing a disagreement between tenants and the local populace over the seizure of sheep that had strayed onto their land, which ended in a violent struggle with Black Watch troops, of which Munro had become Colonel, called out to restore order.<sup>81</sup>

During Munro's first spell in control at Novar 1765-1777, there was a little population growth within local parishes, but, after his second round of experimentation with forestry and sheep clearances there was a severe decline in inhabitants, with many tenants moving further along the coast or emigrating to build a new life in Canada, leaving many Highland landscapes and villages empty. This drift towards emigration Eric Richards contends was 'an act of protest, and defiance and rejection of the new landlord order in the cleared Highlands.'<sup>82</sup> Few Highland landlords made a profit from their new improvements, their increased rents could not contend with rising inflation in the years up to 1812. This led to bankruptcies and sales of hereditary estates. Munro with all his efforts to make his lands profitable, in 1803 after years of improvement, including spending £120,000, the rental of the Novar estate although increased from £100 in 1747 was only £502.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Richards, pp. 8-9.

<sup>79</sup> Richards, Chapter 4, pp. 66-83.

<sup>80</sup> Harper, pp. 72, 252.

<sup>81</sup> Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Munros of Fowlis* (Inverness: A. & W. Mackenzie, 1898), p. 533. The ringleaders were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment, however, when the men escaped from prison and were not sought by the judiciary, as there was little respect for landowners, who changed traditional methods of farming.

<sup>82</sup> Eric Richards, *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2007), pp. 79, 80. The offer of land had always attracted prospective emigrants to move, taking with them the freedom to continue their tradition way of life. For instance, emigrants from Islay in the 1760s were offered 1,000 acres per adult and 500 acres per child in the New York colony.

<sup>83</sup> 'Valuation of the Teinds of the Lands belonging to Hector Munro Esq. of Novar', 8 June 1803, Highland Centre Archives, Novar Papers, D/538/39 cited in Mackillop, 'Returning Nabob', p. 239. Sir Mackenzie, *Ross and Cromarty*, p. 109. Mackillop suggests that one year of military involvement in India produced an amount equivalent to thirty-eight years of work on the Highland estate.

The progress Munro made on his family estate strongly signified his allegiance to his clan, and his family, and signified the success of his EIC career in India and his high-status battle triumphs. His exploits in land reform were part of a general trend in agricultural improvements and clearances across the Highlands, yet Munro, a benevolent landowner, also instigated poverty relief to offset tenants' hardships caused by these new practices.

### **Case Study 3: Sir William Paxton's Garden Houses in Calcutta, and his Pleasure Garden at Middleton Hall, Llanarthne, South Wales**

The last case study of this chapter examines an estate in Wales developed by Sir William Paxton (1744–1824) (Fig. 1.64). Even more than Hastings, Paxton fits the populist ‘nabob’ profile, with enough Indian wealth to purchase a sizeable estate, and entering parliament as MP for Carmarthen. However, Paxton, the individual, had a social conscience, using experiences gained in the subcontinent to provide his local community with fresh water and bathing facilities. This case study contends that it was the traditional water control practices in eighteenth-century India which stimulated both this philanthropy and the conception of his Picturesque landscape at Middleton Hall.

Founded near the village of Llanarthne, above the valley of the meandering river Tywi, the Middleton estate was developed over many centuries from medieval fields of ridge and furrow to an eighteenth-century mansion and water park, later transformed into the National Botanic Garden of Wales.<sup>1</sup> It is the mid-point in the landscape’s history which is of interest to this study: the eighteenth-century house and garden, bought by Sir William Paxton after a long career as mint master in Bengal, India. Paxton, apparently ‘an ambitious man, socially, politically and financially’, made his fortune in India, but instead of returning home to his native Scotland, he adopted Wales as his home, close to friends and colleagues from India.<sup>2</sup> Although he became well-known in banking, political, and social circles, he was one of many Scots, who, on their return to Britain, re-aligned their energies to include charitable and civic improvements. This study argues that Paxton’s experimental water control and bath-building, which link his EIC career, and Indian traditional water systems, to his Welsh projects, should be considered the main thrust of his legacy.

---

<sup>1</sup> Partial survey of Middleton Hall Ridge and Furrow (PRN30974) by DAT/Ludlow ND in 1995; Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234; The landscape of Middleton Hall was transformed into the National Botanic Garden of Wales, which opened in 2000.

<sup>2</sup> CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Interest in Wales: Middleton Hall, Llanarthney. Register Number PGW(Dy)4(CAM). Coflein <http://www.coflein.gov.uk>.

## Paxton's EIC Career

William Paxton ((1744–1824) was born in Edinburgh, the third son of John Paxton of Berwickshire.<sup>3</sup> After a childhood spent in London, in 1755 Paxton became a cabin-boy in the Royal Navy aged twelve, seeing action in the Seven Years War during the capture of Louisburg, America, July 1758.<sup>4</sup> In 1763 he left the Royal Navy joining the EIC as an officer, working on an EIC privateer ship for seven years, trading goods between the Cape of Good Hope, India, and China.<sup>5</sup> Gaining patronage from John Stewart, Secretary of the EIC Council in Calcutta, he used the support to better himself.<sup>6</sup> In India, a plethora of different coins were in commercial use, some with dubious metal content, necessitating the invention of a stable-value new currency.<sup>7</sup> A professional assayer was needed who also understood the nuances of Indian trade, so with Paxton's experience as a privateer it was likely that Stewart recommended him to train as an assayer.<sup>8</sup> Paxton returned to work in London as an apprentice assayer with Francis Spilsbury, learning how to verify the quality of gold, silver, and other metals.<sup>9</sup> Back in Bengal in 1774 he became assay master to the Bengal Presidency governed by Warren Hastings, rising to master of the Bengal Mint

---

<sup>3</sup> Willem G. J. Kuiters, 'Paxton, Sir William (1743/4–1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [[http://0- www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/53259](http://www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/53259)], accessed 1 August 2016. His father was chief clerk to Archibald Stewart, a wealthy Edinburgh wine merchant.

<sup>4</sup> The National Archives: PRO ref: ADM 36/4960 Admiralty: Royal Navy Ships' Musters (Series 1), Ship: St. Albans, 1 October 1755 – 30 November 1756, cited in Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish 'Nabob' in South Wales* (unpublished paper) p. 7. He became captain's boy to Captain William Gordon, on the ship *HMS St Albans*. National Archives, PRO ref: ADM 36/4962 Admiralty, Royal Navy Ships' Musters (Series 1), Ship: St. Albans, 1 March 1757-31 July 1758. He served under Captain Charles Proby. National Archives, PRO ref: ADM 36/6903 Admiralty, Royal Navy Ships' Muster (Series 1), Ship: Thunderer 1 March 1760-31 March 1761 cited in Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish 'Nabob' in South Wales* (unpublished paper) p. 7. In 1760 Paxton was promoted to Midshipman joining *HMS Thunderer* and experiencing further war action in 1761 at Cadiz. 16 July 1761 HMS Thunderer and HMS Thetis took the French Achille and Bouffon off Cadiz. 'This Day in Naval History – July: Key Dates in the History of the Sailing Navies of the World', <<https://historicnavalfiction.com>> accessed 29 September 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton, 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a 'Scottish' Nabob in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p.10; Rees, 'Might and Spite', p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> Lucy S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford: 1952), p. 299. John Stewart was the son of his father's ex-employer, the wine-merchant Archibald Stewart.

<sup>7</sup> Many coins were used in India for commerce, some with dubious metal content, so it was necessary to devise a new currency.

<sup>8</sup> Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton, 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a 'Scottish' Nabob in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p. 10

<sup>9</sup> Letters 45-47 Petition of William Paxton in London to the Court asking to be appointed Assay Master at Fort William, with certificate signed by Francis Spilsbury. BL IOR/E/1/58 ff. 87-90v cited in Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish 'Nabob' in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p. 11. Paxton learnt his trade quickly, after seven months passing his assay exams at the Tower of London.

in 1778.<sup>10</sup> In this role he supervised all bullion sent to the Mint, and oversaw the issue of fully assayed and minted Sicca ‘Silver’ Rupees.<sup>11</sup> Working for the EIC also gave Paxton the opportunity to increase his personal funds by private dealing. The British in India needed a safe way to transfer their money home. In his official capacity Paxton charged an assay fee for the Sicca Rupees, and then, for a private percentage fee, he arranged secure transfers of funds to bank accounts in Britain, via business relationships with the Dutch and the French.<sup>12</sup> Illegally operating outside the regulations of the EIC, Paxton was forced to withdraw from this business, forming a partnership in 1794 with a young factor, Charles Cockerell. Together they opened an Agency House which processed all their trading and Bills of Exchange, allowing conservation of their assets and a continuation of business activities under the aegis of *Paxton and Co.*<sup>13</sup> This business partnership continued for many years, and, with a fee between one per cent and five per cent charged at each point of the transactions, both Paxton and Cockerell became very wealthy men.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> He was sponsored for job of Assay Master by Sir James Cockburn, former EIC Director and John Stewart's cousin, and William Brightwell Sumner, formerly a member of the Bengal Council, BL IOR B/89; Court Book 1773-1774, f. 820; Court of Directors, 4 March 1774 cited in Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish ‘Nabob’ in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p. 12. In the 1790s there were 27 different types of coinage. After 10 April 1794 only the 19th Sun Sicca Rupee would be issued. W. S. Seton-Karr, *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes of the Years 1789, 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797, Showing the Political and Social Condition of the English in India*, 2, 5 (Calcutta: O. T. Cutter, Military Orphan Press, 1865), p. 71; B. B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 107. BL IOLR MSS Eur. E15 ff.287-296; William Paxton to Philip Francis, Calcutta, 21 February 1776, cited in Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish ‘Nabob’ in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> When money finally became standardised in the 1790s under General Cornwallis’s governorship Sicca Rupees became the only legal tender. B. B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 106-107.

<sup>12</sup> See Willem G. J. Kuiters, ‘Sir William Paxton’, kuiters.org website accessed 12 October 2016. Anonymous, *The International Exhibition of 1862: The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department*, Volume 3: Colonial and Foreign Divisions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, first published 1862), pp. 27-29.

The amount that could be transferred in Bills of Exchange was limited by the EIC, so Paxton began to develop close contacts with the Dutch in Chinsura, the French in Chandernagore, and the Danish in Serampore, to trade in goods, including the provision of saltpetre (*Potassium nitrate*), allowing the foreign countries to gain local money, and the British expatriates to exchange their Bills of Exchange in London. The Indian saltpetre was used as native gunpowder for shooting and fireworks, and later proved useful in the manufacture of gunpowder as it contained nitrate and potassium. Anonymous, *The International Exhibition of 1862: The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department*, Volume 3: Colonial and Foreign Divisions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, first published 1862), pp. 27-29.

<sup>13</sup> W. G. J. Kuiters, ‘William Paxton (1744-1824): The History of an East Indian Fortune’, Vol 111 (1992), *Bengal Past and Present*, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> In 1790 there were fifteen Agency Houses in Calcutta; and by 1803 this had expanded to twenty-nine agencies. Mark Staniforth, *Material Culture and Consumer Society: Dependent Colonies in Colonial Australia* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003), 5.3 Background:

## Houses and Gardens in Bengal

While in Bengal, Paxton enjoyed the lifestyle of a prosperous EIC servant with a house in town, and two garden houses in the suburbs of Calcutta, at Serampoor and Deetally.<sup>15</sup> Similar to many Company servants in India in the eighteenth century, he likely took an Indian *bibi* who lived in a separate garden house, away from European social gatherings. Paxton's main mansion was well-built and conveniently situated, most likely in the centre of Calcutta near to the Mint at Fort William. In addition to owning furniture and plate, his stables and carriages included expensive accoutrements, such as a 'Europe Chariot'; 'a set of Dun Carriage Horses, consisting of five Toorkeys ... two very valuable riding horses, and a stout buggy-horse'.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike many British men in Calcutta who built or rented mansions on the shore of the Hooghly at Garden Reach, Paxton chose garden houses to the east of the city, not far from the salt lakes and wetlands (Figs. 1.65, 1.66).<sup>17</sup> Accounts from 1748 quoted by Dhrubajyoti Ghosh and Susmita Sen suggest that in the eighteenth century this rough marshy terrain was 'teeming with fish and birds'.<sup>18</sup> Water was a precious commodity in India and water-control practices to reduce disease were essential, ensuring that clean water was available for drinking, washing and bathing. Equally, it was imperative that fresh water from the monsoon rains remained in the lakes and ponds of the wetlands and in the adjoining paddy fields, to provide rice and vegetables. Most communities constructed wells to contain the monsoon run-off, and weirs to divert water from the rivers, enabling irrigation.<sup>19</sup>

---

Calcutta [n.p.]; S.B. Singh, *European Agency Houses in Bengal (1783-1833)* (Calcutta, 1966); A. Tripathi, *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833*, 2nd edn (Calcutta, 1979), cited in P. Marshall, *The British Bridgehead, Eastern India 1740-1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.103.

<sup>15</sup> Most likely Dehi Entally, and also known as Eetally or Etally. *Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser*, Vol. II No. 51, Thursday 17 February 1785, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser*, Vol. II No. 51, Thursday 17 February 1785, p.7.

<sup>17</sup> *Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser*, Vol. II No. 51, Thursday 17 February 1785.

<sup>18</sup> Dhrubajyoti Ghosh, Ecology and Traditional Wetland Practice: Lessons from Wastewater Utilisation in the East Calcutta Wetlands (Kolkata: Worldview, c.2005), p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> S. M. Rathnavel and P. Gomathinayagam, *In Search of Ancient Wisdom – Irrigation Tanks*, Dhan Foundation, Madurai, Tamil Nadu, 2006, p. 5 cited in Mats Lannerstad and David Molden, *IWMI Research Report 129: Adaptive Water Resource Management in the South Indian Lower Bhavani Project Command Area*, IWMI International Water Management Institute, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 2009, p. 5.

Between June and October each year the heavy rains flooded Calcutta and the Ganges delta.<sup>20</sup> To the east of the city, as the land naturally sloped in that direction, inundation canals were built by traditional practices, providing passage for small boats, and embankments which could be breeched to control the flow of water.<sup>21</sup> Rich river silt was carried by the floods into the fields, while at the same time fish swam into the wetlands and small lakes to feed on mosquito larvae, reducing the risk of malaria.<sup>22</sup> Francois Bernier viewed these waterways in the mid-seventeenth century: ‘Fish of every kind it has in profusion. From Rajmahal to the sea, is an endless number of canals, cut in bygone ages from the Ganges by immense labour for navigation and irrigation.’<sup>23</sup> The marshlands and the lakes also acted as a natural purification filter for the sewage that drained from the city into water channels leading to the ponds and lakes, becoming broken down by ultra-violet radiation, resulting in unpolluted, nutrient-rich water in which fish could thrive.<sup>24</sup> Make-shift bridges were used to cross the channels, and in the district of Palamau, north of Calcutta, *bhao* ‘cylinders or tubes of baked earth’, were employed as water conduits.<sup>25</sup> Wells, rivers, water-tanks, lakes and seas were revered, including in the form of the Hindu goddesses Mariamma, who was worshipped in almost every village in southern India, and Ganga (Fig. 1.67), the personification of the Ganges river and delta, where Calcutta was founded.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (eds), *Dying Wisdom: Rise, Fall and Potential of India’s Traditional Water Harvesting Systems* (New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment, 1997).

<sup>21</sup> Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (eds), *Dying Wisdom: Rise, Fall and Potential of India’s Traditional Water Harvesting Systems* (New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment, 1997).

<sup>22</sup> Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (eds), *Dying Wisdom: Rise, Fall and Potential of India’s Traditional Water Harvesting Systems* (New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment, 1997), p. 93.

<sup>23</sup> Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire AD 1656-1668* (Delhi: first published 1934, reprinted 1999), pp. 441-42, cited in Iftekhar Iqbal, *State and the Environment: Ancient period to the present* in Ahamed, Emajuddin and Harun-or-Rashid (eds), *Cultural Survey of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 2007). p. 599.

<sup>24</sup> Dhrubajyoti Ghosh, ‘Wastewater Utilization in East Calcutta Wetlands’, UWEP Occasional Paper July 1999, *Urban Waste Expertise Programme* (UWEP). A scheme to drain sewage and stormwater from Calcutta towards the naturally sloping area through the salt lakes to the Bay of Bengal was approved by Lord Wellesley, and in the following years construction works such as canals, sluices, bridges were completed in 1884 across the wetlands (CMG, 1945).

<sup>25</sup> Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (eds), *Dying Wisdom: Rise, Fall and Potential of India’s Traditional Water Harvesting Systems* (New Delhi: Centre for Science and Environment, 1997), p. 389.

<sup>26</sup> A. Mohanakrishnan, *History of Irrigation Development in Tamil Nadu*, Indian National Committee on Irrigation and Drainage (INCID) (New Delhi: 2001), p. 142 cited in Mats Lannerstad and David Molden, *IWMI Research Report 129: Adaptive Water Resource Management in the South Indian Lower Bhavani Project Command Area*, IWMI International Water Management Institute, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 2009, p. 5. Mariamma is particularly worshipped in Southern India. Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p.126. Edward Moor suggests that the Ganga is one of three sacred rivers, the others being the Yamuna and the Saraswati. Diana L. Eck, *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Harmony

Although the majority of Company men in Calcutta built or rented accommodation in rural Alipore and Garden Reach, the east of Calcutta was within reach of its economic heart. Paxton's pleasant and commodious garden house was situated on the east side of Serampoor, in the vicinity of the wetlands and salt-water lagoons, which in the eighteenth century were nearer to the city.<sup>27</sup> The previous shoreline is distinct in Mark Wood's 1780s survey of the Hooghly river (Figs. 1.68, 1.69), which also shows the proximity of Deetally to the administrative centre of Calcutta. Likely Indo-classical in design, Paxton's garden house was built only two years before he left Calcutta, suggesting he had not intended to leave quite so soon.<sup>28</sup> His second garden house at Deetally was described as: 'small but convenient'.<sup>29</sup> Not far from the larger house, it was almost certainly the abode of his Indian *bibi* and illegitimate daughter Eliza.<sup>30</sup> An advertisement for rental of a garden house at Dehi Entally appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette*, 23 June, 1785:

A small but neat upper-roomed Garden House ... conveniently situated in a pleasant, retired part of Dehi-Entally, only 40 minutes' ride in a palanquin from the Old Court House, with convenient out-houses, &c. The Garden in high cultivation, and well stocked with vegetables. For further particulars enquire of Messrs. Paxton and Cockerell.<sup>31</sup>

This advertisement is a useful guide in a number of ways. It was one of many house advertisements, for with a fluid population of EIC servants and army officers returning to Britain, or succumbing to illness, it was commonplace to see

---

Books, 2012), p. 161. In early paintings Ganga's vehicle was often a fish, and the goddess symbolically carried a water pot and a lotus flower, indicating the purity of the river.

<sup>27</sup> To the east of Entally, the salt-lake banks have receded 1.5. km since that time. Dhrubajyoti Ghosh and Susmita Sen, 'Ecological history of Calcutta's wetland conversion', *Environmental Conservation* 14, 3 (1987), p. 220. For garden houses see Chattopadhyay, Garden House, pp. 169-198.

<sup>28</sup> It is most likely that Serampoor was the district of Calcutta rather than the Danish controlled Serampore north of Calcutta on west bank of the Hugly river.

<sup>29</sup> Details from a public auction advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser*, Vol. II No. 51, Thursday February 17, 1785, p.7. The name of the district Deetally (Dehi Entally, also known as Eetally) was derived from when the area was a 'tidal swamp' where the *hintal* (*Phoenix Paludosa* or swamp palm) grew. H. E. A. Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New: An Historical & Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 1907), p. 51

<sup>30</sup> Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744-1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish 'Nabob' in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p.18

<sup>31</sup> W. S. Seton-Karr, Selections from Calcutta Gazettes, of the Years 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, Showing the Political and Social Condition of the English in India (Calcutta: O. T. Cutter, 1864).

accommodation for rent or sale. The fact that the Old Court was only forty minutes away demonstrates that it was possible to live in the wilder areas outside the city, whilst working in the central area for the EIC. It also shows that the *Paxton and Cockerell* Agency was functioning well, even though Paxton had by this time departed for Britain.<sup>32</sup>

### **London, Agency Trading, and Entry into Politics**

Paxton's lifestyle in Bengal continued until his irregularities in private trade came to the notice of the Company.<sup>33</sup> He left Bengal in February 1785, with around £300,000. On the journey to Europe he was joined by his six-year-old daughter Eliza, but no wife, which confirms Eliza's mother was his *bibi*, who stayed behind in India. He was also joined by his life-long friend David Williams, an EIC army Captain.<sup>34</sup> Paxton had handled Williams' financial affairs, transferring his money to London via diamonds and Bills of Exchange, enabling Williams to enjoy a comfortable life on his inherited Henllys estate in Carmarthenshire.<sup>35</sup> Paxton established a London-base for the Agency House, Cockerell having added Philip Delisle to the partnership, renaming the agency *Paxton, Cockerell & Delisle*, whilst Paxton was travelling home to England.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> *The Calcutta Gazette* January 27 1785; Willem G. J. Kuiters, 'Paxton, Sir William (1743/4–1824)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/53259>, accessed 1 Aug 2016] Paxton had advertised in the *Calcutta Gazette*, stating that they would: 'Open a House in London, upon a similar Plan with that here, under the Firm of Paxton and Co.' Willem G. J. Kuiters, *William Paxton 1744–1824: Middleton Hall and the Adventures of a Scottish 'Nabob' in South Wales* (unpublished paper), p. 1. On the same day that Paxton's advertisement appeared, 27 January 1785, Paxton made a request to the EIC Council at Calcutta, to resign as Master of the Mint.

<sup>33</sup> Willem G. J. Kuiters, 'William Paxton', <http://kuiters.org/wgj/history/botgardpaxton.html> [accessed 21 March 2019].

<sup>34</sup> Hastings announced his retirement by letter on 8 February 1785, while on board his ship the *Berrington*. *Calcutta Gazette or Oriental Advertiser*, Vol. II No. 51, Thursday 17 February 1785, p.1. It is presumed that Eliza's mother stayed behind in India, as Paxton married in Anne Dawney in 1786. William Paxton was referred to as 'my friend' in David Williams will 7 December 1819, proved at London with two codicils 1 February 1821, National Archives: PROB 11/1640/19; National Botanic Garden of Wales <https://botanicgarden.wales/> [accessed 4 June 2013]

<sup>35</sup> Williams was also friendly with Warren Hastings, giving evidence at Hastings trial, and attending the trial proceedings in London on many occasions. Although Paxton agreed to visit Williams in Wales, he headed first to Amsterdam, to liquidate his fortune. National Botanic Garden of Wales, <https://botanicgarden.wales/> [accessed 4 June 2013]; Thomas Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales*, 2, 1 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Co., 1872), p.198.

<sup>36</sup> G. J. Kuiters, 'William Paxton (1744-1824): The History of an East Indian Fortune', Vol 111 (1992), *Bengal Past and Present*, p. 7. The Agency House expanded again in the 1790s, with new partners working with Cockerell in India, establishing a merchant bank *Paxton, Cockerell, Trail & Co*; Rees, 'Might and Spite', p. 91.

Marrying Ann Dawney (1764/5–1846) in 1786, who was twenty-two years his junior, Paxton had eleven children, his illegitimate daughter Eliza also living at 24 Piccadilly, London.<sup>37</sup> Three years later, Paxton looked for an estate not in Scotland, but in the wild Picturesque lands of the Tywi valley, Wales, not far from the property of his friend David Williams.<sup>38</sup> Relationships formed in India were of prime importance to returnees. They found few friends in their homeland, being seen as interlopers hungry to purchase political influence and status in the county.

Although in 1793 Paxton had been appointed a Burgess to the Carmarthen Borough, the local gentry regarded him both as ‘an upstart nabob’ and a ‘Scotch herring’.<sup>39</sup> He later stood as a Whig party candidate in the 1790 and 1796 elections for Newark-on-Trent, and in the 1802 election for Carmarthenshire, but was defeated on all three occasions. In the July 1802 General Election for Carmarthenshire, Paxton’s accounts suggest he attempted to woo his voters by plying them with food and wine: ‘11,070 breakfasts; 36,901 dinners; 684 suppers; 25,275 gallons of ale; 11,068 bottles of spirits; 8,879 bottles of porter. 460 bottles of sherry and 509 bottles of cider’, totalling £15,690.<sup>40</sup>

In December 1803, the Carmarthen Borough seat again became available when the incumbent resigned, possibly with financial encouragement from Paxton, who was elected unopposed.<sup>41</sup> As MP he sponsored the Carmarthen Improvement Bill in 1805, and a second Bill that inaugurated the Loyal Carmarthen Volunteers

<sup>37</sup> Eliza later married Thomas Dawney an EIC ship’s Commander. *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, From July to December 1817, Vol. 87, 2 (July 1817) p. 82. Thomas Dawney was a relative of Paxton’s wife, Anne Dawney. W. G. J. Kuiters, ‘William Paxton (1744–1824): The History of an East Indian Fortune’, Vol 111 (1992), *Bengal Past and Present*, p. 9. Willem G. J. Kuiters, ‘Paxton, Sir William (1743/4–1824)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/53259>, accessed 1 Aug 2016]

<sup>38</sup> Lowri Rees, ‘Middleton Hall’, case study for the East India Company at Home, 1757–1857 project website <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/middleton-hall-case-study/>>[accessed June 2014], p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Lowri Rees, ‘Middleton Hall’, case study for the East India Company at Home, 1757–1857 project website <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/middleton-hall-case-study/>> (June 2014), p. 6.

<sup>40</sup> R. G. Thorne (ed.), ‘Paxton, Sir William (c.1744–1824), of Middleton Hall, Carm.’, HPO [accessed 8 September 2018].

<sup>41</sup> David McKie, *Bright Particular Stars: A Gallery of Glorious British Eccentrics* (London: Atlantic Books, 2011), p. 15.

<sup>42</sup> R. G. Thorne, ‘Paxton, Sir William (c.1744–1824), of Middleton Hall, Carm.’, HPO [accessed 8 October 2016]; Willem G. J. Kuiters, ‘Paxton, Sir William (1743/4–1824)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/53259>, accessed 1 August 2016].

militia brigade, of which Paxton became lieutenant-colonel.<sup>42</sup> His benefaction for local improvements was recognised with a knighthood on 16 March 1803.<sup>43</sup> In the 1806 General Election, Paxton was unopposed as MP for Carmarthenshire, but in the 1807 election he withdrew his candidacy in the face of criticism from his detractors who suggested he was a Catholic sympathiser, and a ‘stranger’ to Wales.<sup>44</sup> Paxton robustly refuted this:

I have considerable property in this county, which I have possessed twenty years; I have served the office of High Sheriff for the county, so have been thought by his Majesty a proper person to be entrusted with the government and interests of the county ... it is impossible that I could have that honourable support which I have, if I am, or ought to be considered a stranger.<sup>45</sup>

It would not have been surprising if, at this point with so many defeats and abuse, Paxton had retired from public life and investment in the community, however, he embarked on a series of improvements which enhanced his reputation. Paxton had a particular influence on the fate of Tenby. It had once been a thriving medieval port, but John Leland visiting in the sixteenth century found: ‘There is no welle yn the towne ... they be forced to fech theyr water at S. John’s without the towne.’<sup>46</sup> Tenby struggled to gain a supply of a ‘uniform supply of good water’ up to the end of the eighteenth century when a regular source of water was vital to prevent disease and to cater for the many visitors who flocked to the town for sea-bathing.<sup>47</sup> Paxton brought fresh piped water to the town, Richard Fenton commenting: ‘the town is

---

<sup>42</sup> R. G. Thorne, ‘Paxton, Sir William (c.1744-1824), of Middleton Hall, Carm.’, HPO [accessed 11 October 2016].

<sup>43</sup> St. James’s, London – March 16, The King was this day pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on William Paxton Esq. From the London Gazette, *Cobbett’s Annual Register*, Vol III (January-June 1803) (London: Cox and Baylis, 1803), pp. 531-532.

<sup>44</sup> Willem G. J. Kuiters, ‘Paxton, Sir William (1743/4–1824)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/53259>, accessed 1 Aug 2016]

<sup>45</sup> *The Cambrian* 8th November 1806.

<sup>46</sup> Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland, In or About the Years 1536-1539*, 3, 5 (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), p.61.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Fenton, *A Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Co et al., 1811), p. 454.

indebted to the liberality of Sir William Paxton for having effectively remedied the most essential of its defects, the want of water'.<sup>48</sup>

In 1781 Dr. Jones of Haverfordwest had leased a chapel on the pier to build baths, and in 1805 *The Cambrian* suggested that the town was gaining momentum as a fashionable place for sea-bathing: ‘The town still continues full of genteel visitors, and the bathing machines are in full employ.’<sup>49</sup> Although cold bathing, and taking the waters had been in fashion for many years, sea-bathing was a new vogue taken up by many returnees from India, well-used to regular washing in tanks, rivers, and the sea, for health purposes.<sup>50</sup> As an ex-mariner and a trader, it was an ideal community project for Paxton, to help a struggling former sea-trading town gain national importance and prosperity. In 1806 Paxton constructed ‘baths, coffee and billiard rooms’ for visitors, the large number of workmen ‘daily employed on the occasion, as the tides suit’.<sup>51</sup> The architect was S. P. Cockerell assisted by Paxton’s principal land agent and engineer for over thirty years, James Grier (1753-1814). As a team, the two men had already been involved with the building of a new mansion and Picturesque landscape at Middleton Hall, which is described later in this study. The baths (Fig. 1.70) were ingeniously designed with a vapour, warm, hot, and shower baths, a large private cold bath, and for those who liked to swim there was a choice between warm and cold sea-water baths.<sup>52</sup> An inscription in Greek, over the main entrance was taken from Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*: ‘The sea washes away the ills of all men’, which also has been translated as ‘All man’s pollutions does the sea cleanse’.<sup>53</sup> Meike Fellinger contends that Paxton by his good works was endeavouring to purify himself from his past corruption, however, as Paxton had

<sup>48</sup> Richard Fenton, *A Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Co et al., 1811), p. 454.

<sup>49</sup> Paxton also was not the only contributor, as others were involved, including Lord Cawdor’s son who contributed £50 to the paving of streets, *The Cambrian* 12<sup>th</sup> October 1805.

<sup>50</sup> R. A. Russell, *Dissertation Concerning the Use of Sea-water in the Diseases of the Glands* (London, [s.p.], 1753).

<sup>51</sup> *The Cambrian* 12 October 1805. Tenby House website and blue plaque. The baths were paid for solely by Paxton. *The Cambrian* 19 July 1806.

<sup>52</sup> *The Cambrian* 28 August 1813.

<sup>53</sup> ‘All man’s pollutions doth the salt sea cleanse’, Euripides, ‘Iphigenia in Tauris’ in Harry E. Wedeck (ed.), *Classics of Greek Literature* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2014, originally published 1963) p. 180. P. K. Crimmin, ‘Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810’ in *The Carmarthen Historian*, Vol 4 (1967), p. 21; Meike Fellinger, ‘All Man’s Pollution Does the Sea Cleanse’: Revisiting the Nabobs in Britain, 1785-1837 (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Warwick, 2010), p. 53.

seen the Calcutta effluent cleansed by the wetlands on its way to the sea, perhaps a more literal explanation could be argued for the inscription.

### Middleton Hall Estate

Importantly, Paxton also took his innovations in water control to Middleton Hall, investing in a water-park for the enjoyment of his family and guests, and for family bathing and meditation. Paxton's choice to develop a wild place in Wales, with a fashionable Palladian house and Picturesque landscape was almost certainly linked to his past, to his Neo-classical garden houses in rural Calcutta, where he viewed the water control which was imperative to give life to the Indian land, relief for ailments, and a source of spirituality.

In 1789 he bought the Middleton estate for £40,000, a huge sum of money, but importantly, the land had water control potential, and links to Welsh antiquity and legend.<sup>54</sup> In the seventeenth century three EIC founder members had investment in the estate. John, David and Sir Henry Middleton, of Chester, made their fortune trading spices – pepper, cloves, nutmeg and mace – in India and the Far East.<sup>55</sup> Henry Middleton (son of David Middleton) built Middleton Old Hall before 1635, sited east of Paxton's later mansion, the landscape including a terrace, water-garden, warren and a fishponds, the latter being incorporated into Paxton's waterworks (Fig. 1.71).<sup>56</sup> The nearby Dryslwyn castle, where Rhys ap Gruffydd recreated the Welsh kingdom of Deheubarth, was part of Paxton's wider landscape when viewed from his landscape folly, Paxton's Tower (see below).<sup>57</sup> When Paxton bought the estate, the Old Hall was probably not impressive enough for a rising politician and banker, so it was demolished and a grander mansion built on an elevated site to the west, giving

<sup>54</sup> Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234; Rees, 'Might and Spite', p. 92.

<sup>55</sup> Rob Thomas, National Botanic Garden of Wales, Press Release: *Garden Wins Heritage Lottery Support*, published 1 September 2014.

<sup>56</sup> David, R. Smith and S. Davies, S. *History of Middleton Hall*. (Anon. n.d. B) In David Austin (ed.), *A Paradise Lost in Search of a Garden before the Garden: Middleton Hall: Project Report, 2011*, cited in The National Botanic Garden of Wales website <http://www.gardenofwales.org.uk> [accessed 8 July 2016]; Excavations were made at the farmhouse at Waun Las, CADW/ICOMOS *Register of Parks & Gardens of Special Historic Interest In Wales* Register Entry Middleton Hall. Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234.

<sup>57</sup> Rob Thomas, National Botanic Garden of Wales, Press Release: *Garden Wins Heritage Lottery Support*, published 1 September 2014.

panoramic views of the surrounding countryside, and, importantly, looking down on his dissenting neighbours.<sup>58</sup>

Two men appear in documental evidence as having worked on the site: S. P. Cockerell who was commissioned by Paxton to build the new Palladian mansion and stables, and Grier, who almost certainly designed the waterworks in the park, the bath-houses and summerhouses.<sup>59</sup> There is also nominal evidence that Samuel Lapidge (1740-1806), an English surveyor and draughtsman, who had worked with Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown in the planning of lakes, dams and sluices, was known to Paxton, and possibly advised on the waterworks.<sup>60</sup> Brown’s style of landscape was connected with the Whig elite, another reason for the Whig sympathiser Paxton to use Lapidge to create his masterpiece.<sup>61</sup> Lastly, the landscape surveyor, Thomas Hornor (1785-1844), was commissioned to paint the estate in 1815. His album of text and watercolours is now the primary source of evidence for the estate’s Picturesque features and views.<sup>62</sup>

William Gilpin in 1782 published *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales*, which gave a taste of the sublime and Picturesque landscapes on offer in the Principality.<sup>63</sup> Roads to South Wales had improved, and diarists

<sup>58</sup> It is unfortunate that a painting by Hornor taken from Station 11 is missing, as he describes the view was chosen for ‘its proximity to the site of the old mansion. Station 11 (no painting): Thomas Hornor monograph, Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815), Narratives about Middleton landscape paintings, transcribed from Hornor’s album, 1 September 1815. Austin, D. History & Context from the Later Middle Ages to the Present Day, in Austin, D., Paradise Lost in Search of a Garden before the Garden: Middleton Hall. Report of project conducted in 2011. Heritage Lottery Fund.) cited in The National Botanic Garden of Wales <<http://www.gardenofwales.org.uk>> [accessed 8 July 2016].

<sup>59</sup> Obituary of James Grier, *The Cambrian* 17 December 1814. The National Botanic Garden of Wales <<http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk>> [accessed 8 July 2016]. The stables are designated Grade II on the CADW Register of Listed Buildings in Wales.

<sup>60</sup> Lapidge was friendly towards Paxton when they met in Brighton, having a mutual friend in David Williams of Henllys.

<sup>61</sup> David Brown and Tom Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016), p.138. 188 The National Botanic Garden of Wales <<http://www.dyfedarchaeology.org.uk>> [accessed 8 July 2016]. Dyfed Archaeology contends that William Emes or John Webb, who were known to have worked in Wales, may have been involved at Middleton, but there is no firm evidence that anyone other than S. P. Cockerell and James Grier worked on the site.

<sup>62</sup> See Thomas Hornor monograph, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815).

<sup>63</sup> William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales, &c, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (London: T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, 1800).

began to travel to Wales, writing their accounts to guide others to significant locations. Travellers visiting the Middleton property gave a valued, although not always complimentary, opinion. Henry Skrine, who twice visited Wales in 1798 describes Middleton as:

The splendid modern seat of Sir William Paxton which far eclipses the proudest of the Cambrian mansions in Asiatic pomp and splendour. This house may be justly admired for the exterior beauty of its figure, as well as for its internal elegance and decoration; yet does a vast pile of Portland stone curiously chiselled [sic], and finished in the highest style of Grecian taste, appear to me to be somewhat inconsonant with the more imposing, though simple majesty, of the surrounding country.<sup>64</sup>

Skrine's allusions to Asiatic pomp and splendour was perhaps prompted by Paxton's notoriety as a 'nabob', and the inordinate cost of the mansion and its landscape.<sup>65</sup> However, Skrine was mistaken in saying that Middleton was constructed in stone, as brick was used, covered with stucco, resembling the Indian *chunam* used to coat houses in Calcutta and Madras, the technique of stucco later promoted by John Nash in the early-nineteenth century.<sup>66</sup>

### **The Mansion**

Paxton's architect, S. P. Cockerell, had already completed prestigious work in England and Wales, including the design and build of the house and stables at Daylesford.<sup>67</sup> The Middleton Hall design (1793-1795) was in a tasteful and

---

<sup>64</sup> Henry Skrine, *Two Successive Tours Throughout the Whole of Wales* (London: Elmsley and Bremner, 1798), pp. 96-97; CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Interest in Wales: Middleton Hall, Llanarthney. Register Number PGW(Dy)4(CAM). Coflein <<http://www.coflein.gov.uk>>[accessed 2 July 2016]

<sup>65</sup> National Library of Wales (NLW) MSS 12169 E (Brawdy MS 28) Carmarthenshire election papers etc. folio 26 and Anonymous notice (5 May 1807) cited by Lowri Ann Rees, 'Middleton Hall Case Study', *East India Company at Home* (2014) <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2014/06/Middleton-Hall-pdf-final-19.08.14.pdf>> p.5, [accessed 5 October 2018]. There was ill-feeling in the county regarding his Indian connection, and in the 1807 county election (after which he had to stand down from the election) he was called an 'upstart nabob' in the political literature circulated to his constituents.

<sup>66</sup> See P. K. Crimmin, 'Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810' in Vol 4 (1967) *The Carmarthen Historian*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234.; National Botanic Garden

fashionable Palladian style, avoiding Indian detailing such as Hastings' Daylesford dome, or the Mughal and Hindu architectural references later incorporated into Charles Cockerell's mansion at Sezincote, Gloucestershire.<sup>68</sup> Perhaps Paxton, mindful of his rising political career, wished to play down the Indian source of his wealth, especially as he had been accused by the local gentry of having an Indian 'purse'.<sup>69</sup> Middleton Hall, however, was in some ways similar in layout to Daylesford, for instance S. P. Cockerell continuing his gendering of rooms included a 'circular boudoir or Ladies Morning room over the hall', having built a similar set of rooms for Marian Hastings at Daylesford (see Case Study 1).<sup>70</sup> Cockerell also referenced, or perhaps recycled elements from the old seventeenth century house, linking the new edifice with that of the EIC founder members, the Middletons. The entrance front is one such feature, described by Thomas Lloyd as 'oddly mannerist', with columns either side of the entrance staircase having 'deep bands of icicle work', and the arch above the doorway sprouting a 'lush cornucopiae spilling flowers and fruit onto the outer cornices' (Fig. 1.72).<sup>71</sup> But, the north-east-facing garden front to the mansion was in the fashionable classical Palladian style, with a triangular pediment supported by four Ionic columns, five window bays in the upper storey, and three Venetian windows below (Fig. 1.73). This composition had echoes of the garden front of Chiswick House (1725-1729), built by Lord Burlington; Carmarthen Town Hall (1767-1777) built by Sir Robert Taylor; and Admiralty House, London, built by S. P. Cockerell (1786-1788).<sup>72</sup> The view from the garden front was

---

of Wales, (also known as Middleton Hall), Carmarthenshire, Wales. Record Id: 2285 Parks and Gardens UK, <http://www.parksandgardens.org>.

<sup>68</sup> P. K. Crimmin, 'Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810' in Vol 4 (1967) *The Carmarthen Historian*, pp. 7-21.

<sup>69</sup> <<http://kuiters.org/wgj/history/botgardpaxton.html>> [accessed 15 September 2017].

<sup>70</sup> Sale catalogue of Middleton Hall 1824; Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234. For gendering of rooms at Daylesford and Middleton Hall see Joanna Banham (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Interior Design* ((Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015, first published 1997), pp. 288-89.

<sup>71</sup> Perhaps the mannerist style echoes the original seventeenth century house of the Middleton family. Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234.

<sup>72</sup> Chiswick House, the Palladio-inspired villa was built 1725-29, designed by Lord Burlington. According to James Lees-Milne: 'the earliest example of the revived Venetian window in England', was in the remodelled wings of Burlington House, London, where the source was Inigo Jones's designs for Whitehall Palace rather from Palladio's designs. Lees-Milne, *The Earls of Creation*, 1962:100. Carmarthen Town Hall was built by Sir Robert Taylor and was originally stuccoed. Carmarthen Town Hall, CADW Building ID: 9450, listed Grade II\*, British Listed Buildings <<http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk>> [accessed 3 October 2016.] CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Interest in Wales: Middleton Hall, Llanarthney. Register Number

suggested by Hornor to take in the hill of Paxton's folly (originally called Nelson's Tower), the Tywi vale, Grongar Hill, and Dryslwyn castle, aligning the domain with Welsh heroism and history.<sup>73</sup>

An 1825 advertisement for the sale of the house after Paxton's death, gives some idea of its interior design and his taste.<sup>74</sup> The mansion's contents included mirrors, grand and square piano-fortes, large maps on spring rollers, and telescopes.<sup>75</sup> There were many styles of bed: fourpost, chair, canopy, tents, and other bedsteads, with elegant Palempore, chintz, cotton, and white dimity furnitures, and window curtains en-suite; large Indian mats; sailing boats; and a cellar of choice wine, containing two hundred dozen of old Port, Sherry, West Indian Madeira.<sup>76</sup> Paxton's library indicated his interest in science having a 'superb pair of globes, a planetarium, and various philosophical apparatus'.<sup>77</sup> The Drawing Room was hung with India paper 'enriched with trees and birds'; although from the East it was more likely to be Chinese, not Indian. With a Dining room decorated with 'entablatures of Druidical and historical paintings', Paxton, like many other returnees from India including James Forbes, appeared to have developed an interest in Druids, a fascination which was also echoed in Paxton's garden design (see the Druid's Cave

---

PGW(Dy)4(CAM). Coflein <<http://www.coflein.gov.uk>>[accessed 2 July 2016] For Admiralty House references see P. K. Crimmin, 'Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810' in Vol 4 (1967) *The Carmarthen Historian*, p. 13, 15.

<sup>73</sup> From Station 3: From North Steps of the Mansion: Thomas Thomas Hornor monograph, Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815), Narratives about Middleton landscape paintings, transcribed from Hornor's album, 1815. John Dyer, 'Grongar Hill', *The Poetic Works*, 1855. – look up Grongar Hill was famously immortalised in *Grongar Hill*, by the Welsh painter and poet John Dyer (1699–1757). Conrad Davies, 'An Eventful July 200 Years Ago', first published in *The Friend: The Newsletter of the Friends of Carmarthen County Museum* (2002), <<http://www.carmarthennymuseum.org.uk>> [accessed 8 October 2016]; Nelson visited south Wales with Lady Hamilton (his mistress) and her husband Sir William Hamilton. Nelson had persuaded the Navy Board in 1800 to sign a 14-year lease on Hamilton land in Milford Haven. By 1797 seven Royal Navy ships had been built at Milford Haven, however, by 1814 when the lease finished, a new 'Pembroke dock' was developed on a new site on the other side of the bay. Douglas Fraser, 'When Admiral Nelson visited Tenby', <[www.tenbyhistoricalsociety.org.uk](http://www.tenbyhistoricalsociety.org.uk)> [accessed 8 October 2016]. Lord Nelson visited Carmarthen in 1802 on his way to view the dockyard at Milford Haven. Carmarthen's Corporation Order Books record a civic reception was held, which Paxton no doubt attended in his official capacity as Burgess. He later commemorated Nelson's achievements in a folly tower, first known as Nelson's Tower.

<sup>74</sup> *The Cambrian* 26 February 1825.

<sup>75</sup> *The Cambrian* 26 February 1825.

<sup>76</sup> *The Cambrian*, 26 February 1825.

<sup>77</sup> 'Middleton Hall: A Contemporary Tourist's Description, Extracted from 'The Memoirs of the Harcourt Family, a tale for Young Ladies" (London: G. Walker, 1813), *The Bulletin* (Summer 2000), pp.1-2.

below).<sup>78</sup> Although eclectic in taste it did not manifest the Asiatic pomp and splendour described by Skrine, unless major ‘oriental’ items had been excluded from the sale.<sup>79</sup> Similar to Tenby and Carmarthen, ‘never-failing’ fresh water was piped in from a hill-top park stream, and stored in a large reservoir on the roof to supply water closets in the house, and distributed to ‘the offices, garden and bath’.<sup>80</sup> Paxton was keen to develop new irrigation techniques with clay pipes to distribute water to heat the hot house, peachery, and the thirty-six-foot conservatory, which was planted with vines.<sup>81</sup> The 1825 catalogue suggests oranges, melons, peaches and grapes were grown, their survival due to his innovative heating system.<sup>82</sup>

### Water Control in the Park

The improvement of the wider Middleton landscape was on an impressive scale, requiring three different types of work: landmoving and lake building, with water controlled by dams and sluices; small building design and construction of baths, hot-houses, and greenhouses; exotics grown within a controlled environment, with trees and shrubs planted in the landscape. The scheme would have required immense sums of money to pay for materials, workmen, plants, and equipment, and above all a well-qualified project manager to oversee the vast development.

Grier, Paxton’s agent and engineer and a Scot, was likely the moving force in achieving Paxton’s dream.<sup>83</sup> Having worked in Hertfordshire, Grier may have met Lancelot Brown’s surveyor and draughtsman, Samuel Lapidge in the county, and later introduced him to Paxton. Certainly Paxton was on familiar terms with the surveyor, meeting Lapidge at Brighton in 1802.<sup>84</sup> Paxton worked with Grier on the

<sup>78</sup> Francis Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families* (Carmarthen: Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and the Cultural Services Department, Dyfed County Council, 1987), p.133.

<sup>79</sup> Francis Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families* (Carmarthen: Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and the Cultural Services Department, Dyfed County Council, 1987), p.133; Henry Skrine, *Two Successive Tours Throughout the Whole of Wales* (London: Elmsley and Bremner, 1798), pp. 96-97.

<sup>80</sup> Middleton Hall 1824 Sale Catalogue

<sup>81</sup> Ibid; Francis Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families* (Carmarthen: Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society and the Cultural Services Department, Dyfed County Council, 1987), p.133.

<sup>82</sup> Advertisement for Auction of Paxton’s effects to be sold 21 March 1825 and six following days (Sunday excepted), *The Cambrian* 26 February 1825; Rees, ‘Might and Spite’, p. 92.

<sup>83</sup> *The Scots Magazine - Sunday* 01 January 1815. Like Paxton, Grier was a Scot, and this possibly explains why he and Paxton worked so well together.

<sup>84</sup> Letter William Paxton to David Williams 9 June 1802, Williams, D. [17]66-1844. Papers of Colonel David Williams of Henllys, Carmarthenshire, National Library of Wales, Misc. Records 546

landscape design, creating an innovative landscape with major waterworks, the engineering of a chain of five major lakes, and several ponds and reservoirs, linked by dams, sluices, channels, and cascades.<sup>85</sup> It is possible that he used the services of Lapidge, maybe in a consultancy role, to survey and draft plans for Middleton, and advise on the technology required for the massive earth-movements and dams required.

The surveyor and landscaper Thomas Hornor, had advertised in April 1814 in *The Cambrian* newspaper for work on Welsh landed property.<sup>86</sup> He had established a style of ‘picturesque landscape gardening’ using a technique he called ‘panoramic chorometry’, employing a camera obscura to give an accurate view of the landscape, similar to William and Thomas Daniell’s use of the technique in India.<sup>87</sup> One of Hornor’s claims was that he ‘reunited the arts of surveying and landscape painting’, compiling his techniques in a book *Description of an Improved Method of Delineating Estates* published in 1813.<sup>88</sup>

Hornor was commissioned by William Paxton to depict his new estate in fourteen watercolour and ink illustrations, his album dated 1 September 1815 portraying the various features of the Middleton landscape, the dams, waterfalls, lakes, and buildings, describing them in terms of ‘stations’.<sup>89</sup> He was likely influenced by Picturesque theorists including Gilpin and Uvedale Price, who championed viewing a landscape like a painting or sketch, made from a selected

---

cited in Sara Fox, ‘*The Fidelity of a Mirror’: the Late 18th and Early 19th Century Landscape at Middleton Hall* (unpublished MA thesis, University of Wales, Trinity St. David), p .9. Fox suggests that Lapidge may also have worked for Williams, particularly on the ‘Ladies Terrace’.

<sup>85</sup> CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks & Gardens Of Special Historic Interest In Wales Register Entry Middleton Hall.

<sup>86</sup> Advertisement in *The Cambrian*, 2 April 1814.

<sup>87</sup> ‘National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park’, *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, Issue 67, April 2014, pp. 1-3.

<sup>88</sup> Thomas Hornor, *Description of an Improved Method of Delineating Estates: With a Sketch of the Progress of Landscape Gardening in England, and Opinions on the Picturesque Effects Attempted in Rural Ornament* (London:1813). The Cambrian; Advertising his surveying skills as a ‘Pictural Delineator of Estates’ in 1814, he suggested that his paintings could be used as decoration, or for those wishing to sell or buy estates the album would form ‘a pictorialized plan of his estate so that the prospective purchaser would have a clear idea of the appearance of the estate before setting off to see it.’ pages etc. Hornor gained commissions from at least nine wealthy families in Wales. ‘National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park’, *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, Issue 67, April 2014, pp. 1-3.

<sup>89</sup> Thomas Hornor monograph, Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815), T , 1815 , Illustrations of the scenery of Middleton Hall, the seat of William Paxton.

marked spot, or station, in the terrain.<sup>90</sup> Seven of Hornor's paintings survive and all of Hornor's 'stations' at Middleton have been identified by reference to his text, map (Fig. 1.74) and watercolours.<sup>91</sup>

The landscape that Hornor depicted was on a large scale, the culmination of many years of planning and execution by Paxton, Grier, and possibly Lapidge. The chain of five lakes - Upper South Lake (known as Garden Pool, or Pwll yr Ardd); South Lake (Llyn Uchaf also known as Bryn-Cadw Pond); East Lake (Wâun-Las Pond, or Llyn Canol); The Large Lake (Llyn Fawr or Pond Ddu), and Lower Lake - surrounded the mansion to the south and east, developed from the earlier fishponds. The water which flowed through the three valleys was dammed with embankments, and cut through with waterfalls, and cascades. Similar to India's wetlands, the flow was regulated by sluices and channels, in parts aided by an underground network of clay water pipes.<sup>92</sup>

The Harcourt family visited the Middleton landscape sometime before 1813, and recorded their visit.<sup>93</sup> They began their exploration of the garden by following a winding gravel walk, through sunshine and shade, seeing a variety of views: 'at one time the hall was the predominant object, then the tower', then the distant hills (Fig. 1.75).<sup>94</sup> This was typical of a Picturesque landscape where carriage drives and gravel walks moved from light meadows to dark woodland, visiting cascades and waterfalls,

---

<sup>90</sup> CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Interest in Wales: Middleton Hall, Llanarthney. Register Number PGW(Dy)4(CAM). Coflein <<http://www.coflein.gov.uk>>.

<sup>91</sup> 'National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park', *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, Issue 67, April 2014, pp. 1-3. A theft in the 1960s of the fourteen Hornor watercolours slowed down progress with compiling a visual history of the estate, however, seven of Hornor's original paintings were discovered and the paintings returned to the descendants of William Paxton.

<sup>92</sup> 'East Indian Fortunes', *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales), October 2, 2010; 'National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park', *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, Issue 67, April 2014, pp. 1-3. This path of the stream was changed to exit through a channel cut in the rock leading west from the Lower Lake to the Afon Gwynon. PRN: 30979, Middleton Hall, Lower Lake, Llanarthney, Dyfed. Archwilio: The Dyfed Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record <[http://www.cofigurcahymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed\\_interface.html](http://www.cofigurcahymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html)> [accessed 6 September 2016].

<sup>93</sup> 'Middleton Hall: A Contemporary Tourist's Description, Extracted from 'The Memoirs of the Harcourt Family, a tale for Young Ladies" (London: G. Walker, 1813), *The Bulletin* (Summer 2000), pp.1-2.

<sup>94</sup> 'Middleton Hall: A Contemporary Tourist's Description, Extracted from 'The Memoirs of the Harcourt Family, a tale for Young Ladies" (London: G. Walker, 1813), *The Bulletin* (Summer 2000), pp.1-2.

engineered to give the maximum impression of excitement and danger. This was experienced by the Harcourt family as they continued their route along the path:

[Into] an arched way, overshadowed with jessamines and honeysuckles, that led into the hermit's garden. This was a retired sheltered spot, planted with shrubs and flowers ... The walk ... led them by a gentle decent into the most romantic little dell: at the bottom of which rippled a rivulet: the sides were clothed with trees, and at the extremity appeared a small cascade dashing itself with miniature fury from rock to rock until it reached the bottom, where it formed a pool, which had sometimes been used as a bath, and which gave the place its name.<sup>95</sup>

The pool at the base of the waterfall encompassed a small hermit's cave, accessed by a decorative wooden bridge (Figs. 1.76, 1.77). Another water-feature, the three-stepped cascade in the woods (Fig. 1.78), had the qualities of Mughal *chadars* (Fig. 1.79), which reflected light and produced pleasing sounds. That said, the cascade and retaining dams at Middleton, have an almost masculine character, perhaps an echo of the Indian military Picturesque, but this robustness may have more to do with 1980s restoration, rather than Paxton's and Greir's designs (Fig. 1.80).

Horner's map indicates seven bridges were built, some decorated stone, others more utilitarian, made of wood, carrying major driveways to the house, or paths and 'green drives' for leisure walks (Fig. 1.81).<sup>96</sup> The design of these bridges and drives was fundamental to the structure of the water control in the park as two or three of the bridges likely disguised sluices, keeping the flow of the water at a maximum, enabling the lakes to fill, and as a consequence, visitors to experience the

---

<sup>95</sup> 'Middleton Hall: A Contemporary Tourist's Description, Extracted from 'The Memoirs of the Harcourt Family, a tale for Young Ladies' (London: G. Walker, 1813), *The Bulletin* (Summer 2000), pp.1-2.

<sup>96</sup> CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks & Gardens Of Special Historic Interest In Wales Register Entry Middleton Hall; Stations 1 and 11, Thomas Hornor monograph, Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815). The paths and green drives can still be identified in the Middleton landscape.

roar of running water in the waterfalls and cascades, important to both the Picturesque and Mughal gardens.<sup>97</sup>

It is easy to forget that Paxton had been a sailor for many years before he took up his agency and banking businesses. In Hornor's illustrations boats are depicted on the water on the curved Large Lake (Llyn Mawr or Pond Ddu) (Fig. 1.82), the style of the boat suggesting that it was used for entertaining, picnics and travel around the lake, Hornor noting that: 'The enjoyment of its navigation presents a pleasing and rare addition to the range of rural amusements.'<sup>98</sup> Kate Felus argues that serpentine lakes, for instance Brown's adapted lake at Wrest in Hertfordshire, would be 'more conducive to easier, and probably more exciting, boating in larger vessels than the straight canal' of an earlier garden.<sup>99</sup> Boating on the curvilinear lake at Middleton, therefore, would have been an ideal opportunity for family and visitors to enjoy the decorative aspects of the estate.

### **Chalybeate Spring and Bathhouses**

Paxton researched the possibilities of the supply and delivery of clean water to his estate, with a 'Collection of Treatises on Mineral and other Medicinal Waters etc.', in his library, already having provided the towns of Carmarthen and Tenby with fresh running water, and sea-water baths at Tenby mentioned above.<sup>100</sup> He erected two bath houses at Middleton, possibly designed by Grier. Around 1809 a spring of Chalybeate water, with a high mineral content was found on the edge of the Middleton estate. At first the spring was developed into a bath, set in a flower garden on the north end of Lower Lake, intended solely for the Paxton family and

---

<sup>97</sup> The sound of water was also part of Picturesque theory which required action in the landscape, whether it be cattle, rising smoke from a chimney, or tinkling sounds of water. CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks & Gardens of Special Historic Interest In Wales Register Entry Middleton Hall. Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 235. Station 4: Thomas Hornor monograph, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815). Many of the bridges over the lakes have disappeared, as their wooden construction disintegrated over time.

<sup>98</sup> Station 4: Thomas Hornor monograph, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton* (1815). Many of the bridges over the lakes have disappeared, as their wooden construction disintegrated over time.

<sup>99</sup> Kate Felus, 'Boats and Boating in the Designed Landscape, 1720-1820', *Garden History*, 34, 1 (Summer 2006), p. 34.

<sup>100</sup> *The Cambrian*, 26 February 1825; Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 234.

visitors to the estate (Fig. 1.83).<sup>101</sup> The Harcourt family on their route around the garden arrived:

Over a rustic bridge to a little spot, which seemed the work of fairies. A wild sort of garden, two small buildings, and a trickling spring, were before them: on the right was a waterfall, the water of which passing under the bridge on which they stood, precipitated itself with much violence over masses of broken rocks. One of the buildings was a bath, supplied from the spring: both the bath and the spring were private, for the use of the family. The other building was a grotto, not finished, but which afforded an agreeable retreat from the heat of the sun.<sup>102</sup>

The bath was constructed with a furnace providing heat for the hot baths, vapour bath and dressing rooms, and a plunge pool (Fig. 1.84).<sup>103</sup> The whole scene was overlooked by ‘A grotto, and Chalybeate Spring, which has pipes, conducting the overflow to the outside of the Park’.<sup>104</sup> Its position ties in with Hornor’s plan at station 7, which he names the ‘Grotto of Hygrea’ (possibly Hygieia the Greek goddess of Health and Purity) where the wider view from the pictured summer-house includes the dam and cascade downstream of Lower Lake. Paxton laid the water pipes carrying the stream outside the perimeter wall to allow locals and tourists to benefit from its healing properties.<sup>105</sup> He invited eminent scientists to analyse a gallon of the mineral water: ‘Dr. Saunders says, it is a strong chalybeate water, possessing the same medical Properties as that of Tunbridge [Wells], of which he treats fully in his book on mineral waters, after stating Dr. Babington’s [sic]

---

<sup>101</sup> Middleton Hall 1824 Sale Catalogue.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Middleton Hall: A Contemporary Tourist’s Description, Extracted from ‘The Memoirs of the Harcourt Family, a tale for Young Ladies’ (London: G. Walker, 1813), *The Bulletin* (Summer 2000), pp.1-2.

<sup>103</sup> ‘National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park’, *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, Issue 67, April 2014, pp. 1-3. Middleton Hall 1824 Sale Catalogue.

<sup>104</sup> Middleton Hall 1824 Sale Catalogue; Pool feature created 1790-1814. National Botanic Garden of Wales, (also known as Middleton Hall), Carmarthenshire, Wales. Record Id: 2285 Parks and Gardens UK, <<http://www.parksandgardens.org>> [8 August 2017]

<sup>105</sup> Hornor declaring that a ‘house for the accommodation of visitors has also been erected’, however, no archaeological evidence for this structure has yet been found, ‘National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park’, *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, Issue 67, April 2014, pp. 1-3; Rees, ‘Might and Spite’, p. 93.

analysis.<sup>106</sup> Paxton built a second ‘ornamental’ bath-house, this time of classical design, situated within its own flower garden, nearer to the mansion, seen in Hornor’s Station 13 painting (Fig. 1.85). It was: ‘appropriately placed in a secluded situation and well screened by a grove which intercepts it from the lawn behind.’<sup>107</sup> Having a plunge bath, hot bath with water via a furnace room, and dressing rooms, it lay by the sluice and bridge which separated Large Lake (Llyn Mawr or Pond Ddu) from East Lake (Wâun-Las Pond, or Llyn Canol).<sup>108</sup>

### Paxton’s Tower

S. P. Cockerell was also commissioned to design a military-looking eyecatcher, first known as Nelson’s Tower, which venerated Lord Nelson and his heroic death at the Battle of Trafalgar (Fig. 1.86). Nelson had visited Carmarthen in 1802, and a pencil drawing of the tower c.1803 implies that Paxton was inspired with the thought of building a tower dedicated to the Admiral.<sup>109</sup> In 1808 a three-sided, gothic, grey-brown stone tower, was finally built inside a small hill-top park area.<sup>110</sup> Thirty-six feet high, it was designed to be seen for many miles along the Tywi Valley, and, importantly, it overlooked Paxton’s neighbours’ properties, and his own estate and landscape. Although architecturally unusual in Wales, the triangular form of the building had similarities to the work of John Nash, who designed the experimental Castle House at Aberystwyth in 1794 for the Picturesque theorist Uvedale Price. In

<sup>106</sup> Analysis of the Carbonated Chalybeate [at Middleton Hall – handwritten] Lately Discovered near Llanarthney with Observations on its Effects (Carmarthen: n.p., 1809), pp. 3-4, 12-13. The water was suggested to be efficacious for a variety of illnesses and conditions including: scrophulous cases, scurvy, rheumatism, typhus, convulsions and ‘impaired and capricious appetites’ and ‘complaints peculiar to the female world’. The Analysis of the Tunbridge Wells water was by Dr. Babington.

<sup>107</sup> In 2015, evidence of a possible plunge pool was found, with the remains of a hollow, and a stone wall. PRN: 30984, Middleton Hall Bath House, Llanarthney. Archwilio: The Dyfed Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record

<[http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed\\_interface.html](http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html)> [accessed 6 September 2016]; Thomas Hornor monograph, *Illustrations of the Scenery of Middleton Hall, the Seat of Sir William Paxton (1815)*. Private Collection.

<sup>108</sup> The 1824 Sale plan verifies that a building originally lay in ‘a former copse by the south-west corner of Pond Du’. 1824, Middleton Hall Estate in the parishes of Llanarthney and Llandarog Sale Plan cited in PRN: 30984, Middleton Hall Bath House, Llanarthney, Archwilio: The Dyfed Archaeological Trust Historic Environment Record

<[http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed\\_interface.html](http://www.cofiadurcahymru.org.uk/arch/dyfed/english/dyfed_interface.html)> [accessed 6 September 2016]; ‘National Botanic Garden of Wales - a Regency Water Park’, *Welsh Historic Gardens Trust Bulletin*, 67 (April 2014), pp. 1-3.

<sup>109</sup> Nelson’s Tower, or Paxton’s Tower, RIBApix, ref: No. RIBA67128

<<https://www.architecture.com/image-library/>> [accessed 6 September 2016].

<sup>110</sup> Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 239.

structure Paxton's tower also resembles the Haldon Belvedere in Devon, built in 1788 for the former Governor of Madras, Sir Robert Palk, in honour of his friend Major General Stringer Laurence (Fig. 1.87).<sup>111</sup> In Paxton's Tower, Cockerell echoed the military Picturesque with 'corbelled embattled parapets', and gothic arches on all three sides to allow coach egress.<sup>112</sup> Plaques were placed above the arches with inscriptions in Welsh, Latin and English, recalling Nelson's valiant successes in the British Empire, a subject close to Paxton's heart.<sup>113</sup> On the second storey, there was a gothic-vaulted banqueting hall and on the floor above, an Observatory or Prospect Room, with three stained glass windows which glorified Nelson in his 'life, death and 'apotheosis''.<sup>114</sup>

\*\*\*\*\*

While this chapter has acknowledged the "nabobery" and political ambition of some returnees, the narratives of the three men who feature in the preceding case studies – all of whom had held senior positions in the EIC – challenge these stereotypes and the widespread trope of a nabob collective.<sup>115</sup> The case studies have established the varied trajectories of Hastings, Munro and Paxton, who returned to the three nations of Britain after two tours of duty, to their ancestral estates or to the vicinity of friends and former colleagues. That they had gained fortunes while in India is not in doubt; often identified as 'nabobs' by their fellow countrymen, this likely prompted restrained architectural choices for their mansions, only their gardens and interiors openly referencing their lives in India. All three estates were re-designed and improved in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, but they were individually conceived, and therefore should not be considered typical of a 'nabob'

---

<sup>111</sup> The interior of the Belvedere was decorated with Indian marble with a ballroom on the second floor, and plaques were erected to commemorate Laurence. P. K. Crimmin, 'Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810', *The Carmarthen Historian*, 4 (1967) p. 18. The military style of these forts was much copied, for instance Broadway Tower, Gloucestershire, conceived by Lancelot Brown for the 6th Earl of Coventry, and built by the architect James Wyatt in 1798.

<sup>112</sup> Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.239

<sup>113</sup> P. K. Crimmin, 'Samuel Pepys Cockerell, and His Work in West Wales, 1793-1810' in Vol 4 (1967) *The Carmarthen Historian*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>114</sup> Middleton Hall 1824 Sale Catalogue; Thomas Lloyd, Julian Orbach, Robert Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales: Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p.239. The Tower was bought in 1964 by Viscount Emlyn to give to the National Trust. The glass scenes are now in the Carmarthen Museum.

<sup>115</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 14.

faction of returnees. In Munro's case, he initiated practices of clearances and sheep-walks on his estate in similar ways to many other Highland landowners, while Paxton brought clean water and baths to local communities and his own estate. Hastings on his return contacted men of science to further his knowledge of the exotic animals and plants he had brought back from India for his experimental gardens.<sup>116</sup>

But it is in the Indian collections in the mansions' interiors and the designs of the gardens that the men's unique Indian past can be uncovered. From the design of Munro's landscape, it was apparent that his military experiences were extremely significant to him and these were reflected in the military emphasis of his garden and landscape. His landscape brought the emerging concept of the military Picturesque, which was visible in the sketches of professional and military artists in India, into the realm of landscape gardening. The gardens of Hastings, in Berkshire and Gloucestershire emphasised the economic possibilities of raising tropical plants and Asian goats, yaks and cows in Britain, but it was his collections of Indian aquatints, paintings, manuscripts, armour, weapons and seeds, which specifically revealed his tours of duty in India. Such practices disclose how returnees combined memories and souvenirs of India with ongoing, practical and economically-productive endeavours shaped by their experiences overseas. But it is in the landforms of Wales that the impact of a life in India can be most clearly viewed, with Paxton at Middleton Hall recalling the salt marshes and lakes near his Calcutta garden houses, probably where his happiest days were spent with his Indian *bibi* and child. These mens' individual responses to India and to the memories they brought back to their estates were paramount to the courses of action they took on their return. Ostensibly they had the major attributes of 'nabobs'; all three were men of considerable wealth, allowing them to buy or hold extensive estates, and they were all politically-visible in some way, either as MPs or, in Hastings' case, impeached for mismanagement in India. But it is their actions in improving the local community or helping to stave off poverty which sets them apart.

---

<sup>116</sup> Jessie Dobson, 'John Hunter's Animals', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 17.4 (October 1962), pp. 479-486 (p. 485).

Lavish interior decorations, jewellery and dress, and engagement in hygienic practices of shampooing and bathing, have been viewed by Tillman Nechtman as material culture and customs which identify Indian returnees as ‘nabobs’ and strangers in their homelands.<sup>117</sup> That these objects ‘made empire real in domestic settings’ is also argued by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose.<sup>118</sup> Even exotic fruits such as the mangoes and avocados grown at Daylesford would likely be viewed as signs of nabobery and the importing of foreignness back from the empire. Indeed, Nechtman observes that ‘nabobs’ were fallen men having been ‘charmed by the serpent and tasted the forbidden fruit in South Asia’s Edenic garden’ bringing their taste for luxury and opulence to Britain and imperilling the nation’s standards.<sup>119</sup> However, he does not take into consideration the other qualities that these men brought back to Britain, their adaptation to customs, languages and climates; an enlightened outlook on innovative agricultural methods; and encouragement for new scientific and economic benefits to be gained from Indian flora and fauna.

Nevertheless, the impact that these men made on their local communities was as varied as their landscape choices. Enhancements Paxton made to his house and landscape were comparable to those of other local landowners, so accusations of nabobery were unjustified, especially as he had generated improvements in the region’s drinking water and bathing facilities. However, he did make a mistake in believing that he could buy the allegiance of local people to gain a place in parliament, perhaps seen as behaviour learnt in India. With a clan system still in place in Scotland, Munro had an easier path as he could count on his wider family and tenants to support him in his political endeavours. But, again Munro’s agricultural improvements, sheep-walks and clearances, although similar to the developments of other Scottish landowners, would have been seen as part of his nabobism, even though he endeavoured to alleviate suffering with poverty relief works. The situation differed in Wales as, with many of the landowners having sold their estates to the English, there was little allegiance, and in Paxton’s case, as a Scot, outright hostility. Hastings had gained much distrust and abuse through his seven-

---

<sup>117</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, pp. 140-184.

<sup>118</sup> Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire’, in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 22-25.

<sup>119</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 91.

year trial, but he continued developing and stocking his gardens with regular consignments of animals and plants shipped from India.

With a perceived misuse of power by the returnees in India, men like Walpole suggested that corruption might be brought home to Britain: ‘They starved millions in India by monopolies and plunder, and almost raised a famine at home by the luxury occasioned by their opulence … Conquest, usurpation, wealth, luxury, famine – one knows how little farther the genealogy has to go!’<sup>120</sup> Categorised and othered in terms of a distinct “genealogy”, it is no wonder that the majority of returnees chose conventional classical styling for their mansions and variations of Picturesque landscapes to ease their entrance back into society. Support from family and Company friends was sorely needed to balance the continued public vehemence against them as an alleged group of ‘nabobs’, so even to build a remote Indian mansion or garden would have been an unlikely choice. The majority of returnees who settled in the counties around London, and in the south and west of England were not so bold, choosing the fashionable Neo-classical or Palladian styling for their mansion and a ‘Capability’ Brown-type landscape. The press coverage and caricatures surrounding Hastings’ trial likely dissuaded them from displaying any evidence of their Indian sojourns, with collections of Indian artefacts and weapons hidden in drawers and attics. The significance of these three case studies is in demonstrating that, unlike the majority, the returnees ventured to display their memories of India within their gardens and garden buildings, with lavish spending on their Picturesque grounds and exotic planting.

The next chapter continues with the exploration of how EIC service influenced the choices made by administrators and officers on their return to Britain but progressing the theme to Company men who worked in rural areas away from the Indo-British cities. The manner in which their EIC work and leisure activities fed into a growing military Picturesque is explored, while the chapter also considers how surveying, sketching and collecting contributed to the Company’s knowledge-gathering as it repositioned its business from mercantile trade to political control and empire.

---

<sup>120</sup> Letter Horace Walpole to Horace Mann, 9 April 1772, in Horace Walpole, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Vol. XXIII (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 400.

## **Chapter 2: The Indian Experience: Engagement with Indian Art and Religion**

While the last chapter considered that the negative perceptions of nabob wealth restricted the adoption of Indian design in Britain, this section examines experiences in India which encouraged the development of the style. The leisure activity of sketching in the field by EIC officers, combined with the surveyors mapping the land in their Company service contributed to the knowledge of the heartlands of India. This information was vital to the EIC which in this period was expanding rapidly away from mercantile domination into the political gathering of Indian states following the gaining of the *diwani* in the years after Plassey. The following three case studies progress the narrative of wealthy nabobs recreating India in their gardens and buildings with little harm to their finances, to the homes and gardens of men who worked as engineers, tax collectors or army officers retiring with only a Company pension. Returning to Britain to fund elements of Indian design in their homes and gardens, they struggled to realise their aspirations, treading an uneasy path on their journey back into British society.

In the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century encountering Indian architecture and gardens first-hand had a profound effect on the thousands of Company servants who had travelled to India, their narratives stimulating interest in Indian history and religion. To sketch, paint and record the awe-inspiring and rugged qualities of the subcontinent's natural phenomena proved a catalyst to further research, resulting in Indian art being viewed as worthy of study within European discourses on the sublime and the Picturesque.

This appreciation of Indian culture did little, though, to foster the adoption of Indian features in British mansions and gardens. When compared to the introduction in Britain of Greek and Roman architecture and statues by Grand Tourists, and the European art-form *Chinoiserie* with its widespread imitation of Chinese motifs, Indian art and design were poorly represented. But in a few cases an Indian-influenced style was fully acknowledged in architecture and landscape, by men who had extensively researched Indian art, culture and languages. The three following case studies - Redcliffe Towers, Paignton, Devon; Great Bealings, Suffolk; and Stanmore, Middlesex – illustrate the extent to which EIC service in India had

influenced the tastes and habits of men who spent time out in the field, the engineers, soldiers and collectors. Inspired through their tours of duty and leisure time adventures, these returnees later memorialised the subcontinent in their British mansions and gardens. For these men, feelings of insecurity in a foreign land (Britain) after many years on the subcontinent were inevitable, but their fears were likely assuaged by the familiarity of their Indian-style architecture and landscapes.

Robert Smith, Edward Moor, and James Forbes belonged to the group of men whom Price would have classified as ‘reputed nabobs’, although all three men had left India for a short while to recuperate from battle wounds or ill-health and then returned to India to re-assume their posts.<sup>1</sup> After many years on the subcontinent, and having little interest in ostentatious displays of wealth or seats in parliament on their return, they retired quietly to British rural retreats. Nevertheless, their collections and architectural and landscape choices identified their strong connection to India. At Redcliffe Towers (Case Study 4), Smith employed the sketching and building skills he had developed with the EIC whilst refurbishing Mughal monuments in Delhi, to construct his Indian-style home in Paignton with an inheritance gained by marriage. Moor at Great Bealings (Case Study 5), was a career soldier in the Bengal army, but in his leisure time he collected and researched the Hindu pantheon of gods, using this knowledge to author a book on the subject and to create a pyramid with *Shiva-Linga* symbolism in his garden’s landform.<sup>2</sup> Lastly James Forbes, an evangelical Christian EIC collector, who travelled throughout the west of India making a modest fortune, designed a small garden temple at Stanmore, Middlesex (Case Study 6) to house his collection of Hindu fragments and statues. These Company men’s mansions and gardens were created with a shared aim, to use the skills they had developed while in India, and to recall the art and flora of the subcontinent within decorative structures, sculpted landforms or sacred groves. In two of the cases, the gardens subtly explored the spirituality and overt sexuality of Indian art, their designs ultimately created for self-gratification, a hidden sub-text of memories, read only by scholarly friends and colleagues from India. Forbes’ Stanmore garden, though, was publicised in Middlesex travel journals, his garden

---

<sup>1</sup> Price, pp. 22-23.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of their lives Moor and Osborne left their collections to the EIC Oriental Repository, which in 1801 became the India Museum.

temple fragments, although an anathema to his Christian faith, achieved fame as the first collection of Hindu sculptures seen in Britain.

With the expansion of the EIC in the late eighteenth century came an increased interest in Indology and antiquarianism, Sir William Jones (1746-1794) contributing many papers to *Asiatic Researches* (the journal of the Asiatick Society in Bengal) on subjects such as Indian archaeology, botany, ethnology, music, literature and languages. Jones translation of Kalidasa's *Sacontalá* was published in 1789, its fusion of the erotic and the spiritual becoming popular throughout Europe.<sup>3</sup> Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) also researched the Sanskrit language, translating part of the epic poem *Mahabharata* as the *Bhagavad gita* which he published in 1785. The plurality of the Hindu gods, along with the arabesques and geometry of Mughal aesthetic design became so well documented that a standalone Indian-influenced style was thought by the landscaper Humphry Repton likely to emerge: 'This newly discovered style of architecture seems to present a new expedient for the purpose.'<sup>4</sup> In fact this was not to be the case. Although an unprecedented volume of drawings, paintings, diaries and articles became available from Company returnees and artists, Indian aesthetics and iconography were still considered bizarre and unfathomable. Even the antiquarians of the Society of Dilettanti, who, versed in the comparison of world cultural artefacts with classical art and architecture, struggled to interpret Indian art's meaning and symbolism. Payne Knight in particular sought out the meanings of the subcontinent's religious art through a psychoanalytical approach, a system which espoused 'universal expansion of the creative spirit' where 'every production of earth, water, and air, participated in its essence.'<sup>5</sup>

With many artists receiving patronage from EIC administrators or officers, they ventured out of the Indo-European cities into the rural areas of India. Here they encountered the Hindu and Mughal monuments, mausolea, gardens and temples, drawing and sketching the architecture and landscapes "on the spot". With many

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Jones, *Sacontalá; or, the Fatal Ring; an Indian drama [in seven acts and in prose], ... translated from the original Sanskrit and Prácrit* (Calcutta: 1789).

<sup>4</sup> *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq: Being His Entire Work on These Subjects*, ed. by John Claudius Loudon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 391 First published 1840.

<sup>5</sup> Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 85; Richard Payne Knight, *The Symbolic Language of Ancient Art and Mythology: An Enquiry* (New York: J. W. Boulton, 1892), p. 41.

Company men becoming interested in the history and art of India, they collected manuscripts, miniatures, and artefacts, so that back in Britain Indian art came to be viewed as a politicised artform, symbolic of the EIC's colonial interests and British imperialism.

### **Indian art versus *Chinoiserie***

By contrast, *Chinoiserie*, a European construct, was non-political and aesthetically non-contentious. Although having Eastern derivations, with few British merchants visiting China to observe landscapes and buildings first-hand, *Chinoiserie* imitated export goods transported to Europe by the Dutch, French, Swedish and British East India companies. Many types of ware, especially porcelain, were created to suit Western taste, and more importantly, unlike Indian design, they were not linked with heathen practices or idolatry. *Chinoiserie*'s naturalistic, figurative style with scenes of flowers, fruit, birds, pagodas, bridges, and Chinese figures, appealed to British taste and was easily adapted to interior design, or garden buildings.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, it also harmonised with the playful Rococo style, which had spread to Britain from France around 1730. Indian design, the sacred Hindu, Jain and Buddhist, intricate stone carvings of deities, and the geometric designs of the Mughal tombs, mosques and palaces, with geometry, calligraphy and arabesques, appeared discordant alongside the frivolous Rococo.

*Chinoiserie* gained fashionable credibility from the 1750s onwards, resulting from the texts of the architect William Chambers (1723-1796), who had travelled to China with the Swedish EIC. His designs, published in *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines and Utensils* (1757) (Fig. 2.1), gave accurate measurements accompanied by illustrations of temples, houses, furniture, Chinese figures and boats.<sup>7</sup> Importantly on the title page Chambers states that they were from originals drawn by himself in China. After the publication of Chambers' book, an excess of Chinese bridges, tea-houses, serpentine paths and pagodas

---

<sup>6</sup> For Chinoiserie see Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); Dawn Jacobson, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon, 1993); David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>7</sup> See William Chambers, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* (London: s.p., 1757).

appeared in the British landscape, with examples surviving today in the tea houses at Shugborough, Staffordshire, and Stowe, Buckinghamshire (Figs. 2.2, 2.3), the Wrest Park temple in Hertfordshire (Fig. 2.4) and Chinese bridge at Croome, Worcestershire. The London pleasure gardens of Vauxhall and Ranelagh included Chinese design in their eclectic mix of styles and Chinese designs were used for interior design alongside the Rococo, with an extant example at Claydon House, Buckinghamshire (Fig. 2.5).

Given the Royal seal of approval, Chambers was invited to design high-status exotic garden buildings for Augusta, the Dowager Princess of Wales, the mother of King George III. These, constructed between 1757 and 1763 at Kew Park, included the Great Pagoda (1761) (Fig. 2.6) and Alhambra (1758). The Mosque (1761-1875) based on Turkish architecture was designed by Johann Henry Muntz.<sup>8</sup>

By comparison, no British architect had travelled to India in the eighteenth century, so consequently no specific pattern books on Indian designs were published to help develop the new form of architecture within the aesthetic compass of the British Picturesque. Gaining a detailed picture of India's architecture and landscape from historical accounts proved to be problematic with early travellers' texts such as Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, 1583-1592, Ludovico di Varthema's *Itinerario* between 1503 and 1508, and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier's *Collection of Travels*, 1684, following the fanciful portrayals of the subcontinent which were rooted in merchants' and travellers' accounts, like the fictitious travels of Sir John Mandeville and romantic tales and fables.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> William Chambers, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of The Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry, The Seat of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales* (London: s.p., 1793), p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Arthur Coke Burnell, *The Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies*, from the Old English translation of 1598, 2, 2 (London: 1885); John Winter Jones, *The Travels of Ludivico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508* (translated from the original Italian edition of 1510 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963); J. B. Tavernier, *Collection of Travels Through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies ... being the Travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Bernier and Other Great Men* (London: 1884); Sir John Mandeville, *The Foreign Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: post 1755).

## **From Eastern Fantasy to Knowledge and Acquisition**

The European perception of a perfumed, exotic East emerged from early texts such as Samuel Purchas's *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613), which later influenced Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem *Kubla Khan* (published 1816). The poem and the original text conjured up visions of an exotic domed city with sumptuous gardens amidst a Picturesque landscape, which contributed to the narrative of the East as a place of pleasure. The Persian *Arabian Nights*, translated into English at the beginning of the eighteenth century, became known as *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and was widely read by many who travelled to India, feeding into the mystique of India, describing palaces rich with jewels and costly silks. Although translated from the Persian, from both Indian and Persian fables, *Arabian Nights* incorporated in the stories what de Almeida and Gilpin call the 'milieu and trappings of an Asiatic and Islamic culture'.<sup>10</sup> These tales with the frisson of the harem's sexual allure were set in an imaginary exotic world.

Numerous versions of these travel texts and romances were published throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the tales invoking magical quests and the supernatural. Public assessment of the East and of the Company servants' and officers' status in India was distorted by these texts, with the belief that a luxurious lifestyle and bountiful riches were enjoyed by all. Thomas Munro, joining the EIC as a cadet in 1779, later wrote to his sister to dissuade her from believing India was full of mystery, colour and sensuality: 'You seem to think ... that I never go abroad unless upon an Elephant surrounded by a crowd of slaves, that I am arrayed in silken robes and that most of my time is spent reclining on a sopha [sic] listening to soft music'.<sup>11</sup> The reality was more prosaic: 'I was three years in India before I was master of any pillow [other] than a Book or a cartridge pouch, my bed was a piece of canvas stretched on four cross sticks whose only ornament was the greatcoat that I brought from England'.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> De Almeida, p. 55.

<sup>11</sup> Margot Finn, 'Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33.1 (2010), 49-65 (pp. 54, 57). Munro took part in both the Second and Third Anglo-Mysore Wars between 1780-1792.

<sup>12</sup> BL MS EUR/F151/147/103, Alexander Munro to Thomas Munro, 23 April 1791, quoted by Margot Finn, pp. 54, 57. Munro was one of four sons of Alexander Munro, a Glasgow merchant, and required an income to pay off familial debts which had been accrued in the crash of the tobacco trade after the American War of Independence.

After the EIC was granted the *diwani*, the Company took control of major areas of the subcontinent, requiring administrators, soldiers, surveyors and surgeons to travel to these newly procured heartlands to gain hard information, which gradually came to supplant the imaginings of the early romances and fairytales. The recruits were encouraged during their EIC training to informally record their new territories in notebooks, journals, sketches and paintings. These came to document not only their experiences, but also the ancient artefacts, buildings and tombs they encountered on their journeys.<sup>13</sup> Those cadets who trained to become surveyors and engineers had received tuition in the techniques of watercolour painting and sketching before they left Britain, as the recording of events and India's landscapes, was seen as 'over and above the importance of learning precision-oriented draughtsmanship', and integral to the preparation of maps and surveys.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, painting, sketching and writing benefited lower-ranked soldiers who were out in the field, helping to relieve the long dreary hours whilst waiting for military action in encampments or cantonments. In recounting their narratives and observations, they logged a memento of their existence in India; but also provided valuable documentary evidence which contributed to the Company's archive of knowledge, and also served to accommodate the Indian landscape and its features within the framework of European aesthetics.<sup>15</sup> Some used prose to describe their experiences, their journals detailing the battles they fought or the remnants of old fortifications, which had become at one with nature, part of a military Picturesque. Captain William Lambton, a soldier on army march in July 1799 near the hillfort of

---

<sup>13</sup> Holger Hook, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2010), pp. 298-99; see C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*, 3 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969), I, pp. 5-9. Tuition was given by watercolour artists including William Frederick Wells (1762-1836) at Addiscombe, and the Picturesque theorist William Sawrey Gilpin (1762 –1843) at High Wycombe.

<sup>15</sup> See Rosie Dias, 'Memory and the Aesthetics of Military Experience: Viewing the Landscape of the Anglo-Mysore Wars' in *Tate Papers*, no.19, Spring 2013, <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/19/memory-and-the-aesthetics-of-military-experience-viewing-the-landscape-of-the-anglo-mysore-wars>, accessed 16 October 2013; Ray, *Banyan Tree*, pp. 1-17; Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, 'Lucknow and European Society' in *India's Fabled City: The Art of Courtly Lucknow*, ed. by Stephen Markel (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, c.2010), p. 59. All painting and drawing equipment had to be imported, for instance Claude Martin, who commissioned many Indian painters to produce natural history drawings, ordered thousands of English drawing paper sheets, and 'Chinese Crayons'.

Chittledroog, described the remains of a battery erected by Hyder Ali in 1782, which, ruined and overtaken by vegetation, was both Picturesque and sublime:

The Area ... is such a confused mass of works, rocks, tanks and palaces ... About one third of the ascent is the old Rajah's Palace, and a large Pagoda not far from it ... The number of antient [sic] walls and trees, which intervene while the spectator directs his eye to the stupendous piles of batteries that appear among the clouds, he is bewildered in the diversity of objects, which, tho' destitute of order and arrangement, are yet tremendous and awful.<sup>16</sup>

Others preferred to draw or paint their surroundings. Captain John Johnson (c.1769-1846) of the East India Bombay Engineers, was one such officer who used his sketchbook to document the landscape around him. Portraying himself in uniform, sketching by a waterfall near Haliyal, Mysore (Fig. 2.7), his figure seems isolated and insignificant in the rugged Indian landscape. The trees and the sinuous waterfall give a Picturesque aspect to the drawing, though, the overpowering dark, threatening rocks and sky, impart a sense of omnipresent danger.<sup>17</sup>

As the Company's activities enlarged to encompass much of the sub-continent, the men who served in the outer regions of India beyond the Presidencies, became increasingly active, expanding their interests to studying the Hindu gods and Indian antiquities, and keen to share their knowledge with like-minded men through cultural societies.<sup>18</sup> Bernard Cohn contends that 'knowledge of history and practices of Indian states was ... the most valuable form of knowledge' and a firm base on which to take control of a colonial state.<sup>19</sup> To that end the EIC also employed its servants in the official collection of information on land tenure, customs, languages and histories. Its surveyors and soldiers mapped and sketched the terrain, while sponsored artists travelled the more remote areas to draw and paint the palaces,

---

<sup>16</sup> London: BL Add. MS 13,664 fols. 67, 68, William Lambton, *Captain Lambton's Journal of a Tour through the Countries of Soondah and Bednore*, 1799.

<sup>17</sup> Ray, *Banyan Tree*, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> Partha Mitter, 'European Responses to the Sacred Art of India', in *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by R. G. W. Anderson and others (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 119-126 (p. 122).

<sup>19</sup> Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1928), p. 7.

villages, rivers and temples of India, while also recording past rulers' monuments and tombs.<sup>20</sup> Colin Mackenzie (1753-1821) (Fig. 2.8) and Francis Buchanan (1762-1829), were two such Company surveyors who gathered information for major surveys of India, including, respectively, the Mysore survey 1799-1810, and the survey of Bengal 1807-1814.<sup>21</sup> Both commissioned native artists to work for them on the surveys and to produce so-called Company paintings, which are a blend of Indian and British artistic traditions.<sup>22</sup> Mackenzie, who became the first Surveyor-General of India in 1816, had no doubt of the value of his surveys to the EIC, sending detailed field reports, sketches and maps to the Court of Directors in London over many years, which proved useful for EIC policy.<sup>23</sup>

Two strands of acquisition therefore emerged during the expansion of British rule in India, leisure collecting and recording as a pleasurable activity, and knowledge gathering as part of employment, enabling the EIC to control and consolidate new territories. Part of this gathering of information included the examination of ruined religious structures in the landscape, for example the rock-cut temples at Salsette, Elephanta and Ajanta, many of which led Company administrators and soldiers to the discovery of new facets of Indian architecture and

---

<sup>20</sup> Cohn, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> See Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar ... for the Purposes of Investigating the State of Agriculture, Arts, and Commerce; the Religion, Manners, and Customs; the History Natural and Civil, and Antiquities, in the Dominions of the Rajah of Mysore, and the Countries Acquired by the Honourable East India Company, in the Late and Former Wars, from Tippoo Sultaun*, 3 vols (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies/Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1807).

<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Howes, 'Indian "Company School" Art from 1780 to 1820: Collecting Versus Documenting' in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, ed. by Julia A. B. Hegewald (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014), pp. 380-81. Mildred Archer and Graham Parlett, *Company Paintings: Indian Paintings of the British Period* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992). Mildred Archer compiled a catalogue of 2,000 works of native artists who were commissioned by the EIC in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

<sup>23</sup> Howes, *Mackenzie*, pp. 72-74; Horace Hayman Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and Other Articles Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquity of the South of India Collected by the Late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India*, 8 vols (Calcutta: Asiatic Press, 1828), I, pp. x-xvi; Alexander Johnson, 'Biographical Sketch of the Literary Career of the late Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India; comprising some particulars of his Collection of Manuscripts, Plans, Coins, Drawings, Sculptures, &c. illustrative of the Antiquities, History, Geography, Laws, Institutions, and Manners, of the Ancient Hindús', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1834), 333-364 (p. 341); Howes, 'Indian "Company School" Art, pp. 371-394; Howes, Mackenzie, p. 21. Mackenzie began privately collecting drawings of the south of India by EIC surveyors and Indian artists, together with copious Sanskrit manuscripts and drawings, inscriptions and records copied from the Brahmins.

art, encouraging further research into ancient texts, languages, religions and cultural practices. However, many of the journals and sketches sent back to Britain had a mixed reception as they did not conform to the prevailing ideas on art, which were shaped by Roman and Greek artefacts found on the Grand Tour. Nevertheless, this increased knowledge of Indian culture and history hastened the acquisition of Indian objects by returnees. Instead of creating artistic memories in stone, or bricks and mortar, the majority commemorated their life in the sub-continent by concealed collections held in domestic interiors, or specifically designed garden buildings.

### **Collecting Indian Art: The Dilemma of Acquisition**

Although the British were late visitors to the subcontinent, the seventeenth century had seen the beginning of a collecting habit adopted by Company men, with Indian artefacts shipped to Britain, often removed from temples and sites of antiquity.<sup>24</sup> By the eighteenth century, extensive collections of Indian objects had been accrued by individuals in the EIC's service. Maya Jasanoff describes the origins of such assemblages:

These are the legacies of men and women who engaged with foreign cultures in tangible ways: as collectors of objects. Collectors bought, commissioned, traded, plundered, stole, captured, quested; they preserved and at times destroyed; they moved and coveted; they lost and remembered. In their lives and legacies, they bridged East and West, and make beguiling escorts into an intimate, little-known history of empire.<sup>25</sup>

Although returnees were not keen to outwardly declare their Indian past, the majority embraced the goods and manufactures of the sub-continent - fabrics, food, weapons and trinkets – with some allocating specific rooms as museums to display their collections. Indeed involvement with empire was not restricted to those returning from India, Hall and Rose arguing that ‘Empire was omnipresent in the everyday lives of ‘ordinary people’’. <sup>26</sup> Although at first exposure to goods from the subcontinent brought with them images of Britain’s imperial role and the British

---

<sup>24</sup> Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 145.

<sup>25</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Hall and Rose, p. 22.

identity, their introduction into homes gradually familiarised products into an ‘everydayness of empire’, away from the colonial political and military realities of conquest and suppression.<sup>27</sup> This ordinariness concealed any discussion on the identity and lives of the Indians who lived halfway across the world: ‘home’ ... was physically and culturally separated from the colonised ‘other’.<sup>28</sup> Yet, the middle and upper classes were happy to be exposed to the metaphorical ‘fruits of empire’, their domestic sphere resonating with Eastern goods as men (and increasingly, families) returned from tours of duty bringing with them souvenirs and memorabilia.

Although disparate items such as carpets, daggers, or Indian miniatures were brought back from India in the seventeenth century by merchants or by the retinue of British emissaries to the Mughal Court, objects had not been specifically collected for their aesthetic worth or rarity, but were seen as curiosities, and displayed in the domestic sphere.<sup>29</sup> But, with the movement of EIC officers and administrators returning from posts in India, portable objects began to be transported home, reflective of a thirst for knowledge in the Age of Enlightenment, or acquired as trophies of war.<sup>30</sup> Although few returnees were keen to construct a home in Indian-influenced style, many were voracious purchasers of Indian designed objects. Manuscripts, miniature paintings, weapons and armour, ivory furniture and bronze sculptures were collected alongside the works of British artists such as William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell who had travelled around India for many years, sketching the landscapes and buildings in a Picturesque style. An indication of the way these collections were displayed is provided by Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society and advisor to George III on the Kew Garden, for instance when he visited the house of a Mr. Newton who had recently returned from India: ‘I was obliged to admire drawers full of Indian weapons, Fly flappa pictures of the nabob & his Court, Letters from him to Mrs. Newton in Indian Language & Closets full of China, defend me I say from a Nabobs collection.’<sup>31</sup> Although this was possibly an accurate picture of the haphazard assemblages of many returnees, others such as Lord Edward Clive and his wife, Lady Henrietta Herbert had more specific collecting habits whilst also

---

<sup>27</sup> Hall, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 55.

<sup>29</sup> Mildred Archer, *Treasures from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle* (London: The Herbert Press in association with the National Trust, 1987), pp. 9-10.

<sup>30</sup> Archer, *Treasures from India*, p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives, Sir Joseph Banks: Journals, Add. MS 6294 quoted in Archer, *Treasures from India*, p. 16.

inheriting the accumulations of Edward's father, Robert Clive, Lord Clive of Plassey. Robert Clive had collected items received as presents from Mughal dignitaries - Mughal fly-whisks, enamelled huqqas, jade bowls, turban ornaments, hookahs and weapons – which were status objects, part of the gifting etiquette of the Mughal court, but he had hidden them away in a chest, left to his son, Edward Clive.<sup>32</sup> Edward, however, collected specific items notably bronzes from the cult of Vishnu, while his wife, Lady Henrietta, collected Tipu Sultan memorabilia from Seringapatam including swords, guns, slippers, and a Chintz tent used at Powis for garden parties, and plants, birds, shells and fossil specimens.<sup>33</sup> They were not orientalists, but like Grand Tourists collected Indian items they appreciated as works of art.<sup>34</sup> Their combined collections resided in Powis Castle, reported in the *Cambrian Mirror* in 1846 as a ‘museum of curiosities brought from India by the great Lord Clive.’<sup>35</sup> The difference between the collecting habits of the two generations, was that Robert Clive, as a ‘nabob’ hid his ‘personal keepsakes’ away in a memorial chest left to his son, while Edward Clive’s collection was displayed and admired, as a celebration of the British in India.<sup>36</sup>

Some men developed collections of specific Indian objects, for instance ivory chairs, rosewood furniture, or fabrics, while others, particularly those that became immersed in Indian culture and languages, collected a variety of objects. Richard Johnson who was deputy 1780-1782 to Nathaniel Middleton, the resident in Oudh, acquired two hundred and fifty Deccani paintings; Sanskrit and Persian manuscripts; and a collection of miniatures. He also commissioned poets and writers to create works in Persian and Urdu.<sup>37</sup> Some returnees or their families constructed small buildings in their landscapes for the display of collections. The triangular

---

<sup>32</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Parry, *Cambrian Mirror, or A New Tourist Companion Through North Wales*, 2nd edn (London: Simpkin and Hughes, 1847), p. 289; Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, pp. 187, 190.

<sup>34</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 195.

<sup>35</sup> Parry, p. 289; Archer, *Treasures from India*, pp. 32, 81-86, 95. The collection referenced three specific areas, Hindu traditions in India, the lifestyle of the Mughal nobility and memorabilia of Tipu Sultan. Robert Clive had collected bronzes from the cult of Vishnu; Mughal fly-whisks, enamelled huqqas, jade bowls and weapons received by the Clive family as presents, status objects, part of the etiquette of the Mughal court. Edward and Henrietta Clive collected the Tipu Sultan memorabilia including a Chintz tent, used at Powis for garden parties, which may have been produced for Tipu’s father Haidar Ali.

<sup>36</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, pp. 41, fn. 68, 195.

<sup>37</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 64; P. J. Marshall, ‘Johnson, Richard’ *ODNB* [accessed 15 October 2018].

Sevendroog Tower, was built by Lady Ann James to honour her late husband, Sir William James, EIC Commodore and Company Director, and filled with a variety of objects from the East:

The inside is fitted up in appropriate manner, with arms, partisans, shields, daggers, javelins &c., proper to the various nations of the east; and the whole is so contrived as to impress the mind with the belief, that it is the identical armoury appertaining to Angria. In the room above this the naval actions and enterprises of the Commodore, are beautifully painted on the ceiling.<sup>38</sup>

However, the collectors sometimes appeared to have had few scruples regarding their acquisition of artworks or their religious imagery. The surgeon, David Simpson, based in Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency, illustrates the phenomena.<sup>39</sup> Known to have commissioned Tamil artists to copy frescoes found in temples, and images from the *Minakshi Sundareshvara* Temple at Madurai, he also appointed a Tanjore artist to produce an album of thirty-eight watercolour paintings of Brahmins between 1780 and 1786.<sup>40</sup> Five years after Simpson returned to Europe his collection of paintings and religious objects was sold in two separate sales at Christie's, in May 1792.<sup>41</sup> Jennifer Howes suggests that Simpson was a curious, educated individual who lived quietly in a rural area, commissioning paintings from local artists.<sup>42</sup> However, information in a 1792 sales catalogue, most likely written by Simpson himself, depicts him as a ruthless collector, intimidating local Brahmins and Muslims to obtain artefacts. The catalogue details how he acquired his collection of Indian objects. For Lot 11, an idol worshiped at Chillambrum, ingeniously made from one piece of ivory, Simpson writes: 'It was with much

<sup>38</sup> James Dugdale, *The New British Traveller or Modern Panorama of England and Wales*, 4 vols (London: John Cundee, 1819), III, p. 245. Severndroog Castle was built to a design by Richard Jupp in 1784. Angria was the fictitious country in the fantasy fictions of Branwell and Charlotte Bronte.

<sup>39</sup> D. G. Crawford, *Roll of the Indian Medical Service, 1615–1930* (London: Thacker, 1930), p. 265 cited in Howes, Indian "Company School" Art, p. 378; Simpson became a Madurai surgeon in 1780, then moving to Trichinopoly until 1786.

<sup>40</sup> See London: BL Add MS 15504, Copies of paintings inside a temple at Madurai, Tamil Nadu, the paintings later bought by Charles Townley in 1752; Howes, 'Indian "Company School" Art, p. 378.

<sup>41</sup> Christie's 26 May 1792, lot 49, bought for 16 guineas, cited in Howes, 'Indian "Company School" Art, p. 378. Items from Simpson's collection have been deposited in the British Museum, the British Library and the Bodleian Library.

<sup>42</sup> Howes, 'Indian 'Company School' Art, p. 379.

difficulty, and not without a considerable sum, the Brahmin to whom it belonged could be prevailed upon to part with it; his distressed circumstances at length produced such arguments as weakened his religious zeal.<sup>43</sup> For Lot 69, a ‘beautifully written’ life and history of Mahomet in Persian poetry, Simpson records:

The Mahometans in India set a high value upon this book. They say it is only a very few families who have copies of it, and they never part with it to an infidel. A Mussulman servant of the present proprietor contrived to purchase it from its former master.<sup>44</sup>

The catalogue paints a damning portrait of Simpson, as an unscrupulous collector, who persuaded both poverty-stricken Hindus and Muslims to part with precious religious objects by nefarious means, although this needs to be qualified since such practices were neither unusual nor widely condemned. One collector who features in one of the following case studies, Edward Moor, who travelled around Maharashtra with the Bombay army, at first as a soldier and then in army administration, was unapologetic for his appropriation of objects from ruined temples:

In mythological subjects my Collection, is, perhaps, unique: especially in figures and groups, in metals – copper, brass, zinc, silver. Of these I have several hundreds – mostly out of temples. I have had opportunities of possessing myself of such things in the sad times of wars, plunder, famine. Some of these are fine specimens of metallurgic skill. In view to the eventual publication of my Hindu Pantheon, I availed myself for many years of every (on my part honest) opportunity of accumulating mythological materials.<sup>45</sup>

The ‘honest’ means that Moor describes must be understood in relation to practices relating to the treatment of moveable assets following victory in battle, when the

---

<sup>43</sup> Oxford: BOD, Oriental Manuscripts, Douce FF66 (10), James Christie, *A catalogue of Indian idols, Indian paintings, drawings etc which were collected by Mr Simpson during a long residence in India which will be sold by auction by Mr. Christie, at his great room, in Pall Mall, on Saturday, May the 26th, 1792* (London: 1792). Lot 11.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. Lot 69.

<sup>45</sup> Edward Moor, *Oriental Fragments* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1834).

value of ‘booty’ was assessed and distributed between the officers and soldiers, by a Committee of Prize Agents.

The collecting of artefacts was an activity carried out by many Company men who later donated their acquisitions to British museums.<sup>46</sup> Officers and administrators, later elevated to high Company rank, who had accumulated significant collections of antiquities, artefacts, paintings and manuscripts included Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Bengal; Francis Warden, Chief Secretary at Bombay; Sir Charles Malet, Resident at Poona; Brigadier-General Alexander Walker, Resident at Baroda; and Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay. Other collections passed into private hands or were sent to the EIC headquarters in Leadenhall Street, London.<sup>47</sup> With no designated exhibition space for the growing accumulation of colonial objects, a permanent repository was created at Leadenhall Street, to house the objects while also celebrating the achievements of the EIC. The donations from Company servants were a confusing array of strange and wonderful objects, Asian ornaments, jewellery, carpets, and objects from Tipu Sultan’s palace of Seringapatam.<sup>48</sup> The India Museum, as it came to be known, opened in 1801, with its most popular artefact, Tipu Sultan’s mechanical tiger organ (Fig. 2.9), displayed from 1808.<sup>49</sup> However, the cultural meanings and origins of many of the objects and paintings required explanation, and, without an accurate understanding of the Indian religions many of the displays were either misidentified or unlabelled.<sup>50</sup>

### Cave Temples and Their Influence on British Architecture and Landscapes

The collections, sketches and paintings which proved most problematic to the British Christian population were those linked to Hindu caves and temples. The brightly coloured, overtly sexual, sacred relief-sculptures were condemned as grotesque by comparison to the smooth, white, Greek and Roman marbles brought back to Britain from Italy.<sup>51</sup> The iconography and aesthetics of Hindu sculptures were particularly

<sup>46</sup> Moor, *Oriental Fragments*, pp. 66, 68, 70.

<sup>47</sup> With no clear records it is difficult to estimate the scale of private collecting, particularly if an intermediary was used to procure the articles.

<sup>48</sup> Ray Desmond, *The India Museum 1801-1879* (London: HMSO, 1982), pp. 1-3.

<sup>49</sup> John E. Simmons, *Museums: A History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), p. 150; Desmond, *India Museum*, p. 21.

<sup>50</sup> Desmond, *India Museum*, p. 195.

<sup>51</sup> See Hannelore Hägele, *Colour in Sculpture: A Survey from Ancient Mesopotamia to the Present* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013). Alice Boner, *Principles of*

difficult to grasp for those educated in Western art, for instance the *shringara-rasa* (the delightful, the erotic), which - widespread throughout Indian sculpture, literature, dance and painting - was an important aesthetic and philosophical element of cave-temples. The sculptures depicting the physical coupling of a women and a man, the *Maithuna*, were particularly misunderstood by Europeans, the women thought to be dancers or courtesans, instead a form of sacred sexuality in an emotional, spiritual union between the gods.<sup>52</sup> The caves in Western India were particularly well-documented in European notebooks, sketches and paintings, their architectural sublimity and sacred eroticism engendering a strong emotional response. The Elephanta, Ellora, Salsette and Ajanta (Fig. 2.10) cave systems gained the most attention from British travellers, archaeologists, and orientalists.<sup>53</sup>

With two of these complexes near the Presidency town of Bombay, the caves were well known from the sixteenth century, and news had travelled far of their Romantic sublimity and erotic symbolism.<sup>54</sup> But, the Buddhist Ajanta caves (Fig. 2.11), some dating from the second century BCE, had become overgrown and forgotten until they were ‘rediscovered’ in April 1819, by John Smith of the 28th Cavalry, Madras Army.<sup>55</sup> Over thirty-one caves were eventually discovered, with their coloured murals considered to be the earliest surviving examples in India

---

*Composition in Hindu Sculpture: Cave Temple Period* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers PVT. Ltd., 1990), p. 7. Mark Bradley, ‘The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture’, *Art History*, 32.3 (June 2009), 427-457. Until recently Greek and Roman statues were presumed to be white in colour, but, recent discoveries suggest that they were glowing with colour.

<sup>52</sup> Balraj Khanna, ‘Human and Divine: 2000 Years of Indian Sculpture’, in Balraj Khanna and George Michell, *Human and Divine 2000 Years of Indian Sculpture* (London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2000, exh. cat.) 9-55, (pp. 11, 20); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), Chapter 8, pp. 237-267 (250, 255).

<sup>53</sup> Even in the twenty-first century, when the peace of the cave is shattered by the voices of many visitors, these cave systems still have an overwhelming effect of the sublime.

<sup>54</sup> De Almeida, p. 47; Conner, p. 114.

<sup>55</sup> Pia Brancaccio, Review: ‘Ajanta: A Brief History and Guide’ by Walter Spink in *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 26 (1996), 114-115; Walter M. Spink, ‘Ajanta History and Development: Cave by Cave’ in *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Two: South Asia*, ed. by J. Bronkhorst, 18 vols (Leiden and Boston, MA: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007)

Histor J. Bronkhorst (ed.) ‘Ajanta History and Development: Cave by Cave’ in *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Two: South Asia*, ed. by J. Bronkhorst, 18 vols, (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2007) V, p. 3. Although they were rediscovered by the British, the native population already knew the position of the caves.

(Fig. 2.12) although, once excavated and exposed to sunlight, the vivid colours began to fade.<sup>56</sup>

It was the Elephanta rock-caves, though, which gained the highest profile and fame, and consequently had the most influence on British landscapes and garden building design. Their proximity on an island near Bombay enabled frequent visits by soldiers, administrators and scholars (Fig. 2.13). The caves, hewn out of solid rock between c.550 and 800 CE, contained Hindu and Buddhist reliefs and sculptures, with many carvings representing the Hindu god Shiva (Fig. 2.14). In the main cave the seven-metre high *Sadashiva (the Trimurti)* (Fig. 2.15) represented the three aspects of Shiva (the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer), with Shiva's hair, signifying the water of the river Ganges, a *tirtha*, a spiritual crossing-place between the world and the divine.<sup>57</sup> Elephanta Island, first called *Gharapuri*, had been occupied by the Portuguese between 1534 and 1774 who renamed it after a large elephant sculpture which guarded the path leading to the caves.<sup>58</sup> However, by the eighteenth century the caves were exceedingly damaged with sculptures defaced and pillars shattered.<sup>59</sup> An account by Isak Pyke (d. 1738), an East Indiaman Commander and one of the earliest European visitors to Elephanta in 1712, acknowledged that an EIC broker in Bombay, Ramajee Comje, first identified 'several fine temples of this nature ... which lie up in the country, but that the Moors wherever they come destroyed them, because of the imagery, as do the Portuguese, on account of the idolatry there supposed to be practiced: so that most of them now

<sup>56</sup> Rasoul Sorkhabi, 'History Carved Out of the Deccan Traps', *GeoExpo: Geoscience and Technology Explained*, 7.6 (2010), 66-71; Divya Patel and Nicola Costaras, 'Conserving the Copies of the Ajanta Cave Paintings at the V&A', *V&A Conservation Journal*, Issue 52 (Spring 2006). Other caves likely exhibited painted murals like those at Ajanta, but as they have experienced weathering, few traces of pigmentation have been left behind.

<sup>57</sup> Vandana Shiva, *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution and Profit* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), p. 133; J. C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 123.

<sup>58</sup> Alexander Dalrymple, 'Account of a Curious Pagoda near Bombay, drawn up by Captain Pyke who was afterwards Governor of St. Helena. It is dated from onboard the Stringer East-Indiaman in Bombay Harbour 1712... and communicated to the Society [of Antiquaries], Feb. 10, 1780', *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous tracts relating to antiquity* (Jan. 1785) 323-332; London: BL MS Eur D5: Details taken from 'The Journal of Voyage Bombay to England, kept by I. Pyke, Commander, 1712-13; De Almeida, pp. 49-50; Sorkhabi, pp. 66-71. The Elephant has been removed and is now in the *Veermata Jijabai Bhonsle Udyan* (formerly known as Victoria Gardens).

<sup>59</sup> Sorkhabi, pp. 66-71. The Elephanta Caves in 1909 came under the jurisdiction of The Archaeological Survey of India, and since 1987 has been included on the UNESCO World Heritage list.

are fallen to decay.<sup>60</sup> Pyke, took measurements of the Elephanta sculptures and columns in the largest cave, using candlelight in the dark spiritual *garbhagriha* (womb-house); his plans, and drawings were published in 1785.<sup>61</sup> James Forbes' sketch (see Case Study 6) of the entrance to the interior of the caves was later used by the artist James Wales (1747–1795) as the basis for *The Temple of Elephanta* (Fig. 2.16) shown at the Royal Academy in 1785.<sup>62</sup> The contemporary Indian artist, Balraj Khanna, proposes that the highly-carved Hindu-temples are representations of mountains, their tall conical structure ‘emulating the Himalayan peaks where the gods are said to dwell.’<sup>63</sup> Certainly, the artists Thomas and William Daniell may earlier have reached this conclusion, producing views such as *Cape Cormorin, taken near Calcad*, 1792 (Fig. 2.17), the temple echoing the shape of the mountain beyond.<sup>64</sup>

Other spiritual spaces encountered by Company servants were the sacred groves prevalent throughout India, known in Tamil as *koyilkatu* (temple-forest), and *camitop* (god-grove), the groves, where Brahmins often lived within holy shrines, contained deific trees including the banyan and the pipal tree (Fig. 2.18).<sup>65</sup> Sacred sexuality was an intrinsic part of both Edward Moor’s garden at Great Bealings and Charles Cockerell’s Sezincote landscape (see Case Study 7). At Great Bealings, Moor’s pyramid structure was likely a representation of the spirituality of the Himalayan Mountains, while its position in the landscape a reference to the *Shiva-linga* cult symbolism found in the Elephanta caves (Fig. 2.19). However, the duality of spirituality and eroticism sparked intense debates at the end of the nineteenth century between Indologists, British antiquarians, and Christian missionaries.

### **Indology and Sacred Eroticism**

Discussions arose in Britain on the merit of Indian art, as scholars versed only in the classics, struggled to compare the Hindu pantheon of gods and goddesses with

<sup>60</sup> Dalrymple, 323-332 (p. 326). See Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 34 for Portuguese reaction to Hindu temples.

<sup>61</sup> Dalrymple, p. 324. BL MSS Eur D5; Khanna, p. 27.

<sup>62</sup> De Almeida, p. 47.

<sup>63</sup> Khanna, p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> Plate XXVII, Archer, *Early Views of India*.

<sup>65</sup> Eliza F. Kemp, *Sacred Groves and Local Gods: Religion and Environmentalism in South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 1-2.

Roman and Greek deities. A syncretic approach was devised to alleviate the problem, of the kind first proposed by the fifth-century Greek historian Herodotus, who researched comparative religions by equating his familiar Greek gods, with Egyptian deities.<sup>66</sup> Eighteenth-century scholars of ancient history developed a similar hypothesis, connecting sexual imagery with land-fertility, recognising that ‘fruitfulness of agricultural production’ could be symbolically represented by the *linga*, or phallus, considered to embody the connection between ‘sacred and profane love.’<sup>67</sup> The Indologist Sir William Jones (1748-94), in his 1784 essay ‘On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India’, explored similarities between the religions:

I have attempted to trace ... a parallel between the gods adored in three very different nations, Greece, Italy and India; but, which was the original system, and which the copy, I will not presume to decide ... since neither the Asiatick nor European system has any simplicity in it; and both are so complex, not to say absurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the sublime, that the honour ... of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty.<sup>68</sup>

The increasing acceptability of Indian art as a focus of study encouraged groups of EIC scholars to gather to discuss Indian art, literature, religions and languages. Endeavouring to make sense of what they had experienced in the Indian hinterland, many collected artefacts, and enjoyed the academic challenge of researching their meanings in the contexts of the culture and history of the subcontinent. In Bengal, Jones founded *The Asiatick Society of Calcutta* in January 1784, with early members including John Carnac, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Warren Hastings, Henry Vansittart, Edward Moor, Charles ‘Hindoo’ Stuart, and Jonathan Duncan.<sup>69</sup> Their extensive research lead to the publication of Society’s journal, *Asiatick Researches*, which was crucial to the legitimisation of the study of Indian history, customs and religions. Further societies were formed within colonial cities over the next twenty

---

<sup>66</sup> Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 48; Partha Mitter, ‘European Responses to the Sacred Art of India’, in R. G. W. Anderson et al (eds), *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), p. 123.

<sup>67</sup> Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 84.

<sup>68</sup> William Jones, ‘On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India’, in *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by P. J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 239.

<sup>69</sup> The Asiatic Society <https://asiaticssocietycal.com> [accessed 4 May 2017].

years. Sir James Mackintosh, the King's Judge for Bombay, founded the *Literary Society of Bombay* in November 1804, its early remit the 'investigation and encouragement of Oriental Arts, Sciences and Literature'.<sup>70</sup> The *Madras Literary Society* followed in 1812, accumulating a library of 83,000 books, the oldest lending library in the south of India.<sup>71</sup> Networks of patrons, artists and assistants developed across India, particularly at Poona where Sir Charles Warre Malet (1752-1815), the British Resident at the court of the Peshwa (Fig. 2.20) became patron to James Forbes, James Wales, Robert Mabon and the Indian artist Gangaram Chintaman Tambat.<sup>72</sup> Malet's diplomatic agent, Syed Nuruddin Hussein Khan, a Persian scholar, encouraged Malet to learn Persian, and collect Persian manuscripts, which were later sent to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.<sup>73</sup> James Wales, inspired by Malet, made sketches of the Ellora caves between 1782 and 1793. On his death in 1795 his drawings were given to the artist Thomas Daniell to complete, appearing in Part VI of *Oriental Scenery* entitled *Hindoo Excavations in the Mountain of Ellora*.<sup>74</sup>

Although these colonial societies and networks discussed the symbology of tombs, caves, and temples in terms of European, Egyptian and the Middle Eastern cultures, the eroticism found in Hindu art was a challenging concept, as it was evidently encountered by all worshippers, not just a religious elite.<sup>75</sup> Khanna argues that Vatsyayana's fourth-century *Kamasutra*, a discourse on how the 'joys of the erotic are extolled as essential to a balanced life', shows that sensuality was employed throughout the lives of Hindus.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, early travellers chose not to understand the imagery. Peter Mundy knew of the *linga* of Shiva but described its symbolism as 'a stone like a Hatters block', while Alexander Hamilton (1762-1864), a major in the Bengal army, viewing sculptures in the temple of Gopalsami observed

<sup>70</sup> The Asiatic Society of Mumbai <http://asiaticsociety.org.in> [accessed 4 May 2017], which later became the Bombay branch of the *Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<sup>71</sup> Divya Chandrababu, 'Forgotten Library: 200-year-old Madras Literary Society', *The Times of India* (14 March 2014).

<sup>72</sup> Adapting the Eye: an Archive of the British in India, 1770-1830, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven October 11-December 31, 2011, exh. Cat. (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art 2011) Malet had been appointed British Resident at the Court of the Peshwa in Poona in 1785, allying in 1790 with the Marathas against Tipu Sultan. Thomas Daniell completed the portrait of Sir Charles Malet after the death of James Wales in 1795, who had previously been given the commission.

<sup>73</sup> Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, *Poona in Bygone Days* (Bombay: The Times Press, 1921), pp. 55-56.

<sup>74</sup> Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 127.

<sup>75</sup> Mitter, 'European Responses', p. 122

<sup>76</sup> Khanna, p. 29.

that: ‘Around his Temple … are carved Figures of Gods and Goddesses, in such obscene Postures, that it would puzzle the Covent Garden Nymphs to imitate.’<sup>77</sup>

Edward Moor’s fascination with Elephanta and other cave-temples began around 1783-84 and although he was exceedingly aware of the sexually-explicit nature of some of the imagery, he suggests in *The Hindu Pantheon* that many who read his text would be oblivious to it:

It is some comparative … praise to the Hindus, that the emblems under which they exhibit the elements and operations of nature, are not externally indecorous. Unlike the abominable realities of Egypt and Greece, we see the phallic emblem in the Hindu Pantheon without offense; and know not, until the information be extorted, that we are contemplating a symbol whose prototype is indelicate. The plates of my book may be turned and examined, over and over, and the uninformed observer will not be aware that in several of them he has viewed the typical representation of the generative organs or powers of humanity.<sup>78</sup>

The antiquarians Richard Payne Knight and Pierre-François Hugues d’Hancarville, of the Society of Dilettanti, strove to discover the meaning of the alien iconography. Their researches gave them the impetus to compare images of the Hindu *Shiva-linga* cult and erotic temple sculptures with comparable rituals and artworks found in classical Greece and Rome.<sup>79</sup> However, their stance on the Indian, Greek, and Roman religions, began to change when explicit sexual imagery and evidence of phallic cults was discovered in the archaeological remains of the Roman town of Herculaneum.<sup>80</sup> In 1786 Payne Knight published a *Discourse on the Worship of Priapus and its Connection with the Mystic Theology of the Ancients*, which argued

---

<sup>77</sup> R. E. Pritchard, *Peter Mundy: Merchant Adventurer* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), p. 72; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 2, 1 (London: C. Hitch, A Miller, 1744), p. 382.

<sup>78</sup> De Almeida, p. 52; Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 382; E. M Forster, *A Passage to India* (London: Penguin Books, first published by Edward Arnold 1924, reprinted 2005), pp. ix. Even as late as the twentieth century authors used Indian caves as signifiers of sensuality and spirituality, for instance the Barabar caves in Bihar were used by E. M Forster in *A Passage to India* renamed as the Marabar caves.

<sup>79</sup> Mitter, ‘European Responses’. p. 122.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, pp. 122-23.

that regenerative human organs had been illustrated in the art and crafts of many civilisations including the Indian, Greek, Roman, Egyptian and Celtic. Although a serious study of sexuality and symbolism, Payne Knight's *Priapus* publication caused both uproar and ridicule within scholarly communities, which was compounded by the erotic art collections of some members of the Dilettanti. Charles Townley (1737-1805) and Payne Knight, both friends and Dilettanti members, were avid collectors of such works. In 1779, Townley's financial accounts show that he had spent £11,600 on his collections, which included Greek, Roman and Indian objects.<sup>81</sup> He was the first known European to have acquired a group of erotic figures from an ancient Hindu temple, also owning a miniature model of a Hindu shrine with figures of deities (known as the Rohilla temple) (see Fig. 2.21).<sup>82</sup> In 1783 Zoffany painted an uncommissioned conversation piece of Townley's library with Townley and a group of friends surrounded by imaginary antiquities (Fig. 2.22).<sup>83</sup> Zoffany chose to paint his friends in this way to display their intellectual interests and tastes (and vicariously his own), but significantly, Indian erotic objects from Townley's collection are conspicuously absent, with Greek and Roman artefacts symbolising the researches of both Townley and Baron d'Hancarville.<sup>84</sup>

Payne Knight and Townley attempted to legitimise the collection of erotic items, enabling them to be viewed (albeit not in Zoffany's image), alongside other artefacts, curios, weapons, paintings and objects d'art, although Payne Knight's study of Priapus sullied his academic reputation. Some returnees like Moor and Cockerell explored sacred sexuality in their garden landforms, but it was often so subtle that only those who had studied Hindu mythology and iconography could grasp the sub-text within the English landscapes and buildings they inhabited. Nevertheless, the general public, still immersed in Christian symbolism and allegory,

---

<sup>81</sup> Cook, ONDB [accessed 9 May 2017]

<sup>82</sup> Richard Payne-Knight, *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus* (London: T. Spilsbury, 1786), p. 81. Mitter, 'European Responses', p. 122. This appears similar to an altar described in the European Magazine (1807) which was donated by John Osborne, of Melchet Park, to the EIC's Oriental Museum and Library. Another such temple is in the British Museum donated by Charles Bathurst, sent to him by Thomas North of Calcutta, and presented to the British Museum in 1786 ref: Museum No.1786,0331.1.

<sup>83</sup> Viccy Coltman, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 165-172.

<sup>84</sup> Coltman, pp. 166-172.

were not yet ready to embrace a design they could not understand, and which evangelical missionaries increasingly denounced as grotesque and indecent.

### Missionaries' Objections to Indian art

With Company mens' journals as yet unpublished, and the majority of the British population never having visited India, the heavy reliance on fables, and on merchants' and travellers' accounts engendered a false illusion of the subcontinent's art and culture back in Britain. Historical narratives by travellers such as John Huyghen Van Linschoten (1563-1611), Jean-Baptise Tavernier (1605-1689), and John Ovington (1653-1751) emphasised the heathen nature of the Hindu many-armed deities and the strange architecture of India's shrines and caves.<sup>85</sup> Ovington described the carvings of Elephanta in 1689:

Out of the sides of this *Pagode*, thus Beautified with these lovely Columns and curious Arches, are figures of Forty or Fifty Men, each of them Twelve or Fifteen Foot High, in just and exact Symetry [sic] ... Of these Gigantick Figures, some had six Arms, and others three Heads, and others of such vast Monstrosity, that their very Fingers were larger than an ordinary Man's Leg.<sup>86</sup>

Ovington's description of the size of the figures as Monstrous, initiated the use of the word to describe the overwhelming scale of the grotesque, unnatural figures in the Elephanta and other caves, which continued until the eighteenth century.<sup>87</sup>

Although many British Indologists such as William Jones, Warren Hastings, Nathaniel Halhed, and Charles Wilkins, commended the history of Indian art and culture as eminently worthy of study, their views were at odds with those of British missionaries, whose strong beliefs on Christian conversion began to be published in the Christian press at the end of the eighteenth century. For instance, the Reverend

<sup>85</sup> Jan Huygen van Linschoten (trans. W. P. probably William Phillip), *John Huighen van Linschoten his discourses of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies: devided into foure books* (London: Printed by John Wolfe, 1598); Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier Baron of Aubonne*, trans. by V. Ball, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1889); John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689* ed. by H. G. Rawlinson (London: Oxford University Press, 1929).

<sup>86</sup> Ovington, p. 98.

<sup>87</sup> Mitter, p. 25.

Wardlaw of the Missionary Society gave a sermon on *The Contemplation of Heathen Idolatry an Excitement to Missionary Zeal!* asking ‘What sort of deities must they be, of which images so ridiculously fantastic, so monstrously uncouth, so frightfully distorted … are considered by their worshippers as the appropriate and worthy representatives.’<sup>88</sup> With reports of other Hindu practices of *sati* (Fig. 2.23), and female infanticide, the missionaries were keen to travel to India to convert the ‘heathens’ and curb these repugnant rituals.

The EIC from its inception had operated a policy of religious tolerance, as befitting to its presence within a multi-religious society, determined at all costs not to provoke religious division.<sup>89</sup> The early pastoral care of the Company men had been provided by EIC appointed chaplains, but Charles Grant, a previous EIC servant turned evangelical Christian, MP, and later director of the EIC, in 1792 authored a damning diatribe on India and the immorality of its population, addressed to the EIC Court of Directors, and endeavouring to gain access for missionaries into India:

The character of the whole multitude of Hindoo deities, male and female, is [a] source of immorality. The legends and histories of their actions are innumerable, and in the highest degree extravagant, absurd, ridiculous, and incredible … The most enormous and strange impurities, the most villainous [sic] frauds and impostures, the most detestable cruelties and injustice, the most filthy and abominable conceits, every corrupt excess and indulgence, are presented to us in their histories.<sup>90</sup>

In 1793 Protestant missionaries petitioned the British parliament to change the EIC’s charter, to allow evangelical Christians into the Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.<sup>91</sup> Although, this motion was defeated, many missionaries

<sup>88</sup> Revd. Ralph Wardlaw, *The Contemplation of Heathen Idolatry an Excitement to Missionary Zeal! A Sermon Preached Before the Missionary Society at Surrey Chapel on Wednesday Morning, May 13, 1818* (London: The Missionary Society, 1818), pp. 9-10.

<sup>89</sup> Gilmour, *The British in India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience* (London: Allen Lane, 2018), p. 223

<sup>90</sup> Charles Grant and Christian Frederick Swartz *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals; and on the Means of Improving it* (Written to the Honourable the Court of Directors 1792, published by the House of Commons 1813), p. 64.

<sup>91</sup> Ian Copland, ‘Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c.1813-1858’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 2006), 1025-1054 (p. 1031); Arthur

travelled to other countries' enclaves in India where preaching Christianity was allowed - for instance the Baptist William Carey settled in the Danish-governed Serampore.<sup>92</sup> Carey although appreciative of much of Indian culture, harboured immense prejudice against Hindu practices, writing in his diary in August 1794: 'I took the opportunity of remonstrating with them [the Hindus] upon the wickedness and folly of idolatry.'<sup>93</sup> The EIC Charter Act 1813 finally allowed licensed Christian missionaries to travel to India and preach their religion, with bishoprics created in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.<sup>94</sup> In Britain, missionary societies published papers with statistics on the Hindu practices of widow burning (*sati*), and female infanticide, provoking increased revulsion against Hindu rituals and religious beliefs.<sup>95</sup> Although the societies' statistics proved to be overestimated and out of date, the missionaries gained funds from their increasingly female readership. The missionaries abhorred the depiction of the phallic symbol of Shiva, the *linga*, in the subcontinent's caves and temples, with its apparent conflation of sex and religion. Debates on Indian art and religious symbols raged on into the mid-nineteenth century, Thomas Babington Macaulay MP reporting to the House of Commons 1843:

Through the whole Hindoo Pantheon you will look in vain for anything resembling those beautiful and majestic forms which stood in the shrines of ancient Greece. All is hideous, grotesque and ignoble ... *Linganism* was not merely idolatry, but idolatry in its most pernicious form.<sup>96</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of the vehement writings by missionaries and Christian followers on Hindu religious symbolism, early sketches made by EIC personnel and British artists in India endorsing the Picturesque values of Hindu architecture and art led to Hindu art being appropriated in British gardens and garden architecture at the

---

Berriedale Keith, *A Constitutional History of India 1600-1935* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1936), pp. 127-128.

<sup>92</sup> Copland, p. 1031.

<sup>93</sup> William Carey's Journal entry, August 1794, in Terry G. Carter, ed., *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey* (Macon, GA: Smythe and Helwys Publishing Inc., 2000), p. 38. For details of missionaries in India see pp. 222-228

<sup>94</sup> Copland, p. 1031.

<sup>95</sup> See Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions: The Dabate on Sati in Colonial India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>96</sup> Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'A Speech in the House of Commons against the Restoration of the Gates of Somnauth, 9 March 1843', Thomas Babington Macaulay, Baron Macaulay, *Speeches of Lord Macaulay: Corrected by Himself* (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1877), pp. 131, 134.

end of the eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century. But it was not until after the Battle of Delhi, 1803, part of the second Anglo-Maratha war, that the British gained full control of the cities of Delhi and Agra. This allowed access to the Mughal palaces and tombs and their formal gardens, which led to a resurgence of interest in Indo-Islamic forms and new modes of influence, with waterworks and perfumed gardens gaining popularity within British gardens.<sup>97</sup>

### **Mughal Gardens**

The characteristics of the formal Mughal architecture and garden design, with its abundant use of water, were easier to incorporate into British landscapes and garden building design than Hindu art.

An Indo-Islamic style of architecture developed in the north of the subcontinent instigated by the first Mughal Emperor Babur (1483-1530), an invader from the Central Asian kingdom of Mawarannah (Uzbekistan) who traced his ancestry back to Ghengis Khan.<sup>98</sup> Long before the EIC had been granted its charter to trade in India and China, Babur expanded his territories from Kabul, conquering areas in northern India in 1525 and introducing Persian garden design to the region.<sup>99</sup> At first the Mughals' constructions reflected their dynasty's Timurid-Mongolian ancestry, but later, following marriages with Rajput princesses, Hindu designs began to be absorbed into Mughal building forms and decorations.<sup>100</sup> Babur combined structural and formal elements from memories of the Kabul landscapes, adding to the design of Persian *charbaghs* (four gardens), and creating a distinctive Mughal style.<sup>101</sup> The basic Mughal style that emerged for buildings was a nine-fold plan, with a square, or rectangular design, divided into nine parts, often with bevelled corners, or corner towers, creating an irregular octagon around a central domed room (Fig.).

---

<sup>97</sup> G. H. R. Tillotson, 'The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780-1880' in *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947*, ed. by C. A. Bayly (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1999), p. 147.

<sup>98</sup> Lisa Balabanlilar, *Imperial Identity in the Mughal Empire: Memory and Dynastic Politics in Early Modern South and Central Asia* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2012), pp. 2-4.

<sup>99</sup> Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526-1828)* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991).

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> There are many variations on this basic theme see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*; Norah M. Titley, *Plants and Gardens in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art* (London: The British Library, 1979), p.16.

2.24).<sup>102</sup> In India, symmetrical quadripartite gardens were divided by four water-channels, reminiscent of the Persian paradise garden rivers of milk, honey, wine and water, the streams overflowing into narrow rills which emptied into ornamental pools (Fig. 2.25). The water courses later became wider, canal-like structures, such as at the Taj Mahal (Fig. 2.26), providing cooler air in the arid northern plain.<sup>103</sup> Planted with cypresses and fruit trees, signifying both life and death, the gardens provided shade in the hot dusty climate.<sup>104</sup> This was repeated in varied designs within memorial and domestic architecture in India, the model giving both geometrical harmony and pleasure.<sup>105</sup> By Humayun's reign (r.1530-1543, 1555-1556), the Timurid style had merged with the red sandstone of the earlier Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526) with architectural details such as *chhajjas*, *jalis* and *chhattri* (Fig. 2.27).<sup>106</sup> It is these decorative elements, plus domed shapes from various dynasties, which became recognised in Britain as representing the Mughal style of architecture.

The riches of the Mughal Emperor and nobles, accumulated through taxation, enabled the building of large palace complexes with luxuriant formal gardens for entertainment, and the commissioning of ornaments and weapons encrusted with precious stones, gold, silver, and enamels. Science enjoyed patronage from both the Mughal Emperor and the local princes and *nawabs*, increasing knowledge in astronomy, medicine, textiles, and arms technology.<sup>107</sup> To afford their expenditure, the Mughal Emperors exacted forty per cent from the *ryots'* average agricultural production which was collected by *zemindars* who took a percentage before delivering the payments.<sup>108</sup> The *nawabs* earned their income from *ryot* rents on

---

<sup>102</sup> Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 45. The eight rooms around the central domed chamber, are often referred to as *hasht bihisht* (eight paradises).

<sup>103</sup> See Louise Wickham, 'Taj Mahal, Agra', *Gardens in History: A Political Perspective* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2012), pp. 55-60

<sup>104</sup> Ray Desmond, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 259.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid; Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 46.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, pp. 38-39.

<sup>107</sup> David Arnold Science, *The New Cambridge History of India: Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India*, Part 3, Vol. 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 5.

<sup>108</sup> Vinita Damodaran, 'Fame and Ecological Conditions in Eighteenth-Century Bengal', in *The East India Company and the Natural World*, ed. by Vinita Damodaran, Anna Winterbottom, and Alan Lester (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 81; Stephen Meredith Edwardes and Herbert Leonard Offley Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1995), p. 203; Tirthankar Roy, *An Economic History of Modern India* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.16; Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of Modern India* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 20; Douglas M. Peers, *India under Colonial Rule 1700-1885*, (Harlow; London: Pearson Longmans, 2006), pp. 45-47.

*jaghirs*, land awarded to the nobles by the Emperor. However, they were unable to bequeath their palaces and fortresses to their successors, as all land on death reverted to the crown.<sup>109</sup> But this did not apply if tombs were included in their gardens, so elegant pleasure gardens were built accordingly, the traveller Francisco Pelsaert observing that ‘their gardens serve for their enjoyment while they are alive, and after death for their tombs, which during their lifetime they build with great magnificence in the middle of the garden’.<sup>110</sup> Pelsaert, a factor residing in Agra with the Dutch East India Company from 1621 to 1627, observed that the most ambitious Mughals built their gardens beside the river Yamuna alongside the Emperor Babur’s garden, noting that in the thirty-three gardens along the river the ‘luxuriance of the groves all round makes it resemble a royal park rather than a city.’<sup>111</sup>

The EIC collector of revenue James Forbes, who travelled widely through India, was entertained by local rulers in their palaces and gardens. Having first-hand knowledge of the Mughal design, he was well placed to write an account of the beautiful Mughal gardens he encountered. One of Forbes’ accounts gives a flavour of the wealth, hospitality and perfumed entertainments of the *nawabs*, and the precautions taken to keep cool in the heat of the evening:

During our stay at Cambay the nabob invited us to pass an evening at his summer palace, called Dil-Gusha, which means the Heart’s Delight ... The principal building ... consists of two octagon halls, on the northern terrace of an upper garden; from thence a flight of steps leads to the lower garden near a lake, containing the zenana and private apartments, where no strangers intruded; at the south end of the upper garden is another pavilion with a flat roof, commanding an extensive view over the gulph [sic] of Cambay, on which the nabob generally entertained his evening visitors.

The size of these gardens does not allow much variety in the walks and shrubberies; choice trees and shrubs border a narrow canal between the

---

<sup>109</sup> Herbert, p. 231.

<sup>110</sup> W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl (translated from the Dutch), *Jahangir’s India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pesaert* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd, 1925), p. 5.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

pavilions, adorned with a number of small fountains; the centre of the canal expands round an octagon marble temple of single construction; each perforated column contains a leaden pipe, which conveys water to the roof of the temple, where from eight fountains round the dome it falls on the projecting architrave on screens of sweet-scented khusa-grass, and gently trickling through the matted verdure renders the internal atmosphere delightful. Imagination can hardly form a more luxurious regale in the torrid zone than to repose in a temple of fountains, lulled by the notes of bulbuls in the surrounding groves.

This retreat affords a charming alleviation to the heat of the tropical day. The evening, as already mentioned, has its peculiar delights. The rays of Cynthia give a softened beauty to the gardens; the shrubs and flowers emit a double perfume, and the lordly champach fills the air with fragrance ... After a recreation in the garden, the nabob accompanied us to the roof of the pavilion, where music and dancing-girls awaited us. Fire-works on the canal illuminated its fragrant borders, and exhibited a curious scene of alternate fountains, playing fire and water, falling among shrubs and flowers.<sup>112</sup>

Through the experiences of returnees like Forbes, who later designed an Indian garden with a conservatory of exotic plants at Stanmore, Middlesex, the structure and form of Mughal gardens and their control and use of water in canals, lakes and fountains, such as the *jette d'eau* he observed at the Taj Mahal, were adapted to British gardens.<sup>113</sup> That they proved popular in the returnees' landscapes is evidenced in Sezincote's quadripartite formal south garden (see Case Study 7), the Mughal garden design for Brighton Pavilion by Humphry Repton (see Case Study 8), and at Novar (see Case Study 2) where an offset oval pool featured in a compartmented garden lined with trees. Strong perfumes, emphasized by Forbes, often indicated returnees from the East. Sophie von la Roche who was invited to the Hastings' rented Beaumont Lodge in 1786, described 'A delicate scent of roses,

---

<sup>112</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*, 4 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1834), II, pp. 229-231. First published in 1813. In Greek mythology Cynthia was an alternative name for the Moon-goddess Selene (Luna).

<sup>113</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, p. 412.

emanating from a rose essence manufactured in India, perfumed the whole house, even outside on one of the garden paths.<sup>114</sup> The oil of roses likely came from Claude Martin's gardens on his estate at Najafgarh, Lucknow, where his agent, Sahib Ram Pandit attended to his roses.<sup>115</sup> Martin had written to Hastings 'requesting ... your kind acceptance of a small box of two little vials of oil of roses, one genuine the produce of a small garden of mine, the other the best sort of Agra.'<sup>116</sup> Goods from India often had their own special fragrance, for instance genuine Kashmiri shawls were identified by the smell of patchouli used to ward off moths on their long passage from India.<sup>117</sup>

Although the opulence of Mughal architecture and gardens had a lasting influence on EIC employees, the weakening of the Mughal Empire through local wars, political fragmentation and successive droughts, allowed Mughal infrastructure to become increasingly poorly maintained. Many palaces, forts and gardens were overtaken by nature, subsumed into an Indian Picturesque, some of them later appropriated by the British and reshaped into botanic gardens.

Away from the major British cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, the life-style for EIC officers and civil servants had much more freedom of expression. For instance, the northern Kingdom of Oudh, an ancient cultural base, was six hundred miles, and many months away by river from Calcutta. The Kingdom had a tradition of patronage of the arts - literature, painting, sculpture, and architecture – by *nawabs* possessing and displaying untold wealth.<sup>118</sup> The *Nawab* Shuja-ud-Doula (d. 1775) founded his court in the royal city of Faizabad, where artists, poets, painters, and sculptors from the fading Mughal courts gathered alongside Europeans. The visitors most likely found Oudh the epitome of a sensual, exotic *Arabian Nights* fantasy, the

---

<sup>114</sup> Sophie von la Roche, *Sophie in London: 1786* (translated by Clare Williams) (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), p. 269.

<sup>115</sup> Llewellyn-Jones, *A Very Ingenious Man*, p. 135.

<sup>116</sup> BL Add, 29173, Hastings Papers, General Correspondence 1793-April 1795, Letter Claude Martin to Warren Hastings, Lucknow, 12 December 1793 quoted in *A Man of Enlightenment in Eighteenth-century India: The Letters of Claude Martin 1766-1800*, ed. by Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003) pp. 224, 234. Asking one of his correspondents for seeds of 'different plants, trees, shrubs, flower seeds' to be sent out to him, and he would repay the costs, Martin appears to have also experimented with European plants.

<sup>117</sup> Rita Buchanan, *A Weaver's Garden: Growing Plants for Natural Dyes and Fibers* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987), p. 142.

<sup>118</sup> De Almeida, p. 75.

*Nawab*'s palace with its luxurious decoration and *zenana* of 700 wives, exuding power, wealth, and opulence.<sup>119</sup> The ancient fish symbol, adopted by the *nawabs* of Oudh, was displayed on artworks, weapons and architecture, including the Bara Imambara gate at Lucknow, the whimsical fish-shaped pleasure boats in the palace gardens, and the Vizier's car used on the marches (Figs. 2.28, 2.29).<sup>120</sup> Following the advice of Hastings who advocated that Indian rulers who were “friendly” to the EIC should be thought social equals, men like the Swiss Antoine Polier, and French Claude Martin, were employed by the *Nawab* and worked alongside Indian officials in their daily lives.<sup>121</sup> Seen mingling with Oudh society and the *Nawab* Asaf-ud-Daula (son of Shuja-ud-Daula) in Zoffany's *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match* (Fig. 2.30), their adoption of Indian customs, dress, and entertainment eased their integration into Oudh's social structure.<sup>122</sup> The friends' patronage of both European and Indian artists for their private collections, assisted in attracting painters and illustrators to Oudh, beginning a cross-fertilisation between eastern and western artistic techniques. This encouraged an innovation in architectural and garden scenes, for example in the receding terraces and tanks of the Faizabad *zenana*, European perspective conjoined with Mughal illustrative traditions (Fig. 2.31).<sup>123</sup>

Colonel Antoine Polier (1741-1795), a patron of the artist Johan Zoffany, was a Swiss surveyor, from Lausanne, who joined the Company in 1756. In 1762 he worked on the plans for a new Fort William at Calcutta, as chief engineer of the Bengal army.<sup>124</sup> Recommended by Hastings, he was employed by Shuja-ud-Daula in 1771 as chief architect and engineer based in Faizabad, later working as superintendent of the arsenal at Lucknow for Asaf-ud-daula.<sup>125</sup> Polier's appointment to the *Nawab* was ideal for Hastings, as Polier acted as his *hircarrah* at the court,

---

<sup>119</sup> Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 74.

<sup>120</sup> Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow and European Society*, p. 55.

<sup>121</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001) pp. 16-18.

<sup>122</sup> These practices continued for many Company men into the early-nineteenth centuries in the northern areas away from British-influenced cities.

<sup>123</sup> Tushara Bindu Gude, ‘Hybrid Visions: The Cultural Landscape of Oudh’, in *India's Fabled City: The Art of Courtly Lucknow*, ed. by Stephen Markel (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, c.2010), pp. 18, 77.

<sup>124</sup> De Almeida, p. 78.

<sup>125</sup> Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 74; Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, ‘Martin, Claude (1735–1800)’, *ODNB* [accessed 17 April 2017]

sending back useful information to the Company.<sup>126</sup> On the death of his father, Asaf-ud-Daula in 1775 became the new *Nawab*, moving Oudh's capital back to Lucknow.

Polier's circle of friends in Lucknow, Colonel Claude Martin, and John Wombwell, the EIC's paymaster in Lucknow, were portrayed in a Zoffany painting (Fig. 2.32), their lives linked together in a "snapshot" of their time in Oudh.<sup>127</sup> The paintings on the wall, the servants, books and plans, and Zoffany at work on a painting in the background, all signal the men were European collectors of art. Polier, a prolific architect in an Indo-European style created his own Persian-style large bungalow in Lucknow, a 'pleasure palace' known as 'Polierganj', where he kept his collection of botanical and natural history specimens, Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts, Indian miniatures and a complete collection of the *Vedas*, the Hindu sacred texts.<sup>128</sup> Tilly Kettle the first professional painter approved by the EIC, received patronage from the *Nawab* and was paid in gold coin for his commissions.<sup>129</sup> Polier also a patron of Johann Zoffany, was pictured in a portrait watching *nautch* dancers in his Lucknow home, arrayed in Indian dress with a hookah close by (Fig. 2.33).<sup>130</sup> Polier's garden, seen through elaborate Indian arches, followed Mughal tradition, with a pavilion fronted by a formal garden, and fountains providing coolness and sound.<sup>131</sup> Ozias Humphry, another artist in India 1785-1787, stayed with Polier and was entertained by *nautch* dancers, writing in his diary: 'The grace of attitudes of his principal dancer were exquisitely beautiful surpassing all things of the kind I have ever seen ... I was seated with Col. Polier upon a sofa, to whom the dancers addressed their songs of love.'<sup>132</sup>

Polier, Martin and Wombwell were avid collectors of Awadhi art. Polier had a vast collection of Mughal miniatures, acknowledged as a major resource of learning, elements of which were sent to William Beckford, Warren Hastings, Sir

---

<sup>126</sup> De Almeida, p. 78.

<sup>127</sup> Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 51; De Almeida, p. 77.

<sup>128</sup> De Almeida, p. 78.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Indian artist, *Colonel Antoine Polier watching a Nautch*, c. 1780, after a presumed painting by Tilly Kettle, Faizabad, 1772 in Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 84; Natasha Eaton, *Mimesis across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India, 1765-1860* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 49.

<sup>131</sup> Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 84; Eaton, p. 49.

<sup>132</sup> Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 196.

William Jones, and Cambridge University.<sup>133</sup> Both Polier and Martin had made fortunes from private trading, Martin building ‘Farhat Baksh’ at Lucknow, using a fusion of Indian and European architectural styles, excavating underground rooms, *tykhana*s, away from the stifling heat during the dry season.<sup>134</sup> Martin’s later nine-levelled mansion ‘Constantia’ c.1790, was also built in a hybrid Indo-European style (Figs 2.34, 2.35).<sup>135</sup> Constantia’s design with octagonal towers, and what Banmali Tandan calls its ‘neo-classical-roccoco decoration’, inspired later designs in Oudh.<sup>136</sup> Another mansion, the triangular Kothi Singhara, Lucknow, was built c.1800, by an unknown engineer, Tandan suggesting the inspiration for the design was possibly the triangular Castle House at Aberystwyth, Wales, built by the architect John Nash in 1796.<sup>137</sup> Captain Robert Smith (see Case Study 4) likely viewed Singhara’s design of a central circular tower linked by oblong chambers to three octagonal towers, his later European projects echoing its unusual plan.<sup>138</sup>

In the nineteenth century, Britain’s scholarly approach to Indian religions, languages, ancient history, architecture and landscapes began to transform. With the emergence of British Christian missionaries’ negative attitudes to the subcontinent’s religious art and the growing emphasis on economic development and modernisation, there appeared little room for the ‘Enlightenment’s admiration of Oriental society’.<sup>139</sup> Gradually, detachment grew into disdain for Indian subjects, their society, and culture, reversing the work of men like William Jones and Warren Hastings, instead giving way to the ‘censorious prophets of Victorian improvement’.<sup>140</sup> After the British Raj was installed after the Indian ‘Mutiny’ in 1857, and the East India

<sup>133</sup> Eaton, *Mimesis*, p. 49.

<sup>134</sup> De Almeida, p. 77. See S. C. Hill, *The Life of Claud Martin, Major-General in the Army of the Honourable East India Company* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1901), pp. 96-99. Claude Martin traded in indigo, having farms in the Ambore district. For further information on *tykhana*s see Case Study 4.

<sup>135</sup> Banmali Tandan, *The Architecture of Lucknow and Oudh, 1722-1856: Its Evolution in an Aesthetic and Social Context* (Cambridge: Zophorus Books Limited, 2008), p. 171, n. 162; Hill, p. 86. Constantia was still incomplete at the time of Claude Martin’s death.

<sup>136</sup> Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (London: Faber, 1968), pp. 94-95; Tandan, p. 175.

<sup>137</sup> Tandan, p.196-97; Geoffrey Tyack, *John Nash: Architect of the Picturesque* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013), pp. 14-15.

<sup>138</sup> Tandan, pp. 196-97. A sketch exists of ‘Singara Koti’ however, it is attributed to Captain R. Smith (1792-1882), who was Captain in the Royal 44th (East Essex) Foot, active in India 1825-33.

<sup>139</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 29. There were also missionaries in India from many other Western countries including America.

<sup>140</sup> Stokes, p. 29.

Company disbanded in 1858, the previous high regard of the subcontinent's history, art and culture dissipated, and it was economics and modernisation which bound Britain and India together at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>141</sup>

But this progressive meeting of cultures had still existed at the end of the eighteenth century and into the early years of the nineteenth century. The case studies which follow, examine the narratives of three EIC men who engaged with the different languages, religions, art and architecture of India, becoming familiar with the new landscapes, flora and fauna as their career progressed. However, the knowledge the men gained through surveying and sketching or the collection of artefacts, proved to become not only a personal leisure activity but intelligence of rural areas which was used by the EIC for the colonisation of India. Choices the men made on their return were governed by their individual experiences, however, the skills and training that the men had received during their EIC careers became useful as they memorialised India in their British mansions and gardens.

---

<sup>141</sup> The Government India Act 1858 transferred the functions of the EIC to the Crown, which took over all the Company's possessions, its administration and armies.

## **Case Study 4: A Fairy Palace in Devon: Redcliffe Towers built by Colonel Robert Smith, Bengal Engineers**

The first case study for this chapter investigates the building projects of Colonel Robert Smith (1787-1873) who, after his retirement from the EIC and a sojourn in Italy, constructed Redcliffe Towers in Paignton (Fig. 2.36). Smith, an engineer and artist, used his talents to rise through the ranks of the Bengal army in India, from cadet to colonel. But, as he left the Company with only an army pension, it is unlikely he would have been able to build Redcliffe Towers without gaining a considerable inheritance upon the death of his wife. This case study records Robert Smith's journey to India and Europe, and his final days spent in Devon, where he constructed his fairytale fortress, Redcliffe Towers, using the drafting, building, painting and drawing skills he acquired during his EIC training.

### **Background and Training**

Robert Smith's early family life not only shaped the direction of his later career, but also the locations and houses where he retired. Although primarily based in the busy, cosmopolitan port of Bideford, Devon, Robert Smith's family frequently journeyed out to Europe and India.<sup>1</sup> In consequence, while two of his brothers were born in India, Smith (Fig. 2.37), the third son of James and Mary Smith, was baptised in Nancy, France, on 13 September 1787.<sup>2</sup> The family enjoyed early connections to the EIC, Smith's father working at one time as private secretary to the Marquis of Hastings.<sup>3</sup> Understandably therefore, when Smith's family later moved to an artists' district (Newman Street, off Oxford Street) in London, and financial pressures meant that the sons had to seek employment, the expanding EIC seemed an opportune choice.<sup>4</sup> Robert Smith, aged sixteen years, enlisted as a cadet in 1803, following his older brothers, James and John, to India, while his younger brother, Edward, joined the Company in 1815.<sup>5</sup> Robert Smith became an ensign in April 1805, soon transferring from the Infantry to the Bengal Engineers, which proved a pivotal

---

<sup>1</sup> V. C. P. Hodson, *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834*, 4 vols (London, 1947), IV, p. 133; Raymond Head, *Redcliffe and Colonel Robert Smith: A History of the Redcliffe Hotel and its Original Designer* (Paignton: Redcliffe Hotel, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Head, Redcliffe; Bideford Parish Register cited in Hodson, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Head, *Colonel Robert Smith (1787-1873) and Redcliffe*, (The Torbay Civic Society, [n.d.]).

<sup>4</sup> Head, Redcliffe.

<sup>5</sup> Hodson, p. 133; London: BL IOR/MIL/9/112, 'Cadet Papers for Robert Smith', 1802-3.

decision as he was rarely posted to the front-line of hostilities.<sup>6</sup> Tragically, of the four sons who went out to India, joining as ensigns and rising to at least the rank of lieutenant-colonel, all, except Robert died there.<sup>7</sup>

Smith began his military training at the EIC's Great Marlow Academy.<sup>8</sup> As the Company expanded into new territories in India, surveying and accurate mapping skills were imperative to assist revenue collection, administrative function, and later military campaigns.<sup>9</sup> The drawing masters at Great Marlow, including William De La Motte (1775-1863) and William Alexander (1767-1816), ensured their pupils became proficient in drafting accurate maps, fortification, sketching in the field, and painting topographical watercolours and panoramas (Fig. 2.38).<sup>10</sup> Although influenced by the Picturesque paintings of William and Thomas Daniell and William Hodges, Smith developed his own style and was one of many officers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who took up drawing as part of their leisure activities, demonstrating evidence of accomplished draughtsmanship.<sup>11</sup> Throughout his time in India, Smith was a prodigious artist, both for work and leisure, depicting India's scenery, architecture, and the day-to-day workings of the EIC. As an engineer Smith worked on a variety of projects, but he was also called upon at times to be both an artist and a fighting soldier. These differing strands of his career influenced his later architectural endeavours.

### Experiences in India

Having arrived in Calcutta in 1805, Smith was first employed building infrastructure: bridges and roads, and later a lighthouse at Kijri, Diamond Harbour, near Calcutta.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> BL IOR/MIL/9/112; Reginald Henry Phillimore, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, 4 vols (Dehra Dun, 1950), II p. 442. Smith transferred from Infantry to Engineers in June 1805.

<sup>7</sup> Hodson, p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> *Torquay Herald Express* (12 September 2001), p. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Mildred Archer, 'An Artist Engineer: Colonel Robert Smith in India (1805-1830)', *The Connoisseur* (February 1972), p. 79.

<sup>10</sup> Luke Herrmann, 'Delamotte, William (1775–1863)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 705-706; Richard Garnett, 'Alexander, William (1767–1816)', rev. Heather M. MacLennan, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 695-696.

<sup>11</sup> Rosie Dias, 'Memory and the Aesthetics of Military Experience: Viewing the Landscape of the Anglo-Mysore Wars', *Tate Papers* 19, Spring 2013

<<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/memory-and-aesthetics-military-experience-viewing-landscape-anglo>>[accessed 16 October 2013]; Howes, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Head, Redcliffe; A. W. Skempton (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in Great Britain and Ireland, Vol 1–1500 to 1830*, (London: Thomas Telford Publishing, 2002), p. 637.

Although promoted to lieutenant and seeing action with the Bengal force capturing Mauritius from the French, 1810-1811, his flair for surveying did not go unnoticed.<sup>13</sup> A report by the surveyor general suggested Smith was ‘by far the best draughtsman I am acquainted with. His masterly rapid pencil particularly qualifies him for survey of the Frontier, as he will be able to delineate the passes and surrounding country with the greatest correctness.’<sup>14</sup> Between 1812 and 1813 Smith joined the camp of the commander-in-chief, Sir George Nugent (1757-1849), for his tour of Upper India. At this time, Smith’s sketches were commented on by Lady Nugent (1771-1834), who noted in her diary that ‘Just as day dawned, we crossed the Jumna … I took the engineer officer, Mr. Smith, with me, and we projected a drawing of the line of march, which will be a treasure to me, if he executes it according to my plan, and I have little doubt of its being quite perfect, by what I have seen of his drawings’ (Fig. 2.39).<sup>15</sup>

In action again during the Nepal War, 1815-16, Smith gained the India medal. After these arduous tours of duty, however, illness took its toll.<sup>16</sup> He was appointed superintending engineer to Prince of Wales Island (Penang) in 1816, a convalescent facility for the personnel of Madras and Bengal, and vital for Smith’s recuperation.<sup>17</sup> Smith completed many watercolours of the main places of interest, before leaving on furlough to England from July 1819 until October 1822. While in London he visited William Daniell who agreed to engrave his watercolours, making ten aquatints, which were privately published in 1821 as *Views of Prince of Wales Island* (Fig. 2.40), the only public production of Smith’s art.<sup>18</sup> On his return to India in 1822,

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> *Survey of India Records*, transferred from Dehra Dun to NAI., New Delhi, 1947, 126 (134); 9 April 1812 by Surveyor General, quoted in Phillimore (1950), p. 442.

<sup>15</sup> Lady Maria Nugent, *A Journal from the Year 1811 Till the Year 1815, Including a Voyage to and Residence in India with a Tour to the North-Western parts of the British Possessions in that Country under the Bengal Government*, 2, 1 (London, 1839), p. 395.

<sup>16</sup> Hodson (1947), p. 133.

<sup>17</sup> Bombay General Orders (BGO) 11 November 1814, quoted in Hodson (1947), p. 133; Phillimore (1950), p. 442. He was first appointed to the post on 11 November 1814. However, his posting was postponed due to his military tour with Lord Moira, and his involvement in the Nepal War.

<sup>18</sup> Archer, *Robert Smith*, p. 81. It must also be noted that Smith was not alone in publishing his art, several East India Company Officers published engravings of their watercolour landscapes as an aspect of their private trading, for instance Captain R. H. Colebrooke, an East India Company surveyor, published *Twelve Views of Places in the Kingdom of Mysore, with Descriptions, and a Brief Detail of the Operations of the Army under Marquis Cornwallis*, 1794, engraved by the English artist John William Edy. For further information see Thomas Egerton, *A Catalogue of an Extensive Collection of*

Smith continued to paint and sketch the military life around him, for instance the soldiers at the flagstaff and the mansion at Barrackpore (Fig. 2.41). He was appointed garrison engineer and executive officer at Delhi in December 1822 (and at a later date major), in order that he might complete work on many of the ancient Mughal monuments (including the Red Fort, Jama Masjid, and Qutub Minar (Fig. 2.42), city walls (Fig. 2.43) and canals, in need of renovation.<sup>19</sup> Working with red sandstone and Indian topography proved to be defining for Smith's career and inspirational for his painting and later architectural designs in Europe and Britain.

### **Building in India**

Smith's expertise in planning and refurbishment of Mughal buildings for the EIC was put to good use when he moved to more permanent lodgings within Delhi's ancient city walls. His previous work on the restoration of local historic structures most likely informed his choice for an architectural fusion of styles when he constructed additional living space (Smith later employed a similar combination of motifs in the creation of his Italian and English mansions and grounds). Smith's restoration work in India was not unusual; old houses or ruins were often adapted for habitation, as many were constructed with *tykhana*s, which gave respite from the searing summer heat when temperatures typically rose to 40°C. Sir Thomas Metcalfe (1795-1853), the British Resident in Delhi during the 1840s noted that in his Presidential house in Delhi the 'Principal Teh-Khanah or under Ground Apartment [was] occupied during the Hottest Months of the Year'.<sup>20</sup> Smith was put in charge of renovating a house on the city wall between the Kashmir and Calcutta gates overlooking the river Jumna. The house had been built by 1805 for William Fraser (1784-1835), assistant British Resident to Delhi, on a site once occupied by the Mughal Palace of Ali Mardan Khan (d. 1657), a noble at the Emperor Shah Jahan's court, said to have laid out the gardens of the Taj Mahal and built the Qutub Minar.<sup>21</sup> Fraser, suggested to have 'gone native', gave up eating pork and beef, grew

---

*Books: in all Languages and Every Branch of Science and Literature* (London: Thomas Egerton Military Library, 1796), p. 396.

<sup>19</sup> Skempton, p. 637.

<sup>20</sup> British Library, Sir Thomas Metcalfe, *Reminiscences of Imperial Dehlie* Album, RP 3041 (microfilm). Facsimile published as M. M. Kaye (ed.), *The Golden Calm and English Lady's Life in Moghul India* (Exeter, 1980), pp. 84-85.

<sup>21</sup> See 'Notes on *The Taj Mahal and Its Garden*, 1884', British Library online gallery: <[www.bl.uk/onlinegallery](http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery)> [accessed 19 September 2013].

a Rajput beard, and kept a harem of six or seven wives.<sup>22</sup> By 1819 the bungalow-style house was vacant, and during the 1820s Robert Smith took occupation of it. The dwelling, with its low central block, and later domed roof and octagonal corner towers (Fig. 2.44) is reminiscent of the Kothi Singhara, Lucknow, which displayed a fusion of classical and *nawabi* styling, influenced by European architects such as Major-General Claude Martin (1735-1800), who settled in Oudh in the eighteenth century.

Visiting on 2 February 1828, Major Archer observed that ‘the view from Major Smith’s terrace looking towards the palace and the Selim Gurh, is very beautiful’.<sup>23</sup> Archer was extremely interested in the *tykhana* of the house:

We went to see the Ty-Kounahs, or underground houses, forming part of Major Smith’s residence ... they are formed in the walls of the ramparts, which being of great solidity completely exclude all heat ... The one now under mention doubtless belonged at some time in the past to a man of great station or wealth; the descent to the apartment was about thirty feet, and the surprise and pleasure were equal, to find such beautiful rooms and so elegantly arranged and furnished. Coloured to resemble marble, the eye is first deceived by the likeness; the deception is countenanced by the coolness, so different from that oppressive sensation always felt above. Long corridors lead to different apartments, embellished with coloured walls, and other decorations, all by the owner’s own hands; and it should not be omitted, that many exquisite drawings of places of celebrity in Delhi and its neighbourhood, add to the appearance of this truly fairy palace.<sup>24</sup>

Sylvia Shorto has observed the extant interior of the *tykhana*, made up of six rectangular rooms, and another square-shaped room slightly lower beneath, in addition to various other tunnels and rooms now bricked up. One room includes ‘a

---

<sup>22</sup> Aleck and William Fraser’s letters in the Moniack House archive, quoted in William Dalrymple, *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005), pp. 100-109.

<sup>23</sup> Archer, *Tours in Upper India*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 107-108.

coved bangla ceiling and a deep iwan (seating niche)', with stucco and paint traces.<sup>25</sup> Shorto suggests Smith painted the walls following the Northern Indian tradition of painting interiors, and that he continued this practice in his other houses.<sup>26</sup> It is known from later British sales catalogues that, obsessed by sketching and painting, Smith used wall space to hang his copious paintings of India, and it is possible that these also covered the walls of the *tykhana*. It is probable that Smith added the two end towers to the bungalow; a central section flanked by octagonal towers with an arcaded gothic loggia (in this case filled in), was emerging as his architectural signature. This design echoed elements of Mughal architecture, the octagonal form often used in towers or bastions on gates or tombs. In the Fraser Bungalow, the upper section of the towers below the balustrading is reminiscent of a cupola Smith designed for the Qutub Minar, exhibiting an experimental mix of styles, which would later become a trademark feature of Smith's building projects.<sup>27</sup>

In March 1823 Smith was selected to survey an ancient Mughal canal, known as the Doab (Jumna) Canal.<sup>28</sup> It had been built in the seventeenth century by Ali Mardan Khan, but due to difficulties with the terrain the canal did not operate fully and had remained unused for many years.<sup>29</sup> Smith was withdrawn from these duties, to take part in the siege and capture of Bharatpore, near Agra, 26 December 1825 (Fig. 2.45) where he was wounded, and later mentioned in despatches.<sup>30</sup> In September 1827, elevated to major for his services at Bharatpore, he returned to take charge of the restoration of the Jama Masjid (Fig. 2.46), the great mosque built in Delhi by the Emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666).<sup>31</sup> Major Archer, visiting in 1828, observed that 'Major Smith ... is particularly well qualified for the charge of restoring such magnificent relics of art, as much as by his exquisite judgement and

<sup>25</sup> See Sylvia Shorto, *British Houses in Late Mughal Delhi* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018); Sylvia Shorto, 'Public Lives, Private Spaces: British Houses in Delhi, 1803-1853' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2003), p. 132.

<sup>26</sup> Shorto, Public Lives, p. 133. Many thanks to Raymond Head for sharing his experience of the painted ceilings (likely by Italian artists) in Smith's Le Château de l'Anglais, Nice.

<sup>27</sup> Shorto, Public Lives, p. 131.

<sup>28</sup> Skempton (2002) p. 637.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Hodson (1947), p. 133; 'Dispatches', *London Gazette*, 10 June 1826, reported that Robert Smith, Captain: Sappers and Miners, was awarded a clasp to his India Medal.

<sup>31</sup> Hodson (1947), p. 133.

taste in the style of the works, as his acknowledged professional talents, which place him among the foremost of his compeers'.<sup>32</sup>

Smith was promoted to lieutenant-colonel in June 1830, but by this time, his health was poor. He left Delhi for Calcutta on his way to Europe, spending his leisure time during February and March 1830 sailing down the river Ganges sketching and painting watercolours, in the Picturesque style, of the scenes around him.<sup>33</sup> On furlough at the Cape for eight months from 26 November 1830 Smith officially retired from the Bengal army in July 1832, was created a Companion of the Bath on 26 September 1831, and later given the rank of honorary colonel in November 1854 in recognition of his pioneering engineering work.<sup>34</sup> His retirement pension was £1 per day and, unlike the military adventurers or earlier nabobs, no fortune awaited him.<sup>35</sup> Due to a ban on private trading, and the acceptance of gifts introduced by the Company in 1773, it would have been unusual if he had left the EIC a wealthy man.<sup>36</sup> Although his lack of income perhaps at first impeded his ambitions, Smith's love of sketching and painting gained during his surveying and drafting work for the EIC, combined with his acquired knowledge of the construction of Mughal monuments, were instrumental in the choices he made for the next phase of his life. He began to work towards the total design and planning of new mansions, which would enhance his family life and give vast spaces to display larger, more expansive paintings.

### **Building Projects in Europe**

Unlike his life in India, the years after Smith left the service of the Company are rather obscure. In the 1830s and 1840s he spent time in Italy and married a French

---

<sup>32</sup> Major Edward Archer, *Tours in Upper India and in Parts of the Himalaya Mountains*, 2 vols (London, 1833), I. p. 107.

<sup>33</sup> Hodson, p. 133; Phillimore, p. 442. See Mildred Archer, *The Tranquil Eye: The Watercolours of Colonel Robert Smith [of] a Journey Down the Ganges 1830* (London: Al-Falak and Scorpion Communications and Publications, 1982).

<sup>34</sup> Hodson, p. 133; Phillimore, p. 442; London: BL IOR/Z/E.4/43/S464, 'Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Smith, Bombay Infantry created C.B'; Robert Smith's medals, including the Order of the Bath, were sold for £5,200 in Lot 1036, 22 September 2006 by Dix Noonan Webb, [www.dnw.co.uk](http://www.dnw.co.uk) accessed 19 September 2013.

<sup>35</sup> Head, *Indian Style*, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Regulations were brought in to prohibit private trading and the acceptance of gifts: 'East India Company Act 1773' (13 Geo.III, C. 63); 'East India Company Act, 1784' (24 Geo. III, Sess. 2, C. 25), cited in *Indian Constitutional Documents 1773-1915*, ed. by Panchanandas Mukherji (Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co., 1915) pp. 6, 24-25.

heiress, Julia Adelaide Vitton, their son, Robert Claude, being born in Venice in 1843.<sup>37</sup> Despite a lack of detail, however, these important events were to have significant consequences for Smith and his architectural projects, which began to take shape quickly after the birth of his child. Soon after 1846, Smith purchased the Villa Mills on the Palatine hill (Fig. 2.47) in Rome.<sup>38</sup> In the sixteenth century the area had consisted of vineyards and gardens, part of the famous Farnese gardens developed by Cardinal Allesandro Farnese.<sup>39</sup> A house was first built on the site by the Stati family, on top of the ruined Domus Augustus, and was later bought in 1818 by Charles Mills (d. 1846), a Scotsman, and the English archaeologist William Gell (1777-1836).<sup>40</sup> In 1824 they restored the villa's small Renaissance open loggia, which featured ceiling frescoes painted by Peruzzi, representing the signs of the zodiac, the muses, and other classical subjects.<sup>41</sup> At a later date medallions containing a rose, a thistle and a shamrock were placed on the spandrels of the first floor painted arches, and the entrance gate piers were emblazoned with thistles.<sup>42</sup>

H. V. Morton suggests that Mills added gothic extensions to the villa, using the services of a 'fashionable English architect' to create 'pinnacles, battlements, casements and cloisters', and two Chinese pagodas, painted in crimson, over the Augustine baths.<sup>43</sup> However, after Charles Mills' death in October 1846, Smith purchased the property and given the lack of evidence concerning Mills' 'alterations', it is possible to make a convincing case that it was Smith rather than Mills, who added these features to the Villa.<sup>44</sup> All articles written on the Villa suggest Charles Mills built it and point out the thistled villa gateposts as a significant

<sup>37</sup> Raymond Head, 'Indian Fantasy in Devon', *Country Life* (28 May 1981), p. 1524. BL IOR/MIL/9/252/287-94, 'Cadet Papers for Robert Claude Smith', 1859-60. Recorded in Robert Claude Smith's Cadet Papers as Giulia Adelaide Vitton del fù Claudio, Robert Smith's wife's last name was likely to be Vitton and her maiden name Claude. Many thanks to Carlo Avilio for his assistance with transcribing these details.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Mills died in 1846, so Smith likely purchased the villa between 1846 and 1856 after which the house was acquired by the Sisters of the Visitation.

<sup>39</sup> Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London, 1929), p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Alba della Fazia Amoia and Enrico Iruschini, *Stendhal's Rome: Then and Now* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia E Letteratura 1997), pp. 67-68.

<sup>41</sup> H. V. Morton, *A Traveller in Rome* ([n.c.], Methuen Publishing Ltd., 2002), 419. Peruzzi was one of the leading artists in Rome c.1520. *Collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/437274> accessed 9 September 2013.

<sup>42</sup> Morton, *A Traveller in Rome*, 2002, p. 419.

<sup>43</sup> Amoia, pp. 67-68; Rodolfo Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome* (London: Macmillan & Company Ltd., c.1901), pp. 325-326.

<sup>44</sup> Morton, *Traveller in Rome*, 2002, p. 420.

link to his Scottish heritage.<sup>45</sup> However, Smith had more claim to Scottish ancestry as his son was later granted a coat-of-arms relating to the arms of Smith of Braco in Scotland.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the building has much of Smith's architectural fusion style, with Gothic and Italian elements conjoined with Indian, in a central rotunda flanked by two octagonal towers with an arched loggia beneath. With archaeological remains below of an ancient civilisation, and a view from the top of a cliff, the Villa's design clearly echoes the Delhi bungalow. It is also odd that visitors to the Villa while Charles Mills was in residence did not mention the eccentric look of the mansion. For instance, Harriet Countess Granville, who was keen to rent the house from Charles Mills, wrote in her journal: 'Drive with us on a glorious summer's day down the Corso, by the ruins of the Temple of Peace, the Coliseum, Arch etc., to Mr Mill's garden, all full of roses, Cape jessamines and heliotropes.'<sup>47</sup> The garden appears to have been the main appeal of the house and not its architecture, so it seems likely that the design of the new additions to the Villa Mills was by Smith, not Mills.

The training Smith had received at the EIC's Great Marlow Academy, and his work for the Bengal army in topographical surveying would have proved extremely helpful with the re-design of the Villa Mills development. However, his drawing and skills were stretched even further with the planning of earth-movements and tunnelling in his next ambitious enterprise when he later created another 'fairy palace' in Europe, on an isolated headland in Nice, on the Cote D'Azure, at first called the Chateau Smith and later Le Château de l'Anglais. A description of the construction of this property gives an impression of the lavish amount of time and money that Smith gave to his building projects. His other house and garden at Redcliffe Towers, Paignton, was developed during this same time scale, and is covered later in the case study. Le Château de l'Anglais was constructed near a property belonging to Smith's close friend and former EIC colleague Proby Cautley, which was left to Smith after Cautley died in 1871.<sup>48</sup> Smith may have found the

---

<sup>45</sup> Lanciani, pp. 325-236.

<sup>46</sup> James Balfour Paul (Lyon King of Arms), *An Ordinary of Arms: contained in the public register of all arms and bearings in Scotland* (Edinburgh, Green, 1895), p. 70.

<sup>47</sup> *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville 1810-1845*, ed. by the Hon. F. Leveson-Gower, 2 vols (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1894), II, p. 340.

<sup>48</sup> Principal Probate Registry, Holborn, London (previously Somerset House), Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 'Will of Proby Thomas Cautley', March 1871; see also Joyce Brown, 'A memoir of

climate of Nice more agreeable to his health, or conceivably he may have wished for a major project to sharpen his mind and extend his drawing and building skills. He acquired a plot of 20,000 square metres of rocky uncultivated land on Mont Boron, unpatronised by the English gentry, who preferred fashionable Cannes.<sup>49</sup> With plans drawn up in 1856, Smith was in Nice in 1857, hiring workers for his huge undertaking, which included clearing the rocky terrain, building retaining walls, walkways and tunnels.<sup>50</sup> With his expertise in engineering Smith knew how to gain maximum effect from the slope of the land; Élisée Reclus writing in 1864 observed: ‘below the villa, hanging gardens, carved at great expense in the rock, descending terraces by terraces to the sea’ (Fig. 2.48).<sup>51</sup>

The exact stone colour used for the Château is unknown, however many painters were inspired to depict the building: Jules Defer’s *Le Château de l’Anglais et la grève du Lazaret*, gives the château a rosy glow, while in Vincent Fossat’s aquatint, *Nice Le Château de l’Anglais Smith* (Fig. 2.49), the building appears made of buff stone, with red coloured rock in the surrounding countryside; both very different from the pink paint which has covered the building since the 1950s (Fig. 2.50). Perhaps the most reliable source for the hue is an account in a magazine from the nineteenth century which describes it as ‘a red building developed before the road was made to Villefranche’.<sup>52</sup> This unusual colour corresponds with that of the Mughal monuments which occupied Smith’s early endeavours in Delhi.

Returning to Nice in May 1858 Smith stayed at the Hotel Royal, on the Boulevard de l’Impératrice Eugénie; from its elevated site he could oversee the work on the Château from the hotel windows.<sup>53</sup> The next year he returned to oversee

---

Colonel Sir Proby Cautley, F.R.S., 1802-1871, Engineer and Palaeontologist’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 34.2 (March, 1980), fn. 85. It has not been possible to identify the site of this house in Nice.

NIA OIFS 0298, 29/1/1855 to 29/4/1857, *Sale of uncultivated land to Colonel Robert Smith*, 25 April 1856. Didier Gayraud ‘Le Château Smith: di Château de l’Anglais ou Château de Mont Boron’, *Nice Historique*, 113.1 (2011), 47-63 (p. 53). Lord Brougham (1778-1868) built the first British villa, ‘Eléonore Louise’, on the Riviera in 1835.

<sup>50</sup> Nice: NIA ADAM 1Z273, Registre des demandes des visas; Gayraud, p. 53; Shorto (2003), p. 135.

<sup>51</sup> Translation from Élisée Reclus, *Les villes d’hiver de la Méditerranée et Les Alpes-Maritimes* (Paris, 1864), 243, quoted in Véronique Thuin-Chaudron, ‘Le Mont Boron Autour des Années 1860. Une Colline en Pleine Mutation.’ in *Nice Historique: Le Mont Boron: L’Urbanisation d’une Colline Niçoise*, Issue 113, No. 1 (January-March, 2011).

<sup>52</sup> ‘Nice à vol d’oiseau’, *Nouvelle revue européenne* (1895), cited in Gayraud (2011), p. 56.

<sup>53</sup> Gayraud (2011), p. 54.

further work and sketch and paint.<sup>54</sup> By 1862, the main structure of the Château was most likely completed. Described as having a ‘perfect spirit of symmetry’, the mansion featured Smith’s signature, a large central tower with two turrets at each end.<sup>55</sup> A ground-floor arcade (or loggia) along the length of the building was topped by rooms which opened out onto a large terrace, while a long gallery housed one of Smith’s huge paintings, a thirty metre mural of Indian life.<sup>56</sup> Above this an outdoor staircase was joined to the central rotunda which was decorated with petal-shaped battlements and onion domes; his architectural style although still displaying echoes of Indian monuments and gates, was becoming more curvilinear and eccentric (Fig. 2.51). Smith built serpentine paths, ornamental lakes, and many other buildings throughout his property: below the house he constructed a circular gallery to display his paintings (Fig. 2.52); in the south he built a tower or lighthouse; and near the sea a small domed pavilion possibly associated with bathing.<sup>57</sup>

The building drew criticism from local commentators who deemed it unsightly and bizarre, like the décor of an opera, or a wedding cake, yet Smith remained unfazed by the harsh remarks.<sup>58</sup> He lived in the Château, compulsively painting, attending very few local social occasions, receiving only close friends visiting the Riviera and his military colleagues from India. In fact, the building projects in Rome and Nice indicate that Smith had lost little of his artistic skill and well-honed architectural talent that had gained approval and promotion while he was in India. His larger properties allowed experimentation with signature designs, to enlarge the themes and develop them into structures necessary for enjoyment in his solitary life, for instance his picture gallery, exotic plant conservatory, and bathing platform. Scaled down earlier versions of these designs were employed to fit a more

<sup>54</sup> This was after Savoy and Nice were annexed by plebiscite under the Treaty of Turin which transferred Nice from Italy to France. See Samuel B. Crandall, *Treaties Their Making and Enforcement* (New Jersey, 2005), pp. 226, 306, 322 and 435. NIA O3FS 0155 26/06/1858 to 15/10/1858, *Expert report on the work undertaken by Colonel Robert Smith for the construction of his house Montboron (known as Le Chateau de l'Anglais) in the trial against the masterbricklayer Giuseppe Gilli*, watercolour plan 23 August 1858. Smith needed to oversee the project as he had difficulties with his workmen.

<sup>55</sup> Gayraud (2011), p. 55.

<sup>56</sup> Shorto (2003), p. 136.

<sup>57</sup> Lise Didier-Moulouquet published a small survey taken from an 1872 local property register, ‘Nice: le chateau de l’Anglais’, *Monuments historiques de la France*, I (1778), pp. 31-33, cited in Shorto (2003), p. 136, n. 88.

<sup>58</sup> Gayraud (2011), p. 59.

domestic style of living at Paignton, whilst continuing to reference his previous military work in India.

### **Redcliffe Towers**

Smith's wife Julia died some time before 1850 leaving Smith her considerable wealth. While simultaneously building in Nice, Smith also returned to his sister Mary's house, in the fashionable resort of Torquay, selling the family house at Bideford and purchasing five acres of remote headland in nearby Paignton.<sup>59</sup> There, Smith proceeded to build another unusual house, known as Redcliffe Towers.

Perhaps Devon with its palm trees and lush vegetation reminded Smith of his time in India - William Daniell visited Devon in 1806 with the architect C. R. Cockerell (1788-1863) who wrote in his notebook: 'At Ilfracombe, Mr.D [aniell] says the foliage approached nearest to India of any he ever saw'.<sup>60</sup> A date of 1852 is suggested by Raymond Head for the commencement of building work on Redcliffe Towers, Smith bringing all his experience, and knowledge into the evolution of this extraordinary building.<sup>61</sup> J. R. K. Tozer, the proprietor of a major building company in Paignton, built the mansion in several stages, using drawings by Smith. The size of the building after each stage can be appraised by its rateable value: the first stage progressed in 1855, rated £9.15s.0d; by 1858 it was a considerable building rated £44.16s.8d; the final stage was completed by 1864 and rated £87.10s.0d.<sup>62</sup>

The house was constructed around an earlier look-out tower (Fig. 2.53), possibly with blocks from the red local sandstone, linking the building with Smith's previous projects, namely the restoration of the Red Fort, Jama Masjid and Qutub

---

<sup>59</sup> Terry Leaman, 'Gentry List', extracted from, *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Devonshire*, 1856, <<http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/terryleaman/Tiscali/1856-Kellys-gentry.html>>. [accessed 1 November 2017].

<sup>60</sup> RIBA Archive Collection, *Memoranda of a journey through Devon and Wales*, 23 July 1806, COC/9, COC/10 (Box 9-10), cited in David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell* (London, Zwemmer, 1974), p. 5. Although Ilfracombe is 90 miles away in North Devon, the climate of Paignton is equally mild. The artist William Hodges, known for his Picturesque paintings of India settled on his return to England in the nearby resort of Brixham.

<sup>61</sup> Archer, *Robert Smith*, p. 88. *Redcliffe, Tor Bay, Devon; Construction of Seawall by Lieutenant Colonel R Smith*, The National Archives, BT 356/10656. Four drawings including *An Elevation of the East or Sea Front*, signed by Robert Smith came to light in Messrs. Cooksleys estate agents in the early 1970s. However, this cannot be verified as the drawings have since disappeared, but the date concurs roughly with that of a map drawn up by Smith and submitted in 1854 to the Admiralty to gain assent to build a seawall around Redcliffe.

<sup>62</sup> In the Paignton rate books, it was identified as Redcliffe Castle.

Minar in Delhi.<sup>63</sup> It was a design which fused Indian, Italian and Gothic motifs together and included the familiar signature of central rotunda and two wings (Fig. 2.54). It is now grey, covered in roughcast with stuccoed detail, which diminishes its impact on the landscape, and conceals all traces of the previous building.

According to an undated plan (Fig. 2.55), Redcliffe was approached by a serpentine carriage drive past a domed hexagonal lodge, which led to the formal garden at the front of the house, where a fountain and arching flower borders enclosed island beds in a floral shape, perhaps the symbolic sacred lotus.<sup>64</sup> Behind was the elliptical billiard room, and Smith's long conservatory housing his collection of rare hothouse plants, leading to the main central rotunda with its master's room, smoking room, and dining room. The two wings were topped by minarets and domes; the West wing accommodated Smith's studio and picture gallery, while the East wing featured service rooms, and the kitchen. An octagon with a copper-tented roof and a ball finial topped the rotunda, and its four bay windows faced east towards the sea. Smith's architectural features included ogee-shaped windows with stars at the apex, petal-shaped merlons, and a circular picture gallery.<sup>65</sup> The emblems on the rotunda are reminiscent of the Renaissance frescoes in the loggia on the Palatine, and thistles and apples, roses and shamrocks are used as decorative motifs, alongside Maltese crosses and sea-horses, in wrought-iron and plaster, and on the roundels embellishing the tower (Fig. 2.56).

There were twenty-three bedrooms and dressing rooms, servants' accommodation, outbuildings and stables.<sup>66</sup> Steps on the eastern side were known as the Mecca steps and the building for a long time was believed to be orientated towards Mecca, undoubtedly myths, which nevertheless added to the mystique of the building. Smith loved to experiment with modern features: gas was piped throughout the house brought from the newly opened Preston Gas Works, and on the first floor

---

<sup>63</sup> R. Sercombe and Raymond Head, 'Redcliffe Paignton and its builder, Col Robert Smith', *Devon Life*, [n.d], p. 24. Conversation with Mr. Stephen Twigger, owner of the Redcliffe Hotel, 14 March 2013. Many thanks to Mr. Twigger for pointing out the hotel's copy of the 'Paignton' vignette.

<sup>64</sup> Unsigned and undated, it is a copy of an earlier map. It is unknown whether all features were copied from the original map, or whether the features marked were introduced at a later date.

<sup>65</sup> For full architectural details see English Heritage, 'List entry for Redcliffe Hotel, No: 1195234', <[www.english-heritage.org.uk](http://www.english-heritage.org.uk)> [accessed 10 July 2013].

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

the main room was divided into three, but could be made into one room by sliding doors; suggested by Head to be ‘a novel feature which allowed a perfect panorama of Torbay to be seen from Redcliffe’s clifftop site.’<sup>67</sup> Smith also filled the house with luxurious materials imported from Europe and Asia. Sale catalogues show that the interior of the house included blue silk brocade damask drapes, walnut and mahogany furniture, Italian marble fireplaces, Florentine marble-topped tables, cut-glass chandeliers and gilded mirror frames, Brussels carpets, antique bronzes, fine Japanese, Dresden, and Wedgwood china, and 300 of Smith’s paintings and watercolours mainly of India.<sup>68</sup>

Like many others returning from India Smith built a bathing complex within his estate. He designed a tunnel (Fig. 2.57) to link his house on the seaward side with an octagonal hydropathic plunge bath, which filled with seawater at high tide.<sup>69</sup> E. M. Collingham suggests that retired Anglo-Indians, on their return from the sub-continent, brought the ‘pleasures of personal cleanliness’ back to Britain, and that many had adopted the Indian regimes of cold bathing and hair washing to help stave off the onset of tropical disease.<sup>70</sup> Jane Austen (1775-1817) in her unfinished novel *Sanditon* (1817) promoted the health values of sea bathing. She remarked that ‘The Sea air and Sea Bathing together were nearly infallible, one or the other of them being a match for every Disorder of the Stomach, the Lungs or the Blood.’<sup>71</sup> Smith retired from the East India Company on health grounds, so sea-bathing possibly relieved his ailments and war wounds.<sup>72</sup>

Smith also developed the five acres of pleasure gardens at Redcliffe using the space economically, surrounding it with flowerbeds, ilex and holm oak (Fig. 2.58), with terrace walks and fountains, a kitchen garden, a hot house, a viney, and a large

---

<sup>67</sup> Head, Redcliffe Hotel. Smith’s comments were found on the reverse of one of the original architectural drawings, found in the 1970s.

<sup>68</sup> Head, Redcliffe Hotel.

<sup>69</sup> Many books were published in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries advocating ways to increase life expectancy, see John Floyer, *An Enquiry into the Right Use and Abuses of the Hot, Cold and Temperate Baths in England* (London, 1697); John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London, 1703).

<sup>70</sup> E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Oxford: Polity, 2001), pp. 44-49.

<sup>71</sup> Jane Austen, *Sanditon* (Unfinished, 1817), University of Virginia Library.

<sup>72</sup> The pool was destroyed in a storm in 1867, but the passageway is still in use today as a quick way down to the beach.

conservatory containing Indian rare plants.<sup>73</sup> He introduced a military flavour into the garden design with flagstaff towers and bastions overlooking the sea (Fig. 2.59).<sup>74</sup> Local reports suggest Robert Smith led a reclusive life at Redcliffe with few visitors apart from his sister and friends returning from India. Considering that as an engineer he would have left the East India Company with only his pension, and as he had built two, possibly three large mansions in a synthesis of Indian and western architecture, it is extremely surprising that, after his death on 16 September 1873, he left a sum of £90,000.<sup>75</sup> Whether any investments he had made were exceptionally successful, or his late wife's fortune was immense remains undetermined. Of his 300 oil paintings dispersed in sales after his death, only a tenth have been identified.<sup>76</sup>

It was Smith's EIC training, in drawing, surveying and engineering skills which enabled him to design his unusual houses and landscapes which referenced the red sandstone Delhi buildings. However, he joined the Company later than those who were labelled as 'nabobs' for their large fortunes and left with only his army pension. Without his late wife's fortune, Smith would have been unable to embark on projects which occupied the last phase of his life, the unique constructions which he personally designed to display his memorabilia and paintings.<sup>77</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Head, Redcliffe Hotel.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. The grounds also contained a large collection of valuable antique vases Smith had brought back from Italy.

<sup>75</sup> England and Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966 for Rober [sic] Smith (1874), p. 59.

<sup>76</sup> Raymond Head, 'From Obsession to Obscurity: Colonel Robert Smith: Artist, Architect and Engineer – I', *Country Life* (21 May 1981), p. 1434.

<sup>77</sup> Smith was admitted later to a Torquay mental asylum, the papers signed by the wife of his late colleague Proby Cautley.

## **Case Study 5: Indian Stones in a Suffolk Garden: The Pyramid at Great Bealings built by Edward Moor, Bombay Army**

The subject of this case study is a solitary edifice, a pyramid (Fig. 2.60), built by Major Edward Moor on his return to Suffolk in 1805, after nearly twenty-two years' service with the EIC. In what follows the pyramid's cross-cultural origins and its exotic significance are contextualised, hypothesizing how Moor's Company experiences and his researches into Indian art, led him to construct this unique folly. Fortunately, Moor chronicled his thoughts and journeys in his published works, revealing his passion for Hindu mythology, his fondness for collecting Indian artefacts and paintings, and the possibility of a Hindu erotic sub-text couched in his Suffolk landform and pyramid. As the following analysis will show, Moor, like many other officers, collected artefacts from ruined temples to help with his researches. This aspect of Company life is examined with respect to the way in which the fragments were collected and their significance to Moor's narrative of the Hindu gods.

### **Early Life**

In the vicinity of Woodbridge in Suffolk a coterie of men, known as the 'Woodbridge Wits' met on a regular basis to discuss world, local, and artistic matters, with information gleaned from the latest journals and newspapers.<sup>1</sup> The 'Wits' included Major Edward Moor (1771-1848), together with the Quaker poet Bernard Barton (1784-1849); Edward Fitzgerald (1809-1883), the translator of *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* from Persian into English; the artist Thomas Churchyard (1798-1865); and the artist and landscaper Perry Nursey (1799-1867).<sup>2</sup> Major Moor was the much-travelled, well-connected, elder statesman of the group, who, having

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Samuel Laurence (the portrait painter), dated 21st December 1843: 'On Saturday I give supper to B. Barton and Churchyard. I wish you could be with us. We are the chief wits of Woodbridge.' William Aldis Wright, *Letters of Edward Fitzgerald*, 2, 1 (London: Macmillan & Co. Limited; New York: The Macmillan and Company, 1901 first published 1894), p.148. The works of John Constable were a subject for discussion as Churchyard, Barton and Fitzgerald all collected his paintings, see F. G. Notehelfer, 'Constable and the Woodbridge Wits', *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 141, No. 1158 (Sept. 1999), pp. 531, 532-536.

<sup>2</sup> Barton was extremely well known in the early nineteenth century, and a national household name: 'Between the years of 1820 and 1840 he had a multitudinous audience . . . his books were bought almost as rapidly as they were published and as his poetic output was large his influence was extensively felt'. Edward Verrall Lucas, *Bernard Barton and His Friends: A Record of Quiet Lives* (London: Edward Hicks Jnr., 1893), p. 169.

been in India for many years, regaled the young men with entertaining stories of the East, either at his home, Bealings House, or during long walks in the Suffolk countryside. The ‘Wits’ became Moor’s surrogate family, especially in the fifteen years after his wife died; the younger men valuing his authoritative knowledge, his humour and common sense.<sup>3</sup> However, his writing imparts alternative narratives, of the rigours and sadness of life in India, deeply contrasting with the ‘Wits’ romantic vision of the East. Moor’s life in Suffolk seemed full of friends and acquaintances, but in spite of all this activity, he appears a somewhat vulnerable figure.<sup>4</sup> His comforting memories of India had increasingly little significance to a younger generation whose scant knowledge of the East was acquired through Romantic novels, poetry, and paintings. England, at first, was most likely uncomfortable territory after the warmth of India, Barton giving an insight into this disconnection in his *Sonnet to Major Moor at Great Bealings*:

I pity him, who having wander’d long,  
Returns at last o’er Oceans’ tossing foam,  
A heartless exile to an English home!<sup>5</sup>

Moor (Fig. 2.61) was born near Woodbridge in January 1771, and was educated locally in Suffolk.<sup>6</sup> His grandfather, Thomas Wall from Aldeburgh, was an EIC sea-captain, and it is possible that Wall’s sojourns may have inspired his grandson to join the Company.<sup>7</sup> Certainly by the late eighteenth century the EIC needed men to fill

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Moor died on 13 December 1835. Thomas Seccombe, ‘Moor, Edward (1771–1848)’, rev. J. B. Katz, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Sept 2014, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/19089>, accessed 12 Sept. 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Moor was also well-known in artistic circles, for instance attending a dinner in London with Sir Walter Scott: Letter from Bernard Barton to his friend William S. Fitch [a druggist in the nearby town of Ipswich], Woodbridge 28th April, 1830: ‘I heard last night that Sir Walter is now in London. Major Moor tells me he dined with him t’other day at the Mansion House – So I asked Moor how I could address a Letter to the Lion; Faith says he, I’d just put Sir Walter Scott, London – You might add “or elsewhere” lest he should be out of Town, but it will be sure to find him’. James E. Barcus (ed.), *The Literary Correspondence of Bernard Barton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), p.75.

<sup>5</sup> Bernard Barton, *A Widow’s Tale and Other Poems* (London: B.J. Holdsworth, 1827), p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> See John Glyde (Silverpen), ‘Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia’, *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859; Thomas Seccombe, ‘Moor, Edward (1771–1848)’, rev. J. B. Katz, *ODNB*, [accessed 12 Sep. 2015].

<sup>7</sup> No 1: Major Edward Moor, F.R.S. – A Memoir’, *East Anglian Daily Times*, 16 August 1938. Thomas Wall was sworn in as Commander of the *Valentine*, 11 November 1785, Horatio Charles Hardy (revised by his son Horatio Charles Hardy), ‘East India Company Regular Commanders of the Regular Ships with their Order of Rank’, *A Register of Ships Employed in the Service of the*

its ranks, and with a high death rate of British troops, it was imperative that high-calibre replacements were recruited.<sup>8</sup> To this end, Moor was commissioned as a cadet in 1781, and assigned to the Bombay Presidency in May 1782.<sup>9</sup> Only eleven years old, Moor sailed for India on the *Europa* via the West Indies in September 1782.<sup>10</sup>

## Experience in India

Due to a delay in leaving Portsmouth, bad weather en route, and the need to circumvent enemy fleets, Moor's ship sailed first to Madras arriving in April 1783, where he was reassigned temporarily to the Madras Presidency, having been promoted to ensign on board ship.<sup>11</sup> In September 1788 Moor relocated to the Bombay Presidency promoted to lieutenant, and, later that year became adjutant and quartermaster of the Ninth Battalion Native Infantry.<sup>12</sup> During these early years he developed his linguistic skills: learning 'a little French in England, and on the voyage, from my German fellow-passengers, and a little Portuguese from a

---

*Honorable the United East India Company from the Year 1760 to 1810* (London: Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1811), xiii. Wall made many voyages to Bombay, India and China, on the *Speke*, *Worcester*, *Valentine* and the *Duke of Buccleugh*, see pp. 39, 49, 62, 72, 89, 102, 111, 132, 148, 160, 180, 197, 211.

<sup>8</sup> The death rate in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century from the heat, malaria and other diseases including syphilis, dysentery, fever, hepatitis and rheumatism was catastrophic for the East India Company armies. 24,500 European troops died in India in 1808, rising to 45,522 just before the 1857 Rebellion. David Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj: The Indian Army, 1860-1940* (London: Macmillan, 1994), p.133 cited in Mark Harrison, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600-1850* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 127, 129. For recruitment see Arthur N. Gilbert, 'Recruitment and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 15.1 (Autumn, 1975), 89-111.

<sup>9</sup> There is some discrepancy in Moor's service dates, Edward Dodwell and James Samuel Miles suggesting Moor was made a Cadet in 1781, and appointed Cornet, Ensign or Second Lieutenant 21 November 1782, *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army 1760-1834 (corrected to September 1837)* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Co., 1838). This differs slightly from most accounts, see Mridula Ramanna, *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), p.1. Obituary of Edward Moor, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1848* (May 1848), p. 549; No 1: Major Edward Moor, F.R.S. – A Memoir', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 16 August 1938, p.1.

<sup>10</sup> Moor sailed on the *Europa* within a fleet of East India ships from Portsmouth on 11 September 1782 bound for India.

<sup>11</sup> Moor was due to leave Portsmouth on 19 May 1782 but eventually left on 11 September 1782, a delay which affected his pension rights when he left the Company. He was promoted while on board to Ensign in November 1782. Britain was at war with the Dutch, the Americans and the French. Edward Moor Obituary, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1848* (May 1848), p.549. Edward Moor to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, 29 Aug 1806, Letter requesting to be allowed to retire on full pay, British Library IOR/D/162 ff. 132-37.

<sup>12</sup> Mridula Ramanna, *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), p.1.; *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1848* (May 1848), p.549; John Glyde (Silverpen), 'Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia', *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859.

servant'.<sup>13</sup> Moor's Persian teacher, a Brahmin, Mohun Lal, initiated Moor in the Persian language, but also Indian mythology: 'he was my *munshi*, or teacher, in Persian and my *guru* in Hinduism.'<sup>14</sup> By the time Moor was seventeen years old, he was competent in a number of Indian languages and his 'very great proficiency although ... under 18 years of age' was noted by the Company.<sup>15</sup> In addition to his linguistic interests Moor enthusiastically absorbed the Indian culture around him and became fascinated by Hindu beliefs and philosophies.<sup>16</sup>

Resigning his adjutancy, Moor saw action in the third Mysore war between the British and Tipu Sultan. Although a victory at the battle of Gadjnoor in December 1791, was credited to his tactical skills, Moor sustained serious injuries which forced him to relinquish his post and return to England to recuperate.<sup>17</sup> As entitlement to furlough was not yet available, it was necessary for him to resign from Company service, with no pay due whilst absent.<sup>18</sup> Moor's personal bravery in battle was, however, noted by the Court of Directors, and the Company paid for his expenses while in England.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Moor, *Oriental Fragments*, p. 120.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 10. Mohun Lal served Moor's Brahman military commander Perseram Bhow (Parasu Rama-Bhao). Later Moor's love of languages turned to the study of his native county's linguistics which led to the publication of *Suffolk Words and Phrases; or, An Attempt to Collect the Lingual Localisms of that County* (London: Hunter, 1823).

<sup>15</sup> A report dated c. November 1788, from a Committee for Examining officers in the Country language, referred to in a letter from Moor to the East India Company Directors requesting to be allowed to retire on full pay, 29 Aug 1806, British Library IOR/D/162 f. 134.

<sup>16</sup> William Dalrymple, 'Gods and Monsters', *The Guardian* (Sat. 25 August 2007) a review of the British Museum exhibition: *Faith, Narrative and Desire: Masterpieces of Indian Painting in the British Museum*, 2007.

<sup>17</sup> He injured his right knee, and a musket-ball shattered his left elbow. Certificates attesting Moor's severe injuries: Medical certificate signed by Surgeon James Lynn, 18 Aug 1806: British Library: IOR/D/164 f.156; Medical certificate signed by Everard Home testifying injuries sustained by Major Edward Moor render him unfit for military service, 26 Aug. 1806, British Library IOR/D/164 ff.157-58. Obituary of Edward Moor, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848, p. 549.

<sup>18</sup> Before 1796 furloughs were not granted to officers of the East India Company's army: to return to England they had to resign from the service and exist with no pay while absent from India, and this time also did not count towards their Company pension. John Glyde (Silverpen), 'Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia', *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859; Mridula Ramanna, *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Lieutenant Edward Moor, *A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Mahratta Army Commanded by Purseram Bhow during the Late Confederacy in India against Nawab Tippoo Sultan Bahadur* (London: self-published, 1794), i. This was unusual; the cost of repatriation for wounded soldiers was not normally borne by the Presidency Government. Moor's commanding officers commended his excellent conduct and abilities and, as he was unable to afford passage to England, an allowance was made by the Bombay Government. See John Glyde (Silverpen), 'Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia', *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859. En route to England

Back in England, he attended a surgeon, James Lynn of Woodbridge, later marrying Lynn's daughter Elizabeth, in July 1794.<sup>20</sup> In 1796 Moor was promoted to brevet captain, and though he was still suffering from his injuries, he opted to go back to Bombay accompanied by his wife, becoming a full captain 28 December 1798.<sup>21</sup> Five children were born to the couple in Bombay, though, three of them died there, a common occurrence in many Company families.<sup>22</sup> In 1796, Moor was appointed as commanding officer to two companies, the honorary escort of Sir Charles Malet, resident at the Court of Poonah 1785-1798.<sup>23</sup> Malet became Moor's patron, together with the British writer James Forbes, artist James Wales, and the Indian draftsman and sculptor Gangaram Tambat.<sup>24</sup> During his tours of duty Moor learnt Sanskrit, and continued his interest in Indian religions, customs and culture, becoming a member of the Asiatick Society of Bengal (Calcutta) in 1796, and a founder member of the Literary Society of Bombay in 1804.<sup>25</sup> He was promoted to the rank of major on 16 August 1804, and was encouraged to continue his cultural and antiquarian endeavours by Sir Charles Malet and Jonathan Duncan, also becoming inspired by the works of the orientalist, Sir William Jones, and the antiquarians d'Harcaville and Payne Knight.<sup>26</sup> While in Bombay Moor explored

---

he travelled to China and Europe where enforced leisure gave rise to a written account of his early military career, published in 1794.

<sup>20</sup> Moor married 10 July 1794 at Woodbridge. Suffolk Marriage Index Transcription, Suffolk Family History Society: Births, Marriage, Death & Parish Records. [findmypast.co.uk](http://findmypast.co.uk) accessed 24 Apr. 2015; 'No 1: Major Edward Moor, F.R.S. – A Memoir', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 16 August 1938. James Lynn had also served the East India Company as a ship's surgeon on board *The Walmer Castle*, Medical certificate of Edward Moor, signed by James Lynn, 18 August 1806, British Library IOR/D/164 f.156.

<sup>21</sup> To return to India without loss of rank required an application to the Court of Directors. See 'The Furlough Regulations of India', *The Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs* (1851), p. 499. John Glyde (Silverpen), 'Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia', *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859; Dodwell and Miles, *Officers of the Indian Army* (Bombay Presidency) (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Co., 1838), pp. 52-53. Moor's first child Edward was born in Woodbridge, Suffolk 21 June 1795, but died in London 21 March 1796. Joseph Jackson Howard, and Frederick Arthur Crisp, 'Moor of Great Bealings, Co. of Suffolk', *Visitation of England and Wales*, Vol 5 (privately printed, 1897) pp. 90-91. Mridula Ramanna, *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), p. 2; *Letter from Edward Moor to his Grace the Duke of Grafton*, 31 March 1814, Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich), Ref: H15/3/2.3.

<sup>22</sup> The surviving children were: Edward James Moor (later the Rev. Moor), born in Bombay 19 July 1799, and Charlotte Moor, born in Bombay 12 September 1804 (later married William Wood Page, Baron Hatherley). Joseph Jackson Howard, and Frederick Arthur Crisp, 'Moor of Great Bealings, Co. of Suffolk', *Visitation of England and Wales*, Vol 5 (privately printed, 1897) pp. 90-91.

<sup>23</sup> Letter requesting to be allowed to retire on full pay, 29 Aug 180 British Library IOR/D/162 f. 134r.

<sup>24</sup> *Adapting the Eye: An Archive of the British in India, 1770-1830*, <http://britishart.yale.edu> [accessed 30 April 2017].

<sup>25</sup> John Glyde (Silverpen), 'Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia', *Suffolk Chronicle*, 24 May 1859.

<sup>26</sup> Payne Knight was also involved with the promotion of the Picturesque style of landscaping in Great Britain and Ireland, publishing his poem *The Landscape* in 1795. Lucian Harris, 'Suffolk's Hindu

many Maharashtran archaeological remains, including visits to the caves of Elephanta (Fig. 2.62), which contained the sixth century Mahesamurti sculpture of Shiva (the Trimurti) (See Fig. 2.15):

My visitings to it [Elephanta] and the fine cavern, of which it is the main and most conspicuous object, have been frequent – beginning with 1784, and ending, I think, in 1804. ... I have painfully circumambulated the island at the water's brink; and, as I believe, found excavations on which no European eye had before rested ... I have examined the Colossal bust with Niebuhr's plate in my hand, and a note therein marks my opinion of its accuracy and insufficiency.<sup>27</sup>

The cave system of Elephanta, dedicated to the worship of Shiva, had an inner sanctuary in the main cave, described by Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin as the coupling of Shiva and Parvati symbolised by the *linga* and the *yoni*, surrounded by naked *Maithuna*, their erotic love and desire represented on the wall friezes.<sup>28</sup> The British artists Thomas and William Daniell visited these caves, and those at Kanheri, accompanied by James Wales, whose notebooks and diaries recorded the ‘spiritual magnificence and intense eroticism’ found in the caves.<sup>29</sup> The Daniells’ response to the caves’ sublimity and sexuality was depicted in a 1793 preparatory sketch, the eventual aquatint published in *Oriental Scenery Part V*, 1799-1808 (Fig. 2.63).<sup>30</sup>

Far from a suggestion by Lucian Guthrie Harris that Moor had an ‘abhorrent attitude towards Hindu erotic sculpture’, Moor did not shy away from the sexuality and sensuality of Indian art, devoting a whole chapter to the *linga* and the *yoni* in his

---

Mystery’, *Country Life* (16 October 2003), Volume 197, No. 42, p.110. Edward Dodwell and James Samuel Miles, *Officers of the Indian Army* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Co, 1838), p. 52-53.

<sup>27</sup> Moor, *Oriental Fragments*, p. 443.

<sup>28</sup> De Almeida, p. 50.

<sup>29</sup> De Almeida, p. 49.

<sup>30</sup> Sketch by Thomas and William Daniell of the Elephanta Caves, July 1793, V&A Museum, Museum No: IS.152-1984; *Oriental Scenery V: Antiquities of India* was issued in two parts 1799-1808.

publication, *The Hindu Pantheon*.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, he preferred to describe Hindu eroticism in gentler terms, for instance allying the characteristics of the female *yoni* and its male counterpart the *linga* with the Hindu natural world:

The sea, a pond, a well, a cave, the palm of the hand, or anything similarly hollowed, convey to their [the Hindus] enthusiastic minds, and idea of the *Argha*; and their periphery, real or imaginary, an idea of the *Yoni*. In like manner, a mountain, a hill, a tree deprived of its boughs, a mast, a pole, an obelisk, a pyramid, or anything conical or erect, excites an idea of the *Linga*.<sup>32</sup>

Moor became garrison storekeeper to the Bombay army between 1796 and 1799, and until February 1805 he was quarter master general (commissary general), until deterioration of his battle wounds necessitated a return with his family to England.<sup>33</sup> By this time, furloughs were granted and Moor applied for a three-year recuperation period intending to return again to India.<sup>34</sup> However, his ill-health prevented this event and he made a request to the Court of Directors to retire on full pay.<sup>35</sup> Finding Moor was twenty-eight days short of time on Indian soil to gain a full pension, the Court of Directors suggested he went back to India to gain the extra service needed

---

<sup>31</sup> Lucian Guthrie Harris, ‘British Collecting of Indian Art and Artifacts in the 18th and early 19th Centuries’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sussex University, 2002), p. 273. Also gives further information on Moor’s Collection.

<sup>32</sup> Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 382, 390, 399. Moor suggests the *Argha* symbolises the earth in the shape of a boat, which is also the ‘mysterious *Yoni*’.

<sup>33</sup> Mridula Ramanna, *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), p.2; John Glyde (Silverpen), ‘Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia’, *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859.

<sup>34</sup> Furlough regulations were introduced in 1796, which stated: ‘officers to be entitled to retire on the full pay of their regimental rank must have served 22 years in India, out of which leave of absence for two years in the aggregate, and not more, will be allowed as service for the retiring pension.’ *Reports from Commissioners Session 4 Feb – 19 July 1864: Report of the Commission on The Memorials of Indian Officers*, 1, 16 (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1864), p.111; Peter Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, 2, 2 (London: William H. Allen & Co., 1837), p. 147. Moor also spent time in China and Europe. Lucian Harris, ‘Suffolk’s Hindu Mystery’, *Country Life* (16 October 2003), Volume 197, No. 42, p. 110.

<sup>35</sup> Moor discovered his pension would be based on half-pay, as Company regulations suggested he was twenty-eight days short of the prescribed term of twenty-two years on Indian soil. He had not been able to claim for his recuperation time, or his long initial passage at sea. Moor’s letter, dated 29 August 1806 appealing to the Court of Directors against the decision, gives some idea of the controlling nature of the Company, with its unbending rules and regulations (which incidentally, Moor had put into order!). Letter requesting to be allowed to retire on full pay, 29 Aug 1806, British Library IOR/D/162 ff. 132-37.

and additional rank, but his injuries were too severe to withstand the climate.<sup>36</sup> By 1807 Moor's application to retire was accepted, with a small allowance from the Court of Directors, awarded in recognition of his services to the Company, in addition to his half-pay pension.<sup>37</sup> During his twenty-two years in India he had gathered together a wealth of on-site sketches, casts taken from artefacts, sculptures and paintings, and correspondence from Asiatick Society members including Charles Wilkins, and Robert Hyde Colebrooke. These formed the basis of a collection which proved useful in his later literary endeavours and assisted him with understanding the symbolism and allusions found in Indian religions.<sup>38</sup>

### **Settling in England and Publications**

In 1806, Moor bought Bealings House, a symmetrical seven-bayed red brick mansion, which was built c.1777 in Great Bealings, Suffolk, not far from his birthplace.<sup>39</sup> In 1806 he was made a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1824 a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Moor formally retired from the EIC in 1807, and his artefact collection was shipped back to England, to be later displayed in the EIC's India Museum.<sup>40</sup> His acquisitions, now in the British Museum, included small Hindu sculptures and *linga-yoni* shrines from Maharashtra, including the statue of Ganesa, the god of 'prudence and policy' which featured on the frontispiece to

---

<sup>36</sup> Letter from Edward Moor requesting to be allowed to retire on half pay at the end of his furlough should his health have not improved, 15 June 1807, British Library, IOR/D/164 ff.159-60. Medical certificate signed by Everard Home testifying injuries sustained by Major Edward Moor which render him unfit for military service, 26 Aug. 1806, British Library: IOR/D/164 ff. 157-58; also, Medical Certificate signed by James Lynn 18 August 1806, British Library IOR/D/164 f. 156.

<sup>37</sup> At this time furlough had not been introduced, so all of Moor's time on board ship, and time recuperating from his wounds in England, would not have counted towards his pension. There are many letters in the British Library concerning this: IOR/D/162 ff. 132-37, see also *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1848* (May 1848) p. 550; John Phillipart, *The East India Military Calendar Containing the Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1823), p. 341.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Seccombe, 'Moor, Edward (1771–1848)', rev. J. B. Katz, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2014 [[http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/19089](http://www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/19089), accessed 12 Sept 2015]; De Almeida, p. 39; Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. ix.

<sup>39</sup> 'No 1: Major Edward Moor, F.R.S. – A Memoir', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 16 August 1938. The two storey Bealings House is listed Grade II by Historic England, Listing No. 1284017. The late eighteenth-century date for the house is suggested by the 1919 sale catalogue for Bealings House, Suffolk Record Office: HE402/2/1919/20.

<sup>40</sup> Edward Mogg, *Mogg's New Picture of London; or Stranger's Guide to the British Metropolis and Visitor's Guide to it [sic] Sights*, 1838. Mridula Ramanna, *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), pp. 2-3. East India House had been remodelled in the 1790s by the Company's Surveyor, Richard Jupp, and the general public was allowed free viewing of the artefacts in the Museum on Saturdays, and by appointment on Mondays and Thursdays.

Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (Figs. 2.64, 2.65).<sup>41</sup> Moor also collected many miniature paintings from Rajasthan, which date from c.1800 making it likely that they were commissioned, or collected by Moor, only a few years before he left for England. One of the paintings, a Jaipur-school painting of Shiva and Parvati which he purchased in Poona, Moor suggested was 'the most beautiful, highest finished thing I ever saw' (Fig. 2.66).<sup>42</sup> His collection was documented in the *Catalogue of the Oriental Cabinet of Major Moor* dated 1839, which maintained that his Indian artefacts had been acquired mainly for book research.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, Moor used his collection to compile his seminal text, *The Hindu Pantheon: Sri Sarva Deva Sabha, The Audience Hall of the Gods* (1810).<sup>44</sup> Written in encyclopaedic style similar to John Bell's *New Pantheon* (1790), which focused upon the gods and legends of Greece and Rome, Moor's book was unique as it concisely described, with simple line drawings, Hindu art, historical texts, and the lineages of over 2,000 of the major Hindu gods and immortals (Figs. 2.67, 2.68).<sup>45</sup> Images within the book were taken not only from Moor's material, but also from collections of the antiquarians Charles 'Hindoo' Stuart and Lord Valentia.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Small bronze figure of Ganesa, eighteenth century. British Museum, Museum No. 1940,0716.1.a. Ganesa was routinely 'saluted' at the front of a book, or at the beginning of any business venture, or journey, Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 169. The small Ganesa sculpture may have been a favourite as it also appears in the etching of Edward Moor which was possibly drawn when he was newly returned from India. Although the right hand of Moor is well reproduced, the left hand is not visible; the artist, Mary Dawson Turner, perhaps suggesting by omission the severe injury Edward Moor had received. Also, the statuette was said to be the inspiration for Robert Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* see Daniel E. White, *From Little London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print & Modernity in Early British India 1793-1835* (Baltimore, M.A.: The John Hopkins University Press, 2013), p. 76.

<sup>42</sup> Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 62. William Dalrymple, 'Moor the Collector: The British Museum celebrates India at 60 in a show of Indian art patronised by Brits before the Raj', *Outlook India*, 17 September 2007, accessed 11 May 2017.

<sup>43</sup> *Catalogue of the Oriental Cabinet of Major Moor*, dated 1839. British Museum, Museum No: 1940,0713,0.254.

<sup>44</sup> Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* was dedicated to Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, for whom Moor worked as a junior officer, not Warren Hastings as suggested by Mridula Ramanna, in *Founders and Guardians of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014), p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> John Bell, *The New Pantheon; Or, Historical Dictionary of the Gods, Demi-gods, Heroes, and Fabulous Personages of Antiquity: Also, of the Images and Idols Adored in the Pagan World; Together with Their Temples, Priests, Altars, Oracles, Fasts, Festivals, Games*, 2 vols, (London: J. Bell, 1790), cited in Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 178. *The New Pantheon* professed to cover the gods, demi-gods, and heroes of antiquity, and the images and idols adored in the Pagan world, however, it only touched upon Indian deities, while majoring upon the gods, ceremonies and legends of Greece and Rome. Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. x. The line drawings were executed by Moses Houghton and engraved by J. Dudley.

<sup>46</sup> Information from Colin Mackenzie, and Arthur Wellesley was also included, and Moor's analysis of coins and medals was illustrated by artefacts from 'the cabinet of the late Tipoo Sultan now in the possession of Major David Price'. Lucian Guthrie Harris, '*British Collecting of Indian Art and Artifacts in the 18th and early 19th Centuries*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sussex University, 2002),

## The Bealings Pyramid

One cathartic milestone for Moor was likely the building of the pyramid in his garden at Great Bealings, which he constructed with Indian artefacts. In *Oriental Fragments* (1834), Moor explains how he came by the Hindu architectural fragments:

At the very extremity of a promontory on the island of Bombay, called Malabar Point, is a cleft rock, a fancied resemblance to the *Yoni*, to which numerous pilgrims and persons resort for the purpose of regeneration ... Near it are the ruins of a temple ... It is said, with probability, to have been blown up by gunpowder, by the pious zeal of the idol-hating Portuguese, while Bombay was under their flag. ... The temple appears to have been sacred to the Hindu Trinity in Unity; for I found a stone, a good deal mutilated, some feet under ground and ruins, well carved into the triform head so stupendously sculptured in the cave at Ghari-puri, or Elephanta ... The fragment is more than two feet high, nearly as broad, and about eighteen inches thick, and is of course very heavy. I brought this stone to England, and it is now deposited in the company's museum at the India house. The front face is Brahma; on his right Siva; to his left Vishnu (Fig. 2.69).<sup>47</sup>

Another stone that I ... found ... in the same place ... The subject seems the same with the other – the Trimurti or tri-form ... It is about one foot thick, two feet high, and nearly as broad: the back is unhewn, as if it had been placed in a wall. This stone I also brought to England and deposited it with its ancient fellow, in the museum at the India house. Brahma here appears in a front whole-length figure, bearded, with his rosary and vase ... the sacred string hangs loosely from his left shoulder; and at the top the united coronet

---

p. 273. William Dalrymple, Gods and Monsters, *The Guardian* (Saturday 25 August 2007) a review of the British Museum exhibition: *Faith, Narrative and Desire: Masterpieces of Indian Painting in the British Museum*, 2007; ODNB Thomas Seccombe, 'Moor, Edward (1771–1848)', rev. J. B. Katz, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2014 [<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/19089>, accessed 12 Sept 2015]

<sup>47</sup> Later research acknowledges that the faces of the Mahesamurti depict the three aspects of Shiva (see n. 37). Moor in *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 395–396, referred to the sculpture as the small Trimurti, or the figure in Unity, believing the three faces were Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu. Moor was aware of the work of Carsten Niebuhr, who, unfamiliar with Hindu mythology perceived the sculptures in terms of Christian symbols suggesting the Mahesamurti represented the trinity of the three main gods. Partha Mitter, *Indian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 110, 112.

appears a *Linga*, inserted into its receptacle, the *Yoni*, or *Argha* (Figs. 2.70, 2.71).<sup>48</sup>

Moor records how he took the Trimurti head triumphantly away ‘not much considering what right I had to do so.’<sup>49</sup> In the excitement of finding the head he had not considered the scrupulousness of removing the statue from its religious site. His main thought was to obtain the head for his collection:

But it had lain buried long before our time; and my “EUREKA!” was not to be damped by “considering the matter too curiously” … ‘it now surmounts a four-sided pyramid, at my humble abode in *Suffolk*. Diminutive as my pyramid is, compared with its archetypal *Sivagptic Lingi*, my miniature bust is no less so in reference to its gigantic original. It is however, I conjecture, a ton or more in weight; and it is more mutilated than is indicated in the plate [in *The Hindu Pantheon*] (Fig. 2.72).<sup>50</sup>

The issues around such collecting are reflected upon by Maya Jasanoff in *Edge of Empire*, raising the question as to why Company men acquired collections of Indian artefacts? Although the procurement of such objects was ostensibly for research into ancient Indian history and mythology, Jasanoff argues that there was another reason, ‘an active interest in exploring, and promoting, themselves.’<sup>51</sup> The choices collectors made in acquiring objects gave an insight into their social status, their wealth, education and above all taste.<sup>52</sup> Thus, collecting was a self-promoting activity additional to serious scholarly study, and the issue of whether religious antiquities should be taken from temples sites, was perhaps more about status, than scholarship. This last factor can be examined with regard to the positioning of Moor’s pyramid at Great Bealings. Was its display conducive to scholarly research,

---

<sup>48</sup> Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 396.

<sup>49</sup> Moor, *Oriental Fragments*, p. 444.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 444. The smaller Trimurti, and sculpture of Brahma are suggested by Lucian Harris to date from the 11th century and, are therefore, younger than the Hindu and Buddhist sculptures at Elephanta. Lucian Harris, ‘Suffolk’s Hindu Mystery’, *Country Life* (16 October 2003), Vol. 197, No. 42, pp.110-111. See also J. Gerson da Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay* (New Delhi and Chennai: Asian Educational Services, 2004, first published Bombay 1900), p. 33.

<sup>51</sup> See Maya Jasanoff, ‘Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning’, *Past & Present*, No. 184 (August 2004), pp. 109-135.

<sup>52</sup> Jasanoff, ‘Collectors of Empire’, 109-135 (p. 111).

or was its position in the landscape used as a celebration of Moor's Indian career, artfully disguising his low status as a returnee?

Moor's pyramid was erected on the East Lawn of Great Bealings House, in full view of visitors who arrived by the carriage drive to the house, which was an opportune place for self-promotion.<sup>53</sup> The earliest map where the pyramid was recorded (by a rectangular symbol to the right of the drive), was the 1840 tithe map (Fig. 2.73).<sup>54</sup> Moor's statement that the Indian sculptures embedded in the pyramid's fabric had been on display at the India Museum, was confirmed by Abraham Rees who stated that the Trimurti which topped the pyramid was still at the Museum in 1819.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, an 1811 map commissioned by Moor, did not portray the site of the monument which suggests the pyramid had not been constructed at that time. A later date for its assembly is borne out by Harris who argues that the articles were reclaimed from the India Museum in the 1820s, to enable Moor's construction of the monument assisted by his son the Rev. Edward James Moor.<sup>56</sup> Bernard Barton's 'Sonnet on the Pyramid in the Grounds of Major Moor, Great Bealings' was published in 1828, the very occasion of its publication implying that the pyramid was newly built:

Old Cheops, or Cephrenes might erect,  
On Egypt's plains, a loftier, prouder pile,  
Of more ambitious and elaborate style,  
To save his name and memory from neglect.  
Thou, happier far than either architect,  
Hast reared a humbler edifice the while ...  
Hence in an English landscape thine but seems  
An object with its beauties meet to blend;  
The graceful birch beside it loves to bend:-

---

<sup>53</sup> There were originally two drives to the house which was later altered, however, the course of the earlier drive can still be seen leading to the house from the old gate near the roadside.

<sup>54</sup> Great Bealings Tithe Map and Book of Reference, 1840, Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich), Ref: FC31/C/4/4.

<sup>55</sup> See under Trimurti, Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature*, 39, 36 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819). Moor was a contributor to the *Cyclopaedia*, see Moor's Obituary, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1848* (May 1848) p. 550.

<sup>56</sup> Lucian Harris, 'Suffolk's Hindu Mystery', *Country Life* (16 Oct. 2003), Vol. 197, No. 42, p. 111.

And if its crest tri-une in moonlight beams,  
Recall to fancy Hindu's wilder dreams,  
These should not Christian charity offend.<sup>57</sup>

Barton possibly contends that by building his pyramid Moor was now more content with his life and surroundings, ‘an English landscape thine’. The pyramid is described as an object ‘with its beauties meet to blend’, conceivably the amalgam of Hindu artefacts embedded in its fabric. The birch tree, perhaps metaphorically planted in the environs of the pyramid might advocate that the mystical silver birch (*Betula pendula*), known in English Folklore as the ‘Lady of the Woods’ and a symbol of love and fertility, bows down to the Shivic structure.<sup>58</sup> Within the Hindu religion many trees were linked with spirituality, and sacred groves, including the banyan (*Ficus benghalensis*), which had phallic inferences connected with Shiva, and the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), associated with fertility rites.<sup>59</sup> As a close friend, Barton likely knew the erotic connotations of the pyramid and the Bealings landscape, but agreed with Moor’s contention that if people did not understand the symbolic representations they would not be affronted.

The Bealings pyramid, now Grade II listed, is free-standing, unlike Hindu cave-sculptures, which were not in the round. It is four-sided, made of knapped flint and rubble, measuring ten feet high by ten feet wide, and surmounted by the three headed Trimurti from the Malabar Point temple, with another Hindu sculpture in a side niche.<sup>60</sup> Both would have been most likely carved from the Mararashrian hard stone local to Bombay, an igneous flood basalt known as Deccan Trap. The Bealings’ Trimurti and the small Hindu god are brown in colour, whereas the stone of the Mahesamurti in the Elephanta caves near Malabar Point is considered to be grey or dark-coloured, which suggests the possibility that these sculptures have been

---

<sup>57</sup> Bernard Barton, *A New Year's Eve and Other Poems* (London: John Hatchard and Son, 1828), p. 221.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Silver Birch’, Tree Guidance Document, Fenland District Council, February 2013, p.10. [www.fenland.gov.uk](http://www.fenland.gov.uk) [accessed 7 May 2015].

<sup>59</sup> Frederick J. Simoons, *Plants of Life, Plants of Death* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), p. 57.

<sup>60</sup> Lucian Harris, ‘Suffolk’s Hindu Mystery’, *Country Life*, Vol. CXCVII, No. 42 (October 16, 2003), p. 110.

replaced sometime in the past, perhaps due to weathering.<sup>61</sup> Also, the smaller Hindu deity appears too short to fit its recess, which was likely to have been constructed to fit the flat-backed statue Moor described in *Oriental Fragments*. Suggested by Historic England to be the Hindu goddess Kali, with three faces and four arms, the left hand holding a pot and the right a string of beads, suggests it is more likely to be Brahma, the creator.<sup>62</sup> In *The Hindu Pantheon*, Moor describes Brahma as holding ‘a rosary for assisting abstraction’ and ‘a vessel to contain water for ablution’, which fits the attributes of the niched Hindu god.<sup>63</sup> There also appear to be other articles embedded in the pyramid’s fabric; the side and front having round discs inserted into the stonework, described as mill-wheels in the Historic England listing.<sup>64</sup> The mill-wheel attribution, was likely taken from David Elisha Davy’s account from 1823: ‘His [Moor’s] stone and cement pyramid, still in the grounds, includes oddly assorted millstones and sculptured Indian figures’.<sup>65</sup> However, viewed from a distance the millstones could even be ancient bronze dishes, similar to the small examples in Moor’s collection, or more utilitarian wall anchor plates.

As Moor noted, Elephanta and the small temple at Malabar Point had been used since antiquity as Shiva shrines, so his re-use of fragments from these venerated sites, make it possible to believe that the Great Bealings landscape was also dedicated to Shiva; the landscape echoing the sacred shrine in the Elephanta caves

---

<sup>61</sup> From a personal visit to the Elephanta caves in 2014, the rocks appeared to be grey in colour, whereas the sculptures in the Bealings pyramid resemble brown sandstone. For details of the igneous rocks of Malabar Point, and the Bombay area, see Kedar Birid, ‘Geotechnical investigations to assess subsurface stratigraphy of West Coast of Mumbai - A case study’, Paper number 35 (2006), *International Association for Engineering Geology*. The Geological Society of London [www.geolsoc.org.uk](http://www.geolsoc.org.uk) accessed 6 May 2015. Also see W. H. Sykes, ‘On the Three-Faced Busts of Siva in the Cave-Temples of Elephanta, near Bombay; And Ellora near Dowlatabad’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1839), pp.81-90. Sykes corrects a suggestion by Walter Elliot that the Elephanta caves were made of sandstone, and later confirmed that the rock was a form of basalt and not granite. The flood basalts form a distinctive stepped landscape; the term Trap originating from a Swedish/Dutch word ‘trappa’ for stairs, see Rasoul Sorkhabi, ‘History Carved Out of the Deccan Traps’, *GeoExPro: Geoscience and Technology Explained*, Vol. 7, No. 6., 2010, pp. 66-69.

<sup>62</sup> *Garden ornament circa 100 yards east south east of Bealings House, (off) Rosery Lane*, Listing Number: 1030754 Historic England <http://list.historicengland.org.uk>.

<sup>63</sup> Edward Moor, ‘Brahma’, *The Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 5-14.

<sup>64</sup> Lucian Harris, ‘Suffolk’s Hindu Mystery’, *Country Life* (16 Oct. 2003), Vol. 197, No. 42, pp. 111.

<sup>65</sup> John Blatchly (ed.), *A Journal of Excursions through the County of Suffolk 1823-1844* by David Elisha Davy, Vol. 24 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, for Suffolk Records Society, 1982), p.34. Moor’s collection in the British Museum includes a number of small circular bronze dishes. Although in 2014 the present owners kindly allowed a good view of the Great Bealings pyramid, the presence of a bull in the field deterred any closer inspection.

with its *lingam* and *yoni* sculpture. The geology of the Bealings landforms, the river terrace sand and gravels, were possibly restructured into a curving, elevated bank around a depression.<sup>66</sup> This was backed by shrubbery and exotic and native trees, carefully positioned to provide picturesque prospects from the house (Fig. 2.74).<sup>67</sup> Moor's pyramid, the *lingam*, was situated on the pronounced ridge, above a hollow, the *yoni*. The dip in the topography, viewed in 2014, may have been a former lake or decorative pond as the 1881 25" map (Fig. 2.75) shows a large, irregular, marshy area to the east of the former drive. The site of the pyramid was depicted on this map as a small circle, with small clumps of trees, both deciduous and fir, and a shrubbery on the eastern border skirting the boggy area. The 1919 sale catalogue confirms this planting: 'Great Bealings House ... is well placed on rising ground, in the centre of a Park of about 30 acres, heavily timbered with valuable Oaks, and a few beautiful specimen Cedars, there is also a group of well-developed Scotch Firs' (Fig. 2.76).<sup>68</sup>

Fitzgerald, the Woodbridge Wit, who knew the eccentric Major well, described Moor's pyramid light-heartedly:

"Gods' were the Major's weakness. He collected them as one might collect fossils or postage stamps – rendered them even a sort of reverence as the objects of other men's worship, and brought home a posse to Great Bealings - little gods, big gods, squatting gods, and many-armed gods. And at length wearying of his hobby, he buried the whole collection above-ground in a pyramidal sarcophagus, close to the drive leading to the house. Here, under stone and cement and in Egyptian darkness, they grin to this day".<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The underlying riverine geology of Lowestoft Sand and Gravels near the house, and the higher Kesgrave deposits further down the garden are ideal for a sculpted style landscape. For full details of the geology see 'Bedrock and Superficial Geology' Map 1: 50,000 Sheet 207 Ipswich, 2006, *The British Geological Survey*, <<http://www.bgs.ac.uk>>,[ accessed 28 January 2016].

<sup>67</sup> The mix of exotic and native planting is depicted in the OS 25" map, first edition 1881, 76/3. It is conceivable that Moor's friend, Perry Nursey, one of the 'Woodbridge Wits' and a landscaper, might have helped with garden plans.

<sup>68</sup> *The Bealings House Estate Sale Catalogue*, 29 July 1919 and 'The Property Market: Hingleham and Bealings', *East Anglian Daily Times (E.A.S.T)*, 30 July 1919, Suffolk Record Office (Ipswich) Ref: HE402/2/1919/20.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas Wright had access to family letters, so these may well have been the words of Fitzgerald. Thomas Wright, *The Life of Edward Fitzgerald* (London: Grant Richards, 1904), p.47. In the 1940s Moor's collection of artefacts and paintings - over 625 items of Hindu paintings and sculpture – was donated by his descendants to the British Museum. William Dalrymple, 'Gods and Monsters', *The*

Although this is likely just a witticism, particularly as most of Moor's collection was later donated to the British Museum, perhaps an investigation should be taken - a geophysical survey - to see if, indeed, there are gods of various sizes buried under the pyramid. But it is interesting that although Moor remained a Christian, Fitzgerald suggests that he gave the objects reverence as befitting another religion.

It is useful to reflect and hypothesise on Moor's motives for the pyramid's construction. Did the Indian sculptures daily remind him of a past life in India, and his fascination with Hindu iconography which waned as Fitzgerald suggested, or were they symbols of his male identity and the prestige he had enjoyed in India? Viewing the representations of powerful Hindu gods from the windows of his house, may have provided the strong support that Moor needed in an alien world, or, alternatively, was he playing with the pretensions of his guests, knowing that many of his visitors, although steeped in the classics, could not 'read' the symbolic Hindu garden? But was the idea of a religious-style garden pyramid unique? It appears not. Another example of a pyramid which predated the Bealings' edifice was built at Brandeston, Suffolk, only ten miles away. In 1789 the church in the village of Letheringham was demolished and the vicar of Brandeston, the Reverend William Clubbe, rescued hundreds of Christian fragments and set them into a ten-foot-high pyramid in his vicarage garden.<sup>70</sup> It is tempting to suggest that Moor may have viewed the Brandeston monument. For two pyramids ten feet high, to be embedded with religious fragments, within ten miles of each other in domestic gardens seems, at the least, extremely coincidental.

It is Moor's academic research on the Hindu pantheon of gods that sets him apart from other scholars of Indian art and culture. Although many found the thousands of gods and goddesses, attributes, attendants and vehicles incomprehensible, Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, with its simple line drawings became the

---

*Guardian* (Saturday 25 August 2007) a review of the British Museum exhibition: *Faith, Narrative and Desire: Masterpieces of Indian Painting in the British Museum*, 2007; Charles Harrison, *An Introduction to Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 228-229.

<sup>70</sup> See W.T. Vincent, *In Search of Gravestones*, Old and Curious (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1896); John Blatchly, 'The Lost and Mutilated Memorials of the Bovile and Wingfield Families at Letheringham', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 33 (1975). The structure at Brandeston disappeared in the nineteenth century.

authoritative work on the subject for fifty years. The isolation of his homecoming to England after many years in the subcontinent, and the severity of his battle wounds undeniably influenced his life choices. However, it was his collection of the Indian temple statues, which he later embedded in his pyramid at Great Bealings which likely gave him the greatest solace.

## **Case Study 6: The Indian and British Gardens of James Forbes, East India Company Merchant, Topographer, Revenue Administrator and Artist**

The gardens and architectural structures of James Forbes (1749–1819) (Fig. 2.77), an accomplished EIC servant, author and artist, and an early promoter of Indian art in Britain, are discussed in this case study. Throughout his life Forbes was a devout Christian, his work and interests in India contrasting with his increasingly critical stance on Indian culture; his writings, on return to Britain, argued for the necessity for the Christian conversion of Hindus. He was one of the first EIC visitors to the Elephanta caves near Bombay, which later inspired Hindu design in British gardens. Sketches Forbes made of Indian caves and trees were used as the basis for two paintings commissioned from the artist James Wales which were exhibited at the Royal Academy. Their inclusion in the Royal Academy's summer exhibitions enabled the natural world of India and its spiritual landscapes to be considered within European discourses on the sublime and the Picturesque. However, it was Forbes' gardens at Baroche, Gujarat, India, and Stanmore Hill, Middlesex, which clearly demonstrate an ambivalence between Eastern and Western cultures, and his use of artefacts and plant collections to gain esteem within his social sphere.

Forbes was born in London in May 1749, the eldest of five children. His father, Timothy Forbes, a merchant of Coleman Street in the City of London, ensured his son studied ‘common figures and merchants’ accounts’ for three years at Hadley, Middlesex.<sup>1</sup> Forbes enlisted as an EIC writer in 1764 arriving in Bombay a year later as a raw recruit aged sixteen, with little artistic experience: ‘I left England ... with little knowledge of drawing, and an ardent desire to explore foreign countries ... endeavouring ... to study the natural history, and to delineate the principal places and picturesque scenery in the various regions I visited’.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Anne Bulley, ‘James Forbes’, ODNB <<https://0-doi.org.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/9830>> [accessed 5 November 2018]; ‘Memoir of James Forbes’, *The European Magazine and London Review*, Vol. 69 (January 1816), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Writer’s Petitions James Forbes (1764) IOR/J/1/5/255-59; IOR/J/1/5/365 List of Writers (1764); IOR/J/1/5/363v; Letter James Forbes to J Symmans Esq, 18 July 1812, BL MSS Eur F380/3. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 1 (London: s.p. 1813), pp. iv, xii; ‘Memoir of James Forbes’, *The European Magazine and London Review*, Vol. 69 (January 1816), p. 9. Forbes did have a little instruction from the miniaturist Sir Archibald Campbell in 1768 at Bombay.

Progressing in his EIC career Forbes became a Company merchant, diplomat, topographer, chaplain, and revenue collector, with postings throughout the west and south of India, his service lasting eighteen years.<sup>3</sup> His duties took him to Surat and Baroche in Gujarat; to Poona, Maharastra, where his mentor Sir Charles Warre Malet was the British Resident; to Anjengo, Kerala, where he was warehouse keeper to the last remaining English pepper factory on the Malabar coast; later settling near Dubhoy, Gujarat and gaining the friendship of a Brahmin community.<sup>4</sup> On his travels Forbes explored many areas in Maharatha territory up to and including the Taj Mahal at Agra, and visited the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist caves on the Bombay islands, Elephanta and Salsette.<sup>5</sup> But his overall passion was for the natural world, the plants, birds, trees, insects and animals of the Indian forests, which he depicted in hundreds of sketches and watercolours (Figs. 2.78, 2.79).

From the time of his arrival in India, Forbes documented his daily activities in a journal, recording the Indian landscape, buildings, people, flora and fauna. His sketches served to relieve the boredom of life in India, and the tediously-long six-month voyages between India and Britain:

The manuscripts .... And the drawings which illustrate them, have formed the principal recreation of my life. The pursuit beguiled the monotony of four India voyages, cheered a solitary existence at Anjengo and Dhuboy, and softened the period of absence from my native country.<sup>6</sup>

His eighteen years in India were split into two periods of service. Contracting a liver complaint in 1775 it became imperative for him to return for recuperation to Britain, but only two years later, with his health restored, Forbes travelled back to India, this time accompanied by his sister who later married his lifelong friend, the EIC collector John Dalton.<sup>7</sup> With travel notes accumulating to over 52,000 pages, one hundred and fifty imperial volumes were filled with details and drawings mainly

---

<sup>3</sup> Hoock, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. 1 pp. 335-336, 350.

<sup>5</sup> De Almeida, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol I, p. xi.

<sup>7</sup> James Forbes, *Ricordanza: Memoir of Elizabeth Dalton who Died on 16th December, 1812, Aged 59* (London: 1813), p. 4; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, p. 211.

from India, but also South Africa and South America which he experienced on his voyages to and from India.<sup>8</sup> This mammoth task gained him a fellowship of the Royal Society (1803) for being ‘a Gentleman well versed in various branches of Natural Knowledge’, and he was also elected to the Society of Antiquaries (1801).<sup>9</sup> Forbes later used elements from his Indian notebooks to compile his wide-ranging and authoritative four-volume *Oriental Memoirs* (1813).<sup>10</sup> In addition, he sent home around 5,000 letters and 500 sketches, copies of which were reused in later undertakings, the drawings and watercolours cut out for engraving or remounting.<sup>11</sup> The most likely destination for these copies, notes and sketches was the production of his unpublished thirteen-volume *A Voyage from England to Bombay* (1800), completed after his return to Britain.<sup>12</sup> This manuscript work contained snippets of correspondence completed by 1800, interspersed with five hundred and twenty watercolour illustrations, engravings and maps, views drawn in India, and copious drawings of flowers, fruit, plants, birds, fish, animals, butterflies and reptiles, mostly completed around 1765-1776.<sup>13</sup>

While in India, Forbes, entranced by the quality of the landscapes and the intense wooded areas, often described the scenery in terms of the sublime. In 1765 on his first journey into the rural hinterland he recorded in his journal:

---

<sup>8</sup> Letter James Forbes to J Symmans Esq, 18 July 1812, BL MSS Eur F380/3. James Forbes, ‘Letter from Mr. Forbes to Mons. Carnot at Paris’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 74, 2 (Aug. 1804), p. 734.

<sup>9</sup> James Forbes, ‘Letter from Mr. Forbes to Mons. Carnot at Paris’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 74, 2 (Aug. 1804), p. 734. Royal Society archives 24 March 1803 ref: EC/1802/16. Anne Bulley, Forbes, James published 25 September 2014 <<https://doi.org.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/9830>> accessed 2 November 2018.

<sup>10</sup> James Forbes, *A Voyage from England to Bombay with Description in Asia, Africa, and South America, 1765-1800*. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. James Forbes, ‘Letter from Mr. Forbes to Mons. Carnot at Paris’, *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 74, 2 (Aug. 1804), p. 734. Although his folio notebooks did not survive in their original format, they were likely later reused in for new works.

<sup>11</sup> Hoock, p. 311; James Forbes, *A Voyage from England to Bombay with Description in Asia, Africa, and South America, 1765-1800*. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. For example, Forbes gave a set to his daughter Elizabeth which later became Volume I of *A Voyage from England to Bombay*.

<sup>12</sup> This collection now resides in the Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

<sup>13</sup> James Forbes, *A Voyage from England to Bombay with Description in Asia, Africa, and South America, 1765-1800*. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

As these hills approach the Deccan mountains, the scenery assumes a sublime aspect: the landscape is varied by stupendous heights, narrow glens, dark woods, and impenetrable jungles.<sup>14</sup>

This love of nature continued throughout his Indian sojourn, Forbes particularly admiring the sacred banyan tree (*ficus Bengalis*), which, having air roots, created a new tree wherever it touched the ground, eventually making a huge circumference that would ‘often shade upwards of a thousand Men’:<sup>15</sup>

A banian tree, with many trunks, forms the most beautiful walks, vistas and cool recesses, that can be imaged ... The Hindoos are peculiarly fond of this tree; they consider its long duration, its out-stretching arms, and overshadowing beneficence, as emblems of the Deity ... The Brahmins, who thus ‘find a fane in every sacred grove,’ spend much of their time in religious solitude under the shade of the banian tree.<sup>16</sup>

Forbes drew and painted banyan trees many times, in 1770 entitling one sketch the *Indian Burr or Banian Tree* (Fig. 2.80) and using an example of the species on the frontispiece to *Oriental Memoirs* (see Fig. 2.77). The other natural formation he returned to on many occasions was the island of Elephanta. In 1769 he was an early visitor to the cave system on the island, going on a ‘party of pleasure with some other gentlemen’, walking for a mile up hill in the scorching Maharastran heat arriving at the cave’s entrance:

A most magnificent temple ... The roof of the Temple is about fourteen feet from the bottom (which I imagine is also Rock, tho’ covered with Rubbish, and pieces of Ruins) it is cut entirely smooth, and so well finished that we saw no marks of the Tools; and is supported by Pillars of a singular Order, not in the least resembling any of the five we are acquainted with; but are all exactly alike ... opposite the Entrance ... are three Heads, one a full Face,

---

<sup>14</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol 1, pxi-xii, 196

<sup>15</sup> Letter 2: James Forbes to his sister Mary Ann. Containing a Particular Description of the Island of Bombay with its Produce, Inhabitants, Trade and Manufactures, 1769. BL MSS Eur F380/2, f.87.

<sup>16</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: a Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*, 2, 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1834, first published in 1813), p. 15; Ray, *Banyan Tree*, pp. 110-113.

and the other two in Profile; each of them at least six feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth, the middle one seems to be intended for the Face of a Woman, with an elegant Head Dress of Coronets and Jewels, in form of a Pyramid, and a Necklace of an amazing size, every one of the supposed Diamonds of which, are at least ten Inches in Diameter.<sup>17</sup>

Forbes noticed that some areas of the caves were painted ‘in a curious manner, the colours of which in some parts remain exceeding bright.’<sup>18</sup> However, his lack of knowledge of Indian religions, art and customs led him to believe that, as the statues were adorned with jewels and headdresses they represented royalty surrounded by their attendants, instead of Hindu gods and goddesses.<sup>19</sup> Six years later, in 1775 he recorded that still very little was known of the region where he worked: ‘Altho the English have so long resided within a few miles of the Maharatta kingdom, yet for reasons unnecessary to mention, they have but little experience of their history, politics, or manners.’<sup>20</sup>

After 1774 when the cave systems of Elephanta, Salsette and Ellora were acquired by the British from the Portuguese, Forbes mapped the caverns, their sculptures and surroundings.<sup>21</sup> He appreciated the caves’ size, workmanship and sublimity, becoming overwhelmed with the civilization which produced the caves: ‘India was the muse of art and science’, long before European artistic endeavours.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the beauty of the art was not entirely valued, as Forbes still judged Indian art through the western lens: ‘These gigantic statues … in the caves Elora and

---

<sup>17</sup> Letter 2: James Forbes to his sister Mary Ann, 15 August 1769: Containing a Particular Description of the Island of Bombay with its Produce, Inhabitants, Trade and Manufactures. BL MSS Eur F380/2, f. 136.

<sup>18</sup> Letter 2: James Forbes to his sister Mary Ann, 15 August 1769: Containing a Particular Description of the Island of Bombay with its Produce, Inhabitants, Trade and Manufactures. BL MSS Eur F380/2, f. 127.

<sup>19</sup> Letter 2: James Forbes to his sister Mary Ann, 15 August 1769: Containing a Particular Description of the Island of Bombay with its Produce, Inhabitants, Trade and Manufactures. BL MSS Eur F380/2, f.136.

<sup>20</sup> James Forbes, *Memoirs of the Campaign on behalf of Ragonath Row 1775*, BL MSS Eur. B.3, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Hoock, p. 311; C. J. Wright, ‘An Eastern Perspective: the Society of Antiquaries and Indian Antiquities in the 1780s’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. 91 (Sept. 2011), p. 195. Indian Historical Records Commission, ‘Proceedings of Meetings, Twelfth Meeting Held at Gwalior’, Vol. 12, (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch,1930), pp. 212-214. Salsette was occupied by the EIC in 1774 but did not formally gain control over the island until the Treaty of Salbai in 1782 (organised by Warren Hastings’ close friend David Anderson).

<sup>22</sup> Hoock, p. 311.

Salsette, may astonish a common observer, the man of taste looks in vain for proportion of form and expression of countenance.<sup>23</sup> This evaluation of Indian art and culture as inferior to its Western counterparts permeates through *Oriental Memoirs* (1813), which he authored on his return to Britain.

After returning home to England in 1784, one of Forbes' sketches produced ten years earlier, *The Grand Altar Piece, Fronting the Principal Entrance, in the Excavation at the Isle of Elephanta*, became the basis of an oil painting he commissioned from the professional landscape artist James Wales. Forbes also commissioned Wales to paint the *Cubee Bur, the Great Banyan Tree* from a 1770 sketch. Engravings of Wales' two paintings made by James Phillips (active 1775-1800) ensured an even wider audience was introduced to the sublimity of Indian art.<sup>24</sup>

### **Forbes' 'English' garden at Baroche, Gujarat, India**

On his return to India in 1777 Forbes worked as a revenue collector in the sacred city of Dhuboy, Gujarat, the site of 'beautiful temples, solemn groves, and Brahminical seminaries'.<sup>25</sup> Buying local images of Ganesa and other Hindu gods made in rice and alabaster, he became friendly with the local Brahmins who organized silver-smiths to make images for him in Chinese white copper, and gold and silver temple ornaments.<sup>26</sup> Forbes also worked on the restoration of Dhuboys twelfth-and-thirteenth-century ruined walls and temples after the Second Anglo-Maratha war, restoring the public buildings and fortifications at a cost of over £3,000 sterling.<sup>27</sup> He bought a small bungalow (Fig. 2.81) and a six-acre plot of land at Vezelpoor, near Baroche, in a picturesque location near two English gardens, a ruined mosque and a sacred grove.<sup>28</sup> Spending much of his leisure time developing his garden in the English taste, he enlisted the help of three Indian men and a boy who worked eight

<sup>23</sup> Forbes (1813), p. 434; Mitter, *Maligned Monsters*, p. 136. The only records of these paintings are the 1790 engravings by Phillips, and the manuscript material of Forbes, Wales and their patron Sir Charles Malet.

<sup>24</sup> James Wales eventually went out to India in 1791, after Forbes had left in 1784.

<sup>25</sup> James Forbes, *Ricordanza: Memoir of Elizabeth Dalton; Who Died on the 16th December, 1812. Aged 59* (London: s.p., 1813), p. 109

<sup>26</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, p. 340; Hoock, p. 311.

<sup>27</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol 2, p. 349-353; Richard H. Davies, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 161.

<sup>28</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 2 (s.p. 1813), p. 239.

hours a day. Plants from India and China were incorporated into the design, including mango, tamarind, and banyan trees to provide shade.<sup>29</sup> One difficulty of building an English garden in India was the cultivation of a lawn:

One great desideratum is the verdant lawn almost peculiar to English gardens; a tropical sun would not admit of it in the fair season, and during the rainy months the rank luxuriant grass more resembles reeds and rushes than the soft carpet bordered by an English shrubbery.<sup>30</sup>

Nevertheless, by June 1768 Forbes considered the garden and house were ready to receive his newly-married sister:

I have already sent you the plans, drawings and a full description of this sweet retreat ... the additional rooms and veranda will be speedily finished; and my present employment is enlarging a mount at the termination of the garden on the banks of the Nerbudder, commanding a fine view of this noble river ... On its summit I am forming a shady bower of vines, jasmines, mogrees, chinese-roses, and every variety of the clematis I can procure, but most conspicuously by the beautiful Mhadavi creeper, the pride of Indian gardens – I shall furnish it in a rustic manner, embellish it with some curious statues lately dug out of the ruins of ancient Baroche, and inscribe suitable lines, from our best poets, under eight pictures in rustic frames, which I am now painting for the purpose. In this sweet retreat, sacred to Love and Friendship, I hope to spend many a delightful hour with the friend and sister of my heart.<sup>31</sup>

It can be seen from this that Forbes was already collecting statues from the surrounding area and contriving to subsume his Indian plants and sculptures within the formal conventions of an English garden, with echoes of William Shenstone's landscape at the Leasowes, complete with rusticity, a viewing mount and bower, and

---

<sup>29</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 2 (s.p. 1813), p. 239.

<sup>30</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 2 (s.p. 1813), p. 239.

<sup>31</sup> Letter: J. Forbes to Mrs Dalton, Baroche 21 June 1778, James Forbes, *Ricordanza: Memoir of Elizabeth Dalton who Died on 16th December, 1812, Aged 59* (London: 1813), pp. 16-17.

poetic texts to adorn an alcove to Love and Friendship.<sup>32</sup> Forbes' favourite spot was in the shade of the tamarind tree, near a well from which water was drawn to flow into irrigation rills for his flower beds. With nearby shrubberies frequented by squirrels, parrots, and bulbuls he listened to the water falling from his fountain, which, topped with an urn and dedicated to the naiad was in the classical European taste (Fig. 2.82). Like many British gentlemen-gardeners his poetry was dedicated to a pagan god, but at Vezelpoor it was an Indian water nymph who protected his fountain:

To Medhumad'ha, lovely nymph,  
The guardian of my spring;  
To thee, this votive urn I raise,  
Where bulbuls sweetly sing ...  
Let lofty champa's graceful boughs  
Diffuse their fragrance far;  
Al'hinna, tulsee, mogree, sweet,  
Perfume the ambient air.<sup>33</sup>

Shade and water were of prime importance to the raising of a garden in India, Forbes remarking that without them 'there can be no enjoyment in an Indian garden'.<sup>34</sup> Although at first he found the Indian floral perfumes too strong: 'most of the Indian Flowers are best when smelt at a distance, being much too powerful', his poem indicates that his senses had adjusted over time.<sup>35</sup>

This idyllic life ended when the areas of Dhuboy and Baroche were among the *purgunnas* given back to the Marathas in July 1783, as part of a peace settlement between the EIC and the Mahratta state.<sup>36</sup> Disgruntled at leaving India, with 'no compensation nor place of emolument ... offered to the civil servants exiled from

<sup>32</sup> Letter: Mrs Dalton to J. Forbes, Baroche 20 July 1778, James Forbes, *Ricordanza: Memoir of Elizabeth Dalton who Died on 16th December, 1812, Aged 59* (London: 1813), p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 2 (s.p. 1813), p. 239-242. Forbes inscribed his poem on the pedestal of the urn.

<sup>34</sup> *Oriental Memoirs*, Volume 2, p. 239

<sup>35</sup> Letter 2: James Forbes to his sister Mary Ann, 15 August 1769: Containing a Particular Description of the Island of Bombay with its Produce, Inhabitants, Trade and Manufactures. BL MSS Eur F380/2, f. 91.

<sup>36</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, pp. 347, 355; Hoock, p. 332.

Guzerat; not even a sufficient maintenance for gentlemen who had been from fifteen to twenty years in the company's service', Forbes left the area, travelling to Surat then to Calcutta, via Agra and the Taj Mahal, before leaving the country in 1784, at the age of thirty-five.<sup>37</sup>

Once it was known in Dhuboy that Forbes was leaving, the local dignitaries and Brahmins visited him at his *durbar*. They offered him presents and were so hurt when he refused that he was:

At length induced to mention a gift which I could receive without conscientious scruples, that ... as Dhuboy contained many remains of Hindoo antiquity, in broken columns, mutilated images, and remnants of basso-relievo scattered among dilapidated buildings in the city, I requested they would allow me to select a few of the smallest specimens.<sup>38</sup>

The Brahmins were anxious to know why a Christian would want to take Hindu idols back to Britain, but Forbes convinced them that Europeans had a natural curiosity. He explained to them that he would take the relics back to England and build a special temple in his garden to house them, and would be delighted to show the oriental sculptures within 'the delightful associations of my own ideas.'<sup>39</sup> The Brahmins acquiesced to his proposal and asked him to select suitable specimens and 'place them in a temple to Friendship in [his] own country.'<sup>40</sup> Forbes gathered small images from the dilapidated walls and from the exterior ornaments of the Gate of Diamonds in Dubhoy (Fig. 2.83). Having previously admired the Gate as 'the most complete and elegant specimen of Hindoo taste' he considered the Gateway's decoration as comparable to the Christian garden of Eden (Fig. 2.84), also allying the Gate's warrior groups on horseback and fighting elephants to classical Greek bas-reliefs.<sup>41</sup> After his return to England, Forbes's stance in his letters, journals and

<sup>37</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, pp. 357, 404; Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books Limited, 2010), p. 332.

<sup>38</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, pp. 360-362.

<sup>39</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, p. 361.

<sup>40</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, p. 362.

<sup>41</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol 2, p. 327, 238. The Gate of Diamonds had been named after a Hindoo figure in the gate's temple which was said to have had diamonds for eyes.

publications, shifted from an orientalist to evangelical one. In 1810 he published *Reflections on the Character of the Hindoos; and on the importance of converting them to Christianity*, which was later republished as the fourth volume of *Oriental Memoirs*. Unfortunately, there is no record of the statues and fragments Forbes transported home to evaluate whether he chose Hindu objects which corresponded with Christian imagery.<sup>42</sup> Although Forbes selected artefacts about which he had no ‘conscientious scruples’ it could be considered that although they were from a coveted gateway built by a religious culture he did not comprehend, the beauty of the fragments overcame his religious fervour.

### **Forbes’ ‘Indian’ garden at Stanmore Hill, Middlesex, England**

Forbes arrived back in England in 1784 but it was not until 1800 that he obtained property in the village of Stanmore, where his friend John Dalton’s father was parish vicar.<sup>43</sup> Although there is copious information in the Chandos documents at London Metropolitan Archives that Forbes purchased Warren House and its estate, including the Dower House and Cloister Wood, and that he also owned a property in Albermarle Street, London, it is problematic to ascertain exactly in which property the Forbes’ family resided.<sup>44</sup> That his property was on Stanmore Hill, Middlesex, is not in dispute as he used that address to head his letters, and an 1827 survey by Henry Sayer, commissioned by Robert Smirke, depicts the extent of Stanmore Manor, which included Stanmore Hill (Fig. 2.85).<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* Vol III P. 362. The Brahmins had suggested that Forbes should choose fragments that he thought ‘proper’.

<sup>43</sup> London: London Metropolitan Archives, ACC 453/3/4C, Deed of Covenant for production of the title deeds, 13 March 1800; ACC 453/3/4B, The Earl of Ailesbury and the Right Honourable Lord Grenville Trustees in the settlement of the Earl and Countess Temple to James Forbes Esq, 12 March 1800; ACC 453/3/3B, Confirmation and conveyance of land in Great and Little Stanmore, The Trustees in the settlement of the Earl and Countess Temple to James Forbes Esq, 15 December 1801, Registered 13 May 1802; ACC 453/1/2B, 19 September 1801 Conveyance of the Warren House and Field at Stanmore, The Earl and Countess Temple and the Trustees for sale in their marriage settlement to James Forbes Esq, Registered 2 May 1802. There are many Deeds of Covenant for Warren House, and the Dower House in the London Metropolitan Archives regarding the lease of the properties between 1800 and 1802, although Eileen M. Bowlt in *Stanmore Past* (London: Historical Publications, 1998), p. 64, maintains that Forbes had already bought the Dower House, Warren House and Cloisters Wood in 1780 before his retirement from the EIC.

<sup>44</sup> London Metropolitan Archives; Walter W. Druett, *The Stanmore and Harrow Weald Through the Ages* (Uxbridge: The Hillingdon Press, 1938), p.192. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* etc (London: Richard Bentley, 1834, p. vi. He had married Rosée, daughter of Joseph Gaylard Esq., of Stanmore in 1787 and had one daughter.

<sup>45</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, *Great and Little Stanmore in the County of Middlesex, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Lord of these Manors*, ref: ACC/0668/029 (photostat), ACC/262/26 (original).

In 1800 Forbes leased Warren House, Stanmore from the Earl Chandos Temple, at a rent of two thousand pounds a year for 58 years, and in 1801 the property, the Dormer House and Cloisters Wood, was finally conveyed to James Forbes as part of a marriage settlement by the Earl.<sup>46</sup> The 1792 edition of *The Ambulator*, suggests it was the Dower House, alongside Warren House, that was the Forbes' family home, giving a description of the Forbes' property:

Here, among other fine seats, is the house of James Forbes, Esq. which is situated on the top of the hill. It was built by the first Duke of Chandos, for the residence of his Duchess, in case she had survived him.<sup>47</sup>

It is likely that Forbes enlarged the Dower House to become a modest Palladian-style family home (Fig. 2.86), with octagonal wings, renaming the property Stanmore Hill, with an entrance from the hill-road itself.<sup>48</sup> True to his word to the Gujarati Brahmins, Forbes developed the landscape around the Stanmore Hill in Indian design, in remembrance of his time at Baroche. *The Ambulator* recorded that Forbes improved the gardens, erecting a small octagonal temple in the grounds to house groups of ancient oriental sculptures ‘the only specimens of the Hindoo sculpture, in this island’.<sup>49</sup> Forbes in *Oriental Memoirs* described the site:

[The artefacts in] eight groups now adorn an octagon building at Stanmore-hill, erected for that purpose, under a linden-grove on the margin of a lake profusely adorned by the *nymphaea lotos*, which, when its snowy petals and

---

<sup>46</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, *Conveyance of the Warren House and Field at Stanmore, The Earl and Countess Temple and the Trustees for sale in their marriage settlement to James Forbes Esq*, 19 September 1801. Registered 2 May 1802, ref: ACC 453/1/2B; London Metropolitan Archives, *Deed of Covenant for production of the title deeds, 13 March 1800, The Right Honourable Earl Chandos Temple to James Forbes Esq*, ref: ACC 453/3/4C.

<sup>47</sup> R. Lobb (Preface), *Ambulator: or, A Pocket Companion in a Tour Round London, within the Circuit of Twenty Five Miles: Describing Whatever is most Remarkable for Antiquity, Grandeur: Elegance, or Rural Beauty: Including New Catalogues of Pictures, and Illustrated by Historical and Biographical Observations: to which are Prefixed a Concise Description of the Metropolis and a Map of the Country Described* (London: J. Bew and G. and T. Wilkie, 1792, fourth edition) p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> Appendix I: Little Common, Conservation Area Appraisal and Management Strategy (Harrow Council, 2013), p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> R. Lobb (Preface), *Ambulator: or, A Pocket Companion in a Tour Round London, within the Circuit of Twenty Five Miles: Describing Whatever is most Remarkable for Antiquity, Grandeur: Elegance, or Rural Beauty: Including New Catalogues of Pictures, and Illustrated by Historical and Biographical Observations: to which are Prefixed a Concise Description of the Metropolis and a Map of the Country Described* (London: J. Bew and G. and T. Wilkie, 1792, fourth edition) p. 210.

expanded foliage are gently agitated by the southern breeze, remind me of the sacred tanks in Guzerat.<sup>50</sup>

In the same publication he contended that amongst his group of statues of Hindu gods there were many sculpted with sacred lotus flowers ‘the symbol of the productive power of the Deity upon the waters.’<sup>51</sup> The lake certainly existed, shown on a map by Forbes’ hand, with an octagonal building sequestered within a grove of trees (Fig. 2.87).<sup>52</sup> However, Forbes’ fragments and sculptures would likely have been displayed in the western mode as artistic objects, rather than religious idols, Forbes having stated to the Brahmins that he would display them ‘within the delightful association of my own’.<sup>53</sup> As it contained statues perhaps the temple corresponded with the prevailing classical taste, such as the Temple of Ancient Virtue at Stowe, or the Temple to Shakespeare at Richmond, and not with the architecture of the Hindu religion. But by exhibiting these artefacts, no doubt he hoped to gain approbation from his peers by owning some of the first Hindu antiquities to be brought back to Britain. Many of the travel journals of the time publicised that Forbes had brought the fragments back to Britain from India. This would have gained him favour with the membership of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries. Perhaps the statues reminded him of the friendship of the Brahmins at Dhuboy and the Picturesque scenery and the exotic flora and fauna he had left behind, but it is as likely that they aimed to reproduce the alcove to Friendship and Love in Baroche, and the pleasant time he had spent there with his family and friends. Forbes was keen to grow Indian plants in his conservatory at Stanmore Hill, having gathered over two hundred seeds from Zulam-Bhaug, Shah Jehan’s ‘Garden of Oppression’, which he described as more beautiful than most Indian gardens:

Profusely adorned with trees, shrubs and flowers; not only of those indigenous to Hindostan, but with every variety procurable from China,

---

<sup>50</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, pp. 361-62.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 362.

<sup>52</sup> Hand-drawn map of the Dower House, showing the lake and the Hindu temple attached to a legal document. London: London Metropolitan Archives ref: ACC 453/10/3, Release and Uses and Covenant of Surrender of Copyhold with Conveyance of Pews, 1815.

<sup>53</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, p. 361.

Persia, and Europe. The apple and the peach, flourishing with the Chinese roses and oranges, interspersed among mangos, plantains, and tamarinds.<sup>54</sup>

Adding seeds from this garden to a collection he had made from trees, shrubs and flowers at Baroche, and different parts of Gujarat, he endeavoured by the warmth of his conservatory to encourage many of the plants to flourish in the temperate British climate.<sup>55</sup>

I have had the pleasure of beholding the tamarind-tree, custard-apple, and cotton-plant, flourishing with the ginger, turmeric, and coffee; and have gathered ripe guavas from a tree entwined with the crimson ipomea, the lovely *Mhadavi*-creeper of the Hindoos; encircled by the changeable rose (*hibiscus mutabilis*) the fragrant mogree, attracting alhinna, and sacred tulsee. I have not succeeded with the mango, which, in larger conservatories, has not only blossomed, but produced fruit.<sup>56</sup>

However, after the death of his sister at Stanmore in 1812, the house had too many memories for Forbes, so he decided to lease the property in 1813, and move to Albermarle Street in London: ‘Stanmore is thus most truly endeared to me; but all the charms of its once-loved hill are flown – I am now here in my forsaken mansion, making the necessary arrangements for removing my books, pictures, and museum.’<sup>57</sup> Forbes’ collection had presumably been built up during his travels throughout the south and west of India, and, as he worked in Bombay’s EIC administration, not the army, it was unlikely he had gained antiquities through booty or looting, but most likely collected items whilst he was restoring the ruined Gujarat towns.<sup>58</sup> He probably recorded exactly where he had obtained his objects, as writing his Preface to *Oriental Memoirs*, he hoped that by his example, his diligent manner

---

<sup>54</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 4, 3, p. 408.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 409.

<sup>56</sup> James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*, 2, 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1834, first published 1813), pp. 366-67.

<sup>57</sup> James Forbes, *Ricordanza: Memoir of Elizabeth Dalton who Died on 16th December, 1812, Aged 59* (London: 1813), p. 211. Will of James Forbes, The National Archives, PROB 11/1620/198. He had made loans to his daughter, paid for his grandson’s schooling and made provision for several people in Stanmore.

<sup>58</sup> Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* p. 160. Forbes’ Hindu sculptures were peacefully gained by the circumstance of withdrawal from lands as part of a treaty with the Maharattas, not a British retreat.

of collecting and recording would answer any queries and encourage the next generation of adventurers to have smoother path in their endeavours.<sup>59</sup>

The Stanmore house was eventually sold in 1815 to Colonel Roger Elliot Roberts, an EIC officer and Persian interpreter, who, like Forbes, was a member of the Royal Society, with an interest in Oriental literature and science.<sup>60</sup> The ‘Hindu’ temple was recorded in 1816 as being in the grounds of Roberts’ handsome villa on Stanmore Hill.<sup>61</sup> The Dower House was demolished in 1842, and a new property, Stanmore Hall, was built on its site, but the temple and one of the Dower House’s octagonal towers were still visible in the grounds, and a small fragment of the lake, on the OS 1865 map of Stanmore.<sup>62</sup> In the 1930s Walter Druett contends that the temple, which he called the pagoda, was still in existence although the statues and fragments had been removed. Since that time the temple has been demolished and there is no trace of the lake’s site.<sup>63</sup>

When considering the design of Forbes’ gardens in India and England his strong Christian faith and his unswerving adherence to Western taste must be considered. His garden at Vezelpoor was a hybrid garden fusing Hindu fragments, poetic texts, a classical urn, fountain and mount. He was also already collecting artefacts from Baroche and was keen to embellish his English bower with Hindu

---

<sup>59</sup> Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol 1, pp. xii-xiii

<sup>60</sup> R. W. Home, ‘The Royal Society and the Empire: The Colonial and Commonwealth Fellowship. Part 1: 1731-1847’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Sep., 2002), p. 323. Confirmation of Appointment of Captain Roger Elliot Roberts to Act as Secretary and Persian Interpreter to Colonel Ironside, General Orders of Council, 24 May 1781, National Archives of India ref: PR\_000002323071, p. 26. London: London Metropolitan Archives: ACC 453/1/1, 6 March 1815, Deed and Covenant to produce Indentures of Lease and Release dates 5th and 6th March 1815. Roger Elliot Roberts of Upper Grosvenor Street in the County of Middlesex, a Colonel in the Service of the Honourable East India Company of the one part and James Forbes of Albermarle Street, Middlesex, The release was in four parts, Charles Forbes, Roger Elliot Roberts and George Darby and James Forbes. *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 5: Hendon, Kingsbury, Great Stanmore, Little Stanmore, Edmonton Enfield, Monken Hadley, South Mimms, Tottenham* (1976). See London: London Metropolitan Archives ACC/0453/001 to ACC/0453/010.

<sup>61</sup> J. Norris Brewer, *Beauties of England and Wales: London and Middlesex; or, an Historical, Commercial and Descriptive Survey of the Metropolis of Great Britain*, Vol. 10, Part 5 (London: J. Harris et al, 1816), p. 630.

<sup>62</sup> OS First Edition Middlesex Sheet V.SE 1865. Walter W. Druett, *The Stanmore and Harrow Weald Through the Ages* (Uxbridge: The Hillingdon Press, 1938), pp. 192-93.

<sup>63</sup> Walter W. Druett, *The Stanmore and Harrow Weald Through the Ages* (Uxbridge: The Hillingdon Press, 1938), pp. 192-93. See also Geoffrey Hewlett, *Stanmore Through Time* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009).

statues, perhaps in a similar way to English garden buildings which were decorated with Christian artworks and texts, such as at the Louth Hermitage, Lincolnshire. Forbes also endeavoured to link Hindu decoration to both biblical texts and Greek classical sculpture, and likely chose fragments for his Temple of Friendship according to these beliefs. Was he memorialising India? The answer to that is affirmative, in his own way. Forbes return to Britain was on the cusp of the missionaries gaining permission to travel to India, their views on Hindu practices and rituals likely colouring his already evangelical stance.

\*\*\*\*\*

This chapter has considered how material objects and knowledge acquired by EIC men in India shaped their decisions on return to Britain. Through their collections the men engaged with a variety of aesthetics, unfamiliar philosophies, beliefs and religions, gaining knowledge of their surroundings whilst also experiencing the landscape and architecture of the subcontinent. This combination of acquisition and experience was to underpin their commemorations of India in their homes and gardens back in Britain. Jasanoff suggests that the rise of collecting in India was part of the intersection of power and culture: ‘the British Empire itself [was] a kind of collection: pieced together and gaining definition over time, shaped by a range of circumstances, accidents, and intentions.’<sup>64</sup> The collecting of artefacts and manuscripts, re-codification of Indian laws, translations of Indian texts, study of Indian religions and languages, surveying and sketching of the landscape, are viewed by Cohn as contributing to the “objectivation” of India, allowing the subcontinent to be organised and prepared for colonisation through the classification and ordering of facts.<sup>65</sup> Although the colonial space was unfamiliar at first for the men who had travelled to India, it allowed the British to ‘explore and conquer … through translation: establishing correspondence could make the unknown and strange knowable.’<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 6

<sup>65</sup> Cohn, p. xv.

<sup>66</sup> Cohn, p. 4.

The case studies in this chapter, although revealing individual narratives, show that all three EIC men engaged with the acquisition of artefacts, information and knowledge as they endeavoured to understand their new surroundings. They were ideally positioned to add to the Company's knowledge of Mughal palaces, mosques and mausolea, Hindu temples, groves and caves, through their work and leisure-time researches. Whether surveying and maintaining the Mughal infrastructure, canals and monuments, sketching and painting troop movements, barracks and battles, or investigating the history of the subcontinent's religions and languages, they enhanced both the Company's store of facts, and the development of an Indian Picturesque. But, despite the clear importance that collecting and other forms of knowledge-acquisition had for the colonial project, the motivations and uses of such endeavours should also be seen in the contexts of more personal narratives. The building and landscape choices these men made on their return were influenced by their long exposure to the subcontinent's art and design. While they did not own family estates, their return was to modest properties near their familial homes in the counties of Devon, Suffolk, and Middlesex. But, after many years abroad they returned to what was essentially a foreign land, the men consequently suffering feelings of isolation, helped only by visits from old comrades and friends from India. Their constructions of small temples, pyramids or picture galleries in the landscape, were likely forms of spiritual, aesthetic or emotional release, helping the men to come to terms with their homecoming as 'strangers in strange lands'.<sup>67</sup> But perhaps Forbes' narrative best indicates the changes within the Company itself, as with increased fact-finding and administrative regulation it moved away from its mercantile beginnings to political control, and, with intervention by British missionaries, India's historical artefacts and religious art were no longer of significance to the Company or considered worthy of collection.

---

<sup>67</sup> Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 107.

## **Chapter 3: Indian Design: Inspiration and Appropriation**

While the two previous chapters have focussed on the EIC men and how their gardens linked to their past endeavours in India, this chapter turns to how the work of the artists who returned from India impacted on British landscapers and architects, influencing the introduction of an Indian-influenced style of architecture and landscaping. Two men - the artist Thomas Daniell, and the architect and landscaper Humphry Repton - were key promoters of Indian design, with most of the known examples in Great Britain and Ireland attributable to their endeavours. The construction of two complete buildings which incorporated Indian elements, Sezincote (see Case Study 7) and Brighton Pavilion (see Case Study 8), both owe their creation to Daniell's and Repton's endorsement of the style. In turn, Sezincote and Brighton Pavilion stimulated pastiches and re-workings of Indian motifs, Indian design influence later spreading to Europe and America. Two of the case studies within this chapter discuss the conception of Sezincote and Brighton Pavilion and these buildings' cross-cultural origins. Repton, working as consultant to Sezincote's garden design and execution, was introduced by Daniell to his Picturesque aquatints of India which had been published as *Oriental Scenery* (1795-1808). Repton subsequently used the first part of this series to create innovative architectural and garden plans for the Prince of Wales at Brighton Pavilion. Daniell's aquatints also were the stimuli for the temple at Melchet Court, Wiltshire (now Hampshire); the Guildhall, London; and pattern books for villas and garden buildings. In the last case study of this thesis, the Dromana Gateway, Co. Waterford, Ireland, the wider picture of Indian influence is considered, in terms of five nations' – England, India, Ireland, Scotland and Wales - political and agricultural histories. Inspired by the North Gate to the Brighton Pavilion, the Dromana Gateway was built by an Irish landowner who had no links to India, as a link between two nations – Ireland and India – in commemoration of those who died in the Irish famine, but also to portray the commonality of the poor of both nations.

### **The Growth of Interest in Indian Design**

Proportion, geometry and symmetry, the primary rules of Palladian and Neo-classical architecture became associated with order, status, and wealth, which were prerequisites of entry into British eighteenth-century society. But, with the advent of

the Picturesque movement and a new eclectic trend, patrons and architects looked to other models of landscape and architecture to accompany the serpentine lakes shaped by the architects Charles Bridgeman, William Kent, and Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown. The structures and forms of Indian buildings began to be analysed alongside Egyptian, Moorish, Chinese and Turkish styles. Joseph Farington recorded in 1798 that: ‘[George] Dance had called on Daniell and seen a drawing of the inside of an Indian temple, - most curious, and He thinks fully shews that the Greeks borrowed from the East’.<sup>1</sup> This view was held by many art connoisseurs including the collector and writer George Cumberland, who observed in the preface of his 1793 work on Bonasoni:

Of late, some painters and sculptors open their eyes to the latent beauties of Hindoo composition ... it would not be difficult to advance strong proofs of the Greeks having received art from India, as well as mythology.<sup>2</sup>

Hybridity in the use of Indian design, and a lack of knowledge of Indian religious art, were likely reasons for the attempts to link the style with antiquity. This was certainly the case in landscape design, which, bolstered by the informality of the Picturesque Movement, in what became known as the English Garden, or *Jardin à l'anglaise*, advocated the scattering of garden buildings in the wider landscape. This trend which began mid-eighteenth-century, developed with the proliferation of garden buildings and architects including Thomas Wright of Durham, Sanderson Miller, Nicholas Revett, John Pitt of Encombe, and Robert Adam, who designed Neo-classical temples, such as at West Wycombe (Temple of Apollo, 1770s), Hagley (Rotunda, 1747), Croome (Park Seat, 1766), and Farnborough Hall (Oval Pavilion, c.1750). The ensuing eclectic landscapes might include Chinese tea-houses and bridges (Shugborough), Druid’s hermitages and Rustic root-houses (Marino, Dublin), Cold baths in Grottoes (Painshill), Gothic dog-kennels (Coombe Abbey), placed in meadows, deep valleys and woods, or by streams and rocky outcrops.<sup>3</sup> Although the

<sup>1</sup> Diary entry: Saturday 29 September 1798, Garlick, III, p. 1061.

<sup>2</sup> George Cumberland, ‘A Plan for the Improvement of the Arts in England’, in George Cumberland, *Some Anecdotes of the Life of Julio Bonasoni* (London: Wilson, 1793), pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> See William and John, Halfpenny, *Rural Architecture in the Gothick Taste: being Twenty New Designs, for Temples, Garden-Seats, Summer-Houses, Lodges, Terminies, Piers, &c.: on Sixteen Copper Plates: with Instructions to Workmen, and Hints where with most Advantage to be Erected* (London, Rober[t] Sayer, 1752); William Wright, *Grotesque Architecture; or, Rural Amusement:*

landscapes were diverse, it was rare for Indian-inspired temples, gateways or caves to be featured, although there were a few notable examples such as at Alton Towers (Fig. 3.1) which is discussed later in this chapter. By the early nineteenth century no British architect had yet published a comprehensive design book based on Indian travels, which might advance the understanding of Indian art and design. In India, the EIC employed trained surveyors to design the Company's Indo-classical buildings in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, and other settlements (for instance Colonel Robert Smith (See Case Study 4) who designed St. James' Church, Delhi c.1826), so there was little need for civilian architects to gain experience on the subcontinent.

### **Indian Hybridity in the Returnees' Architectural and Garden Designs**

The reception experienced by returnees when they first arrived home was paramount. With EIC recruits travelling to India as young boys, some were homesick for India on their return to Britain. When Hastings allegedly stated that 'In truth I love India a little more than my own country', he was likely vocalising what many of the returnees felt, including Major Moor (Case Study 5), namely, a sense of isolation in the country of their birth.<sup>4</sup> With years away from family and society, the majority were keen to blend back in to British society as seamlessly as possible and avoid censure or criticism at a time when the EIC in taking military and political control in India, was criticised both in Parliament and by the press.

It was only after William Hodges' and the Daniells' aquatints had been published that Indian detailing and construction began to be promoted in British architecture. Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1786 told students at the Royal Academy that he considered: 'The barbaric splendor of those Asiatic buildings which are now publishing by a member of the Academy [Hodges], may possibly ... furnish an architect, not with models to copy, but with hints of composition and general effect.'<sup>5</sup>

---

*Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, for Huts, Retreats, Summer and Winter Hermitages, Terminaries, Chinese, Gothic, and Natural Grottos, Cascades, Baths, Mosques, Moresque Pavilions, Grotesque and Rustic Seats, Green-Houses etc.* (London: I and J. Taylor, 1790).

<sup>4</sup> William Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Joshua Reynolds's Discourses, ed. by Edward Gilpin Johnson, (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1891), p. 323. The quotation is taken from the thirteenth Discourse. Hodges had recently published the first volume of *Select Views in India Drawn on the Spot, in the Years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783* (London: the author, [1786-1788]; Geoffrey Tyack, 'A Pantheon for Horses: The Prince

However, although quoted widely in many articles as if Reynolds had recommended the use of Indian design, this was just one paragraph in a long discourse on art and the imagination, and there was no sustained artistic discourse advocating the adoption of an Indian-influenced style in architecture or gardens. Nevertheless, there were a few brave architects who were keen to attempt designs using Indian elements, but with strong reliance on the sketches and aquatints of Hodges or the Daniells, and not from a first-hand view of the buildings and gardens on the subcontinent, there were varying results.

George Dance the Younger (1741-1825), an architect and neighbour of Hodges, studied for six years in Italy, but came to believe that ‘architecture unshackled’ was ‘crucial to powerful and imaginative design’.<sup>6</sup> He experimented with new styles including Egyptian, Greek and Elizabethan, also employing Indian elements in his design for the Guildhall, London (Fig. 3.2).<sup>7</sup> This dissatisfied some members of the artistic community, James Wyatt lamenting that Dance was ‘quitting grammatical art for fancies – [and] that in the new front of the Guildhall, Dance had substituted for true gothic, something taken from the prints of India Buildings, published by Hodges.’<sup>8</sup> Certainly, Dance’s design submitted for the building’s new south front in June 1788, was a hybrid Indo-Gothic style influenced by Hodges’ aquatints particularly his *View of the Musjid at Jionpoor* (Fig. 3.3).<sup>9</sup> Dance retained the medieval façade but the composition and proportion of his project gave an impression of an exotic gateway, embellished with projecting turrets and cusped windows, with the parapet, pinnacles and finials echoing Indian architecture.<sup>10</sup> The Daniells’ depiction of the *Musjid at Jionpoor* together with Sezincote’s military Picturesque farmyard, likely inspired the entrance to the park at Beaudesert, Staffordshire.<sup>11</sup> This red brick gateway (Fig. 3.4), built by John Shaw to Humphry

---

Regent’s Dome and Stables at Brighton’, *Architectural History*, Volume 58 (January 2015), 141-158 (p. 150).

<sup>6</sup> Jill Lever, *Architecture Unshackled: George Dance the Younger 1741–1825*, exh. guide, 10 October 2003 to 3 January 2004, Soane Gallery (London: Sir John Soane’s Museum, 2003), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 2, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Diary Entry: Friday 2 January 1795, Garlick, II, p. 287.

<sup>9</sup> Hodges, *Select Views*, pp. 13, 31; Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance, Architect, 1741-1825* (London, 1971), p. 119; Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 150; Conner, pp. 115-16.  
Hodges and Dance were friends and neighbours.

<sup>10</sup> Conner, pp. 115-6. The Guildhall was only a short walk away from the headquarters of the EIC headquarters in Leadenhall Street.

<sup>11</sup> The gateway is extant although the Beaudesert Hall has been demolished.

Repton's designs in his Red Book of *Beau-Désert in Staffordshire*, 1814 (Fig. 3.5), was a fusion of Indian, Gothic and Classical design in the gateway's large central arch, oriel window, dome and finial-topped octagonal corner turrets.<sup>12</sup> The gateway shows that although Repton's brief flirtation with an Indian-influenced style was presumed to have ended with Brighton Pavilion, either he, or his sons, still thought the style worthy of new designs, albeit within a hybrid configuration.

By the beginning of the century, Indian design had started to appear among templates for villas and cottage ornées in architectural pattern books.<sup>13</sup> But, as few books totally embraced this new form of architecture, the style never became an integral part of the Picturesque.<sup>14</sup> John Plaw designed a cottage 'with a Viranda in the manner of an Indian bungalow' in *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas and Rural Dwellings* (1800) (Fig. 3.6).<sup>15</sup> Another architect, Robert Lugar, published *Architectural Sketches for cottages, rural dwellings and villas* in 1805, featuring an Daniell-inspired Indian villa in the section on 'fancy-styles' (Fig. 3.7), but Lugar readily admitted that he had 'taken the idea of this design from one of Mr. Daniell's views of India', and 'knew very little about the country.'<sup>16</sup> This admission suggests that Lugar was not particularly keen to spend time researching his own schemes of work, probably believing there would be little interest in such a style. Plaw's cottage had little understanding of Indian design, as his illustration, only added a rustic verandah and a pitched thatched roof to a previous cottage. Changes to a building taken from one of Daniell's views was changed by Lugar, scaling down the "enrichments" so that its price would not be prohibitive. He considered that although 'robbed of some of its decorations, it shews an elegant taste peculiar to the East', but with its design would have been more suited to a country seat like Sezincote, rather than a small genteel villa.<sup>17</sup> In 1808, Edmund Aiken dedicated his *Designs for Villas and other Rural Buildings* to Thomas Hope the designer and collector whilst also

---

<sup>12</sup> Humphry Repton's Red Book of 'Beau-Désert in Staffordshire' 1814, is in the Firestone Library, Robert H. Taylor Collection of English and American Literature, RTC01, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

<sup>13</sup> Conner, p. 129.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> John Plaw, *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas, and Rural Dwellings* (London: J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1800), p. 11 and plate VII.

<sup>16</sup> Conner, p. 129; Robert Lugar, *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas* (London: J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1805, repr. 1815), p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> Lugar, p. 25.

acknowledging his debt to Thomas Daniell when planning an Indian inspired mansion.<sup>18</sup>

The best illustration of the style of building alluded to is to be found in the valuable and interesting works of Mr. Daniell, where they are represented with an accuracy and beauty of delineation, which leaves nothing to be desired. It is from these works that I have principally derived my ideas upon the subject.<sup>19</sup>

Observing the plans in his pattern book it appears that Aiken was interested enough in the style to study it quite closely. His ideas for villas are less fanciful than some of the other architects, as by studying the work of Daniell, he had understood the distinction between Islamic architecture with domes, minarets, and projecting cornices, and what he called the ‘more ancient’ Indian style, the Hindu architecture.<sup>20</sup> Although Aiken understood that Hindu and Mughal archaeology had fundamental differences, the majority of architects and connoisseurs still viewed Indian design in terms of hybridity. This was clearly illustrated in Thomas Hope’s Drawing Room (later known as the Indian Room) at Duchesse Street, London, which incorporated a confusion of styles from India, Egypt and Europe, juxtaposing an Indian capriccio, itself an amalgam of Mughal and Hindu architecture, alongside an Italian painting of the *Campo Vaccino* in Rome, and Egyptian-inspired furniture. Hope had called upon the expertise of Thomas Daniell in August 1799, ‘to paint a Companion to a large picture of Panini, of Eastern buildings – the price to be 130 guineas’, which was later published as part of the Duchess Street’s interior design.<sup>21</sup> Hope’s room was ‘principally fitted up for the reception of four large pictures executed by Mr. Daniel [sic], and representing buildings in India, or Moorish architecture’.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Conner, p. 129.

<sup>19</sup> Edmund Aikin, *Designs for Villas and other Rural Buildings* (London: John Weale, Architectural Library, 1835), p. 14. First published in 1808 by J. Taylor.

<sup>20</sup> Conner, p. 129.

<sup>21</sup> Garlick, IV, p. 1265; Plate VI in Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration Executed from Designs by Thomas Hope* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807), p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Hope, p. 24.

However, not all architects agreed that Indian decoration should be introduced to the architectural detailing of British buildings. James Malton, in *British Cottage Architecture*, argued:

The peculiars of every nation form a mongrel species in England; the rude ornaments of Indostan supersede those of Greece; and the returned Nabob, heated in the pursuit of wealth, imagines he imports the chaleur of the East with its riches; and we behold the stretched awning to form the cool shade, in the moist clime of Britain.<sup>23</sup>

Malton was suggesting that the hybrid designs being produced by architects, who had only seen the aquatints of the Daniells and not the scale of the buildings in India, portrayed exceedingly fanciful designs, especially when mixed with Italian windows, and lengthened balconies. As some cottage designs aped the vast Taj Mahal (see Fig. 3.7), their inclusion in design books was ultimately only a gesture.

Other discreet touches of Indian decoration were fashioned not through design books but by architects or their patrons who were grounded in the Picturesque, but again who were likely to have used the Hodges', Daniells' or other artists India aquatints for inspiration. Thomas Johnes (1748-1816), the cousin of Payne Knight, was an agricultural improver, benefactor of the arts, and the creator of the Picturesque landscape at Hafod, Caenarvonshire. Johnes' Gothic first mansion (it burnt down twice) had echoes of the Rumi Darwaza (Figs. 3.8, 3.9) the outer gateway to the Hussainabad Imanbara (Palace of Lights) in Lucknow, and Johnes commissioned John Nash to build an octagonal library c.1794 (See Fig. 3.8) with a dome shaped like 'a flattened Moghul cap', to hold his collection of books valued at £20,000.<sup>24</sup>

Between 1814 and 1827, another Picturesque landscape was developed at Alton Towers in Staffordshire. John Claudius Loudon in *Encyclopaedia of Cottage,*

---

<sup>23</sup> James Malton, *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture, Being an Attempt to Perpetuate on Principle, that Peculiar Mode of Building, which was Originally the Effect of Chance* (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1798), p. 10; Malins, p. 46.

<sup>24</sup> London: BL Add MS 36491-36516. Cumberland Papers, Vols 1-XXVI, Correspondence, Add MS 36497, f.337. These include 80 letters from Johnes to Cumberland from c.1790-1810.

*Farm and Villa* (1832-33), revealed that he thought the park was in ‘excessively bad taste, or rather … the work of a morbid imagination, joined to the command of unlimited resources.’<sup>25</sup> The mansion and its parkland, commissioned by the fifteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, was built on the site of the family’s old castle, on rocky sandstone cliffs above the valley floor. Hundreds of ‘labourers, mechanics and artisans’ were employed in the execution of the project until the Earl died in 1827. During that time the grounds were decorated with a bewildering mix of prospect towers, Gothic and Grecian temples, pools, conservatories, fountains, statues, terraces, bridges, rock-work, shell-work, caves, parterres, steps, an imitation of Stonehenge, and a Chinese pagoda (Fig. 3.10). The red sandstone rock which overhung the site, allowed the excavation of caves and the creation of an Indian temple covered in hieroglyphics.<sup>26</sup> Loudon pondered on the park’s design:

How far it may be commendable for a man of wealth to gratify a peculiar taste, rather than one which is generally approved by the intelligence of the country in which he lives, is not in these days, perhaps, a question of much consequence.<sup>27</sup>

Although Loudon found much in the Alton Towers of questionable taste, in his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, 1822, he had included a rough sketch for an Indian-influenced conservatory based on Repton’s designs for Brighton Pavilion (Fig. 3.11), which would likely have been disparaged by British garden connoisseurs.<sup>28</sup>

More urbane was the work of Owen Jones in London. Jones, an architect and designer, who worked on the Great Exhibition in 1851, had travelled to Egypt, Spain and Turkey in his youth, developing his theories on decorative design, publishing his celebrated book *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) where Indian designs appeared alongside chapters which included varieties of Hindoo, Egyptian, Persian, Greek,

<sup>25</sup> John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, New Edition (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1835), p. 789. First published 1832-33.

<sup>26</sup> *The Gardener’s Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement*, ed. by John Claudius Loudon, 19 vols (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826-1844), VII (1831), p. 393.

<sup>27</sup> Loudon, *Gardener’s Magazine*, VII, p. 393.

<sup>28</sup> See also John Claudius Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening; Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, and Landscape-Gardening* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822), p. 925.

Moresque, Turkish, Roman, and Chinese designs.<sup>29</sup> However, Jones never viewed any Indian designs in situ, but gained knowledge of Indian objects from displays at the 1851 Great Exhibition, the Exposition Universelle, Paris (1855); and in the EIC's India Museum and the South Kensington and Asiatic Society's collections in London.<sup>30</sup> This was problematic for a true vision of Indian art, for what he saw in the exhibitions and museums, was mediated through a western lens; for example, the copies of Ajanta cave paintings in the Great Exhibition, gave little impression of the religious significance of the original artwork. Jones had already employed Indian-influenced design for decorative forms, being appointed in 1843 as the designer for No. 8 and No. 24 Palace Gardens (Fig. 3.12), Kensington Palace's kitchen-garden land having been sold to the developer John Marriot Blashfield with permission to build twenty villas.<sup>31</sup> The Crown Estate Commissioners overseeing the project stated that they did not feel they should object to the 'peculiarity of the proposed Moresque enrichments hitherto not much adopted in this country', and the two villas were therefore constructed as planned.<sup>32</sup> Jones designed No. 8, the *Illustrated London News* observing its 'Byzantine character ... although novel to this country appears to be more particularly suited to our climate and domestic comforts than most others'.<sup>33</sup> No. 24's three-storey building was also designed by Jones in 1845 and completed in 1849. With a stucco facia the building was described later described by English Heritage as having 'Indian style enrichments'.<sup>34</sup> With a *jali* screen parapet, lotus-leaf supports on the first-floor balcony, iron-traced windows on the second floor, and onion domes on the roof, it displayed Indian design in the heart of London.<sup>35</sup> The Commissioner's architect allowed the design to pass 'as the House will be large, handsome & well disposed, I see no reason for objecting to either the plans or Elevation—although the latter is in the Moresque Style, which (though not usually adopted), is admired by some persons & produces a picturesque effect'.<sup>36</sup> The

---

<sup>29</sup> Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, (London: Studio Editions, 1986). First published in 1856.

<sup>30</sup> Owen Jones, pp. 77-79.

<sup>31</sup> 'The Crown estate in Kensington Palace Gardens: Individual buildings', *Survey of London: Northern Kensington*, ed. by F. H. W. Sheppard, Vol. 37 (London: London County Council, 1973), pp. 162–193, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol37/pp162-193m> [accessed 9 April 2019].

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 31 January 1846, p. 78; Sheppard, pp. 162–193. n.32. The villa was demolished in 1961.

<sup>34</sup> Historic England, 22 Palace Gardens, W8, Listing No: 1266930, Grade II\*.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Sheppard, pp. 162–193. n. 135.

cultural ambiguity of the designs is demonstrated in the Commissioners' architect's uncertainty as to whether Jones' designs were Byzantine, Moorish, or Indian.

### **Appropriation of the John Nash Brighton Pavilion Design**

Although one of the case studies within this chapter analyses the Brighton Pavilion designs of Humphry Repton, it was the Pavilion designs of John Nash which engendered pastiches perhaps of its unique Indian styling. Enthused by the Pavilion's exotic exterior, the designers in spas and seaside towns developed crescents and terraces, with zinc canopies painted in stripes to simulate awnings, and decorative iron-work verandahs, with climbing plants enhancing their frontages.<sup>37</sup> It is likely that these fashions came from India, the balconies with semi-circular hoods having echoes of the overhanging balconies on the Gate of the Lal-Baugh at Faizabad depicted by the Daniells in 1801 (Fig. 3.13).<sup>38</sup> This theory was also proposed by a visitor to Brighton, Auguste Louis Charles de La Garde, who described the verandahs and awnings unequivocally as evocative of Indian cities:

But what is especially delightful; there are the Verandas, a sort of iron latticework of various forms, projecting on a balcony on each floor, surmounted by a kind of tent in multicoloured zinc, and mostly intertwined with roses, climbing and flowering plants; these decorations, borrowed from another sky, give Brighton houses the amusing and ethereal appearance of Indian cities.<sup>39</sup>

After the building of the Pavilion, Indian inspired buildings were explored in the new speculative housing developments within the town. In 1825, Amon Henry Wilds, a local architect, joined forces with the botanist and landscaper, Henry Phillips, to promote a new garden project, *Oriental Gardens* (Fig. 3.14), part of the new

<sup>37</sup> Mike Jones, *Set for a King: 200 Years of Gardening at the Royal Pavilion* (Brighton: The Royal Pavilion, Museums and Libraries, 2005), p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas and William Daniell, 'The Gate of the Lal-Baugh at Faizabad', Plate III of *Oriental Scenery*.

<sup>39</sup> Le Compte Auguste Louis Charles De La Garde, *Brighton, Scènes Détachées D'un Voyage En Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie De J-P Aillaud, 1834), p. 46. The quotation is a translation of: 'Mais se qui est surtout ravissant; ce sont les Verandas, sorte de treillages en fer de diverses formes, se projetant en balcon châque étage, surmontés d'une espèce de tente en zinc bariolé de différentes couleurs, et le plupart entrelacés de roses, de plantes grimpantes et fleuries; ces decorations, empruntées à un autre ciel, donnent aux maisons de Brighton l'aspect riant et vaporeux des cites indiennes.'

development of Oriental Place and Oriental Terrace, at right-angles to the sea to the west of Brighton.<sup>40</sup> The design was to conclude on the landward side with a huge greenhouse known as the Athenaeum.<sup>41</sup> A prospectus for the *Athenaeum and Oriental Gardens* was advertised in July and August 1825, Wild also producing an aquatint and a model of the scheme.<sup>42</sup> The *Oriental Garden*, planned by Wilds as a botanical garden, was to be the focus of the square, the large glass house to display tropical plants heated by steam pipes.<sup>43</sup> The scheme was reminiscent in form to the *Vue de la Place de Dely et du Palais du Grand Mogol* (Fig. 3.15), and promoted as having buildings in the Indian style.<sup>44</sup> Wilds and Phillips claimed that the influence on their garden building design was not the Royal Pavilion, but the ‘Cave of Elephants on the island of Salsette’ and therefore derived from books of Indian engravings.<sup>45</sup> The cost of the scheme was planned to be around £20,000 raised by £100 shares, and enough money had been raised by September 1825 to buy the land, the site identified on the 1826 Piggott-Smith map of Brighton.<sup>46</sup> Certainly, by March 1825, some of the grounds were already planted and a forcing house was in use where rare plants were said to have flowered.<sup>47</sup> However, insufficient money had been gained by April 1826 and the scheme foundered. Only two houses were built, one of which, the Western Pavilion survives (Fig. 3.16), built by Amon Henry Wilds in 1825, suggested to be the north entrance to the *Oriental Gardens*.<sup>48</sup> The house was designed as a pastiche of the Brighton Pavilion, with deep bracketed *chharja* eaves, and a finialled onion dome. Wilds continued with his Indian constructions building the Clifton Baths and Tepid Swimming Baths at Gravesend, Kent, 1836 (Fig. 3.17), part of a scheme to revamp the Gravesend waterfront as a spa.<sup>49</sup> He

---

<sup>40</sup> Oriental Terrace was never fully built. The three houses which were constructed on the eastern side were developed in 1864 into the King’s Hotel by T. H. King. <http://www.mybrightonandhove.org.uk> [accessed 3 February 2019].

<sup>41</sup> Sue Berry, ‘The Georgian Provincial Builder-Architect and Architect: Amon and Amon Henry Wilds of Lewes and Brighton, c. 1790-1850’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol 150 (2012), 163-83 (pp. 166, 173).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 163-83 (p. 173). Although the aquatint survived the model did not.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 173. This assertion was intended to give their buildings some credibility, but as this information was inaccurate, they had possibly viewed both the Daniells’ aquatints of the Elephanta and Salsette Caves in *Oriental Scenery* and had mistaken the name of the engravings.

<sup>46</sup> London: BL General Collection c.6(33), Prospectus for the Brighton Athenaeum and Oriental Garden. *Brighton Gazette*, 28 July, 4 August, 11 August 1825.

<sup>47</sup> *Brighton Gazette* 20 October, 8 December 1825; 13 March, 6 July, 20 April 1826, 20 October 1826.

<sup>48</sup> Berry, pp. 166, 174.

<sup>49</sup> Berry, p. 174.

transferred the domes, minarets, and cusped arches of Brighton Pavilion to this seaside location, also including *amalaka*-topped columns reminiscent of the Elephanta caves. Phillips also laid out the *Surrey Zoological Gardens*, in Kenington, south-east London, a panorama of the Temples of Ellora appearing in 1843 and rustic buildings in an Indian-influenced style by 1850 (Fig. 3.18).<sup>50</sup>

Near to the Pavilion in Brighton, the South Gate and guest accommodation (Fig. 3.19), built in 1831, was designed by Joseph H. Good (1775-1857), who was appointed as Royal Architect at the Pavilion after Nash.<sup>51</sup> The *Brighton Herald* in May 1831 reported that the ‘new buildings in Castle Square, adjoining the Palace, will consist of a handsome lodge and arched gateway,’ above which would be guest accommodation for ‘Their Majesties visitors’.<sup>52</sup> Again there were detractors, E. W. Bayley writing in 1838: ‘The South Lodge, which has more resemblance to a gate-house prison than to any object of architectural beauty, is utterly unworthy of description.’<sup>53</sup> A precursor to this design was an Indian-style gateway in Cheltenham, built in 1822, the entrance to a Regency shopping centre known as the *Arcade* (Fig. 3.20).<sup>54</sup>

The North Gate, built ten years later is suggested by Henry Roberts to have been built for the new King, William IV, to commemorate George IV’s involvement in the building of Brighton Pavilion (Fig. 3.21).<sup>55</sup> Although the gate was possibly taken from a design by Nash, it was Good who supervised its construction and was acknowledged as the designer.<sup>56</sup> Its construction was rushed through with over one hundred men working on the site, as King William and his Queen arrived in Brighton

---

<sup>50</sup> *Brighton Gazette* 20 April 1826; Warwick Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1896), p. 11; Berry, p. 175. The Gardens opened in 1831 but were closed by 1856.

<sup>51</sup> Henry D. Roberts, *A History of the Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Country Life, 1939), pp. 126, 163. Joseph Good was Clerk of the Works to the Tower and the Royal Mint, and later was responsible for works at Kensington Palace.

<sup>52</sup> *The Brighton Herald*, May 1831, cited in Roberts, p. 162.

<sup>53</sup> Edward Wedlake Brayley, *A History of the Palace, Prefixed to Illustrations of Her Majesty's Palace at Brighton; formerly the Pavilion: executed by the command of King George the Fourth, under the Superintendence of John Nash* (London: Nichols, 1838), Roberts, p. 163.

<sup>54</sup> RIBA83591 New Market House, Bennington Street, Cheltenham, Screen and Arcade, 1822. The screen was demolished in 1867.

<sup>55</sup> Roberts, p. 163.

<sup>56</sup> Roberts, p. 163.

in November 1832, staying at Brighton Pavilion for three months.<sup>57</sup> It was likely that a member of the Villiers-Stuart family from Dromana (Case Study 9) attended Brighton around this time, as the design of the North Lodge appears to have been influential in the building of the Dromana Gate in County Waterford, Ireland. The nearby Northgate House (Fig. 3.22), built c.1774, was given by William IV to his sister in 1830, and two years later it was renovated with pinnacles, ogival entrance and lotus parapet to match the North Gate.<sup>58</sup>

The attraction of sea-bathing and the Indian-influence of Brighton's buildings drew many visitors from Europe and America, enabled by the direct ferry service to Brighton from Dieppe, and the expansion of the railway system from London.<sup>59</sup> In August 1846, the American showman, P. T. Barnum, visited Brighton whilst in England, later purchasing land in Connecticut on which to build a villa inspired by the Pavilion.<sup>60</sup>

### Indian Design in Europe and America

Unlike Britain, the rest of Europe and certainly America, did not experience the political dilemmas which, attached to imperial and colonial management of India, likely precluded the use of Indian design by returnees. American and European clients were keen to request a more outwardly flamboyant theatrical style for their homes or public buildings. But with a dearth of architects initiated into accurate portrayal of Indian design, their lack of knowledge led to amalgams of Chinese, Turkish, Egyptian and Classical styles. Although the English garden with its eclectic garden buildings had been adopted wholesale on the continent, it was *Chinoiserie* which was favoured alongside Egyptian, Turkish, Gothic, Greek and Roman styles.<sup>61</sup> But Chinese design itself was confused in Europe with that of Japan, India and Turkey, as imported wares arrived on East India ships. With building instructions for

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p. 165. The cost of both lodges was £19,710, paid 'out of ordinary grant of Parliament.'

<sup>58</sup> Historic England 'The North Gatehouse and Attached Piers and Railings', Listing No: 1380400. <https://historicengland.org.uk> [accessed 15 June 2017]; Tim Carder, *Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Lewes: 1990), p. 161; Roberts, p. 164.

<sup>59</sup> J. Christopher Holloway and Neil Taylor, *The Business of Tourism*, 7th edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2006), p. 35.

<sup>60</sup> P. T. Barnum to Moses Kimball, Brighton, England, 18 August 1846, Arthur H. Saxon, *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), pp. 35-36

<sup>61</sup> Stefan Koppelkamm, *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe* (Stuttgart and London: Axel Menges, 2015), p. 13.

pavilions, balustrades and bridges often taken from the books of William and John Halfpenny, who in their *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste* (1755) included plans for both Chinese and Indian Temples, it was not surprising that there was a confusion of styles.<sup>62</sup>

It was not until the 1820s onwards that British architects submitted Indian designs for a variety of projects in Europe. Sir Jeffry Wyatville (1766-1840) built the gateway to Wollaton Hall (now Lenton Lodge), described by Heritage England as in an Elizabethan Revival style, but its design more a hybrid of Indian and Gothic style with echoes of Hodges' stolid gateway renditions (Fig. 3.23). Wyatville later submitted a 'Villa in the Oriental Style' to Bernhard II Erich Freund von Sachsen-Meiningen, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, the brother of the British Queen Adelaide, which remained unexecuted (Fig. 3.24).<sup>63</sup> German properties which did incorporate Indian design into their projects included the Palm House on the island of Pfaueninsel, near Potsdam, designed by Albert Dietrich Schadow for Frederick William III. This island was the location for oriental tented grand parties, but it gradually became a landscape park with the Palm House constructed with fragments of *jali* screens and marble arches from an undisclosed Mughal building (Fig. 3.25). It was likely that the early concept for the House was by Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) who was familiar with the Daniells' aquatints and had already designed opera sets based on *Oriental Scenery*, for Spontini's *Nurmahal* in 1822.<sup>64</sup>

The fame of the Daniells' aquatints spread as far as Crimea, an English architect, Edward Blore, appointed to design the Vorontsov Palace (also known as the Alupka Palace) (Fig. 3.26). This summer palace, built for Prince Michael Vorontsov, 1837-40, was made of local stone to harmonise with its mountainous site

---

<sup>62</sup> William Halfpenny and John Halfpenny, *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste, Being Designs Entirely New for the Decoration of Gardens, Parks, Forrests, Insides of Houses, &c. on Sixty Copper Plates with Full Instructions for Workmen. Also a Near Estimate of the Charge, and Hints Where Proper to be Erected ... With the adition [sic] of 4 plates in quarto of roofs for Chinese and Indian temples, etc.,* (London: Robert Sayer, 1755); William Halfpenny and John Halfpenny, *The Country Gentleman's Pocket Companion, and Builder's Assistant, for Rural Decorative Architecture: Containing Thirty-two New Designs, Plans and Elevations of Alcoves, Floats, Temples, Summer-houses, Lodges, Huts, Grotto's [sic] &c., in the Augustine, Gothic and Chinese Taste, with Proper Directions Annexed*, 2nd edn (London: Robert Sayer, 1756); Koppelkamm, p. 15.

<sup>63</sup> Koppelkamm, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p. 83.

overlooking the Black Sea.<sup>65</sup> Called ‘strikingly picturesque’ by Watkin it was again a hybrid design, of Tudor and Indian architecture, with the southern façade based on the Daniells’ portrayal of the Jami Masjid (Fig. 3.27).<sup>66</sup> *The Builder* in 1850 recorded that it employed ‘such an admixture of the two styles as was necessary not to render their combination and necessarily close approximation too violent for good taste’.<sup>67</sup> With a Jacobean entrance, and dining-room wing, and an Indian garden frontage the Prince had asked for ‘Oldentime’ architecture that would recall the time he had spent in England when his father was Ambassador.<sup>68</sup>

While on tour in England, P. T. Barnum had become enthralled with the design of Brighton Pavilion, later commissioning a London architect to provide a set of drawings for his home, but ‘differing sufficiently to be adapted to the spot of ground selected for … [the] homestead’ in Bridgeport, Connecticut, America.<sup>69</sup> His American architect, Leopold Eidlitz, constructed the villa which became known as ‘Iranistan’ (Fig. 3.28).<sup>70</sup> Eidlitz completed the design with an essence of the Pavilion, but without viewing its Indian roots taken from the Daniells’ and Hodges’ aquatints, it was more fairground than palace.<sup>71</sup> Ever the showman, Barnum had chosen the site so that his home with its onion domes could be viewed from the New York and New Haven Railroad, and in another publicity opportunity, one thousand guests attended the grand opening of Iranistan on November 14, 1848.<sup>72</sup> In March 1857 he was back in London and writing of the delights of the British seaside: ‘Last summer in my poverty & seclusion at the seaside with my family, I found more peace and contentment than Iranistan every afforded me.’<sup>73</sup>

Two more American properties were also inspired by the Indian design of the Pavilion. The Willis Bristol House, New Haven, was designed by Henry Austin and

---

<sup>65</sup> *The Builder* VIII (27 July 1850), p. 355, cited in David Watkin, *The British Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design* (London: John Murray, 1982), p. 134.

<sup>66</sup> Watkin, *The British Vision*, pp. 133-34.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid; M. H. Port, ‘Blore, Edward (1787–1879)’, *ODNB* [accessed 16 May 2017]

<sup>69</sup> Montgomery Schuyler, ‘A Great American Architect: Leopold Eidlitz,’ *Architectural Record*, September 1908, pp. 169- 170 cited in Clay Lancaster, ‘Oriental Forms in American Architecture 1800-1870’, *The Art Bulletin*, 29.3 (September 1947), 183-193 (p. 186)

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> The villa was destroyed by fire in 1857.

<sup>72</sup> Lancaster, p. 186.

<sup>73</sup> P. T. Barnum to Rev. Abel C. Thomas, London, 9 March 1857, Saxon, p. 96.

built in c.1845, in a hybrid of Indian and Italian design.<sup>74</sup> Austin also designed the New Haven railroad station in 1848 (Fig. 3.29), perhaps motivated by Barnum's showmanship, again a mixture of Italian and India architecture, particularly the Daniell's *Part of the Palace in the Fort of Allahabad* (see Fig. 3.91).<sup>75</sup>

The issues of appropriation and hybridity continue to be examined in the following case studies, observing how new hybrid forms of architecture and design emerged, increasing the use of Picturesque views of India for architectural purposes and engaging with the theatricality of the 'raree-show'. The sacred sexuality of the Hindu caves and the splendour of Mughal palaces became appropriated for more prosaic uses, but the final case study indicates how appropriation of Indian design could have a deeper significance.

---

<sup>74</sup> *Historic American Buildings Survey*, May 1967, Library of Congress, Washington.  
<<http://www.loc.gov>> [accessed 16 May 2017].

<sup>75</sup> Lancaster, p. 187.

## **Case Study 7: Thomas and William Daniell and the Architecture and Gardens of Sezincote, Gloucestershire, and Melchet Park, Hampshire**

The artist who made the most significant impact on Indian design in Britain was Thomas Daniell (Fig. 3.30), who, assisted by his nephew William, travelled on three tours around India between 1786 and 1793. Friendships were made amongst other artists working in India, including William Baillie and Ozias Humphry, though the artist William Hodges was considered a rival.<sup>1</sup> On their return they published a series of aquatints, *Oriental Scenery* (1795-1808), which, in six parts, proved to be extremely popular and was widely used for architectural inspiration. Their images from Oriental Scenery were produced as ‘Indian Views’ on Staffordshire pottery (Fig. 3.31), and French wallpaper was produced by *L’Indoustan* in 1806 by Zuber (Fig. 3.32) and *Paysage indien* in 1815 by Dufour. They exhibited many works at the Royal Academy, and William Daniells between 1813 and 1823 toured Scotland later publishing *A Voyage Around Britain* in eight volumes between 1814 and 1825. But it is the architectural and landscaping work of the Daniells’ which are fully discussed in this case study.

Thomas Daniell’s aquatints were used as visual inspiration for Sezincote, which was planned by lieutenant-colonel John Cockerell (1753-1798), formerly of the Bengal Army, and completed by his brother Sir Charles Cockerell (1755-1837), who rose from writer to postmaster-general in the Bengal Presidency administration. John Cockerell was known to have been in the Bombay area when he was quartermaster-general c.1780, and it is likely that, due to the fame of Elephanta, he visited the caves and viewed the Hindu *Shiva-Linga* form, later memorialising elements of the cave-temple in his Sezincote garden.<sup>2</sup> After Cockerell’s return to England in 1794 and his death in 1798, his brother, Charles, continued the Indian styling of the house and garden, using Daniell’s aquatints as design guides, with Repton’s experience in land-sculpting, tree-planting and waterworks of practical

---

<sup>1</sup> William Daniell in his diary often refers to William Hodges in terms of rivalry. The Daniells often retraced Hodges’ steps, viewing and sketching the same views and landscapes.

<sup>2</sup> Bodleian Library, Weston Library Special Collections: Dep.C864 f.46.

importance.<sup>3</sup> But it was William Daniell's art which was influential in the creation of a temple at Melchet Park, for Major John Osborne (1751-1821), of the Bengal army. Thomas Daniell produced a sketch of a Hindu Temple in the Fort of Rotas, which was used by his nephew to create the design for the Melchet Temple, which, honouring Osborne's friend Warren Hastings, incorporated Hindu sculptures and symbolism in its fabric, the temple's position in the landscape referencing the Brahmins' sacred groves.

### Early Travels

Thomas Daniell was apprenticed for three years working for the Royal Academy member Charles Catton, a coach-painter to George III, but in 1773 he gained a place at the Royal Academy Schools and exhibited at the Academy between 1773 and 1774.<sup>4</sup> News had had filtered through from artists like Tilly Kettle and George Willison that there was money to be made working in the subcontinent, particularly in portrait-painting, the officers sending to Britain images of their arrival in India, their marriages and children. With lucrative work available more artists followed including Johann Zoffany, Thomas Hickey, and William Hodges, the latter being the most interesting to Daniell as Hodges was a landscape painter. Trained by the celebrated artist Richard Wilson (1713-1782), and accompanying Captain Cook on his second Pacific voyage, 1772-73, Hodges travelled around India for six years, sketching in the landscape, and later publishing aquatints to illustrate his *Travels in India* between 1786 and 1788.<sup>5</sup> With work drying up in England, and but still young enough for adventure, Thomas Daniell also decided to travel to India, applying to become an EIC engraver, leaving England in April 1795 accompanied by his fifteen-year-old adopted nephew William (1769-1837) as his apprentice (Fig. 3.33). While in India their travels were funded by a variety of means including support from lotteries and agency houses.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence and papers of Sir Charles Cockerell and other members of his family, 1774 –1880. Shelfmarks: Dep.b.254, c.855-6, Bodleian Library, Oxford; letter to Sir Charles Cockerell from John Cockerell, 1794, Dep.c.856.

<sup>4</sup> See Archer, *Early Views of India, Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786-1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980)

<sup>5</sup> William Hodges, *Travels in India During the Years, 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783* (London: the author, 1793)

<sup>6</sup> Natasha Eaton, *Mimesis*, p. 145.

The Daniells' first two years in India were spent recording the Indo-classical buildings of Calcutta, and during this extensive stay their work incorporated images of EIC writers, factors, merchants, and agents into their aquatints *Views of Calcutta* 1786-88 (Fig. 3.34). Depictions of the bustle of daily life of Europeans and natives - the coaches, palanquins, markets and bazaars –gradually became part of an emerging Indian Picturesque.<sup>7</sup> The artists documented the Indo-classical structures that were a part of everyday life and work: the Indo-classical Supreme Court House, the Council House, the Governor's Palace, and the Writers' Buildings, together with the residences of senior administrators and military officers; buildings which emphasized the power of the British presence through their reference to antiquity.<sup>8</sup> However, with the Indian climate prompting innovations in design, verandahs, blinds and *chhajjas* vied with colonnades, porticoes and pediments, producing a hybrid architecture, a new Indo-classical style, which subverted the authoritarian message. Also, the Western architectural interpretation had been subtly changed during construction, the British preferring to train local workmen to build in the classical style.<sup>9</sup> Although much has been written of Calcutta's white and black towns, Chattopadhyay maintains there was little demarcation between districts, with fluidity of ownership with rented properties changing hands back and forth between Europeans and Indians, and the large classical buildings restricted to the central Maidan and administrative centre.<sup>10</sup> However, by the nineteenth century land speculation was rife, with both Indians and Europeans building by combining 'local planning practices with ideas from European pattern books to generate designs that were quite unique.'<sup>11</sup>

In August 1788 the Daniells sailed up the river Hooghly in their pinnace towards the Ganges, on their first tour of India (1788-91): 'Un[cle] and myself finishing the last set of the Calcutta Views. In the afternoon I made a Sketch of the

---

<sup>7</sup> Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*, pp. 47-48

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Twining, and Rev. William H. G. Twining (ed.), *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago, with a Visit to the United States* (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1893), p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1980), p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> Swati Chattopadhyay, 'Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of "White Town"' in *Colonial Calcutta Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59.2 (June 2000), p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 158.

New Fort looking towards Garden House reach'.<sup>12</sup> They continued towards Murshidabad, and Cawnpore, then trekked overland to Agra, Delhi, Srinagar, Garhwal, Lucknow, where they stayed with Colonel Claude Martin, before continuing by boat to Benares. Their journey was not without its dangers, with their boat damaged by storms, and the presence of savage wildlife in the forests including tigers, wild elephants, and rhinoceros, while alligators and snakes lurked in the rivers, but they achieved their goal to record the many Picturesque temples, forts, forests, lakes and mountains they encountered on their passage (Figs. 3.35, 3.36).

With their diet supplemented by shooting game, the Daniells called on friends and acquaintances to sustain them on their journey, in October dining with a Mr. Cockerell, which was likely the first meeting the Daniell's had with either John Cockerell or his brother Charles who were both in Calcutta.<sup>13</sup> In October they moored near a *nawab*'s house near Murshidabad, the *nawab* sending his gardeners with baskets of vegetables and fruit.<sup>14</sup> William was engaged on the journey by learning his craft: sketching using the camera obscura, dead colouring and mounting, while Thomas Daniell was engaged in sketching, tinting and watercolour painting.<sup>15</sup> The Daniells contended that the use of a camera obscura to make rapid sketches gave their work scientific objectivity, and although they followed the path of Hodges' *Travels in India*, they became critics of the artist, alleging that he did not portray the Indian landscape with sufficient accuracy.<sup>16</sup> In November 1788, the Daniells left the river to view 'the Nabobs Gardens where we were much entertained.' They sketched the family tombs of Faiz Ali Khan 'which Hodges has made a very incorrect Aquatinta print of' and the next day they again visited the Palace, 'Un[cle] made a drawing of it in the Camera. I went near the River & took a View of it from near the place that Hodges sat down to draw it.'<sup>17</sup> That the men were imbued with the spirit of the Picturesque was not in doubt as they carried on their pinnace two volumes of Claude Lorraine's prints, which they shared with dining companions near Monghyr:

<sup>12</sup> 31 Aug 1788, The Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147.

<sup>13</sup> 12 September and 1 October 1788, The Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147.

<sup>14</sup> 3 October 1788, The Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147; Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> 8 October 1788, The Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147; Martin Hardie and Muriel Clayton, 'Thomas Daniell, R.A. (1749-1840); William Daniell, R.A. (1769-1837), *Walker's Quarterly*, Nos. 35-36 (London: Walker's Galleries, Ltd., 1932).

<sup>16</sup> De Almeida, pp. 190, 191.

<sup>17</sup> 27 and 28 November 1788, The Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147.

‘Breakfasted on board early, when we went & made four different Views of the Bazar Gate. In the evening took the two Vol. of Claude to the Colonels for Major Skelly to look at.’<sup>18</sup>

Between 1792 and 1793 whilst aiming for Madras via Bihar and Patna, a prolonged stay at Bhagalpur was necessary after the breakout of the Third Mysore War between British forces and Tipu Sultan, but after peace was agreed the Daniells continued on their way, but this time recording a military Picturesque, with views of the British army supply trains, embattled and wounded troops, and the fortified hilltops (Figs. 3.37, 3.38). Venturing further south they sketched the waterfalls and forests in the Cape Cormorin district, before arriving at Madras, where they drew the Indo-classical architecture and bustle of the city and Fort St. George.<sup>19</sup> Having been in India for eight years, on their way back to Britain they spent time in Bombay visiting the cave and temple sites in the vicinity of city, including Elephanta, Salsette, and Ellora, meeting the artist James Wales.

Both Hodges and the Daniells professed to sketch in a topographically-accurate mode, but with or without a camera obscura, they deployed the Western lens of the fashionable Picturesque. On their return the Daniells published their aquatints in six parts entitled *Oriental Scenery*, between 1795 and 1808, but their more precise techniques proved advantageous, the wealth of architectural and landscape detail making their sketches and watercolours ideal for architectural use. The British elite came to consider themselves familiar with India through viewing the finished oils, aquatints and watercolours exhibited yearly at the Royal Academy and British Institution by Hodges and the Daniells, and by other artists who later travelled to India inspired by Hodges’ and the Daniells’ work.<sup>20</sup> James Baillie Fraser followed the Picturesque style of the Daniells contributing to the Royal Academy exhibitions between 1812 and 1837 and publishing aquatint views, while George Chinnery

---

<sup>18</sup> 26 October 1788, The Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147; Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 42. Archer suggests the volumes of prints, after Claude Lorraine, were made in 1777 by Richard Earlom.

<sup>19</sup> These sketches for *Views in Calcutta*, 1786-1788, were produced while travelling on the Hooghly river. See Journal of William Daniell, 4, 1, 1788-1792, BL WD4147.

<sup>20</sup> Jill Lever, *Architecture Unshackled: George Dance the Younger 1741 – 1825* (Exhibition Catalogue, Soane Gallery, Sir John Soane’s Museum, London 2003-January 2004) (London: Sir John Soane’s Museum, 2003), p. 2.

(whose patron was Charles D’Oyly) exhibited a self-portrait of himself at work on two landscape paintings in the 1846 Academy exhibition.<sup>21</sup> Through artists like the Daniells and Hodges, the creative activity of Company men sketching and painting in the subcontinent, and the EIC’s employment of Indian illustrators, Picturesque aesthetics in India began to change from a transposed British Picturesque to an Indian mode.<sup>22</sup> The early artists in India created aesthetically appealing landscapes with ruined buildings, adhering to the tenets of Claude and Poussin, but by the early days of the nineteenth century, India’s architecture and landscapes became acknowledged as naturally picturesque.<sup>23</sup> The Picturesque style that was used to delineate India, Ray contends, had shifted with ‘new sites of artistic production, where novel subjects and sensations affixed new visual signposts’.<sup>24</sup>

Back in Britain, Thomas and William Daniells’ work and that of their followers including Humphry Repton, was extremely important to the development of an Indian-influenced style in British architecture and gardens. In the absence of specific Indian architectural design books, the aquatints which they published on their return were used as templates for designing and building in an Indian-influenced style. Two personal commissions taken by the Daniells at Melchet Park and Sezincote House not only incorporated Indian architectural forms, but also drew upon their knowledge of Indian religious symbolism and the sacred sexuality of the caves encountered during their time in India.

### Melchet Park

In an idyllic, picturesque, New Forest wooded landscape, Major John Osborne, an EIC friend and colleague of Warren Hastings and Claude Martin, constructed a Hindu Temple as a ‘token of the high respect he entertained for the public and private virtues of a patron and friend [Warren Hastings]’.<sup>25</sup> It is likely that Osborne developed his mansion’s surrounding landscape in the prevailing Picturesque style; the savage beauty of the forest and its isolation conceivably appealing to the returnee

---

<sup>21</sup> ‘George Chinnery’ National Portrait Gallery ref: NPG 779.

<sup>22</sup> Edney, pp. 60-62, Ray, *Banyan Tree*, p.11.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Some Account of A Hindu Temple, and a Bust, of which Elegant Engravings are placed in the Oriental Library of the Hon. East India Company, in Leadenhall Street’, 1802. *The European Magazine and London Review*, 42 (1802), pp. 448-449.

from India. The Picturesque theorist William Gilpin in his 1791 *Remarks on Forest Scenery*, noted that a forest-vista had ‘a very different air from an artificial one, diversifying the parts ... that the eye is never fatigued with surveying them; while the whole together presents one vast, sublime, object.’<sup>26</sup>

William Daniell provided Osborne with a temple design, re-drawn and engraved from an aquatint, *An Antient Hindoo Temple, in The Fort of Rotas, Bahar*, first circulated in London in *Oriental Scenery*, part 1, 1795 (Figs. 3.39, 3.40), which itself was reprised from a 1790 sketch by Thomas Daniell, drawn in front of the motif whilst they were travelling through India:

This building, composed of grey granite ... has the appearance of great antiquity. The Hindoos, who formerly preferred elevated places for their temples, could not, it would seem, resist the temptation of building in this place, the situation being delightful, and water and wood, with every other convenience, abundant.<sup>27</sup>

This description of the Bihar site in *Oriental Scenery*, equally fits Osborne’s hill-top setting at Melchet with woodland and water nearby, but the temple is featured only on one map, the Wiltshire/Hampshire Old Series 1” to 1 mile map dated 1811, which shows a rectangular structure, with a small porch projection, on the hillside at the back of Temple Park (Fig. 3.41).<sup>28</sup> Osborne’s ‘Hindoo’ temple was built in Coade

<sup>26</sup> William Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery, and Other Woodland Views (Relative to Picturesque Beauty)*, Illustrated by the Scenes of the New Forest in Hampshire, 3, 2 (London: R. Blamire, 1791), p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Some Account of A Hindu Temple, and a Bust, of which Elegant Engravings are placed in the Oriental Library of the Hon. East India Company, in Leadenhall Street, 1802’, *The European Magazine, and London Review*, Vol 42 (July-Dec 1802), p. 448; Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 230. Perhaps out of respect to Hastings, William Daniell did not charge the major for the work. Thomas Daniell, *A Hindu temple, Rohtasgarh (Bihar)*, February 1790. British Library, ref: WD200. Pencil on paper. The original sketch for Thomas Daniell’s ‘An Antient Hindoo Temple in the Fort of Rotas, Bahar’, 1796, *Oriental Scenery*, Plate XI engraved by William Daniell, British Library Board, ref: P921. Thomas Daniell, ‘An Ancient Hindoo Temple in the Fort of Rotas’, Plate XI, *Oriental Scenery, Twenty-four Views in Hindoostan, Taken in the Years 1789 and 1790*, 1, 6 (London: 1795), p. 15. British Library, ref: P921. Mir Kasim Ali Khan, the *Nawab* of Bengal 1760-1763, fled with his family to Rohtas fort after the Battle of Buxar, where he was defeated by East India Company troops commanded by Hector Munro. The fort was handed over to the British by his own supporters. Letter to the East India Company Court of Directors from J. Spencer, C. S. Playdell, Ralph Leycester, John Burdett, dated 26 November 1764, C. S. Srinivasachari, *Fort William – India House Correspondence*, 21, 4: 1764-1766 (Delhi: National Archives of India, 1962), p. 262.

<sup>28</sup> Wiltshire OS Old Series, 1” to 1 mile, Sheet 15, Engraved by Benjamin Baker, Tower of London. Published 1 August 1811 by Lt. Col. Mudge.

stone, executed by John Charles Felix Rossi (1762-1839), a major sculptor for the Coade factory in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.<sup>29</sup> The Temple was suggested to have been built c.1800 as this was the date displayed on Hastings' Coade stone fane which was erected near the temple entrance. However, it is likely this was the completion date, as the edifice was already included in Eleanor Coade's 1799 factory list.<sup>30</sup> In the Daniell aquatint (See Fig. 3.40) a path leads toward the temple, which appears to have a prominent position over the park with a backdrop of trees and bushes, and a specimen tree to the right of the picture. The latter is suggested to be the large American redwood *Sequoiadendron giganteum* extant in the park, however, the placing of the species tree in the Melchet etching corresponds to planting in the Daniell's original aquatint of Rohtas Fort, so may simply have been artistic licence.<sup>31</sup> Aljos Farjon from the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, confirms that a sapling of *Sequoiadendron giganteum* could not have been extant in the Melchet garden in 1800. The species was not introduced to England until 1854, having been discovered c.1849 during the Gold Rush of California.<sup>32</sup> But it was common for fashionable trees to be added later to a scene, for instance in Thomas Espin's (1767-1822), *A View of Lifford Hall* (Fig. 3.42). In William Daniell's Melchet aquatint, it is entirely plausible that the man portrayed, possibly in uniform, was Osborne with his wife; this would have been consistent with other late-eighteenth century depictions of estate owners in their landscapes, such as Walter Wilkins and his fiancé in Thomas Jones's *Maeslough House*, 1776 (Fig. 3.43).

Osborne sent copies of prints of his temple, together with a description of the building and its ornaments to many influential people and institutions, including

<sup>29</sup> 'Some Account of a Hindu Temple, and a Bust, of which Elegant Engravings are placed in the Oriental Library of the Hon. East India Company, in Leadenhall Street. 1802' *The European Magazine, and London Review*, Vol 42 (July-Dec 1802), p. 448; John Britton, *Beauties of Wiltshire: Displayed in Statistical, Historical and Descriptive Sketches*, 3, 3 (London: s.p. 1825), p.336; Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade's Stone* (Upton-on-Severn, The Self Publishing Association Ltd, 1990), p. 211.

<sup>30</sup> Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade's Stone* (Upton-on-Severn, The Self Publishing Association Ltd, 1990), p. 211.

<sup>31</sup> 'A *Sequoiadendron giganteum* appears to mark the place where it [the temple] had stood.' Jan Hurrell (ed.) 'St. Edward's School', *Hampshire Gardens Trust Research*, October 2010. <http://hantsgtrg.pbworks.com> accessed 18 August 2014.

<sup>32</sup> Email from Aljos Farjon, Honorary Research Associate, Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, London, 23 December 2015. Aljos Farjon has published ten books and over 120 papers on trees and suggests that the tree, from historical inference, is more likely to be a Norway spruce *Picea abies*.

Lord Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin and the EIC at Leadenhall Street.<sup>33</sup> Lord Bruce replied he: ‘will sett a high value on this present of Mr Osborn both on account of its affording a true specimen of Hindoo architecture & of the occasion upon which it has been erected.’<sup>34</sup> A letter in the British Library from Abraham Robarts, East India Company Director (1786-1816) confirmed one print of Melchet Temple, had been received by 1802, and the Court of Directors indicated they would display the print in a ‘conspicuous place’ in the Company’s new library.<sup>35</sup> Osborne also released the prints to the press, *The European Magazine* proving happy to publish both prints in the Journal in 1802, not only out of respect to Osborne, but also since it considered the temple an elegant specimen of Hindu architecture.<sup>36</sup> The magazine described the temple and portico as measuring c.twenty-two feet by fifteen feet, and almost twenty feet in height.<sup>37</sup> The temple roofline, finial and petal-shaped merlons corresponded to the Daniells’ aquatint of Rhotas, likewise the octagonal columns with square bases and decorated capitals which support the porch area. Above the *chharjja* were two Brahminy bulls, the Nandi being the vehicle of Shiva. These may have been the prototype for the Coade stone Nandi at Sezincote (built 1803-12) where Thomas Daniell later gave advice.<sup>38</sup> The pillars and pilasters, decorated with Hindu mythological figures and emblems, were erected at corners of

---

<sup>33</sup> Letter from John Osborne to Lord Bruce [11th Earl of Kincardine], 17 September 1802, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre ref: 9/35/291/6/13. Other prints are also suggested to have been distributed. In November 2014 three letters, dating from November 1802, appeared on the internet site ebay, the contents of the letters purporting that prints of the temple had been sent by Osborne to Lady Northwick, Northwick Park (home of the Rushout family), Gloucestershire, to Ewan Law (Counsel for Warren Hastings at his trial), Horsted Park, Sussex, and to George Holme Sumner (Council Member in Bengal) of Hatchlands, Surrey. The provenance of the letters is not known, but, as Osborne distributed many of the prints to his friends, they are likely to be genuine. The present whereabouts of these letters is unknown. Another letter also offered on ebay in 2014 (present whereabouts unknown) from James Henry Leigh to John Osborne gave thanks for a copy of the print but suggested it had not arrived.

<sup>34</sup> *Letter from Lord Bruce to John Osborne*, 20 September 1802, Wiltshire Archives ref: 9/35/291/6/13 Social Letters, 1802-12.

<sup>35</sup> *Letter from Abram Robarts to John Osborne*, London, 22 November 1802, British Library MSS Eur B245; ‘Some Account of a Hindu Temple, and a Bust, of which Elegant Engravings are placed in the Oriental Library of the Hon. East India Company, in Leadenhall Street’, 1802, *The European Magazine, And London Review* (1802), 42, pp. 448-449.

<sup>36</sup> *The European Magazine*, 1802, pp. 448-449.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 448. See also Evan Cotton, ‘The Hindu Temple at Melchet Park’, Volume XL, Part II, Serial no 80 (October – December 1930), *Bengal Past and Present: Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, pp. 71-75.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Daniell accessed on the building of Sezincote garden between 1805 and 1817, see Nebahat Avcioglu and Finbarr Barry Flood, ‘Introduction: Globalizing Cultures, Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Centuries’, *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 39 (2010), p.23. Daniell discussed the Nandi at Sezincote in a letter to Charles Cockerell 14 January 1811, RIBA Drawing archive, ref: SA31/2 (3).

the Temple.<sup>39</sup> According to the information given to the press, the embellishments were the ‘principal incarnations of *Vishnu*, who, according to the beliefs of the Brahmans [sic], has, from time to time, appeared under various material forms, for the support of Religion and Virtue, and the Reformation of Mankind.’<sup>40</sup> A statue of *Ganesa*, the god of prudence and policy, was placed above the entrance gateway.<sup>41</sup> Called by the Indologist, Sir William Jones, ‘the Janus of India’, *Ganesa*’s qualities were paralleled with those of the Roman deity Janus in Jones’s essay ‘On the Gods of Greece, Rome and India’.<sup>42</sup> As the ‘spirit of the doorway’ Janus looked outwards to the world and inside to the home, and like *Ganesa*, was placed near entrances.<sup>43</sup> Inside the temple, the plinched, Coade stone bust of Warren Hastings, also designed by Rossi, faced the entrance (Fig. 3.44). The bust was suggested to be: ‘rising out of the Sacred Flower of the Lotus’, and the plinth inscribed:

SACRED  
TO  
THE GENII OF INDIA  
WHO, FROM TIME TO TIME,  
ASSUME MATERIAL  
FORMS TO PROTECT ITS  
NATIONS AND ITS LAWS,  
PARTICULARLY  
TO

---

<sup>39</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register or, A View of the History of Hindustan and of the Politics, Commerce and Literature of Asia, For the Year 1802* (London: J. Debrett and T. Cadell Jun, 1803), p. 161.

<sup>40</sup> This information may well have derived from John Osborne, as when he sent out engravings of the temple and the bust of Hastings, he also included details of the decorations of the temple. ‘Some Account of A Hindu Temple, and a Bust, of which Elegant Engravings are placed in the Oriental Library of the Hon. East India Company, in Leadenhall Street. 1802’, *The European Magazine, and London Review*, Vol 42 (July-Dec 1802), p. 448.

<sup>41</sup> Edward Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon* (London: J. Johnson, 1810), p. 169.

<sup>42</sup> *The Asiatic Annual Register or, A View of the History of Hindustan and of the Politics, Commerce and Literature of Asia, For the Year 1802* (London: J. Debrett and T. Cadell Jun., 1803), p. 161; Sir William Jones, ‘On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India’ (written in 1784 and later revised), Lord Teignmouth, 3, 13, *The Works of Sir William Jones* (London: John Stockdale and John Walker, 1807), pp. 326-27; P. J. Marshall, pp. 200-203. Sir William Jones, ‘On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India’ (written in 1784 and later revised), Lord Teignmouth, 3, 13, *The Works of Sir William Jones* (London: John Stockdale and John Walker, 1807), pp. 326-27; Marshall (1970) pp. 200-203. *Ganesa* was named by the *Asiatic Register* as the ‘Janus of the Hindus’, *The Asiatic Annual Register or, A View of the History of Hindustan and of the Politics, Commerce and Literature of Asia, For the Year 1802* (London: J. Debrett and T. Cadell Jun, 1803), p. 161.

<sup>43</sup> Cyril Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1932), pp. 46-48.

THE IMMORTAL HASTINGS,  
WHO, IN THESE OUR DAYS,  
HAS APPEARED THE  
SAVIOUR OF THOSE REGIONS  
TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE,  
THIS FANE WAS RAISED  
BY JOHN OSBORNE,  
IN RESPECT TO HIS  
PREEMINENT VIRTUES,  
IN THE YEAR MDCCC<sup>44</sup>

At this point it might be useful to hypothesise why Osborne chose to build a Hindu temple, and why on this particular site? Many temples containing busts and referring to classical texts or expressions of liberty were built in eighteenth-century Whig landscapes, including the Temple of Ancient Virtue and the Temple of Liberty built for Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (1675-1749) at Stowe, and Garrick's Temple to Shakespeare built in 1756 at Hampton, on the river Thames (Fig. 3.45).<sup>45</sup>

Although retaining the same sense of gravitas in the landscape, Osborne favoured a design which linked his life in India to the career of his friend Warren Hastings. By choosing a 'Hindoo' style temple, designed by Daniell containing a bust of Hastings, Osborne gained recognition for his tribute from the EIC, the many friends and supporters of the former Governor-General, and antiquaries and collectors of Indian artefacts. It is also conceivable that Osborne's participation in Hastings' trial, and later acquittal celebrations, had a bearing on his choice of garden building. Hastings would have seen the edifice on his visits in 1807 and 1811, and most likely advised on the planting; in an 1807 letter Hastings requested his close friend Edward Baber to view the temple site on his next visit to Melchet:

---

<sup>44</sup> 'Some Account of A Hindu Temple, and a Bust, of which Elegant Engravings are placed in the Oriental Library of the Hon. East India Company, in Leadenhall Street, 1802', *The European magazine, and London review*, 42, pp. 448-449.

<sup>45</sup> *The Temple of Ancient Virtue* overlooking the Elysian Fields at Stowe contains Greek Statues of Homer (the poet), Socrates (the philosopher), Lycurgus (the law-giver), and Epaminondas (general). Gilpin suggested that these men promoted 'Virtue, Justice, Liberty, and the Welfare of Mankind,' see Everett, p. 48. Garrick's Temple, at Hampton, by the Thames, once contained the bust of Shakespeare by Roubiliac, see Elizabeth Montague (Emily J. Climenson (ed.)), *Elizabeth Montagu, The Queen of the Bluestockings: Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761*, 2, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, first published 1906), note, p. 130.

I should have desired you to keep me alive in the memory of friend Osborne. Let me know, whether the trees are grown round the temple. You know that this is an essential property of the habitations of the Bramins, as it was of those of the Druids: *Nemora alta remotis – Incolitis lucis* (they [the Druids] dwell in forests with sequestered groves).<sup>46</sup>

Here Hastings is allying the educated and literate Brahmins with the ancient British Druids.<sup>47</sup> William Jones in a presentation to the Calcutta Asiatick Society established that Sanskrit had similarities to the Greek and Latin languages, and the likelihood of an Indian civilisation having spread northwards to Europe. Some scholars took this further believing that the Druids held the ancient wisdom of the Britons, in a similar way to the Brahmins study of the Sanskrit texts of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*. This gave validity to the study of Indian religions, art and languages, and, importantly, identified a deep relationship between India and Britain, not as coloniser and colonised, but as countries linked by ancient history and languages.

Although the temple features ornaments of Hindu design, and *chhajjas* and merlons from Mughal architecture, the form of the building is an amalgam of British garden temples of the previous century, and the Indian temple sketched by Daniell. This combination of styles also may be seen in the temple of Surya at Sezincote designed by Thomas Daniell, and Humphry Repton's 1808 designs for the Brighton Pavilion garden. Hybridity of culture would not have been a new concept for Osborne, for in the latter part of his Indian career he had worked in Oudh. It is

<sup>46</sup> Letter VII, Warren Hastings to Edward Baber from Daylesford House 31<sup>st</sup> Dec 1807, *Notes and Queries* CLVI 21 Jan 1928, p.40; quotation from M. Annaei Lucani, *De Bello Civili* (Lucan's Civil War (Pharsalia), translated by J. D. Duff, Loeb Classical Library 220, 1, 10 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), pp.36-37; John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*. Vol. the Seventh in Two Parts (Oxford: James Fletcher, 1769), pp.25-26. Also see Fig. 20 *Radha Krishna in a Grove*; Betty Joseph, *Reading the East India Company: 1720-1840: Colonial Currencies of Gender* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 143. Edward Baber had been the Resident and chief at Murshidabad.

<sup>47</sup> Osborne is presuming his friend, Baber, an eighteenth-century educated man, would understand the allusion to Pliny the Elder (CE 23 – August 25, CE 79) in *Naturalis Historia*: ‘*Druidae ... roborum eligunt lucos; ... Sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore praeparatis*’ ('tells us that the Druids made choice of Groves of Oaks; their Sacrifices, and their Religious Feasts, being wont to be solemnized under that Tree'). Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 16, 37, c.44 cited in Thomas Hearne, ‘An Account of Some Roman Urns and other Antiquities lately digged up near Bishopgate’, *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*: 8, 9 (Oxford: n.p., 1744), p. 23. James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*, 2, 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1834), p. 508. James Forbes also suggests the Druids and Brahmins were similar in that their ancient laws and texts were specific to their sect and had to be learn by heart.

likely he viewed first-hand the fusion of British and Indian architecture both in the *Nawab*'s Lucknow buildings, and in constructions such as Farhat Baksh and Constantia, the houses of his army colleague Claude Martin.

While Osborne was in India, he appears to have been a collector of Asian antiquities. He donated a couple of etchings of the Hindu Temple, to the East India Company Oriental Museum and library, but later contributed a few Hindu 'trinkets' of antiquity:

A throne supported on four low columns, the whole richly carved in fine alabaster ... an altar furnished with a fountain, which occasionally was made to play on the apex of the prolific emblem of nature, personified in the person of Siva, the third person of the Hindu Triad ... This altar is also of pure alabaster, and highly ornamented ... lastly a figure of *Budha* with seven heads carved in a copper coloured alabaster.<sup>48</sup>

The detail of these donations was hidden in the *European Magazine* under 'Scientific Notice', so it is possible that Osborne bestowed further objects to British collections which remain unattributed, or perhaps sold to collectors such as Charles Townley, as Osborne's altar description resembles an object in Townley's collection (see Fig. 2.21). Furthermore, as the records only suggest that the Temple, Warren Hastings' fane, and the Braminy bulls were of Coade stone, it is possible that some of the figures including Vishnu and Ganesa might have been transported from India, especially as the leaflet Osborne sent around to publicise his temple, gives credence to him being a collector with some knowledge of Hindu mythology.

By honouring Hastings in his grounds and donating his collection of Hindu fragments to the Company museum, Osborne demonstrates that he still desired approval from his former Company colleagues, through the distribution of the temple's details and his championship of Hastings. However, it is the aesthetic

---

<sup>48</sup> Besides the principal figure, also sitting on the altar an image of *Brahma*, of *Ganesa*, of the sacred bull of Siva, and of a female goddess alleged to be Bhawani the consort of Siva, with that of another female, perhaps the consort of *Brahma*. 'Scientific Notice', *The European Magazine and London Review*, Issue 51 (May 1807), p. 325.

journey of the Daniells' original sketch which has the most significance. Moving from a ruined temple in Bihar its image was appropriated to a woodland temple in Wiltshire.

### **Sezincote House**

Although the Melchet Park Temple development from sketches was shared by both William and Thomas Daniell, it was Thomas who had the most influence on the Sezincote mansion design. Sezincote in Gloucestershire was the only complete British house and garden to be inspired by Indian architecture, landscape and culture (Fig. 3.46), and so Thomas Daniell's involvement had a huge impact on awareness of Indian design in Great Britain. In turn, it is possible that the design of Sezincote stimulated the re-design of the Brighton Pavilion, Sussex, in an Indian-influenced style by the Prince of Wales. The Cockerell brothers; John Cockerell (1753-1798) Sir Charles Cockerell (1755-1837), and the architect, Samuel Pepys (S. P.) Cockerell (1754-1827), developed ground-breaking plans for Sezincote, with assistance from Daniell, with Repton in a smaller consultancy role. John and Charles Cockerell's experiences in India and the Indo-Picturesque aquatints of Daniell influenced the design of the mansion, also inspiring the garden layout and buildings, which referenced the spirituality and sacred sexuality of the Elephanta rock-caves near Bombay. The Cockerells' innovative choice of an avant-garde Indian design for their enterprise, was likely swayed by changes which occurred in the perception of Indian art, wrought by the political, philosophical, and scientific ideals of the Enlightenment. In addition, Company men returning from India had donated large collections of artefacts to the EIC's newly opened India Museum. With both the general-public and scholars keen to view its antiquities, Indian art and design became worthy of scholarly study, alongside the classical art of Greece and Rome, and a suitable subject for architectural and landscape projects.

John Cockerell wrote to his agent Thomas Walford, stating that he had many 'conceits and fancies in regard to Seasoncote for a residence', and began to make plans for the ruined mansion house, using the services of his brother Samuel.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Gloucestershire Archives, D1652, John Cockerell to Walford, November 1797; Allen Firth, *The Book of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Batsford & Sezincote: Aspects of a North Cotswolds Community*

Perhaps these preparations included a Temple and pool designed by Thomas Daniell, whom John Cockerell may have met in India. Preliminary sketches for these garden features are in the R.I.B.A. library, dated 1795, therefore pre-dating the Melchet Temple built by Major John Osborne. As with Melchet, the inspiration for the Sezincote temple was the Hindu temple at *Rohtasgarh* (*Bihar*), sketched by Daniell in 1790.

Charles Cockerell (Fig. 3.47) eventually inherited the entire estate, having combined his share with those of his brother and sister, buying them out for a total of £38,000.<sup>50</sup> He was the fifth son and youngest child of nine brothers and sisters, and, like his brother John, had served in India with the EIC.<sup>51</sup> In contrast to John Cockerell's army career, Charles Cockerell's twenty-five years of service was in the mercantile and administrative section of the Bengal Presidency. Befriended by Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley, he had a very successful trajectory, rising from a writer in 1775, to Postmaster-General c.1786. It was while he was serving in this post in Calcutta, that he met Thomas and William Daniell.<sup>52</sup> After returning to England and inheriting Sezincote Charles Cockerell re-engaged his younger brother S. P. Cockerell as architect. With a brief at Sezincote to retain some of the earlier structure like that at Daylesford, S. P. Cockerell drew up a design with both Mughal and Hindu elements, with help from Daniell's *Oriental Scenery* aquatints and the guiding hand of Repton.<sup>53</sup>

---

(Tiverton: Halsgrove, 2005), p. 52. It is likely that his agent Thomas Walford also worked for Warren Hastings at Daylesford.

<sup>50</sup> Raymond Head, *Sezincote: A Paradigm of the Indian Style* (unpublished MA dissertation, Royal College of Art, May 1982), p. 37.

Allen Firth, *The Book of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Batsford & Sezincote: Aspects of a North Cotswolds Community* (Tiverton: Halsgrove, 2005), p. 52.

<sup>51</sup> R. G. Thorne, 'Cockerell, Charles, of Sezincote, Glos.', *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790-1820*, Volume I Introductory Survey (London: Secker and Warburg, 1986), p. 469.

<sup>52</sup> R. G. Thorne (ed.), 'Cockerell, Charles (1755-1837), of Sezincote, Glos.', HOP <[www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org)> [accessed 12 November 2016]; Archer, Early Views of India, p. 230.

<sup>53</sup> Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon contend that the re-using of fabric of the old house made considerable savings on the full cost of the mansion, however, it must also be considered that it stultified its style. Only around ten percent of the old house was demolished, with seventy to eighty percent of the walls of the new house 'reused from the old'. Michael W. Fazio and Patrick A. Snadon, *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Baltimore, MA., The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), p. 23; Bryan Little, 'Calcutta in the Cotswolds', *Transactions of Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol 98 (1980) p. 6.

Although an Indian designed mansion and garden would likely draw criticism and identify Cockerell as a ‘nabob’, his countless contacts and mercantile agreements, made through his agency Paxton, Cockerell, and Trail (later Cockerell and Trail, and Cockerell & Co.), included clients who were slave-owners in Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope and Jamaica, who preferred to remain anonymous, making him a formidable confidant, the keeper of many secrets and financial transactions of nabobs, the aristocracy, and the British government.<sup>54</sup> Meike Fellinger has noted that:

Networking was the basis for merchants to gain and maintain their commercial, and, sometimes political influence … maintaining a web of relationships appears to have been a crucial means for nabobs in particular, as they actively sought to overcome their marginal position in the British society.<sup>55</sup>

Cockerell’s web of contacts spread throughout India and Britain, however, and unlike Warren Hastings or William Paxton, he was never vilified for his actions, his views, or his architectural choices.<sup>56</sup> On his return, Cockerell, like Paxton, involved himself in charitable societies, such as the ‘United Committee of Subscribers for the relief of the suffering clergy of France, Refugees in the British Dominions’, and became a Commissioner on the Board of Control 1835-37, responsible for overseeing the work of the EIC.<sup>57</sup> Linda Colley contends that: ‘For many merchants, patriotic societies offered … opportunities for mingling socially with people of rank and influence’.<sup>58</sup> In the case of Cockerell, having dealt with the

---

<sup>54</sup> Database: Legacies of British Slave-ownership, The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership, University College London. <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>> [accessed 12 February 2019]. Many high-level politicians and members of the aristocracy were slave owners. After the Slavery Abolition Act, 1833, through the family agency the Cockerell family – John, Samuel Pepys, Charles, and Charles Robert – was involved with claims for slaves from plantations in Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and Jamaica.

<sup>55</sup> Meike Fellinger, ‘All man’s pollution does the sea cleanse’: *Revisiting the Nabobs in Britain, 1785-1837* (MA Thesis, University of Warwick 2010), p.61.

<sup>56</sup> Meike Fellinger, ‘All man’s pollution does the sea cleanse’: *Revisiting the Nabobs in Britain, 1785-1837* (MA Thesis, University of Warwick 2010), p. 63.

<sup>57</sup> R. G. Thorne (ed.), ‘Cockerell, Charles (1755-1837), of Sezincote, Glos.’, HPO [accessed 12 November 2016].

<sup>58</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press, 2005), p. 93.

business affairs of many aristocrats and landed gentry, he had no problems with fitting back into their social circle.

The building of the house continued into the nineteenth century. Three serpentine drives to the house were constructed, which later in 1823 passed by the Worcester lodges and Diamond Lodge, designed by Charles Robert (later Rushout) Cockerell, as his father, S. P. Cockerell had retired due to ill health.<sup>59</sup> John Betjeman described the Worcester Lodges as having been in ‘beehive form’, the shape of *bangla* huts, with a thatched and curved roof, with ‘stone dressings carved in the Mughal manner’ (Fig. 3.48); the Diamond Lodge defined as ‘unobtrusive, though oriental’.<sup>60</sup>

The structure of Cockerell’s house and garden can be seen in an 1880 Estate Map (Fig. 3.49), and in Anne Rushout’s *View of Sezincot*, 1824 (Fig. 3.50). The main house was constructed of local orange Stanway stone, Jan Pieper suggesting it resembled the ‘saffron coloured architecture of Rajasthan or the red to ochre-coloured variegated sandstone architecture of Delhi or Agra.’<sup>61</sup> It was a hybrid construction, an ostensibly Georgian house, accentuated by a fusion of Hindu and Mughal elements, echoing the mingling of Islamic and Hindu styles promoted by the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1542-1605).<sup>62</sup> The Sezincote central block, has been compared with the Mausoleum of Hyder Ali Khan at Laulbaug (Seringapatam), which was painted by R. H. Colebrooke and published in 1794 (Figs. 3.51, 3.52).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1974), p. 250; Jan Sibthorpe, ‘Sezincote’ in *East India Company at Home, 1757–1857. The British Country House in an imperial and global context* (19 August 2014) <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/06/Sezincote-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf>> accessed 3 November 2016>; C. R. Cockerell took the name Rushout by Royal Licence in 1849 in an (unsuccessful) attempt to inherit the Northwick estate and title of his mother’s family. Firth, *The Book of Bourton-on-the-Hill, Batsford and Sezincote*, p. 57

<sup>60</sup> Betjeman stated that by 1931 only one cottage remained in the *bangla* shape. John Betjeman, ‘Sezincote, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire: Its Situation, History and Architecture’, *The Architectural Review*, Vol. 69, No. 414 (May 1931) p.163; C. R. Cockerell was the architect of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford 1841-45.

<sup>61</sup> Timothy Mowl, *Historic Gardens of Gloucestershire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005, first published 2002,), p. 119; Jan Pieper, ‘Sezincote: A West-Eastern Divan, *Daidalos*, 15 March 1986, p. 59; Paul F. Norton, S. P. Cockerell’s Residence for Warren Hastings, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (Oct., 1963), p. 129.

<sup>62</sup> Richard Cavendish, *History Today*, Volume 55, Issue 10 (10 October 2005); David, Susanna, and Edward Peake, ‘A Brief History’, Sezincote Brochure (s.p., n.d.), p. 4. Akbar had encouraged cultural integration in his seventeenth-century empire which extended across Afghanistan, Kashmir and India.

<sup>63</sup> R. H. Colebrooke, *Select Views in Mysore*, 1794. See also Alexander Allan’s *Views in the Mysore Country*, 1794.

Sezincote's eastern main entrance rises like a great gateway, a Persian *iwan*, to the second storey, while its door's pillars and capitals seen in John Martin's (1789-1854) *The Entrance Door of East Front of Mansion House*, c.1818 (Fig. 3.53), deploy Hindu forms.<sup>64</sup> The most noticeable feature of Sezincote is the copper dome which soars majestically above the rooftops. It was formerly painted white to resemble marble, recalling the monuments of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan's (1592-1666) reign, including the Taj Mahal.<sup>65</sup> The heavy cornice of the house is reminiscent of an overhanging Mughal *chhajja*, while *chhatis* decorate the four corners of the central block roof. The latter were once gilded, their form possibly inspired by the *Maqbara* of the *Nawab* of Oudh, Shuja ud Daulah, in the Gulab Bari (Garden of Roses) at Faizabad, the entrance to which (see Fig. 3.13) was described by Thomas Daniell as follows: 'The gate is elegantly designed, and highly enriched with ornaments: its principal apartment is over the entrance, to which are attached two balconies; the roof is flat and terraced. The surrounding wall is of stone stuccoed, and at angles are pavilions of an octagonal form.'<sup>66</sup> Sezincote exhibits similar architectural design details, for instance the *chhattri* on the corners of the mansion, cusped arches, deep *chhajjas* and window hoods.

Payments made to Thomas Daniell in 1818 and 1819 by Charles Cockerell make it likely that his friend Daniell, whom he had entertained in India, was appointed as a consultant on the gardens and garden buildings. However, notes on preliminary designs in the R.I.B.A. archive, also suggest that Daniell was involved in the design of the house.<sup>67</sup> The external decoration of the house was eclectic, with

---

<sup>64</sup> David, Susanna, and Edward Peake, 'A Brief History', Sezincote Brochure (s.p., n.d.), p. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Susan Johnson-Roehr, 'Sezincote: The 'Hindoo' Aesthetic in British Architecture, 1795-1820' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1994), Chapter III: The Nabob at Home, <<http://snjr.net/theses/>> accessed 12 November 2016. White marble was used for the major monuments of Shah Jahan's reign (r1628-1658), The Nehru Gallery of Indian Art 1550-1900, Victoria and Albert Museum 2006.

<sup>66</sup> Geoffrey Tyack, 'The Empire Strikes Back', *Country Life* (15 February 2012), p. 50; Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 114.

11-12 July, 1789: 'Gate of the Loll-Baug at Fyzabad', Plate III, *Oriental Scenery Part 3: Containing Twenty-Four Views of the Architecture, Antiques and Landscape Scenery of Hindoostan*; Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 114.

<sup>67</sup> Papers of the Cockerell (later Rushout) and Grieve Families, Bodleian Library, Special Collections Dep.b.254, f. 62;

Mildred Archer, 'The Daniells in India and Their Influence on British Architecture', RIBA Journal, 67, (September, 1960), p. 444 cited in Jan Sibthorpe, 'Sezincote' in *East India Company at Home, 1757–1857. The British Country House in an imperial and global context* (19 August 2014) <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/06/Sezincote-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf>> accessed 3 November 2016.] [accessed 24 November 2018]. The dome features in a Daniell's sketch with notes stating: 'Mr

stylised lotus blossoms, peacock tail arches, and window hoods on the first-floor south front windows, the latter again perhaps inspired by Daniell's *Lal Bagh Gate*.<sup>68</sup> *Jali* stone fretwork, used as window screens or dividers in India, at Sezincote appears in small fan-shapes in metal screens on the house façade, fencing, and on the Indian bridge in the Water Garden. Daniell's influence continued into the farm buildings and stables where Indian motifs also appeared (Fig. 3.54), the forbidding exterior resembling a Mughal fort.<sup>69</sup> Brian Little described 'battlements like rows of little pointed arches and trellis patterns in unglazed windows', while Patrick Conner contends that the farm was like an Indian stronghold with 'long buttressed walls ... interspersed with massive rectangular blocks'.<sup>70</sup> As the buildings were reminiscent of the Indian military Picturesque, perhaps the design of the stables memorialised Cockerell's previous career on the subcontinent.

Though the exterior of Sezincote mansion owed much to an exotic fusion of English Palladianism and Indian Picturesque, internally there were certainly few references to India apart from the east octagonal pavilion (Fig. 3.55), known as Cockerell's Tent Room. This is extant, although the curved colonnade 'fronted with iron trellis work' (Fig. 3.56), which linked it to the main house has disappeared. The Tent Room, 'hung with draperies festooned on spears', was lit by stained glass windows.<sup>71</sup> Although Cockerell had his bedroom in the main mansion, it is possible that he took to sleeping in the octagon during the summer months, this practice popular with returnees from India who were used to sleeping on verandahs or under the stars.<sup>72</sup> On the southern wing of the house a 150 foot long conservatory was

---

Daniel approved this side, also the upper front' RIBA archive Sezincote sketch SA31/2: See Catalogue of the Drawings collection of the RIBA Vol C-F (Farnsborough, Hants, England: Gregg International Publishers Ltd, 1972) pp. 64-65.

<sup>68</sup> Christine E Jackson, *Peacock* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2006), p.75.

<sup>69</sup> Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 231.

<sup>70</sup> Bryan Little, 'Calcutta in the Cotswolds', *Transactions of Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol 98 (1980) p. 6.; Conner, p. 124.

<sup>71</sup> Later the house was extended to include an office wing behind this passage, designed by C. R. Cockerell in 1827, see David Watkin, *C. R. Cockerell* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1974), p. 251; Christopher Hussey, 'Sezincote I: Gloucestershire: The Seat of Colonel A. Dugdale', *Country Life*, 13 May 1939, p. 505; Jan Sibthorpe, 'Sezincote' in *East India Company at Home, 1757–1857. The British Country House in an imperial and global context* (19 August 2014) <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/06/Sezincote-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf>> accessed 3 November 2016>[accessed 24 November 2018]; Jan Sibthorpe suggests the orientation of the tent room was such that it might catch the first rays of the morning sun; The poles which were in the Tent Room are now part of a bed in the main house. Conversation with Edward Peake 12 August 2103.

<sup>72</sup> Bertram Smith, 'My Verandah Bedroom', *Country Life* (8 Jan. 1910), p. 71. Although the article was written in 1910, the practice of sleeping away from the house was likely influenced by returnees

constructed (Fig. 3.57), heated by hot water, and used as an Orangery to store citrus trees during the British winter, and to propagate exotic plants.<sup>73</sup> At the end of the conservatory a pavilion, an octagonal smoking room, was built containing an internal fountain and an exotic bird aviary.<sup>74</sup> It is likely that Porden's Royal Stables and Riding House at Brighton, completed in 1808, influenced the Orangery, aviary and tent room designs as their peacock-tail patterned windows resemble the north and south windows of Porden's riding house. Additionally, the Sezincote conservatory resembles an unexecuted design for an external corridor to the Stables, an engraving of which was published in the *European Magazine* in 1806. However, it is likely that both Porden and S. P. Cockerell used the same reference - Thomas Daniell's aquatints.<sup>75</sup>

The mansion and its garden were finally finished around 1817.<sup>76</sup> There were distinct sections to the planted gardens, a formal area to the south of the house and the Thorney, also known as the Indian Water Garden. The garden near to the house, an 'extension of its domestic space' was originally designed with fashionable island beds and shrubbery seen in Martin's aquatints *Distant View of North side of Mansion House from the upper Thorney, Sezincote, and East View of Mansion House, c.1818.*<sup>77</sup> Repton was invited by Charles Cockerell to become involved with the project and in 1805 he sketched the southern area of the garden as a preliminary drawing in his flapped before-and-after format, but there is no evidence that a Red Book of Sezincote was prepared.<sup>78</sup> Repton's view of old farm buildings, a laundry-line and pig-yard, was overlaid in the 'after' view, with flower-beds leading to new crenelated farm buildings.<sup>79</sup> This area seen in Martin's *South Front of Mansion House and Conservatory, 1817* (Fig. 3.58), was a formal garden with flower beds

---

from India, and the eighteenth-and-nineteenth-century healthy living regimes proposed by John Floyer, Kellogg.

<sup>73</sup> *Particulars and Conditions of Sale of the Sezincot Estate*, to be sold by auction 22 July 1880, p.4, Gloucestershire Archives; Jan Pieper, 'Sezincote: A West-Eastern Divan', *Daidalos*, 15 March 1986, p. 59.

<sup>74</sup> *Particulars and Conditions of Sale of the Sezincot Estate*, to be sold by auction 22 July 1880, Gloucestershire Archives.

<sup>75</sup> Conner, p. 132.

<sup>76</sup> Historic England, Sezincote Mansion Grade 1?, Sezincote Park and Garden Grade II.

<sup>77</sup> Susanna and Edward Peake, *Sezincote Brochure* (s.p. n.d.), p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> RIBA archive SA 31/1 Flapped sketch of outbuildings, washing and walled garden, Humphry Repton 1805.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid; Conner, p. 121.

and fountains, and a central octagonal fountain, although today the main axis from the house towards the stables is a long canal constructed in 1968. With a design reminiscent of the formal Mughal paradise garden, the octagonal fountain and steps from the original design have been retained, likely designed by Daniell.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, the many sketches and letters in the R.I.B.A. archive at the Victoria and Albert Museum clearly show that it was Daniell who designed Sezincote's garden buildings, including the 'Brahminy Bridge' and not Humphry Repton, as suggested by Nechtman, although Repton may have played an advisory role.<sup>81</sup>

John Martin was commissioned to paint ten views of the house as it neared completion in 1817, but they were more likely a vision of the future than what was in existence at that date, with fully-grown elm, beech and oak trees.<sup>82</sup> Another series of paintings of Sezincote completed by Thomas Daniell in 1818, including Temple, Fountain and Cave in Sezincote Park (Fig. 3.59), also portrayed the grounds as well-developed with lush vegetation acting as a backdrop to the architectural features.<sup>83</sup> Other works, though, including John Martin's *View of the Temple of Suryah & Fountain of Maha Dao, with a Distant View of North Side of Mansion House*, and a Martin sketch taken from the Sezincote Orangery (Fig. 3.60) emphasised open vistas across the Gloucestershire countryside. Four Martin etchings of Sezincote were featured in the Royal Academy Exhibition in 1818, and six oil paintings of similar views, by Thomas Daniell in 1818 and 1819, which acted as self-promotion for Charles Cockerell, stressing his commitment to Indian trade, through his banking and agency businesses.<sup>84</sup> At the exhibitions, Indian garden buildings in the Sezincote

---

<sup>80</sup> See Malins, p. 46 and Graham S. Thomas, Addendum, *Garden History* 8, 3 (1980), p.14; Sezincote website [www.sezincote.co.uk](http://www.sezincote.co.uk) accessed 19 October 2016.

<sup>81</sup> Nechtman, *Nabobs*, p. 168. Nechtman incorrectly suggests that it was Repton who designed the gardens at Sezincote. The V&A RIBA archive has many plans, diagrams, sketches and letters by Thomas Daniell, which clearly show Daniell was the inspiration for the major garden features – the temple and the bridge - not Repton. Heritage England suggest that the snake pool was also by Daniell. Repton likely only had a minor advisory role on the choices of aquatints from *Oriental Scenery* and the construction of the Thorney stream.

<sup>82</sup> Johnson-Roehr, 'Sezincote', Chapter IV: The Oriental Pleasure Garden.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Four of John Martin's Sezincote views were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818, nos. 510, 557, 602, 606. Another series of ten *Views of Sezincote House* etched by John Martin were published in 1818. See J. Dustin Wees and Michael J. Campbell, 'Darkness Visible', *The Prints of John Martin*, exhib. cat. (Williamstown, MA., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1986), nos. 10-19, and Michael Campbell, *John Martin, 1789-1854, La Oscuridad visible, Estampas y dibujos de la colección Campbell*, exhib. cat. (Calografía Nacional Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 2006), nos. 16-26 cited in Martin Myrone, *John Martin: Sketches of My Life* (London: Tate

aquatints such as the Surya temple, the stupa fountain, and the Indian bridge with its attendant Nandi would give the opportunity for intellectual contemplation, the paintings being ‘read’ by the educated classes, particularly the Indologists who had studied Indian religions. This subverted the previous trend for mid-eighteenth-century gardens to feature buildings laced with classical philosophical meanings such as Stowe in Buckinghamshire, and The Leasowes in Staffordshire.<sup>85</sup>

A curving path from the Sezincote mansion led to the Thorney, or Water Garden, which was positioned in a valley a distance away from the house, comparable to Thomas Daniell’s description of the luxurious garden of the Lal Bagh (most likely the Gulab Bari, Faizabad) which he visited in July 1789: ‘The garden is at a considerable distance from the palace, a circumstance not unusual with the opulent of India’.<sup>86</sup> The Sezincote garden with its many pools, fountains, bridges, and Hindu temple was likely conceived as a spiritual landscape, influenced by the cave-temples at Elephanta, dedicated to the worship of the Hindu god Shiva. Daniell had published two aquatints of Elephanta in *Oriental Scenery V: Antiquities of India* (1799-1808), together with views of the Salsette and Kanheri cave-temples.<sup>87</sup> It is likely that Daniell used his experience of Hindu mythology, the Elephanta caves, and Indian architectural structures in his designs for Sezincote.

The extant Temple Pool referencing Elephanta could therefore be considered a sacred site, created by damming natural springs to form an oval pond. The divine water was overlooked by an octagonal, columned, Temple to Surya, the Hindu sun god, designed by Thomas Daniell (Figs. 3.61, 3.62), its stepped roof and reclining

---

Publishing, 2011), p. 26, n. 18; Johnson-Roehr, ‘Sezincote’, Chapter IV: The Oriental Pleasure Garden.

<sup>85</sup> Linda Cabe Halpern, *The Uses of Paintings in Garden History in Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington D C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992), p. 187 cited in Johnson-Roehr, ‘Sezincote’, Chapter IV.

<sup>86</sup> 11-12 July, 1789: ‘Gate of the Loll-Baug at Fyzabad, Plate III, *Oriental Scenery Part 3: Containing Twenty-Four Views of the Architecture, Antiques and Landscape Scenery of Hindooostan*; Archer, *Early Views of India*, p. 114.

<sup>87</sup> *Oriental Scenery V: Antiquities of India* was issued in two parts 1799-1808. Thomas Daniell completed engravings from James Wales’ drawings of the Ellora cave system, as Wales died before he could complete his project. They were published in *Oriental Scenery VI: Hindoo Excavations in the Mountain of Ellora*.

Nandi, similar in form to Daniell's design of Melchet Temple.<sup>88</sup> Installed within the Sezincote temple the Coade stone panel of Surya (Fig. 3.63), was produced by the Coade factory c.1813.<sup>89</sup> Surya, representing the sun as well as a sun-deity, was one of the four Vedas of the Vedic religion, the forerunner of Hinduism, dating from c.1500 BCE.<sup>90</sup> Moor described Surya in his *Hindu Pantheon* (1810) as 'the glorious god of the day holding the attributes of Vishnu, seated on a seven-headed serpent; his car drawn by a seven-headed horse, driven by the legless Arun, a personification of the dawn, or Aurora'.<sup>91</sup> At Sezincote, the Coade stone plaque depicts Surya in his chariot, steered by Aruna, drawn by seven horses, named after the metres of the Vedas.<sup>92</sup> The lotus flower, native to India, is associated with Surya, the god often portrayed holding a lotus flower in both hands.<sup>93</sup> At Sezincote, the lotus flowers are pictured in relief above the hands of Surya, whose image presides over the pool and its central stupa fountain. Around the edge of the pond small grotto-like niches, containing urns or artefacts, were constructed with miniaturised *amalaka*-capitalled

---

<sup>88</sup> However, the Nandi at Sezincote positioned at the top of the *Ghat* steps leading to the temple, were not part of the original design, as they did not appear in either the John Martin's or Anne Rushout's series of paintings which were executed c.1818-24.

<sup>89</sup> The panel was possibly called a fountain when ordered from Coade price £27.00, along with figures of bulls and elephants. Croggon's Day Book 1813. Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade's Stone* ((Upton-on-Severn, The Self Publishing Association Ltd, 1990), pp. 206, 349-350. Another relief panel of similar design to the Surya plaque appeared in Summer Place Auctions 23-25 October 2012. However, it is very damaged and is without its lotus flowers and horses. Coade stone Nandi appear at Sezincote today at the base of the temple, and in front of the Orangery steps. Those on the bridge have been replaced in cast bronze, due to deterioration. David, Susanna and Edward Peake, Sezincote Brochure (s.p., n.d.), p.6.

<sup>90</sup> Roshen Dalal, *Hinduism: An Alphabetical Guide* (Penguin Books India, 2010), p. 400; T. Richard Blurton, *Hindu Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 24. This sacred lore of the Indo-Aryans who arrived in the north of India and began to be assembled c.BCE 1500 as 'a collection of hymns, invocations, prayers and magic formulae, later becoming the foundation of Hinduism'.

<sup>91</sup> Edward Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon* (London: J. Johnson, 1810), p. 277.

<sup>92</sup> Roshen Dalal, *Hinduism: An Alphabetical Guide* (Penguin Books India, 2010), p. 400; Eva Rudy Jansen, *The Book of Hindu Imagery: The Gods and Their Symbols* (Havelte, Holland: Binkey Kok Publications BV, 1993). Roshen Dalal, *Hinduism: An Alphabetical Guide* (Penguin Books India, 2010), p. 399-400; Rachel Storm, *Indian Mythology: Myths and Legends of India, Tibet and Sri Lanka* (London: Anness Publishing Ltd, 2000, reprinted 2002), p. 77. The horses were named Gayatri, Brihati, Ushnih, Jagati, Trishtubha, Anushtubha, and Pankti.

<sup>93</sup> The lotus symbol also appears on the columns of the bridge over the Thorncry. It was used in the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist religions, with one of its earliest renditions on the ceilings of the Buddhist Ajanta caves. The two lotus of Surya represent the upper *pāra*, and nether *apāra* waters the 'possibilities of existence above or below, in yonder world, and in this world, Heaven and Earth.' Pratapaditya Patel, *Indian Sculpture: Volume I. c. 500 B.C.-A.D. 700* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in Association with the University of California Press, 1986), p. 40-41. The lotus flower became a seat for most of the Hindu, Buddhist and Jain gods by the third century, C.E. Sehdev Kumar, *A Thousand-Petalled Lotus, Jain Temples of Rajasthan: Architecture and Iconography* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 2001), pp. 36, 38; The eight petals of the lotus represent the 'four directions and four intermediate points of the compass', used in the mandala symbol.

columns similar to the giant rock pillars at Elephanta (Fig. 3.64).<sup>94</sup> The fountain took the form of the *Shiva-linga*, and its pool, the *yoni*, celebrated the sacred sexual union of the gods Shiva and Parvati, the deific water flowing away from the pool through connecting pools and rills, comparable to the river Ganges emerging from Shiva's hair seen in the Trimurti at Elephanta (see Chapter 2).

Daniell's *Temple, Fountain and Cave in Sezincote Park*, 1819 (see Fig. 3.59), and Martin's painting of the same name, play with the scale of the landscape, making the niches appear much larger against the figures at the pool, and therefore more awe-inspiring. In Anne Rushout's later watercolour *The Temple Pool* (Fig. 3.65), the niche objects were still in situ, but the scene was softened with swags of leaves or flowers on trellised pillars. The stream from the Temple Pool tumbles via many waterfalls and rills, and is crossed by small bridges to where the main thoroughfare to the Sezincote mansion passes over the Indian bridge.<sup>95</sup> This monument also has a classical ambiance, similar to a Palladian bridge, the staple architecture of mid-eighteenth-century Arcadian gardens.<sup>96</sup> The Indian bridge (Fig. 3.66) is supported by octagonal columns adorned with lotus motifs. This design was taken not only from Elephanta, but also a gateway to the Meenakshi Temple at Madurai seen in the Daniells' painting *An Hindoo Temple at Madura* (Fig. 3.67), which illustrates an arcade of columns with flower motifs and Brahmin bulls seated in pairs above.<sup>97</sup> In Daniell's original sketch of the Indian Bridge there was only one bull centrally positioned on each balustrade, however, with Charles Cockerell having doubts regarding the number of bulls on the bridge, Thomas Daniell wrote to him in 14 January 1811, stating he was:

Dreadfully alarmed about the Brahminy bulls ... they could not be better placed – could Viswarkarma, the Artist of the Gods of the Hindoo's [sic], take a peep at Sezincot, he would say let the Bulls remain where they are ... with the bulls over the two centrical pillars.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Johnson-Roehr, 'Sezincote', Chapter IV.

<sup>95</sup> Watercolour and ink drawing of the Indian Bridge at Sezincote by William Daniell in the R.I.B.A Drawings Archive SA31/2.

<sup>96</sup> Johnson-Roehr, 'Sezincote', Chapter IV.

<sup>97</sup> Malins, p. 58.

<sup>98</sup> Letter from Thomas Daniell to Sir Charles Cockerell 14 January 1811 RIBA archive SA 31/2/3.

Sir Charles Cockerell most likely changed the design as the bridge has paired Nandis, which appeared in Martin's 1818 *View of a Viaduct leading to Sezincot House*.<sup>99</sup> Under the bridge, the seat is suggested by Edward Malins to resemble a 'Greek Revival philosopher's stone bench', accessible by stepping stones.<sup>100</sup> Malins further postulates that the setting is similar to the Mughal gardens of the Shalimar Bagh, Srinagar, Kashmir, laid out by Emperor Jahangir (1569-1627). However, there is no record that the Daniells visited Srinagar, Kashmir (although they did visit Srinagar, Garwhal, Uttrakhand).<sup>101</sup> The stepping stones under the bridge lead to another *yoni*, the Serpent Pool (Fig. 3.68), where a three-headed snake coiled around a tree-trunk, another Shiva *linga*, was positioned on an island with pipes conducting water to the snakes' fangs.<sup>102</sup> While the snake, the *naga* in Hindu mythology, guards the treasures of the earth, Mavis Batey and Malin put forward the concept of regeneration as its inspiration.<sup>103</sup> A snake appears in John Martin's *Belshazzar's Feast*, painted in 1820, and the immensity, form and scale of the architecture reprises Daniell's depiction of the *amalaka*-topped columns in the Elephanta caves (see Fig. 2.63). The *Belshazzar's Feast*'s open-mouthed snake (Fig. 3.69), winding around an upright column, has similarities to the Sezincote fountain, but whether preliminary sketches for the fountain by Repton or Daniell had been viewed by Martin, requires further research.<sup>104</sup> Below the Serpent Pond, the pools ringed with rockwork were depicted in Daniell's paintings as sublime bare rocks, shocking in their jagged forms, possibly a symbolic representation of the landscape of Bengal.<sup>105</sup>

### **Appropriation of the Daniells' artistic works**

There are only a few examples, namely the blue and white wares from factories such as the Herculaneum Pottery (see Fig 3.31), and the panoramic *L'Hindustan* scenic

<sup>99</sup> Johnson-Roehr, 'Sezincote', Chapter IV.

<sup>100</sup> Malins, p. 58.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. As the seat does not feature in any of the early paintings of Sezincote, it is likely a later addition to the garden.

<sup>102</sup> Johnson-Roehr, 'Sezincote': Chapter IV: The Oriental Pleasure Garden.

<sup>103</sup> Mavis Batey, *Regency Gardens* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1995), p. 62; Edward Malin, 'Indian Influence on English Houses and Gardens at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century,' *Garden History*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring, 1980), p. 58. Again, the snake fountain was probably not part of the original design, as the Rushout and Martin paintings show an austere bridge pool with only a waterfall to enliven the scene.

<sup>104</sup> A faint sketch of a similar coiled snake appears in Sketchbook of John Martin, pre.1834. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ref: WA863.1475.

<sup>105</sup> These paintings are privately owned by the Peake family, but can be viewed at Sezincote. The shape of these rocks has softened over time by weathering and the growth of vegetation.

wallpapers designed by Antoine Pierre Mongin and produced by Zuber & Cie in 1807 (see Fig. 3.32), and *Paysage Indien* produced by Dufour in 1815. However, they were not inspired by original Indian design, instead the factories used prints derived from Thomas and William Daniell's *Oriental Scenery*, to reconstruct Indian landscapes for Western taste.<sup>106</sup>

Thomas Daniell, and to a lesser extent William Daniell, were almost totally responsible for the promulgation of Indian architecture and landscapes in Great Britain and Ireland. Their influence spread from the Royal Academy to the designs of Sezincote and Melchet to Repton's Royal plans for a Mughal palace and gardens at Brighton. These in turn spawned pastiches and re-workings in Brighton, Europe and America. The detail of their aquatints and sketches made them ideal for architects to use in their pattern books, although Indian design never became as popular as *Chinoiserie* in interior design and garden buildings.

---

<sup>106</sup> See Peter Hyland, *The Herculaneum Pottery: Liverpool's forgotten glory* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press and National Museums Liverpool, 2005); Zuber <<https://www.zuber.fr>> [accessed 6 March 2019].

## Case Study 8: Humphry Repton and the Building of Brighton Pavilion

Described by David Watkin as ‘champion of the Indian revival’, Humphry Repton was the only British landscaper in the eighteenth century who considered Indian-influenced style as an alternative form of architecture to the Classical and the Gothic.<sup>1</sup> Repton’s growing awareness of Indian design was stimulated by the endeavours of two men in his own century. Firstly, Wolley Jolland, a Lincolnshire clergyman, who built a hermitage containing Indian artefacts, maps and books, to the memory of his brother Captain George Jolland, killed in India whilst serving with the EIC Madras army. But more significantly, Repton became charmed by the aquatints of the artist Thomas Daniell, who had travelled throughout India sketching landscapes and architecture, and publishing his views in *Oriental Scenery*. These men’s collective introduction to India’s architectural forms and proportions, appealed to Repton’s appreciation of the style. India’s variety of architecture, the British taste for Picturesque and the sublime, as well as for the novel and the theatrical, motivated him to consider Indian design more deeply. Energised by his researches, he later adapted plates from *Oriental Scenery* to introduce Indian architecture and landscaping into his designs for Brighton Pavilion. Importantly, the later designs of the Pavilion by Nash employed tented roofs, which were likely inspired by the British military encampments seen in the Daniells’ prints of India (see Fig. 3.38), and aesthetically reminiscent of both British colonialism and Indian architecture.<sup>2</sup>

### Repton’s Early Life

Repton (Fig. 3.70) was born in Suffolk in 1752, his father, John, an Excise Collector.<sup>3</sup> After attending grammar schools in both Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich, in 1764 he completed his schooling abroad in Holland to enhance his prospects of a mercantile career. Living with an international merchant banker family in Rotterdam, Repton enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle, meeting the high society

---

<sup>1</sup> The term revival was also used as a chapter ‘The Indian Revival’ in Conner, pp 113-130, which discusses sixteenth-and-seventeenth-century artistic influences from India, before entering into the art and architectural revival in the eighteenth century,

<sup>2</sup> Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup>A.B. (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), p. 3.

of Britain and Europe.<sup>4</sup> Whilst in Holland, he learned to speak Dutch, and viewed the canalside gardens where the rich and wealthy displayed their status. The formal parterres of these gardens displayed intricate patterns in box, infilled with red brick-dust, charcoal, yellow sand, chalk, broken china, green glass, spas and ores, which John Adey Repton (Humphry Repton's son) suggests imitated the 'gardens of precious stones, described in fairy tales, or the Arabian nights.'<sup>5</sup> The sight of these gardens at an impressionable age, likely inspired Repton into an appreciation of exotic materials and designs.

By the time he was sixteen, Repton had returned to his home town of Norwich becoming a textile merchant for seven years, trading in 'calimancoes, Mechlenburgs' and 'worsted satins'.<sup>6</sup> After several of his ships supplying his business foundered, he left Norwich acquiring a small estate at Old Hall, Sustead near the Norfolk coast, to establish himself as a country gentleman.<sup>7</sup> He was keen to make his mark in the county, describing the improvements he had recently completed to his friend Edward Chamberlayne: 'I am impatient to shew you the alterations in my house and lands. The wet hazy meadows, which were deemed incorrigible, have been drained, and transformed to flowery meads'.<sup>8</sup> Repton made many influential contacts, including William Windham of Felbrigg Hall, who in 1783 became Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Repton accepting a position as Windham's confidential secretary, and in 1784 his political agent.<sup>9</sup> Social

---

<sup>4</sup> A.B. (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), p. 7. Dorothy Stroud, *Humphry Repton* (London: Country Life Limited, 1962), p. 16

<sup>5</sup> A.B. (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), pp. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> Dorothy Stroud, *Humphry Repton* (London: Country Life Limited, 1962), p. 16; George Carter, Patrick Goode, Kedrun Laurie, *Humphry Repton Landscape Gardener 1752-1818, 46th Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Festival. A Exhibition at Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 21 September – 31 October 1982* (Norwich: The Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, 1982), p. 6. Although Norwich as a centre for worsted manufacture was in decline, it still had significance in the local region.

<sup>7</sup> Timothy Mowl, 'Humphry Repton – Public Relations and the Gardensque', *Gentlemen & Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), p. 177.

<sup>8</sup> Humphry Repton to Edward Chamberlayne at the Treasury, A.B. (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> George Carter, Patrick Goode, Kedrun Laurie, *Humphry Repton Landscape Gardener 1752-1818, 46th Norfolk and Norwich Triennial Festival. A Exhibition at Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 21 September – 31 October 1982* (Norwich: The Sainsbury

connections made during this period were of paramount importance after Repton embarked on a landscaping career in 1788 aged thirty-six, with Windham as his first client.<sup>10</sup>

Repton acted with commercial shrewdness in setting up his business, printing trade cards (Fig. 3.71), and dispatching ‘circular letters addressed to former friends’, prospective aristocratic and landed-gentry clients. These detailed his new profession of ‘landscaper’, a unique job title he created for himself.<sup>11</sup> Later, the landscape theorist Uvedale Price pilloried Repton for assuming ‘a title of no small pretensions’.<sup>12</sup> Whilst gradually enlarging his client base, it was patronage from the Dukes of Portland and Bedford which enabled success in Repton’s chosen profession. These patrons enabled interaction with other wealthy estate owners throughout England, Wales and Scotland, so that by the time of his death in 1818, after a career spanning nearly thirty years, Repton had worked on over four hundred commissions.<sup>13</sup> His early patrons were generally from the landed-gentry or aristocratic classes but after 1793 when Britain was at war with France, bankers, merchants, professionals and returnees from India, were keen to own a villa or country house, with a small landscape.

Repton’s personal life in Norfolk was full and varied. With a strong interest in poetry and music, his talents were well known, and he was considered ‘an undoubted acquisition at a ball; and, in private concert, his fine voice and sweet-

---

Centre for Visual Arts, 1982), p. 9. Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens & Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1998), p. 141.

<sup>10</sup> Mostyn John Armstrong, *History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk*, Vol. III (Norwich: J. Crouse, 1781), pp. 55–56; John Phibbs, ‘A Reconsideration of Repton’s Contribution to the Improvements at Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1778–84’, *Garden History*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring, 1985), pp. 33–44. That Repton’s first project was at Felbrigg Hall is supported by Phibbs, who makes a strong case for Repton’s attribution to the landscape changes, particularly as Repton’s text and drawings on Felbrigg were published in *History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk* (1781). Although the development of Felbrigg has been attributed to Nathaniel Kent, Windham’s agent, Phibbs gives evidence which suggests that it was Repton who designed the improvements.

<sup>11</sup> The term landscaper was invented by Repton. Before this time gentlemen gardeners or architects designed estate landscapes.

<sup>12</sup> Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque: As Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: J. Robson, 1796), p. 358. In attacking Brown, Price was also attacking Brown’s followers especially Repton who had styled himself as a landscaper.

<sup>13</sup> The gardens and landscapers had been designed either by architects or the landowners themselves. See Tim Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000).

toned flute were not to be dispensed with.<sup>14</sup> But it was as an artist that he excelled: ‘It was to my early facility and love of the art of drawing that I am indebted, not only for the success in my profession, but for more than half the enjoyments of my life.’<sup>15</sup> His other passion was for theatrical entertainments. He often attended plays at Drury Lane, and enjoyed a wide range of pantomimes, masquerades, raree shows (peep shows) and private estate-theatre performances.<sup>16</sup> Once, on his way to a commission, Repton attended the Biggleswade Fair, and was spotted watching a puppet show by John Byng: ‘Walk’d with Mrs B and Mr Gale up to the fair; but nothing worth seeing: Tho Mr R[ep]to[n] who soon after arrived, found a puppet shew.’<sup>17</sup> Repton used his drawing skills, together with his theatrical tastes, to create Picturesque scenes in what became known as his Red Books, which explained to his clients, in a clear, but magical fashion, the improvements he intended to make.

### The Red Books

Repton developed a unique way of displaying his landscaping designs to his clients. Known as the ‘Red Books’ from their maroon-coloured leather binding, the books contained maps and copious written instructions explaining his practical ideas and methodology, illustrated by watercolour paintings with overlays of ‘before’ and ‘after’ opening like the wings of theatre to reveal the wonder of the proposed improved landscapes. With views portrayed like a stage-settings, trees acting as scenery flats, and houses revealed in ‘peeps’ or ‘bursts’, they were overtly theatrical. The ‘pre-emptive peep’ was a preview of the house often through a circular opening in shrubs and trees, like in the Stoneleigh Red Book (May 1809) (Fig. 3.72) which alerted the viewer of the impending surprise, the ‘burst’, when a full view of the house and landscape would be unveiled.<sup>18</sup> In the Tatton Red Book (1792) he

<sup>14</sup> A.B. (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Humphry Repton (Ann Gore & George Carter (eds)), *Humphry Repton’s Memoirs* (Norwich: Michael Russell (Publishing) Ltd, 2005); A.B. (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> C Bruyn Andrews (ed.) *The Torrington Diaries: Containing the Tours Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (Later Fifth Viscount Torrington) Between the Years 1781 and 1784*, 4, 4 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938), Vol 4, p. 51

<sup>18</sup> John Phibbs, ‘The View-Point’, *Garden History*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Winter 2008), p. 218; Stephen Daniels, *Professor Emeritus of Cultural Geography* at the University of Nottingham describing his

described the dramatic journey: 'on ascending the hill we shall at once burst upon the house, and before the imagination has time to cool by the frigid process of enquiry, we shall see the house reflected on the surface of water.'<sup>19</sup> These Red Books proved extremely popular with Repton's patrons, but some landowners came to use the books in themselves as status objects and declined work to be started on their estate. Whereas Brown had organised his workforce to realise his designs, and consequently became very wealthy, Repton's contribution of an advisory Red Book between 'one cultivated gentleman and another', allowed no obligation for the client to contract further.<sup>20</sup> Laura Mayer contends this allowed clients to instruct other landscapers to carry out the work at a cheaper rate, or not to implement the commission at all, resulting in many Red Book designs remaining unexecuted.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, the Red Books proved successful in gaining commissions and throughout his landscaping career Repton kept their dramatic nature as his idiosyncratic speciality, often explaining his methods in terms of the stage, professing that landscape gardening could be allied with 'the polite arts'.<sup>22</sup> In his Red Book for Tatton Park he explained his role as a landscaper:

We plant a hill, to make it appear higher than it is; we open the banks of a brook to give it the appearance of a river ... Nor is the imagination so fastidious as to take offence at any well supported deception, even after the want of reality is discovered. When we are interested at a tragedy, we do not enquire whence the characters are copied: on the contrary, we forget that when we see a Garrick or a Siddons, and join in the sorrows of a Belvidere or a Beverley.<sup>23</sup>

This enjoyment of deploying the art of landscape to create visual and imaginative effects was given full rein in his work *Theory and Practice*, 1803, where he devoted

---

curation of the exhibition *Repton Revealed: The Art of Landscape Gardening* at the Garden History Museum 24 October 2018 – 3 February 2019.

<http://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/geography/2018/12/04/repton-revealed/> [accessed 12 January 2019].

<sup>19</sup> Humphry Repton, Red Book for Tatton, National Trust.

<sup>20</sup> David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens and the Reign of Nature* (London: Batsford Ltd., 1983), p. 136.

<sup>21</sup> Laura Mayer. *Humphry Repton* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2014), pp. 15, 18.

<sup>22</sup> Daniells, *Humphry Repton*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Humphry Repton, Red Book for Tatton Park (1792), National Trust, Tatton Park; Stephen Daniells, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 7.

a whole chapter to optics, fields of vision, perspective, reflections and effects of light. One example of Repton's playfulness can be seen in his Red Book for Hurlingham, by the Thames in London. He recommended Alderney cows to be purchased, their diminutive stature certain to deceive the eye into believing the landscape was more expansive: 'If distance will make a large animal appear small, so the distance will be apparently extended by the smallness of the animal.'<sup>24</sup>

Repton's dalliance with theatricals and optics was well known in landscaping and agricultural circles, his critics taking great pleasure in revealing his populist pursuits. John Claudius Loudon opined that the Red Books displayed Repton's 'tinsel kind of talent', while the agricultural writer William Marshall contended Repton's works made 'rural improvement' into a 'rural pantomime'.<sup>25</sup> Such criticisms prevailed for many years, the Scottish novelist Sir Walter Scott writing to Lady Louisa Stuart in 1816 to describe his own 'improvements' at Abbotsford, feigning Repton Red Books: 'There is great amusement in reciting that description of what is & what was which Mr. Repton exhibits by means of that ancient contrivance a raree show omitting only the magnifying glass & substituting his red book for the box and strings'.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, Repton's aim was to wrest the mantle of improvement from elitist political landowners to educated professional landscapers. Repton was substantially a businessman, but he acknowledged that his practical skills and knowledge of materials should be extended into engineering, waterworks, and the gardening theories surrounding the Picturesque: 'The rapid facility of sketching landscapes was already familiar to me. But I had to acquire much practical knowledge of engineering, which was not to be obtained without some expense.'<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening: including some remarks on Grecian and Gothic architecture, collected from various manuscripts, in the possession of the different noblemen and gentlemen, for whose use they were originally written: the whole tending to establish fixed principles in the respective arts* (London: J. Taylor, 1803), p. 6; J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), pp. 135-136.

<sup>25</sup> Monthly Review, January 1796, 7; John Claudius Loudon, *A Treatise on Farming, Improving and Managing Country Residences* vol 2 (London: 1804), pp. 705-8, 659.

<sup>26</sup> Sir Walter Scott to Lady Louisa Stuart, Edinburgh, November 14 1816 in *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols, ed. by Herbert Grierson (London: Constable, 1932-37), iv, p. 292.

<sup>27</sup> Repton Memoirs, Part II, BL Add MSS 62112; Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 25. See also David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens and the Reign of Nature* (London: Batsford Ltd., 1983), p. 134.

He set about improving his knowledge by absorbing the works of the foremost garden writers. He read Burgh's comments in William Mason's *The English Landscape* (1786) and Gilpin's *Observations of the River Wye*, both of which examined landscape improvement through the sphere of the Picturesque.<sup>28</sup> He named the following books in his *Memoirs* which he presumably read to gain further practical experience: Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1777), a more intuitive text on practical gardening with sections on water, rocks and buildings, and Malthus's translation of R. L. Gerardin's *An Essay on Landscape* (1783). The latter, firmly linking art, literature and nature, advised that 'It is not then as an architect or a gardener, but as a poet and a painter, that landscape must be composed, so as at once to please the understanding and the eye.'<sup>29</sup>

Proud of his achievements, Repton was keen to show his clients and their friends his skills, by sketching on the spot, and absorbing the 'genius of the place', commended by Pope. To that end he depicted himself sketching in the frontispiece to his published work *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1803), and often included a view of himself working in his clients' landscapes, as in the Red Books of Stoneleigh and Woburn (Fig. 3.73).<sup>30</sup> Having gained knowledge, experience and expertise, Repton aspired to return to the familiarity of the high society he had experienced in Holland. Becoming a landscaper allowed Repton to mingle once more with the elite and the nouveau riche, giving them as Stephen Daniels suggests: 'the opportunity to frame their cultural concerns in terms of his art.'<sup>31</sup> He hoped to raise his own status by publishing discourses on the theory and practice of landscaping. These enterprises often put him at odds with the Picturesque theorists who at first had believed that Repton had ascribed to their philosophies but were later actively hostile to his practical methods and championship of Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. Daniels summarises the theorists' fears regarding Repton's rise in popularity. In his published works they

<sup>28</sup> William. Mason (with Commentary and Notes by William Burgh), *The English Garden, A Poem in Four Books* (Dublin: P. Byrne, 1786); William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*. See David Jacques, *Georgian Gardens and the Reign of Nature* (London: Batsford Ltd., 1983), p. 134.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (London: T. Payne and Son, 1777 first published 1770); R. L. Gérardin Viscount D'Ermenonville [trans. Attributed to Malthus], *An Essay on Landscape: Or, On the Means of Improving and Embellishing the Country Round Our Habitations* (London: J. Dodsley, 1783), pp. 14-15.

<sup>30</sup> Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice*, Frontispiece.

<sup>31</sup> Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, Introduction.

had discerned a disconnection: ‘between commerce and connoisseurship, local knowledge and professional expertise, cultivation and wilderness, English and British identity.’<sup>32</sup> Repton’s works unquestionably pushed the boundaries of landscaping taste by delighting in innovation and using his knowledge and experience to create a new type of gardening, for a new class of clients.

### **Repton and the Picturesque**

Early in his career, Repton was certainly considered an exponent of the Picturesque, Watkin placing him as one of five luminaries of the Movement, the others being Uvedale Price, Payne Knight, Thomas Hope and William Gilpin.<sup>33</sup> However, the majority of this circle after the death of Brown in 1783, took an opposite standpoint to Repton on Brown’s ‘improvements’. Brown for forty years had been the favourite of the upper classes, preparing smooth-banked serpentine lakes, clumps of trees, shelter belts, ha-has, and countless garden buildings in gothic and classical style to complement his clients’ Neo-classical or Palladian mansions. Repton, although still progressing the Picturesque Movement’s propensity for irregular, shaggy, natural landscapes, believed himself to be Brown’s successor, and as the true inheritor of Brown’s metaphoric crown, coveted the late landscaper’s elitist, wealthy, Whig, clients. Repton defended Brown in his publications causing the ire of the Picturesque clique, but he also gained credence for his aspirations as Brown’s son bequeathed to Repton ‘the maps of the greatest works in which his late father had been consulted, both in their original and improved states.’<sup>34</sup> But with Brown’s landscapes unfashionable, Payne Knight ridiculed Repton’s work methods in his poem *The Landscape*:

See yon fantastic band,  
With charts, pedometers, and rules in hand,  
Advance triumphant, and alike lay waste  
The forms of nature, and the works of taste!

---

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> David Watkin, *Thomas Hope 1769-1831 and the Neoclassical Idea* (London: John Murray, 1968), p. 234.

<sup>34</sup> Footnote to the introduction of *Sketches and Hints* 1794, in J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq. Being his Entire Works on These Subjects* (London: s.p. 1840), p. 30.

T'improve, adorn, and polish, they profess;  
But shave the goddess, whom they come to dress;  
Level each broken bank and shaggy mound,  
And fashion all to one unvaried round;  
One even round, that ever gently flows,  
Nor forms abrupt, nor broken colours knows;  
But, wrapt all o'er in everlasting green, makes one dull,  
vapid, smooth, and tranquil scene.<sup>35</sup>

Payne Knight illustrated his text with examples of what he critiqued; the engravings by Thomas Hearne provided a ‘before’, and ‘after’ vision, parodying Repton’s Red Books (Figs. 3.74, 3.75). Price in a letter to Repton in 1795 maintained that he hoped that Repton ‘might employ [his] talents … in making experiments in landscape-gardening on the principles of landscape-painting, and that art in general.’<sup>36</sup> Price refuted that the Picturesque theorists only concentrated on painters who depicted ‘wild and unpolished’ landscapes, directing Repton to view the grandeur of the works of Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin which showed ‘a solemn dignity … as distinct from the wildness of mere forest scenery, as they are from the tameness of Mr. Brown’s performances.’<sup>37</sup>

But having gained much project experience through his commissions, Repton began to develop a view of landscaping as a way of land improvement, suggesting his work could not be hindered by adhering to the strict parameters of the Picturesque:

By the ill judged interference of Art it is become no easy task to display the natural beauties of the place to the best advantage, since in proportion to the

---

<sup>35</sup> Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem in Three Books: Address to Uvedale Price Esq.* (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1794), p. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Uvedale Price, *A Letter to H. Repton Esq., on the Application of the Practice as Well as the Principles of Landscaping-Painting to Landscape-Gardening: Intended as a Supplement to the Essay on the Picturesque* (London: J. Robson, 1795), pp. 26, 27.

<sup>37</sup> Uvedale Price, *A Letter to H. Repton Esq., on the Application of the Practice as Well as the Principles of Landscaping-Painting to Landscape-Gardening: Intended as a Supplement to the Essay on the Picturesque* (London: J. Robson, 1795), pp. 30, 31. Yet even with the support of these very vocal theorists few landscapes were totally reinvented in the Picturesque style, many landowners keeping vestiges of a Brown-type landscape, but altering the planting, paths and gardens.

mighty efforts which have been used to distort nature, will be the Labour of restoring her original charms'.<sup>38</sup>

Moving away from his alliance with the Picturesque Movement allowed Repton to be open-minded, to look to other stimuli for inspiration, Repton's son suggesting his father 'possessed a mind as keenly alive to the ludicrous as it was open to all that was excellent'.<sup>39</sup> Repton made use of new exotic plants which were being imported and the increasing demand for cast-iron, bringing colour and flowers back into gardens, with beds, fences, pergolas, and arches, essential elements of his landscapes. The stage was set for Repton to become aware of the landscapes and architecture which were exhibited at the Royal Academy by artists such as William Hodges and Thomas Daniells their aquatints displaying exciting forms and perspectives.

### **Early Introductions to Indian Design**

With an open mind to innovation, Repton had first viewed Indian prints and drawings when he visited Louth Hermitage, built by the Reverend Wolley Jolland. Louth Hermitage had become famed as a work of rustic art and Repton was keen to view it believing that the house and garden, although designed as an intricate hermitage, memorialised the Indian life of George Jolland, and his untimely death on the battlefield in 1773. With many of Jolland's Indian objects on display Repton wrote in his *Memoirs* of his theatrical response to the hermitage and its contents:

I saw it in 1790 ... A small neat house ... profusely decorated with prints and drawings, and various curiosities sent from his brother in India to whose fond remembrance every thing inside and out, seemed to have been inscribed and consecrated.<sup>40</sup> ... We entered the Porch of the Hermits Cell ... it contained the common furniture of a Hermit's Retreat the walls covered with moss and the ceiling with pendent fern ... When suddenly, a part of the wall with the wooden sofa on which I sat, gently moved back; and I found myself in a

---

<sup>38</sup> Humphry Repton, *Red Book for Thoresby* (October 1791), cited by John Phibbs in 'The Englishness of Lancelot 'Capability Brown', *Garden History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Winter, 2003), p. 134.

<sup>39</sup> A.B., (John Adey Repton), Biography, J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being his Entire Works on these Subjects* (London: J. C. Loudon, 1840), p.

<sup>40</sup> Repton Memoirs, Part II, BL Add MSS 62112 f. 122.

room somewhat larger and of totally different character! He said it was his Brother's Library – Books richly bound and some valuable Asiatic Manuscripts were ranged in the recesses on shelves ... The furniture was of Bamboo sent from India, and a large collection of china, and Indian trinkets continued the connection with the brother's memory ... Suddenly the opening of another door displayed the Chapel or Oratory! The effect was Magical – It was a fairy tale! or the Arabian Night's Entertainment! It was all light and no shadow – and the light appeared supernatural it fell upon sparkling gems of every colour which seemed to surround us.<sup>41</sup>

This description in his *Memoirs* has echoes of his childhood recollection of the canalside gardens, with their rich exotic gem-like colouring. Not long after, it appeared that he was examining the use of Indian design as evidenced in his 1792 architectural drawing for Lady Jennings Clerke, at Holly Grove, Windsor (Fig. 3.76), but as he was still mixing the style with Chinese and Classical decoration he had yet to acknowledge Indian design as a standalone style.<sup>42</sup>

Repton began to foster a theory, in a similar way to William Hodges in his *Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture, Hindoo, Moorish, and Gothic* (1787), that Indian architecture had its origins in the rock-formations of the subcontinent.<sup>43</sup> In his frontispiece to *An Enquiry into the Changes in Architecture*, Repton illustrated the various styles of architecture prevalent in early nineteenth-century Britain, to which he added remarks on Indian Architecture.<sup>44</sup> He compared the series of Hindu columns to those of Grecian architecture (Fig. 3.77), and suggested that Indian architecture presented more scope for diversity of design with ‘an endless variety of

<sup>41</sup> Repton Memoirs, Part II, BL Add MSS 62112 fols. 123, 124-125; *The Will of George Jolland of Fort Saint George Madras, East Indies*, Public Record Office, The National Archives, Cat. Ref. Prob. 11/1031/257, dated 5 July 1773, and proved 24 May 1777. Captain George Jolland had requested in his Will that his belongings should be disposed of, however, in the Proof of the Will, Jolland's Goods, Chattels and Credits were ‘committed’ to one of the Executors John Maxwell Stone, who was referred to in the Will as a ‘kind friend’. Many of them appear to have been incorporated into the fabric of Louth Hermitage.

<sup>42</sup> James Hakewill, *The History of Windsor and Its Neighbourhood* (London: 1813), p. 281. Repton was engaged to create a flower garden for Lady Clerke but she rejected Repton's ideas to transform the house into an Indo-Chinese amalgam of styles.

<sup>43</sup> See William Hodges, *A Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic Architecture* ([London: the author, 1787])

<sup>44</sup> Carl J. Weinhardt, Jr, ‘The Indian Taste’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, p. 213.

forms and proportions of pillars, from the ponderous supports of the cavern, to the light airy shafts which enrich their corridors, or support their verandahes'.<sup>45</sup>

However, he disparaged the misuse of such architecture stating: '[Fashion] should be guided by common sense or we may perpetuate absurdities ... for introducing the Architecture of a hot country, ill adapted to a cold one; as in the Grecian and Roman portico to the north front of an English house, or the Indian varandah as a shelter from the cold east winds of this climate.'<sup>46</sup>

Repton was invited by Sir Charles Cockerell in 1805 to become involved with the project at Sezincote in Gloucestershire. Repton's expertise as a landscaper and his openness to innovation, were likely reasons for this request, however, his relationship with Cockerell and Daniell while working on the scheme, strengthened his viewpoint on the new form of architecture:

It happened that a little before my first visit to Brighton, I had been consulted by the proprietor of Sesincot, in Gloucestershire, where he wished to introduce the Gardening and Architecture which he had seen in India. I confess that the subject was then entirely new to me; but from his [Charles Cockerell's] long residence in the interior of that country, and from the good taste and accuracy with which he had observed and pointed out to me the various forms of ancient Hindû architecture, a new field opened itself; and as I became more acquainted with them, through the accurate Sketches and Drawings made on the spot by my ingenious friend Mr. T. Daniell.<sup>47</sup>

Visiting the property and its landscape, he met Thomas Daniell and S. P. Cockerell. Repton assisted Daniell to choose designs from his *Oriental Scenery* series suitable for the construction of the garden, Repton in his Brighton Red Book acknowledging Daniell's influence on Sezincote's design and the architect's competence:

---

<sup>45</sup> Humphry Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes in Architecture as it Relates to Palaces & Houses in England including the Castle and Abbey Gothic, the Mixt Style of Gothic, the Grecian & Modern Styles, with Some Remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture* (London: J. Taylor, 1806).

<sup>46</sup> Humphry Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor, 1806), p. 4; Jones, p. 49; Without Repton's plans being put into action the Marine Pavilion's verandahs and canopies stayed for the next fifteen years.

<sup>47</sup> H. Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, 1808, p. v. Repton had already attended the Marine Pavilion, Brighton, but possibly as a gardener, not a consultant.

Although I gave my opinion concerning the adaptation of this new style, even assisted in selecting from Mr T. Daniell's collection, yet the architectural department at Sezincot of course devolved to the Brother of the Proprietor, who had displayed as much correctness as could be expected in a first attempt of a new style of which he could have no knowledge but from drawings.<sup>48</sup>

Although he was not called upon to draw up a Red Book for Sezincote, Repton began to re-evaluate his views on the detailing of Hindu architecture, considering it as 'beautiful in reality as it appears in the drawings, and [it] does not shrink from a comparison with the pure Gothic in richness of effect'.<sup>49</sup> Although his involvement with Sezincote was fleeting, it is likely Repton was involved with the design of the Thornery stream, as its design with small waterfalls was similar to that built in 1798 at the nearby Adlestrop estate.<sup>50</sup> Anna Larpent had visited the on-going construction of Sezincote in 1808, her diary maintaining that Repton had shaped the waterworks: 'the water planned by Repton has a good effect'.<sup>51</sup>

The Indian-styled Sezincote mansion and garden has often been quoted as the inspiration for Brighton Pavilion. When Repton was completing his designs for the Pavilion in 1806, he was said to have encouraged the Prince of Wales to visit Sezincote even though the property was still in an unfinished state.<sup>52</sup> John Martin's *View of the Viaduct, leading to Sezincot House, Gloucestershire*, is presumed to record this visit of the Prince of Wales, while he was visiting Ragley Hall, in nearby Warwickshire.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Conner, p. 121; J. C. Loudon, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton, Esq.* (London: s.p. 1840), footnote, p.367.

<sup>49</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. v, note f.

<sup>50</sup> Timothy Mowl, *Historic Gardens of Gloucestershire* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2002). See also Case Study 1: Daylesford.

<sup>51</sup> Diary entry c. June 24 1808, *Mrs Larpent's Diary, 1806-09*, Vol. 7 of 16, The Huntington Library ref: HM31201, f. 149 r.

<sup>52</sup> Anna Larpent visited the Sezincote estate in June 1808 and commented in her diary: 'the grounds now in a rough state ... the entrance and staircase not finished'. Diary entry c. June 24 1808, *Mrs Larpent's Diary, 1806-09*, Vol. 7 of 16, The Huntington Library ref: HM31201, f. 149 r. & v. A painting of the coach arriving in Martin's *View of Viaduct leading to Sezincot House*, and another by Thomas Daniell, 1817, present in Sezincote house, allegedly commemorates the arrival of the Prince at Sezincote.

<sup>53</sup> John Martin, *Views of Sezincote House and grounds, the Seat of Sir Charles Cockerell*. [1818?]. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D.C. Sir Charles Cockerell commissioned John Martin to produce a portfolio of view of Sezincote House and landscape in 1817. A limited number of sets were created using the original plates. Jan Sibthorpe, 'Sezincote Case Study: Sezincote: A Brief

### Visits to Brighton and Porden's Stables

Repton first worked for the Prince of Wales at Brighton between 1797 and 1802, probably not as a consultant, but as a gardener, as he was paid £264 0s 6d, with no mention of any early Brighton commission in his publications.<sup>54</sup> In 1803 he did gain a contract from the Prince for Carlton House (Fig. 3.78), his design for open lawns and shrubberies allowing space for the tents and temporary pavilions used during the Prince's extravagant fêtes.<sup>55</sup> Henry Holland had designed the classical Marine Pavilion at Brighton for the Prince, which swept away the small cottage which had first stood on the site, later drawing up Chinese improvements for the Pavilion which were unexecuted, a style which was followed by Porden's designs in 1805 which met the same fate. Repton had produced a Red Book in 1804 for the pleasure grounds at Woburn for the 6th Duke of Bedford, viewing the covered walkways of Holland's Chinese Dairy, Repton later adapting the idea for Brighton Pavilion.<sup>56</sup>

In 1803 the Prince of Wales appointed Porden as his new architect, to develop a stable block and riding school design.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps S. P. Cockerell had introduced Porden to the diversity of the sub-continent's architectural forms or alternately Porden may well have seen the plethora of Indian landscape views exhibited in London. The copies of *Oriental Scenery* and other series that Thomas Daniell sold to the Prince of Wales in 1808 would have been too late in date for Porden to view, but ideal for Nash to have perused them at Carlton House. In 1770 the artist Francis Swain Ward, who had served in the EIC's Madras army, at Trichinopoly c.1772-73 submitted a drawing of the domed mausoleum of *Sher Shah Suri, Sisaram, Bihar*, to the Society of Arts in London (Fig. 3.79).<sup>58</sup> At the Royal

---

Description', *East India Company at Home*, May 2014 <<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/sezincote-gloucestershire/sezincote-case-study-sezincote-a-brief-description/>> [accessed 5 February 2019].

<sup>54</sup> Henry D. Roberts, *A History of the Royal Pavilion* (London: Country Life Limited, 1939) p. 90; Privy Purse papers of George IV, Royal Archives, cited in Conner, p. 121; Daniels, *Humphry Repton* p. 192.

<sup>55</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for Carlton House*, Royal Collection Trust: RCIN 917091; Roy Strong, *Royal Gardens* (London: BCA, 1992), p. 82.

<sup>56</sup> Stephen Daniels, Suzanne Seymour and Charles Watkins 'Enlightenment, Improvement, and the Geographies of Horticulture in Later Georgian England', in David N. Livingstone and Charles W. Withers (eds), *Geography and Enlightenment* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 352.

<sup>57</sup> J. Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Philip Wilson and Summerfield Press, 1983), pp. 39-41; Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 128.

<sup>58</sup> John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 86; Tyack, *Pantheon for Horses*, p. 150.

Academy between 1785 and 1798, William Hodges exhibited over twenty-five paintings of India, and Thomas Daniell between 1795 and 1828 exhibited over eighty works of art based on views of the subcontinent.<sup>59</sup> Porden certainly showed a curiosity for Indian art by 1797 as he exhibited *Design for a Place of Amusement in the Style of the Mahometan Architecture of Hindostan* at the Royal Academy, which, unfortunately, is now lost.<sup>60</sup>

Although Edward Malins contends that Porden's riding stables and school were inspired by the Prince's recollection of childhood memories of the Alhambra and Mosque at Kew, it is likely that the main stimulus came from buildings in France and India.<sup>61</sup> The French inspiration buildings likely included the circular grain exchange, the Halle au Blé (Fig. 3.80), 'the most spectacular iron project of the [French] Empire', with a new shallow dome constructed between 1808 and 1813, using cast iron arches linked by horizontal rings, designed by François-Joseph Bélanger.<sup>62</sup> Porden's surviving cross-section of the *Dome, Riding House and Tennis Court at Brighton* (Fig. 3.81), shows similarities to the Halle construction, but apart from a finial, the Indian detailing appears to have been added at a later stage in its design.<sup>63</sup> Sixty horses' stalls encircled the large domed rotunda, which contained a central octagonal pool and fountain (Figs. 3.82, 3.83).<sup>64</sup> At the top of the dome a

<sup>59</sup> Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 4 vols. (Wakefield: S. R. Publishers; Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970, first published 1905), Vol 1., pp. 242-245, Vol. 2, pp. 117-118.

<sup>60</sup> Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, 4, 3 (Wakefield: S. R. Publishers; Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1970, first published 1905), p. 183; Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 150; Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 304-05.

<sup>61</sup> James Stevens Curl, *Georgian Architecture in the British Isles 1714-1830* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011 first published 1993), p. 129; Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 150; Malins, p. 50; Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 304.

<sup>62</sup> Marie-Louise Biver, *Le Paris de Napoleon* (Paris, 1963), p. 124 cited in Frances H. Steiner, 'Building with Iron: A Napoleonic Controversy', *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Oct., 1981), p. 719, 721; James Stevens Curl, *Georgian Architecture in the British Isle 1714-1830* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011 first published 1993), p. 129; 20 July 1804 *The Faringdon Diary*, vol. 2, p. 270.

<sup>63</sup> Details of the construction were not published until 1805 see Johann Carl Crafft and Nicolas Ransonnette, *Plans, coupes et élévations des plus belles maisons et hotels construits à Paris et dans les environs* (Paris, 1801), p., 109; Johann Carl Krafft, *Traité sur l'art de la charpente* (Paris, 1805); Mark K. Deming, *La Halle au Blé de Paris, 1762-1813* (Brussels: 1984), pp. 16, 178, cited in Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 147.

<sup>64</sup> Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 143; David Beevers (ed.), *The Royal Pavilion Brighton: The Palace of King George IV* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums, n.d.), pp. 76-77. The building, the Dome Theatre, is used as a concert hall and conference facility.

lantern ‘wrought externally into the form of a coronet’, with an Indian finial, covered an oculus, giving ventilation to the stables below.<sup>65</sup> There were other subtle Indian influences, for instance cusped arches set within rectangles, *chhatris* surrounding the dome, and decorative merlon topped walls, were likely inspired by the Daniells’ *The Jummah Musjed, Delhi, its Eastern Gate*, and the *Mausoleum of Sultan Purveiz, Allahabad* (Fig. 3.84) together with Francis Swain Ward’s *Mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri* (see Fig. 3.79).<sup>66</sup> To the west of the stables the barrel-vaulted Royal Riding House was constructed for the Prince to exercise his horses, which again had echoes of the Daniells’ plates from *Oriental Scenery*.<sup>67</sup>

Repton later wrote in guarded praise of the building: ‘Although the outline of the Dome resembles rather a Turkish Mosque than the buildings of Hindustan, yet its general character is distinct from the Grecian or Gothic’.<sup>68</sup> Porden’s development, though, not including the cost of the land, was suggested to be a staggering £54,783, which precluded any further additions to the Pavilion.<sup>69</sup> However, it did not stop the Prince from formulating ideas for a new Palace to complement his stables as their design dwarfed his Marine Pavilion.

### Brighton and the Prince of Wales

The Prince of Wales had visited Brighton since 1783 when he was twenty-one, to see his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, and to enjoy the benefits of sea-bathing. The Prince had a variety of maladies which had plagued him for many years; bathing at Brighton and taking the waters at Bath were just two of the tried and trusted remedies. He also found the looser code of morals away from London attractive, especially as he had a mistress in Brighton, Mrs. Fitzherbert. His uncle’s house was

<sup>65</sup> *The Times*, 7 August 1805 cited in Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 148.

<sup>66</sup> James Stevens Curl, *Georgian Architecture in the British Isles 1714-1830* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011 first published 1993), p. 129; Tyack, Pantheon for Horses, p. 153; Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 305; David Beevers (ed.), *The Royal Pavilion Brighton: The Palace of King George IV* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums), p. 5. The *Mausoleum of Sultan Purveiz, Allahabad* is now presumed to be that of Nithar Begum, the Mughal Emperor Jahangir’s daughter.

<sup>67</sup> Jessica, M. F., Rutherford, *The Royal Pavilion: The Palace of George IV* (Brighton & Hove: Brighton & Hove City Council, 2002), p. 50. Later this area became the Corn Exchange and in 2006 an Exhibition Hall.

<sup>68</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. vi.

<sup>69</sup> Henry D. Roberts, *A History of the Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Country Life Limited, 1939), p. 126.

on the main thoroughfare, the Styne, well-situated to promenade, visit assembly rooms, and enjoy the entertainments and fireworks.<sup>70</sup>

While Repton was advising his client, Charles Abbot, the Speaker of the Commons, at his home at Kidbrook, Sussex, October 1805 the Prince of Wales contacted Repton to attend him at Brighton. After some delay, and only when he heard that work had already started on the Pavilion grounds, the landscaper set off for Brighton. Apologising for his lateness while endeavouring to pacify the Prince for his lack of etiquette, Repton wrote: ‘I have lately been turning my attending to representations of Indian scenery and hoped to have produced some effects particularly connected with that style in the Gardens at Brighton.’<sup>71</sup> On his arrival at Brighton, ready to investigate the improvement of the Palace and its small garden, Repton saw that, in his view, in the work already commenced ‘the character of a Garden [had been mistaken] with that of a Park.’<sup>72</sup> Samuel Lapidge, who had been an assistant to Brown, had already been engaged to work on the Pavilion’s landscape constructing a ha-ha and a belt of shrubs near the garden wall, with plans already made for a serpentine coach-drive to enter the Pavilion through a pair of lodges. Repton thought that such a scheme would ‘betray its real confinement’, as the Pavilion was positioned within the town, with little or no view to the sea.<sup>73</sup>

Even after Repton’s apologies, the Prince kept him waiting for a week, then gave a meeting requesting the landscaper to give his opinion as they walked around the grounds together, debating the improvement of the site including the surfaces, the buildings, trees and plants. The next day having measured the site Repton informed the Prince of his intentions for the five acres of land, then took his leave, planning to return three weeks later with his drawings.<sup>74</sup> Aided by his sons, Repton prepared designs for the Prince of Wales, searching for a style to harmonise with Porden’s stables, eventually supplying a design which John Morley designates ‘Hindoo’ style.<sup>75</sup> But believing that Indian architecture had ancient origins, uncovered in

---

<sup>70</sup> Musgrave p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> Repton Memoirs, Part II, BL Add MSS 62112, f. 220.

<sup>72</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. iii.

<sup>73</sup> Repton, *Pavillon at Brighton*, 1808.

<sup>74</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 149.

<sup>75</sup> John Morley, *The Making of the Royal Pavilion at Brighton: Designs and Drawings* (London: Sotheby Productions by Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd, 1984), p. 55.

‘specimens discovered in the Indian excavations’ Repton and his sons had researched both Hindu and Mughal styles.<sup>76</sup> They saw the possibilities of combining the load-bearing strength and intricate decoration of Indian architecture into one design.<sup>77</sup> In his *An Enquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening and Architecture* Repton considered:

After tracing the various past changes of taste in gardening and architecture, I cannot suppress my opinion that we are on the eve of some great change future change in both these arts, in consequence of our having lately become better acquainted with scenery and buildings in the interior provinces of India. The beautiful designs published by Daniell, Hodges, and other artists, have produced a new source of beauty, of elegance and grace, which may justly vie with the best specimens of Grecian or Gothic architecture ... When a partiality for such forms is patronised and supported by the highest rank, and the most acknowledged taste, it becomes the duty of the professor to raise the importance, by increasing the variety of his art'.<sup>78</sup>

In February 1806 Repton went to Brighton again, to resubmit his designs accompanied by three of his sons, John Adey, George Stanley and Humphry, who had worked with their father on the plans. The drawings were displayed in true Red Book fashion, Repton commenting ‘by my usual method of slides’, but significantly he also included a treatise on the introduction of Indian Architecture.<sup>79</sup> The Prince praised the plans and said that they ‘beautifully realised all he had imagined’ but requested Repton to show them to Mrs Fitzherbert.<sup>80</sup> Repton in his *Memoirs* makes

---

<sup>76</sup> Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, p. 197.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Humphry Repton, *An Enquiry into the Changes in Taste in Landscape Gardening* (London: J. Taylor 1806), p. 42; Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. i; Jones, p. 60; Humphry Repton; *An Inquiry into the Changes of Taste in Landscape Gardening to which are added some Observations on Its Theory and Practice including a Defence of the Art* (1806) in J. C. Loudon (ed.), *The Landscape Gardening and Garden Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq., Being His Entire Works on These Subjects*. (London: Longman & Co., and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1840). pp. 339-340

<sup>79</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton Humbly Inscribed to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales*, 1806, accompanied by ‘An Enquiry into the changes in Architecture as it relates to Palaces & Houses in England including the Castle and Abbey Gothic, the mixt style of Gothic, the Grecian & Modern Styles, with some Remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture’, RCIN 970493; Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 150.

<sup>80</sup> Repton *Memoirs*, p. 151.

clear that the maps, drawings and plans were of no interest to Mrs Fitzherbert; it was only the cost of the enterprise that mattered.<sup>81</sup> However, the Prince still ordered Repton to ‘prepare complete plans and drawings of all I proposed without delay.’<sup>82</sup> Repton was delighted with the Prince’s reaction, declaring ‘I found myself – in conjunction with my boys – appointed to direct the taste of the Country in its Architecture as well as its scenery.’<sup>83</sup> He believed that not only was he to receive the highest patronage in the land, but he also had a duty to publicise the importance of Indian design, which would be achieved by this Brighton Pavilion commission.

Accordingly, Repton delivered what he called his ‘Red Book of the Pavilion’ to Carlton House, where the Prince exclaimed ‘Mr. Repton, I consider the whole of this book perfect, I will have every part of it carried into immediate execution. Not a tittle shall be altered, even you yourself shall not attempt any improvement.’<sup>84</sup> However, in the following weeks there was no word from the Prince and Repton had no answer to his request for money to commence the works. With Porden’s stables over budget, a rise in timber costs for the stables’ roof following a blockade of Prussian ports, and Britain embroiled in the Napoleonic Wars, Repton’s plans came to nothing.<sup>85</sup> He gradually came to realise that twice as much money as he had suggested for the Pavilion was being spent on Carlton House, but the Treasury would not provide further money before the Prince’s debts were paid.<sup>86</sup> Repton’s designs were deemed too expensive to carry out, so his long-awaited commission from the Prince never materialised.<sup>87</sup> Repton later recorded in his *Memoirs* the deep disappointment he felt: ‘So ended my Royal Hopes! From which I had proudly prognosticated a new species of architecture more applicable to this country than either Grecian or Gothic.’<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p. 150.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, p. 151.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, p. 150.

<sup>84</sup> Repton *Memoirs*, p. 152; Strong, p. 84; Jones, p. 66.

<sup>85</sup> Daniels, p. 203.

<sup>86</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*, pp. 154-155.

<sup>87</sup> Daniels pp. 201, 203; Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 231-2); Farrant, The Physical Development of the Royal Pavilion Estate’ p. 179

<sup>88</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*; Head, *Indian Style*, p. 49.

## Publication of the Red Book of the Pavilion<sup>89</sup>

Having waited for a couple of years, Repton finally decided to gain some benefit from the debacle. He published his designs for the Pavilion in 1808 for six guineas, through J. C. Stadler who engraved the plates. Although Stadler took the risk on this venture, he promised Repton would gain an equal share of the profits.<sup>90</sup> The Red Book, entitled *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton*, was published with the addition of ‘An Inquiry into the Changes in Architecture’ which included reference to Gothic, Grecian and Modern styles and a section on the Introduction of Indian architecture.<sup>91</sup>

Repton’s watercolour designs for the Pavilion were heavily based on the first volume of Daniell’s *Oriental Scenery*.<sup>92</sup> Why only the initial part of the Daniells’ collection was used for inspiration is not known. Perhaps Thomas Daniell lent him this first book of *Oriental Scenery* while they were working together at Sezincote, or perhaps Repton was enthused by these specific aquatints? He was certainly anxious to point out that in addition to wood and stone he also wished to use the new material - cast iron - which he believed was ‘peculiarly adapted to some light parts of the Indian style’.<sup>93</sup> His Brighton Pavilion design employed many innovations, with three hot houses and a greenhouse added to his plans, to allow for the raising of tender exotic plants. An illustration of the *Flower Garden at Valleyfield, Fife* (Fig. 3.85), from his *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1803, shows the extent to which Repton was already using cast iron in his garden designs, particularly as trellis for exotic climbing plants.<sup>94</sup> By using Indian

<sup>89</sup> MS Copy of Designs for the Pavillon, Royal Library, Windsor. The Red Book, with watercolour illustrations presented to George, Prince of Wales, by the artist, 1806.

<sup>90</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*, pp. 224-5; Letter: Humphry Repton to Robert Gray, 22 May 1808. Royal Archives 31515, G.I.V. Accounts Box 7/30; 5 January 1808, Royal Archives, Unindexed Accounts. J Stadler to Humphry Repton, 13 April 1808, Huntington Library HM 40945. Cited by Daniells p 203

<sup>91</sup> Judy Tarling, ‘Not a Tittle Shall be Altered’: The Story of Betrayal at Brighton’, in Susi Batty (ed.), *A Collection of Research Papers on Humphry Repton’s Work in Sussex* (Haywards Heath: Sussex Gardens Trust, 2018), p. 88.

<sup>92</sup> Conner, p. 136. Repton’s before views are the only known record of the garden before the transformation, see Jones, p. 60; Roderich Fuëß, ‘Views of the East: A Note on the Royal Pavilion at Brighton, *Daidalos*, 15 March 1986.

<sup>93</sup> Humphry Repton, ‘An Inquiry into the Changes in Architecture as it Related to Palaces and Houses in England, with Some Remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture’, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. 29.

<sup>94</sup> Humphry Repton, *Observations on the Theory and Practice*, p. 102; Jean Tijou, *A New Booke of Drawings ... of Which the Most Part Hath Been Wrought at the Royall Building of Hampton Court &c* (London: 1693); Paul Dobraszczyk, *Iron, Ornament and Architecture in Victorian Britain: Myth and Modernity, Excess and Enchantment* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014), p. 7. Tijou’s book of wrought iron engravings initiated a fashion for wrought iron decoration in Britain, which was adopted by British metalworkers and developed into more fluid designs.

architecture, Repton moved away from the rigid rules of classical architecture, with its five orders of columns, to the subcontinent's 'endless variety of forms and proportions'.<sup>95</sup> He envisaged the Pavilion as a grand theatrical Mughal palace (Fig. 3.86), with its large single dome, minarets, small domes, columns, *chhattri*, based on the Daniell's aquatint of the *Jumma Musjed, Delhi*.<sup>96</sup> While using a synthesis of Mughal, Hindu and Jain components in his architectural plans, for the Pavilion's surrounding landscape, Repton followed the formality and symmetry of Mughal gardens and their use of reflective pools and mirrors. The garden was designed to complement the palace:

Not as a Forest as seen in the sketches of Salvator [Rosa], nor as a Park where the landscapes of Claude and Poussin would be realised, but as a true Garden, where one would delight in the rich embellishments, the blended graces of Watteau.<sup>97</sup>

Although a very small area for a palace garden, Repton's design illustrated how he would link the various buildings together with mirrored corridors or flower passages (Figs. 3.87, 3.88). Repton envisioned that, similar to Woburn, the disparate buildings could be linked with functionally versatile walkways 'in some places under cover, in other occasionally covered with glass in winter, which in summer may be taken away, leaving only such standards of wood or cast iron, as may serve trail climbers and creeping plants'.<sup>98</sup> In one of his optical tricks, the length of the corridor would be artificially enhanced by a mirror. In the summer, the garden would be reflected when the window glass was removed, and thereby the corridor would seem 'doubled in extent.'<sup>99</sup>

Repton's plan for the Pavilion garden was a masterclass of sensation and illusion, disguising the restraints of a confined site. However, some of his Red Book views had elements of 'artistic licence' particularly the stables seen through an

---

<sup>95</sup> Humphry Repton, 'An Inquiry into the Changes in Architecture as it Related to Palaces and Houses in England, with Some Remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture', *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. 29.

<sup>96</sup> Conner, p. 136.

<sup>97</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs on the Pavillon at Brighton*, 1808; Strong, p. 84; Malins, p. 54.

<sup>98</sup> Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon*, p. 4.

<sup>99</sup> Loudon, Repton p. 400.

avenue of trees, the building reflected in the water. The garden itself would be entered via two gateways, the town entrance appearing like a stepped temple, similar to the temples at Sezincote and Melchet Park (based on *A Hindu temple in the Fort of Rohtas*), the other with cusped arches leading from the stableyard. From both entrances a variety of prospects, walkways, shady areas, garden buildings and pool, inspired by the Daniells' *Oriental Scenery*, would gradually come into view (Fig. 3.89). With a walk commencing at the stables, the pheasantry, based on *Part of the Palace in the Fort of Allahabad* (Figs. 3.90, 3.91), would appear between a hothouse and a green house, then, strolling through the covered walkways around the garden the view of the orchestra platform with two *chhattri* would be revealed, mirrored in a tank-like square pool.<sup>100</sup> Walking further through the open corridors the aviary would be reached based on *Hindoo Temples at Bindrabund on the River Jumna* (Figs. 3.92, 3.93), it would be a fusion of Hindu temple, *amalaka*-topped columns from Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cave systems, above a Mughal base.<sup>101</sup> Still further round the garden a multi-purpose winter Orangery, in the summer would double as a kiosk shaded with blinds, reminiscent of Tipu Sultan's Darya Daulat Bagh at Seringapatam. For the Prince's octangular private apartments, inspired by the *North View of the Cotsea Bhaug on the River Jumna at Delhi* (Fig. 3.94), a viewing platform would be provided with a telescope for views over the North Steyne and the Chinese garden, or out to sea (Fig. 3.95).<sup>102</sup> Repton fiercely defended the luxury of a pool within the design: 'A pool is necessary ... as no Indian building is ever seen without ... for its utility in supplying the garden with water attempered by the air, and for its beauty in reflecting the surrounding objects'.<sup>103</sup> The significance of Repton's designs is that no landscaper had completed such detailed drawings in a hybrid Mughal, Hindu and Jain style. Studying the first part of *Oriental Scenery* Repton used the Daniell's aquatints to envisage a new, multi-functional version of the Persian paradise garden. If it had been successfully adopted, he and his sons would have received royal patronage, and with Indian design bestowed the royal seal

---

<sup>100</sup> Repton, 1808).

<sup>101</sup> Conner, p.136.

<sup>102</sup> Repton, Brighton Pavilion Red Book; Patrick Conner 'Unexecuted Designs for the Royal Pavilion at Brighton', *Apollo*, 107 (1978) pp. 192-9.

<sup>103</sup> Humphry Repton, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808), p. 5. Repton also gave his reasons for the design of the square pool: 'such pools in India are generally of this shape'.

of approval, it would likely have been adopted in numerous country estates throughout Britain and Ireland.

### **John Nash's Pavilion Design**

By the time the Prince accepted the Regency in 1811, his debts were estimated to be £552,000, *The Examiner* in 1812 suggesting the Regent was ‘a libertine over head and ears in debt … the companion of gamblers and demireps.’<sup>104</sup> Perhaps due to his heightened royal status further improvements were planned for his Marine Pavilion, the Prince requesting James Wyatt, Surveyor of the King’s Works to enlarge the building. Unfortunately, after Wyatt had completed some initial work, he died in a coach accident in 1813, so another architect was required to revamp the Pavilion.<sup>105</sup> In 1814 the Prince Regent appointed John Nash as the Royal Architect, based in part on Nash’s previous work for the Prince on the plan for Regent Street in London, linking Regent’s Park through to Carlton House.<sup>106</sup> By this time Nash had become appointed to the Department of Woods and Forests, and his grand plans to develop London and Carlton House were deemed by the Prince to ‘quite eclipse Napoleon’.<sup>107</sup> Although the Prince had told Repton that Nash’s plans were ‘of such enormous expense that they can hardly ever be realised’, the Prince went ahead with them after he had become Regent.<sup>108</sup>

Nash, the son of a millwright, had worked in the architectural office of Sir Robert Taylor, but in 1793 had moved to Wales, designing many country mansions including Castle House for the Picturesque theorist Uvedale Price, and an octagonal library at Hafod, near Aberystwyth for Thomas Johnes.<sup>109</sup> Around 1795 Nash had

---

<sup>104</sup> Steven Parissien, *Regency Style* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1996), p. 19; *The Examiner*, 20 December 1812.

<sup>105</sup> Musgrave, *Life in Brighton*, pp. 148-49; Clifford Musgrave, *Royal Pavilion*, p. 60; Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 128; Henry D. Roberts, *A History of the Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Country Life Limited, 1939), p. 126. Wyatt had begun work on the Pavilion, 1812-14, as costs were suggested to be £13,142.14.4.

<sup>106</sup> Jones, p. 74; Strong, p. 81.

<sup>107</sup> Thomas Moore to James Corry, 24 October 1811 in Lord John Russell (ed.), *Memoirs of Thomas Moore*, 8, 8 (1856), p. 97; See J. Mordaunt Crook, ‘Metropolitan Improvements: John Nash and the Picturesque’, in Celina Fox (ed.), *London: World City 1800-1840* (New Haven and London, 1992) pp. 77-96. This would have been taken as a huge compliment by the Prince of Wales as he was a collector of Napoleon memorabilia.

<sup>108</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 234; Daniels, p. 204. The costings for Brighton Pavilion were allowed by the Treasury as John Nash accounted by the year and not by the full project.

<sup>109</sup> Strong, p. 81; Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 128.

joined Repton in partnership, which ended acrimoniously in 1802, but Nash had already learnt from Repton how to ‘improve’ his clients’ landscapes, and had met his new patron the Prince of Wales.<sup>110</sup> Nash was forward-looking, his designs featuring ‘gothic irregularity’ and like Repton he was willing to experiment with new construction materials.<sup>111</sup> However, when Nash went to Brighton on 25 January 1815 to meet the Prince he found that his task was largely to modify a plan envisioned by Wyatt.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, influenced by the Porden Royal Stables design, Repton’s Red Book, and the *Oriental Scenery* designs of the Daniells (which he borrowed from the Prince’s Carlton House library for ‘making drawings of the Pavilion’), Nash produced a Romantic vision of the Pavilion (Fig. 3.96).<sup>113</sup> His Hindu colonnades, Mughal domes, *jali* screens, and tented roofs wrapped an eclectic Indian fantasy around the Neo-classical Marine Pavilion.<sup>114</sup> Nash’s tented roofs, similar to his design for the 1814 Temple of Concord at Carlton House, likely owed their design to British military encampments seen in the Daniells’ prints of India, for instance in *Gate of the Tomb of the Emperor Akbar at Secundra*, 1795 (see Fig. 3.38), which visually echo both British colonialism and Indian architecture.<sup>115</sup>

On either side of the central dome were iron-cored Bath stone minarets, the stone also used for the *jali* screens which linked the external columns, with capitals similar to the *chhattris* on Porden’s Royal Stables.<sup>116</sup> The roof of all these three structures was constructed from a cast-iron frame, with timber and brick infill, and an ‘outer skin of sheet iron covered with mastic’.<sup>117</sup> On the garden front, Hindu

---

<sup>110</sup> Strong, p. 81.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> J. Dinkel, *The Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Philip Wilson and Summerfield Press, 1983), p. 52; Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 128

<sup>113</sup> David Beevers (ed.), *The Royal Pavilion Brighton: The Palace of King George IV* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums), p. 6; Dinkel, p. 53; Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 128.

<sup>114</sup> Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 128; David Beevers (ed.), *The Royal Pavilion Brighton: The Palace of King George IV* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums), p. 7.

<sup>115</sup> Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 130

<sup>116</sup> J. Morley, *The Making of the Royal Pavilion Brighton, Design and Drawings* (London: Philip Wilson, 1984), p. 71; Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 131. The columns are suggested by J. Summerson *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), p. 105 to be ‘based on Daniell’s illustration of a hall at Allahabad’. Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 131.

<sup>117</sup> Sectional drawings by William Nixon, the Pavilion Clerk of Works are reproduced in Dinkel, pp. 57–58. Tyack, *John Nash*, p. 130. For details of the different types of mastic and problems that occurred see J. Summerson *The Life and Work of John Nash, Architect* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), p. 108. For details of John Nash’s construction techniques see Jonathan Clarke, ‘Pioneering Yet Peculiar: John Nash’s Contributions to Late Georgian Building Technology’, in Tyack, *John Nash*, pp. 153–168, and John Morley, *The Making of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton: Designs and Drawings* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd, 2003, first published in 1984).

colonnades supported the second-floor balconies (Fig. 3.97). The new western entrance had a porte-cochère which had similarities to Lieutenant-Colonel Forrest's illustrations of *Tombs near Etawah, in the Doo-ab, on the River Jumna*.<sup>118</sup> Although the Pavilion's exterior embodied a variety of Indian design, the interior was Chinese, with decorations by Frederick Crace (1779-1859) and Robert Jones (active 1815-23). Considering that Repton's scheme was not used as it was considered too expensive, Nash went well over his estimates for construction, as from March 1815 to May 1820 Nash's work was costed at £148,723, an excess of £11,209 over his estimate.<sup>119</sup> The total expenditure of work on Brighton Pavilion between 1812 and 1821 was approximately £160,000.<sup>120</sup> However, for all its grandeur, the local populace and visiting gentry did not understand the architecture and had various theories on its provenance. John Evans in his *Excursion to Brighton*, 1821 reported:

It is said to be an imitation of the Kremlin, at Moscow, the ancient capital of the Russian Empire. It was amusing to hear the conjectures of the spectators relative to those ornaments, while they were constructing – some comparing them to large Spanish onions; and others likening them to distillery utensils, or to inverted balloons!<sup>121</sup>

Nash's garden design was less grand and flamboyant than Repton's, but by 1820 the Prince Regent was obese and gout-ridden, preferring to listen to musicians inside the Pavilion away from the public gaze rather than outside in the gardens, strolling through covered walkways.<sup>122</sup> In 1821 an underground passageway was designed to allow the Prince to move unseen from his ground-floor apartments in the Pavilion, to his stables and riding house. Moving away from the Picturesque, Nash designed 'forest lawn' landscaping (Fig. 3.98) based on the ideas of William Gilpin

<sup>118</sup> 'Tombs near Etawah, in the Doo-ab, on the River Jumna'. Colour Plate XIX in Lieutenant-Colonel Forrest, *A Picturesque Tour Along the River Ganges and Jumna in India; Consisting of Twenty Four ... Coloured Views, a Map, and Vignettes, from Original Drawings Made on the Spot* (London: c.1824).

<sup>119</sup> Henry D. Roberts, *A History of the Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Country Life, 1939), pp. 113-114.

<sup>120</sup> Roberts, *Royal Pavilion*, pp. 113-114 based on Windsor Archives RA 33973-4 see Royal Collection; Musgrave, Royal Pavilion, p. 160.

<sup>121</sup> John Evans, *An excursion to Brighton with an Account of the Royal Pavilion* (Chiswick: s.p. printed by C. Whittingham, 1821), pp. 40-41.

<sup>122</sup> Batey, p.70; Conner, pp. 115-16.

and John Claudius Loudon, which had previously been successfully used in Regent's Park and St. James' Park:

Sweeping undulating lawns and winding path and irregular shaped shrub beds and borders were planted on Picturesque principles, with a core of evergreens, such as fir trees, Portugal laurel, holly and yew at the centre. A huge variety of plants – flowering shrubs, bulbs and perennials – filled the surrounding spaces and any gaps were made good by annuals and flowers in pots.<sup>123</sup>

The horticulturist William Townsend Aiton, had made copious orders for Brighton Pavilion, his planting lists extant in the National Archives. What is surprising from the accounts is how few exotics from India and China or from the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew, were used in the Brighton garden.<sup>124</sup> Numerous foreign plants were publicised in newspapers and gardening magazines that had sprung up at the end of the eighteenth century, for example the monthly *Curtis's Botanical Magazine* (1787), issued by the proprietor of the Brompton Botanical Garden, and *The Botanical Cabinet* (1817), published by Conrad Loddiges, of the Hackney Nursery. Perhaps Aiton's choice was on the conservative side, or maybe Nash's design did not allow for the hothouses that had been included in Repton's plan.<sup>125</sup> Conversely, perhaps it was the wide use of shrubbery in the Brighton Pavilion garden which reduced the number of exotics, as only varieties able to withstand the salt-spray and the wind of the seaside climate would likely have been planted.

In 1827 John Nash published a book, a limited edition of 250 copies, of his *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton*, illustrated with aquatint etchings taken from watercolours by his assistant Augustus Pugin.<sup>126</sup> The Pavilion was a Regency architectural wonder but it was not to everyone's liking, the Pavilion's domes and minarets rising in the centre of the calm, white Georgian

---

<sup>123</sup> Batey, p.70; Strong, pp. 84-86.

<sup>124</sup> Royal Pavilion Plants lists, National Archives.

<sup>125</sup> Ray Desmond, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora*, p. 298.

<sup>126</sup> John Nash, *Views and Illustrations of His Majesty's Palace at Brighton(etc)*; Roderich Fuëß, 'Views of the East: A Note on the Royal Pavilion at Brighton, *Daidalos*, 15 March 1986.

architecture of Brighton.<sup>127</sup> The artist, Alfred Crowquill, lampooned the building alongside his depiction of the voluminous costumes of fashionable society in *Beauties of Brighton* (Fig. 3.99), and William Cobbett, a well-known radical likened the Pavilion to ‘a parcel of cradle-spits: of various dimensions, sticking up out of the mouths of so many enormous decanters’.<sup>128</sup> Although it is certain that Nash viewed the Daniell’s *Oriental Scenery* aquatints at Carlton House, it is only presumed that he had access to a copy of Repton’s Red Book of the Pavilion. Although Repton’s Red Book was engraved and published in 1808, his original manuscript for it was found to be still with the engraver. It was returned by Repton to the Royal Library at Windsor, with an apology for its loss. Sadly, it is unlikely that the Prince had noticed its disappearance.<sup>129</sup> Repton related in his Memoirs that ten years after his last contact with the Prince he had called at the Pavilion and was turned away.<sup>130</sup>

There is no doubt that Repton’s Indian designs for Brighton Pavilion would have made a more faithful rendition of the Indian Picturesque seen in Daniell’s views, the garden an appropriate backdrop for the theatrical fairy palace. If Repton had received full royal patronage, it is likely that Indian design in Britain would have gained much stronger acclaim and status, with a greater fulfilment of the design’s potential. However, as with many country-house projects, economic constraints tempered the final result. At Brighton, it was the Napoleonic wars, Porden’s Indian stables, and Carlton House, which drained the privy-purse, leaving Repton empty-handed. After publishing his grand folio on Brighton Pavilion, Repton no longer considered Indian design. In his last treatise *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816) Repton stated he was disillusioned with his profession and the way the Industrial revolution had changed landscaping:

It seldom falls to the lot of the improver to be called upon for his opinion on places of great extent ... while in the neighbourhood of every city and manufacturing town, new places as villas are daily springing up, and these,

---

<sup>127</sup> Conner, p. 131.

<sup>128</sup> William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 2, 1 (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1966, first published 1912). p. 74; Venetia Murray, *High Society: A Social History of the Regency Period: 1788-1830* (London: Viking (Penguin Books Ltd) 1998), p. 120.

<sup>129</sup> Musgrave, *Royal Pavilion*, p. 58

<sup>130</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 156.

with a few acres, require all the conveniences, comforts, appendages, of larger and more sumptuous, if not more expensive places.<sup>131</sup>

He had become aware that prospective clients' pockets had been penalised by war taxation, and that landed gentry as a consequence needed to sell their estates often to 'parvenus' and 'speculators', who had profited by wartime government contracts: 'I saw upstart wealth triumphing over all I have been accustomed to look up to with respect.'<sup>132</sup>

Repton's flirtation with Indian design lasted at most for five years.<sup>133</sup> His 'Red Book of the Pavillon' and his writings (albeit limited) on Indian design remain a major legacy. They contributed to Nash's plans, the Prince's taste, and pastiches of the Pavilion in Brighton, Europe and America. Repton dedicated his last work *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1816) to the Prince Regent, but no mention was made of a Royal commission, or Indian design. In his *Memoirs* Repton wrote 'It is better to trust in the Lord than to put any confidence in princes.'<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> Humphry Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), p. 69. First published in 1816; Mayer, p. 49.

<sup>132</sup> Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 119; Williamson, *Polite Landscapes*, p. 153.

<sup>133</sup> Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, p. 1. For a chronological examination of Repton's life, see Dorothy Stroud, *Humphry Repton* (London: Country Life Limited, 1962).

<sup>134</sup> Humphry Repton, *Memoirs* Part II, British Library Add MS 62112; Repton, *Memoirs*, p. 156.

## **Case Study 9: The ‘Hindu’ Bridge at Dromana: Political Statement or Honeymoon Fantasy?**

During the 1840s, an Indo-Gothic gateway, known as the ‘Hindu’ Bridge of Dromana (Fig. 3.100), was built by Henry Villiers-Stuart, Baron Stuart de Decies, on the isolated Cappoquin to Villierstown road in County Waterford, Ireland. The gateway, the only Indian-styled building in Ireland, stands alone, separated from its mansion and diminished estate, guarding the bridge which crosses the Phinisk, a tributary of the river Blackwater. Although seemingly inspired by the Mughal architecture of India, its creator had no direct link with India through EIC officialdom or its military presence. The landowner, Villiers-Stuart, was a Protestant politician, but actively sought Catholic emancipation, supported in his political endeavours by Daniel O’Connell, whose work was keenly followed in India by the Hindus. A political decision made by Villiers-Stuart was to build a gateway which involved both the adapted designs of the Daniells and the ‘Raree-Show’ theatricality of Repton to produce a famine-relief building which would make a political statement of the solidarity of the *ryots* of India with the Irish peasants.

Ireland and India were historically linked, though their countries were geographically thousands of miles apart. Both endured a form of colonisation by the British, in the sixteenth century Ireland endured an influx of Protestant settlers, while Indian in the eighteenth century was controlled by Britain as the Company’s ambitions changed from trade to the administration of the *diwani*. Both countries experienced political and social constraints during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with their laws and regulation controlled by a British parliament in London. Dromana had much in common with Novar in Scotland (Case Study 2), in that a clan system prevailed until the eighteenth century, and with, in both cases, the alleged barbaric nature of the natives associated with their unimproved bogs and wooded landscapes.<sup>1</sup> With the major landowners in Ireland Protestant Anglo-Irish, and severe curbs on Catholic religious and political freedoms, progress in agricultural reform was delayed until the early eighteenth-century, when an Anglo-

---

<sup>1</sup> Finola O’Kane, ‘Peripheral Landscapes? Scotland, Ireland and the Picturesque’, *Journal of Scottish and Irish Studies: After the Homecoming*, 5, 2 (Spring 2012), p.3; Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers 1641-1786* (Dublin: 2008), p. 26.

Irish elite considered that improvements in land use would civilise both the inhabitants and their landscape.<sup>2</sup> Moving into a more peaceful era at the end of the century, enlightened landowners began to develop their estates in line with Picturesque theories, and to provide support to their workforce in times of poverty. However, with a massive potato crop failure in the 1840s and Poor Law resources in Ireland stretched to the limit, financial support from India enabled the organisation of additional relief, helping to alleviate the cruel effects of the widespread famine. This links directly with India through the generosity of the *ryots* and their identification with the Irish peasants, which was recognised by Villiers-Stuart and lead to the instigation of famine relief work on the Dromana Gateway. In recognition of the effort an Indian design was used akin to the North Gate at Brighton, and similar to Repton's appropriation of a 'Raree-show's' theatrically and style, there is deep social, political significance to the appropriation of Indian design.

### **Irish Politics and Anglo-Irish Agricultural Improvement**

To understand Ireland's reliance on a monoculture, it is necessary to examine the historical development of estate ownership in Ireland, and its consequence on the general populace. In 1537 Henry VIII was pronounced head of the Church of Ireland, after which the Irish Reformation Parliament passed a law to 'promote English Order, Habit and Language.'<sup>3</sup> The Gaelic language was outlawed, together with the Celtic Brehon laws of clan land ownership, Gaelic poets, harp playing, and intermarriage between native Irish and English.<sup>4</sup> This assault on the Catholic religion, native customs and laws, prompted rebels, including the Earls of Desmond, related to the Fitzgeralds of Dromana, to rebel against the English government enlisting support from Spain, and Pope Gregory XIII.<sup>5</sup> However, this rebellion, defeated in 1583, resulted in 500,000 acres of land in Munster being confiscated and

---

<sup>2</sup> For improving landlords see Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers 1641-1786* (Dublin: 2008).

<sup>3</sup> John O'Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, first published 1983), p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> John O'Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, first published 1983), p. 57. Gaelic dress, 'saffron-dyed clothing, moustaches, long hair and forelocks' were also banned.

<sup>5</sup> Therese Muir MacKenzie, *Dromana: The Memoirs of an Irish Family* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, [1906]), p. 69; John O'Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, first published 1983), p. 59.

offered to English settlers.<sup>6</sup> The lands were then surveyed, after which a seigniory of 12,000 acres was designated a ‘Plantation’.<sup>7</sup> This began the sequestration of Catholic lands to Protestant settlers, subduing the Irish by forcibly changing ownership of lands from Catholic to Protestant which became known as Plantation creation, or the Protestant Ascendancy.<sup>8</sup>

Protestant Anglo-Irish landowners gradually built up grand estates, but with most residing in England, they were infrequent visitors to their Irish demesnes.<sup>9</sup> In 1600, less than two per cent of the Irish population was of English descent, but by 1700 this had risen to twenty-seven per cent, particularly in Ulster, where the Protestants outnumbered the native Catholic population.<sup>10</sup> The Irish Catholics continued to oppose the English crown, allying with the deposed King James II who, supported by a French Catholic army, called together the Dublin Parliament in 1689, the majority of members supporting his cause.<sup>11</sup> William of Orange, appointed King after James II had left England, took his Protestant English forces to Ireland defeating the Irish Jacobites at the battles of the Boyne (1690) and Aughrim (1691), the Irish threat eventually broken by the Treaty of Limerick, 1691.<sup>12</sup> This ended what became known as the ‘Glorious Revolution’, but the underlying injustices continued to simmer.

Prejudice against the Catholics continued, as they were excluded from holding political office or purchasing or mortgaging Protestant land.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore,

---

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion on Plantation see Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, ‘Plantation, 1580-1641’, in Alvin Jackson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); John O’Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, first published 1983), p. 59. The settlers were also known as undertakers.

<sup>7</sup> Therese Muir MacKenzie, *Dromana: The Memoirs of an Irish Family* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, [1906]), p. 71-72.

<sup>8</sup> John O’Beirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, first published 1983), p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Kenny, Kevin, *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. xix; T. McDonough (ed.), *Was Ireland a Colony? Economics, Politics and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005).

<sup>10</sup> W. H. Crawford, ‘Ulster Economy and Society in the Eighteenth Century’ (PhD Thesis, Queen’s University Belfast, 1983), p. 26 cited in Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2009), p.162

<sup>11</sup> Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2009).

<sup>12</sup> For further details on this period of Irish history see Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> C. A. Bayly, *Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2000), p. 381.

if they spoke Irish-Gaelic, were involved in a native Irish industry or with Irish agriculture they were also likely to be discriminated against.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, with a widening gap in wealth between Protestant absentee landlords and the peasants who farmed their land, discontent was as rife in the eighteenth century as it had been in previous centuries. Another reason for this frustration was that the Irish population had amplified by two hundred and twenty-five per cent (2.6 million in 1750, rising to 8.5 million by 1845), but their living standards between 1815 and 1845 had decreased due to dwindling wages but rising rents.<sup>15</sup> With the increased population growth, estates rented to labourers and cottiers were largely subdivided into small parcels of land, many less than five acres.<sup>16</sup> Potatoes were grown as the main crop as it boosted yield, had nutritional value, and could be used as food for livestock.<sup>17</sup> By 1845, 4.7 million in a population of c.8.5 million were dependent upon the potato crop, with ‘milk, buttermilk or fish’ the only other additions to their diet.<sup>18</sup> The result of such intensive farming was that the potato crop became vulnerable to plant disease.

### **India and Ireland: Centuries of Trade and Colonisation**

Political turmoil, discrimination against Catholics and poverty during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to Ireland supplying a disproportionate number of soldiers and officials for service in the EIC, when compared to England, Wales or Scotland. James II, when King, had allowed EIC recruitment in Ireland in the 1680s, but following his defeat in the Glorious Revolution, Irish Catholics were prohibited from joining the British Royal army, although privileged Protestants were allowed

---

<sup>14</sup> Julia M. Wright, *Ireland, India, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> James S. Donnelly, Jr, *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002), p. 4; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780-1939* (Oxford and New York: 1994), p. 118 and James S. Donnelly, Jr, *The Land and People of Nineteenth-Century Cork: The Rural Economy and the Land Question* (London and Boston: 1975), pp 16-26, 45-52 cited in James S. Donnelly, Jr, *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002), p. 11.

<sup>16</sup> James S. Donnelly, Jr, *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002), p. 8; Malachy Powell, ‘The Workhouses of Ireland’, *University Review*, Vol. 3, No. 7 (Spring 1965), p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> James S. Donnelly, Jr, *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002), pp. 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> P. M. A. Bourke (Jacqueline Hill and Cormac Ó Gráda (eds)), ‘*The visitation of God?*: *The Potato and the Great Irish Famine* (Dublin: 1993), p. 52, cited in James S. Donnelly, Jr, *The Great Irish Potato Famine* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2002), p. 1.

officer status.<sup>19</sup> These Irish gentry, mostly from the Protestant Ascendancy, but with a few representatives of the Catholic gentry, often followed their family members into the service of the Company, which ‘perpetuated a variety of Irish military and business dynasties in India’.<sup>20</sup> Between 1740 and 1753 only twenty-four out of 349 recruits were Irish, but after the Seven Years War (1756-63) with a shortage of EIC soldiers through death or disease, nearly eighteen per cent of all recruits came from Ireland.<sup>21</sup> In 1770 it was proposed that an Irish regiment should be formed; Lord Townsend, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1767-1772) was keen on this implementation as on his travels through Ireland he had seen:

Multitudes of tall, able-bodied men living most miserably ... who have ... a constant intercourse with France and Spain ... in the recruiting way. Far better that the military inclinations of these people were turned to national service [the East India Company’s European regiments] than smuggled by priests into that of the enemy.<sup>22</sup>

However, his plan was not instigated as the Irish Protestants were against such a proposal and the British government were not keen on Parliamentary dissent.<sup>23</sup> Recruitment in Ireland therefore became covert, but by 1778 out of 1,684 men who travelled out to India with the EIC’s armies, over 500 (thirty per cent) were born in Ireland.<sup>24</sup> Military recruitment centres were set up in Ireland and by 1813 recruiting offices in Belfast, Dublin, Enniskillen and Limerick had been established. From that time until the cessation of the EIC in 1858, Ireland supplied around fifty per cent of all recruits.<sup>25</sup> The Irish Catholics, having been disallowed from owning land,

---

<sup>19</sup> T. Bartlett, ‘The Irish Soldier in India’, in Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds), *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Limerick: Folens, 1997), p. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Crosbie, p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> British Library IOR L/Mil/9/85 cited in T. Bartlett, ‘The Irish Soldier in India’, in Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds), *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Limerick: Folens, 1997), pp. 13-14.

<sup>22</sup> T. Bartlett, ‘The Irish Soldier in India’, in Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds), *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Limerick: Folens, 1997), p. 14.

<sup>23</sup> T. Bartlett, ‘The Irish Soldier in India’, in Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds), *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* (Limerick: Folens, 1997), p. 14.

<sup>24</sup> BL IOR, L/Mil/9/103, Vol. 7, 1778-84 cited in Arthur. N. Gilbert, ‘Recruitment and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800’, *Journal of British Studies*, 15. 1 (Autumn, 1975), 89-111 (p. 100).

<sup>25</sup> T. Bartlett, ‘The Irish Soldier in India’, in *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* ed by Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (Limerick: Folens, 1997), p. 15.

obtaining commissions in the army, or entering the professions, were easy prey for the EIC recruiting sergeants.<sup>26</sup> Poor Catholics from the south and west of Ireland were specifically targeted from the mid-1750s to stabilise dwindling numbers in Company regiments, who had succumbed to effects of the long passage out to India, the climate, war and disease.<sup>27</sup> However, India provided greater career prospects than Ireland for both Catholics and Protestants, and, as many were from the same Irish counties and spoke Gaelic, they developed a form of clanship through patronage, family and friends.<sup>28</sup> Although there were distinct social differences between the Irish Catholic soldiers and the Protestant Irish officers, being part of the EIC with shared military values bound the disparate classes and religions together.<sup>29</sup>

Before the strengthening of trade with the EIC and India, the city of Cork, only fifty miles from Dromana, traded with American colonies, but in the second half of the eighteenth century, trade links between Ireland and India increased as new regions of the subcontinent were opened-up.<sup>30</sup> The Company began to rely on the agents and business houses which were successfully set up in Cork (1706), Kinsale (1708) and Limerick (1758) to secure Company trade interests.<sup>31</sup> By the nineteenth century with huge amounts of cargo arriving on East Indiamen through the port of Cork, Christopher Bayley suggests the city ‘may have had a more direct personal contact with India than any other place in the British Isles.’<sup>32</sup>

With trade in the eighteenth century between India and Ireland flourishing, travellers arrived from the Indian sub-continent at the port of Cork. Eighteenth-century visitors included Sake Dean Mahomet (1759-1851) (Fig. 3.101), and Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (1752-1806) (Fig. 3.102) who both arrived on ships berthing near

<sup>26</sup> T. Bartlett, T. Bartlett, ‘The Irish Soldier in India’, in *Ireland and India: Connections, Comparisons, Contrasts* ed by Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (Limerick: Folens, 1997), cited in Crosbie, p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> Arthur N. Gilbert, ‘Recruitment and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800’, *Journal of British Studies*, 15.1 (Autumn, 1975), 89-111. Trinity College was founded in 1592.

<sup>28</sup> Crosbie, p. 85.

<sup>29</sup> K. Jeffery, ‘The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire’, in Jeffery (ed.), ‘An Irish Empire’, pp. 94-122 cited in Crosbie, p. 87.

<sup>30</sup> Crosbie, p. 43.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Christopher Bayly, ‘Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10 (2000), p. 389 cited in Foreword by Finbarr Barry Flood, in Kathleen James-Chakraborty (ed.), *India in Art in Ireland* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. xi; See also Narinder Kapur, *The Irish Raj: Illustrated Stories about the Irish in India and Indians in Ireland* (Dublin: Greystone Books, 1997),

the city. Mahomet, an Anglo-Indian who became a writer, surgeon and restauranteur, had risen to *jemadar* in the EIC's Bengal army, under the patronage of Captain Godfrey Evan Baker.<sup>33</sup> When Baker was recalled from India in 1782, Mahomet accompanied him and resided in Cork for around twenty three years, marrying a local Anglo-Irish girl, part of the Protestant gentry, before moving to London and Brighton.<sup>34</sup> Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, a Muslim tax collector and former administrator from the *nawabi* court in Lucknow, paid a short visit to Ireland in December 1799, meeting Mahomet at the Cork country house of Captain Baker.<sup>35</sup> Khan later that day continued his journey to Dublin, with an armed escort, to meet Lord Cornwallis.<sup>36</sup> Although he was impressed with Baker's estate and 'delighted with the beauty of his park and gardens', he was less enthusiastic regarding the Irish countryside through which he passed:

The villages in this country much resemble those of India. The roofs of the houses are thatched with straw, and bound down with osiers; but in some instances they are covered with sods, which have the grass growing out of them a span high. Few villages contain more than a dozen houses. The poverty of the peasants, or common people, in this country, is such, that the peasants of India are rich when compared to them.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Dean Mahomet (Michael H. Fisher (ed.)), *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth-Century Journey through India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 23. Mahomed served in the élite grenadier company of the 2nd battalion, 30th sepoy regiment, 2nd brigade. His brigade saw action at Patita Fort (13 September 1781), when it saved Governor-General Warren Hastings from Raja Chayt Singh of Benares.

<sup>34</sup> Dean Mahomet (Michael H. Fisher (ed.)), *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth-Century Journey through India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 136-137, 141-143; Nebahat Avcioğlu And Finbarr Barry Flood, 'Introduction: Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century', *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. 39 (2010), p. 11. Michael H. Fisher (ed.), *The Travels of Dean Mahomet: An Eighteenth-Century Journey Through India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles CA: University of California Press Ltd, 1997). Mahomet in 1810 set up the Hindustani Coffee House in London which served 'Indian cuisine and water pipes in an 'Oriental' ambience conjured by bamboo chairs and painted Indian landscapes', moving to Brighton in 1814 as the proprietor of Mahomed's Baths.

<sup>35</sup> Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (translated by Charles Stewart), *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe, During the Years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, 3, 1, (London: Longman, Hurst, Orme, and Brown, 1814, first published 1810, pp. 15, 112-127.

<sup>36</sup> Khan suggests that the roads were not yet safe, and the travellers were guarded on their journey to Dublin by three dragoons. Mirza Abu Taleb Khan (translated by Charles Stewart), *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe, During the Years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, 3, 1, (London: Longman, Hurst, Orme, and Brown, 1814, first published 1810), p. 124-25.

<sup>37</sup> Abu Taleb believed that Indian peasants benefited from much cheaper food and did not need to spend their resources on heating and clothing. *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe, During the Years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, 3, Volume I (London: Longman, Hurst, Orme, and Brown, 1814, first published 1810, p. 120-25.

Indian social reformers campaigning for the rights of Hindus under the British, became aware of the plight of Irish peasants, and, through newspaper articles, followed the work of the great reformer, Daniel O'Connell, and his struggle to gain Catholic emancipation. Although there were similarities between Ireland and India, particularly in their agricultural systems, there were obvious differences in their historical development.<sup>38</sup> Ireland had experienced the colonial Protestant Ascendancy from England for many centuries, whereas India, although a colonised country, had never been completely controlled by Britain.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, both countries had experienced governance from London by the same personnel, legislature and governmental departments.<sup>40</sup>

One Indian attentive to political development in Britain and Ireland was Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), a Bengali educated in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit, and descended from Brahmins who had served the Muslim rulers of Bengal.<sup>41</sup> A polymath, his campaigns in India for a free press, rights of women, free trade and a tolerant attitudes towards religion, brought him to the notice of British political reformers and humanitarians.<sup>42</sup> Roy's views spread throughout India and the rest of the world by the advancement of print culture, with lithography simplifying the process of converting the many Indian scripts into print.<sup>43</sup> He was responsible for the launch of newspapers including the Bengali *Samvada Kaumudi* and the Persian language *Mirat al-Akhbar*, (Mirror of Intelligence) published in 1821 and 1822 respectively, which encouraged reform and improvement in the Hindu religion, particularly practices surrounding *sati* (widow burning) (see Fig. 2.23), caste and marriage.<sup>44</sup> Irish issues including the extortion of high tenant rents by absentee landlords, were extensively recounted in the Calcutta press, causing Roy to lay the

---

<sup>38</sup> Julia M. Wright, *Ireland, India, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 3-4.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Lynn Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 25. Dilip Kumar Biswas and Prabhat Chandra Ganguli Collet (eds), *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*. (Calcutta: Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 1962). A Company civil servant for twelve years, Roy's language skills were invaluable on diplomatic missions to Bhutan.

<sup>42</sup> Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 1. Raja Rammohun Roy was an astute and prolific reformer, activist, journalist and author.

<sup>43</sup> Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, pp. 5, 99.

ills of the Irish on maladministration by the British.<sup>45</sup> Roy compared the plight of the Catholics in Ireland with the oppression of the Hindus in India, and advocated reform in both countries.<sup>46</sup> He condemned the injustices of British rule in India, which took from Hindus the benefits they had experienced under Mughal rule including ‘high political and military office, land grants, and support for their learning’, which had parallels to the discrimination experienced by the Catholics in Ireland.<sup>47</sup>

Before the end of the eighteenth century, Irish governance was in some ways comparable with Indian princely states as ‘ultimate power remained with the British, but the trappings of native government and native legitimacy remained in place’.<sup>48</sup> However, this system was swept away by the Act of Union in 1801. Lord Cornwallis, whose past exploits included the defeat of Tipu Sultan and the thwarting of French interests in India, was appointed as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Irish Parliament was dissolved, ending Irish ‘political sovereignty’.<sup>49</sup> Dublin, previously the capital of Ireland with high status Neo-classical buildings, became a provincial outpost, its Parliament building no longer the centre of political activity (Fig. 3.103).<sup>50</sup>

As Scotland, after its own Act of Union in 1707, had taken advantage of the possibilities of unrestricted trade to the Empire, the British government hoped that a similar union between Great Britain and Ireland would increase prosperous trade for all.<sup>51</sup> Although more cooperation between Britain and Ireland was envisaged, after

<sup>45</sup> C. A. Bayly, ‘Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India 1800-1830’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, No. 1 (2007), pp. 38–39 cited in Lynn Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 99, 146; Roy’s tomb was funded in 1843 by Dwarkanath Tagore, co-founder with Roy of the socio-religious reform group Brahmo Samaj, and the grandfather of Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore. It is listed by Historic England Grade II\* and was restored in 2014 with a gift of \$100,000 from Aditya Poddar, a Calcutta businessman. Amit Roy, ‘New Life for Raja’s Tomb’, *The Telegraph, Calcutta, India*, 14 June 2017.

<sup>46</sup> Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy*, p. 103.

<sup>47</sup> Lynn Zastoupil, *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 103.

<sup>48</sup> C. A. Bayly, ‘Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2000), p. 381.

<sup>49</sup> Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, ‘Loss and the Families of Empire: Thoughts on an Irish Artist’s Portrait of a Bibi’ in *India in Art in Ireland*, ed. by Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 52; Julia M. Wright, *Ireland, India, and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 9.

<sup>50</sup> Finola O’Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque: Design, Landscape Painting and Tourism 1700-1840* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 136.

<sup>51</sup> Grigsby, p. 52.

1800 the Great British and Irish government became even more Anglocentric, with little heed taken of the Irish Catholics' needs.<sup>52</sup>

### **The Picturesque Movement, and Tourism in Ireland**

Nevertheless, after the Union, the Protestant Anglo-Irish (often absentee landowners), began to benefit from access to British markets and colonial trade.<sup>53</sup> With new-found wealth they built Palladian or Neo-classical mansions, and estate villages, and, by opening-up Picturesque views, created a new identity for themselves through the juxtaposition of the ancient Irish landscape with their estates. Many of their grand Irish houses were built next to ruined Catholic churches or abbeys, which were requisitioned and entwined not only into the Protestant's estate but also into the landowner's family history.<sup>54</sup>

During the French Revolutionary years, and the rise of Napoleon, these Irish demesnes began to expand unaffected by wartime taxation or high prices for food, and agricultural improvement with its political, social and economic benefits, was gradually embraced.<sup>55</sup> Arthur Young in his 1776-79 *Tour of Ireland*, described how the Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Anthony Foster (1705-1779), whose ancestors had settled in Ireland in the mid-seventeenth century, had made great improvements on the Cullon estate in County Louth.<sup>56</sup> The turnaround of the land by Foster was praised by Young: 'He has made a barren wilderness smile with cultivation, planted it with people, and made those people happy'.<sup>57</sup> Conversely lack of improvement in Ireland, was often blamed on Catholic husbandry.<sup>58</sup> Throughout the eighteenth century farming improvements slowly advanced alongside the

---

<sup>52</sup> C. A. Bayly, 'Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2000), p. 381

<sup>53</sup> C. A. Bayly, 'Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2000), p. 379.

<sup>54</sup> O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> C. A. Bayly, 'Ireland, India and the Empire: 1780-1914', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2000), pp. 379-380; O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland; With General Observations on the Present State of That Kingdom: Made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778, and Brought Down to the End of 1779* (London: T. Cadell, 1780), p. 98.

<sup>57</sup> Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland; With General Observations on the Present State of That Kingdom: Made in the Years 1776, 1777, and 1778, and Brought Down to the End of 1779* (London: T. Cadell, 1780), p. 100. O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, p. 18.

<sup>58</sup> See T. C. Barnard, "Gardening, Diet and Improvement" in 'Later Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Journal of Garden History*, X/1 (1990), pp. 71-85; O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, p. 20.

development of Picturesque tourism with landowners beginning to review the drainage on their property, in some cases diverting rivers or springs to enhance their pleasure grounds.<sup>59</sup> The bogs, symbolic of the old Irish landscape, were drained, replaced by ‘navigable rivers, canals, water-courses, fish-ponds, ornamental lakes, cascades and *jets d’eau*.’<sup>60</sup> These Picturesque waters, for instance the Powerscourt Waterfall in Co. Wicklow owned by Richard, the 1st Baron Richard Wingfield, an Anglo-Irish politician (1697-1751) (Fig. 3.104), became important symbols of landownership.<sup>61</sup>

The sublime nature of the Irish landscape, once described as ‘wild and untamed, neglected by the barbarous natives, and subjected to little ordered settlement’ began to be admired by the Picturesque theorist Gilpin.<sup>62</sup> He had travelled extensively throughout Britain in the 1760s and 1770s, writing guidebooks on Picturesque scenery in South Wales, the Lake District, the Wye Valley, and the Scottish Highlands, cajoling travellers to have:

A new object of pursuit, that of not barely examining the face of a country; but of examining it by the rules of picturesque beauty: that of not merely describing; but of adapting the descriptions of the natural scenery to the principles of artificial landscape; and of opening the source of those pleasures, which are derived from the comparison.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>60</sup> Chatsworth, Lismore MS 32/82; H. F. Berry, *History of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin, 1915), p. 20; Sir John Browne, *The Benefits Which Arise to Trading People from Navigable Rivers* (Dublin: 1729), pp. v-vi; Hoppen, *The Common Scientist*, pp. 195, 263 cited in Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers 1641-1786* (Dublin: 2008), p. 37.

<sup>61</sup> See Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004). For leisure activities in the landscape see Kate Felus, *The Secret Life of the Georgian Garden: Beautiful Objects and Agreeable Retreats* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016). Such features became integral to tourist routes, and Irish landowners began to follow the lead of Britain in the promotion of leisure activities. Some lakes were stocked with fish while others were used for boating with perhaps a few decoys for ducks to facilitate shoots.

<sup>62</sup> William Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints* (London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1802, first published in 1768), p. xii. John Patrick Montano, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 25.

<sup>63</sup> Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*, pp. 1-2; Rosenthal, ‘Landscape as High Art,’ p. 14; Crowley, p. 154.

With Gilpin's expertise to hand, topographic art became a fashionable and respectable pastime for British gentlemen and women, when, as tourists viewing the landscape 'as a picture', they visited the more wild and remote areas to sketch and paint.<sup>64</sup> Although Gilpin never visited Ireland, he used the country in his *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty* (1792), to illustrate the charms of the Picturesque, whilst challenging the landscape theories of Edmund Burke:

Sublimity alone cannot make an object picturesque ... The spiry pinnacles of the mountain, and the castle-like arrangement of the rock, give no peculiar pleasure to the picturesque eye. It is fond of the simplicity of nature; and sees most beauty in her most usual forms. The Giant's causeway in Ireland may strike it as a novelty; but the lake of Killarney attracts it's [sic] attention.<sup>65</sup>

Georgian travellers were tempted to visit by the renowned hospitality of Irish society, and the beauty of the Irish landscape, intrepid British tourists beginning to cross the Irish sea in the mid-eighteenth century. With a growing thirst for knowledge, books on Ireland and its inhabitants began to be published alongside tourists' journals.<sup>66</sup> At first the safety of travellers was paramount, and many English observers were negative about the Irish and their turbulent history.<sup>67</sup> The antiquary Thomas Kitson Cromwell (1792-1870) allied Irish labourers with Italian banditti, rather than genial English workers:

Every where in Ireland, we meet with lengthened and pale if not darkened visages, the indexes to the minds of men employed in the common agricultural labours, which, contrasted with the ruddy open countenances of

---

<sup>64</sup> Crowley, p. 154; O'Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, p. 2.

<sup>65</sup> William Gilpin, *Essays on Picturesque Beauty: Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), p. 43. The Picturesque had also gained impetus from the re-discovery of Fingal's Cave in 1772 on the island of Staffa, Scotland, by Sir Joseph Banks.

<sup>66</sup> G. Hooper, *Travel Writing and Ireland 1760-1860*, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup> See discussion in Roy Foster, *Paddy and Mr. Punch* (London: Penguin, 1993), cited in Béatrice Bijon, Yves Clavaron and Bernard Dieterle (eds), *Europeans writing the Mezzogiorno* (Saint-Étienne: l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), p. 112. See also Richard D. Altick, *Punch: the lively youth of a British institution* (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1997), cited in Béatrice Bijon, Yves Clavaron and Bernard Dieterle (eds.) *Europeans Writing the Mezzogiorno* (Saint-Étienne: l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), p. 112.

English rustics, might appear to the traveller from the latter country those of banditti, of beings detached from civilised society.<sup>68</sup>

However, by 1834 Henry David Inglis contended that: ‘The traveller need be under no apprehension in any part of Ireland. Irish outrages are never committed upon strangers … however strong the disposition may be, among the peasantry of Ireland, to oppose the law’.<sup>69</sup> As the perception of threat diminished, country mansions and parks with rugged landscapes came to be admired in accordance with the Picturesque taste in England and Scotland.<sup>70</sup> Societies were founded dedicated to the promotion of improvement, including the Dublin Society (1731), which endeavoured to link natural history, husbandry, agriculture and gardening with industry and improvements, and the Physico-Historical Society (1744), which collected historical contributions for the publication of Irish County histories.<sup>71</sup> Through the auspices of these societies a variety of encouragements were given to Irish landowners to learn about the history of their estates, to replant wooded areas, and design tourist itineraries incorporating Picturesque theory, which encompassed walks to lakes, waterfalls and mountains.<sup>72</sup>

Artists flocked to experience these newly created views. In the north of Ireland, the Giant’s Causeway (Fig. 3.105), drew tourists for the novelty of its structure, Susannah Drury (c.1698-c.1770) exhibiting paintings of the natural feature

<sup>68</sup> Thomas [Kitson] Cromwell, *Excursions Through Ireland, Vol. I: Province of Leinster* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), p. 146; Glenn Hooper, ‘The Isles/Ireland: The Wilder Shore’ in the *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp. 180-81, cited in Béatrice Bijon, Yves Clavaron and Bernard Dieterle, *Europeans Writing the Mezzogiorno* (Saint-Étienne: l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), p. 112.

<sup>69</sup> Henry David Inglis, *Ireland in 1834: A Journey Throughout Ireland, During the Spring, Summer and Autumn of 1834*, 2, 2 (London: Whittaker & Co., 1835), p. 92.

<sup>70</sup> Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004), p.

<sup>71</sup> The Dublin Society known as RDS, the Royal Dublin Society see the RDS website <<https://www.rds.ie/>> a[ccessed 19 December 2016]; Minute Book, 1731-3, s.d. 18 Dec. 1731 RDS cited in Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004), n. 39; Rev. John Graham, ‘On the Origin, Progress and Result of Statistical Enquiries in Ireland, *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Vol. 96, Part 1 (April 1926), p. 309-310.

<sup>72</sup> T. Williamson, ‘Estate Management and Landscape Design’, *Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture*, ed. by Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (Stroud: Sutton Publishing in association with the National Trust, 2000), pp. 12-30; T. C. Smout (ed.), *Scottish Woodland History* (Dalkeith, 1997). Cf. Kelly (ed.), ‘Improvement of Ireland’ pp. 73-7, cited in Toby Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2004); O’Kane, *Ireland and the Picturesque*, p. 2.

for the Dublin Society in 1740.<sup>73</sup> George Barret the elder (c.1730-1784), one of the most prolific Irish Picturesque landscape painters, was influenced by the French artist Claude Lorrain. In 1762 Barret planned to publish a collection of his prints which included views of the Dargle valley and Powerscourt House and Waterfall, but the idea foundered as there was little interest from subscribers.<sup>74</sup> The Royal Irish Academy founded in 1785 became the centre for Irish antiquarian knowledge, giving the Protestant Ascendancy legitimacy within its *Transactions* and exhibitions.<sup>75</sup> Endeavouring to equate Irish aristocracy with their English counterparts, historical and genealogical texts similar to the English antiquarian County series began to be published for instance Thomas Milton's *Seats of the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland* (1783-93).<sup>76</sup> By the turn of the century Ireland had matched England in its views of Picturesque landscapes, becoming a popular venue for artists.<sup>77</sup>

In this period before the Great Famine, tourists primarily travelled to Ireland to experience the Picturesque, but gradually they also sought out the poor who, in a strange twist, became part of the Irish Picturesque, their hooded cloaks, bare feet, and Catholic religious ceremonies, viewed as not only stereotypically Irish, but also ‘exotic’.<sup>78</sup> With travel writers such as Inglis and artists like William Evans of Eton (1798-1877) perceiving Spanish influences in the west of Ireland at Galway, the Irish poor, Europe’s ‘orientals’, were viewed as charmingly Picturesque by undiscerning tourists (Fig. 3.106).<sup>79</sup> Nathaniel Parker Willis observed: ‘As you approach Galway, the universality of red petticoats, and the same brilliant colour in most other articles of female dress, give a foreign aspect to the population, which prepares you somewhat for the completely Italian or Spanish look of most of the streets of the town.’<sup>80</sup> Gradually representations of ‘exotic’ Irish peasants began to be

<sup>73</sup> Crowley, p. 154.

<sup>74</sup> Crowley, p. 154; ‘An Exhibition of 18th-20th Century Irish Paintings’, Catalogue, Gorry Gallery <[www.gorrygallery.ie](http://www.gorrygallery.ie)> [accessed 31 July 2017].

<sup>75</sup> Its Royal Charter was in 1786.

<sup>76</sup> Crowley, p. 156. Francis Grose had already published *Antiquities of England and Wales* in 1773-6, and *Antiquities of Scotland* 1789-91.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> William H. A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century, 1750-1850* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), pp. xv, 158.

<sup>79</sup> Henry D. A. Inglis, *A Journey Throughout Ireland, in the Spring, Summer and Autumn of 1834*, 2 vols (London: Whittaker, 1835), p. 22; Louisa M. Connor Bulman, ‘Titian in Connemara’, *Apollo* (April 2004), pp. 45-53.

<sup>80</sup> William H. A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century, 1750-1850* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), pp. 163-64; Nathaniel Parker Willis and J. Sterling Coyne, *The Scenery and Antiquities*

incorporated into landscapes through depictions such as Thomas Roberts' eighteenth-century *Landscape with Peasants and Cart* and William Evans' *Cabin at Renvyle*, 1838 (Fig. 3.107). However, the disconnection between the reality of peasant life and the fêted Irish scenery became increasingly apparent, Jonathan Binns, Assistant Agricultural Commissioner on the Poor Law Enquiry in 1837 reporting:

I have witnessed scenes that would awaken commiseration in the coldest and the hardest heart ... I have seen young and helpless children, almost naked and without food, exposed to the cruel influences of the weather, in huts which should have afforded them protection; and I have seen old people, afflicted severely by asthmas and rheumatic attacks, lying in hovels without either window or chimney, with nothing for their bed but the bare damp floor, or a thin layer of straw.<sup>81</sup>

With the impending famine, writers and artists found it difficult to document or sketch what became harrowing imagery.<sup>82</sup> Leitch Ritchie the author of *Ireland Picturesque and Romantic* (1837) reported: 'For my own part, my heart smites me, that I have sat wilfully down to write a frivolous book upon a country where I have met so much to sadden and to shock me.'<sup>83</sup> One artist based in Ireland, Daniel MacDonald, portrayed the savage terrain and the hopelessness of the peasants' situation in his *An Irish Peasant Family Discovering the Blight of their Store*, 1847 (Fig. 3.108), the only known painting of the Great Famine.<sup>84</sup>

### **Henry Villiers-Stuart, Political Career and Agricultural Improver**

Many Irish landowners endeavoured to help the situation of the peasants, among them Henry Villiers-Stuart, heir to the Protestant Dromana estate. Dromana had been owned by descendants of the Anglo-Irish Fitzgerald clan for centuries, built in a

---

*of Ireland*, 2, 1 (London: George Virtue, c.1850), p. 95. See Henry D. A. Inglis, *A Journey Throughout Ireland, in the Spring, Summer and Autumn of 1834*, 2 vols (London: Whittaker, 1835).

<sup>81</sup> Jonathan Binns, *The Miseries and Beauties of Ireland*, 2, 2 (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, and Co., 1837), p. 61.

<sup>82</sup> William H. A. Williams, *Creating Irish Tourism: The First Century, 1750-1850* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), p. xv.

<sup>83</sup> Leitch Ritchie, *Ireland Picturesque and Romantic* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1837), p. 5.

<sup>84</sup> Niamh O'Sullivan, 'Cork Artist Daniel MacDonald's Hunger for Truth', *Irish Examiner*, 18 April 2015. Many other portrayals of the famine were executed in England or were produced at a later date.

strategic position perched high on a cliff above the gorge of the river Blackwater. The demesne was the epitome of the Picturesque landscape in Ireland, seen in Thomas Roberts' serene *View of Dramana* (1799) which looked towards the Blackwater's tributary, the Phinisk, with its ancient fording place at Affane (Fig. 3.109).<sup>85</sup> During the seventeenth century a new mansion was constructed above the river Blackwater's gravel terraces, described by the antiquary, Daniel Grose, in the early nineteenth century:

Three miles south of Cappoquin, the river Blackwater cuts through a wooded valley, set above which is Dromana, one of the most spectacularly located houses in Ireland. Commanding views both up and down the river, this natural place of defence was once the site of a medieval castle.<sup>86</sup>

Charles Smith reported in 1774 that at Dromana: 'the castle with all its furniture, being burnt down by the Irish, the present house was erected, to serve till a more commodious one could be built'.<sup>87</sup> This was the mansion illustrated by Grose, with 'steep roofs, tall chimneys and dormer windows' (Fig. 3.110), the re-building of the house in a domestic mode at the end of the eighteenth century acknowledging the reduction of clan hostilities and of a need for defensive architecture.<sup>88</sup>

Henry Villiers-Stuart's great-great-grandfather, the major improver of the Dromana estate in the eighteenth century, was John Fitzgerald Villiers (1684-1766), created 1st Earl of Grandison in 1721.<sup>89</sup> Grandison's grand vision for improvements was portrayed in a 1751 map by Henry Jones, *A Plan of Dromana The seat of the Right Hon[ou]r[a]ble John Earl of Grandison* (Fig. 3.111).<sup>90</sup> Grandison experimented with linen production, providing employment for a new Protestant

<sup>85</sup> Edward Malins and The Knight of Glin, *Lost Demesnes: Irish Landscape Gardening, 1660-1845* (London: Barrie & Jenkins Ltd., 1976), p. 99.

<sup>86</sup> Roger Stalley (ed.), *Daniel Grose (c.1766-1838): The Antiquities of Ireland, a supplement to Francis Grose* (Dublin: The Architectural Archive, 1991), p. 58.

<sup>87</sup> Charles Smith, *The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford* (Dublin: W. Wilson, 1774), p.53.

<sup>88</sup> 'Dromana House, County Waterford', Reg. No. 22902918, *National Inventory of Architectural Heritage* <[www.buildingofireland.ie](http://www.buildingofireland.ie)> [accessed 4 January 2016]. Niall C.E.J. O'Brien,

'Villierstown and the Linen Industry'  
<[niallbrn.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/villierstown-and-the-linen-industry/](http://niallbrn.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/villierstown-and-the-linen-industry/)> [accessed 27 October 2016].

<sup>90</sup> This plan is held at Dromana, with a copy at the IAA.

workforce brought from the north of Ireland, building a settlement, Villierstown, to house the immigrant linen workers, alongside the local Catholic villages.<sup>91</sup>

Grandison persuaded the two religious faiths to work together for a common goal, allocating each Protestant weaver a field, with the proviso that it was rented to a Catholic who needed the grazing.<sup>92</sup> In May 1766, Grandison died, his Dromana estate passing down through the family, with few visiting the demesne until Henry Villiers-Stuart (Fig. 3.112) inherited the estate after his coming-of-age in 1824.<sup>93</sup> In 1824 he made Dromana his main residence, and like previous family members, ‘began lavishly entertaining’.<sup>94</sup> However, he took stock of the affairs of his tenants, issuing new leases and registrations, so that 600 were soon registered on the county Waterford rolls.<sup>95</sup> Appointed to the Grand Jury of Waterford he also began to be politically aware, in 1824 joining the Catholic Association.<sup>96</sup>

In 1825 Villiers-Stuart turned his full attention to politics and as a Protestant with liberal principles, supported the formulation of the Catholic Emancipation Bill.<sup>97</sup> He contested the Irish Waterford seat as a Whig candidate in 1826, winning

<sup>91</sup> The process of making linen from flax produces noxious smells which is likely why the village was positioned a mile away from the mansion.

<sup>92</sup> Thomas McCarthy, ‘The Years of Forgetting, 2006-2011’, *Irish Pages*, Vol. 6, No. 1, *Ireland in Crisis* (2009), p. 21.

<sup>93</sup> Grandison’s Villierstown linen project continued for another two years. In many places in the south of Ireland, after the death of the landowner and patron, linen communities crumbled, for instance John Damer’s linen project at Shronell, Co. Tipperary failed after his death in 1768, and the Dunmanway enterprise which ended after Sir Richard Cox’s death in 1766.; David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Cork University Press, 2005), p. 208 cited in Niall C.E.J. O’Brien, ‘Villierstown and the Linen Industry’ give website and when accessed; Christopher Musgrave, the Grandison’s agent, wrote to the Countess Grandison that ‘he had sold 359 pieces of linen for £529 11s and still had 1,048 pieces on hand which he valued at £1,600.’ P.R.O.N.I., Villiers-Stuart papers, T.3131/C/14/16, 23 March 1766, Christopher Musgrave, Tourin, (Agent of Grandison) to Lord Grandison, Dublin cited in Niall C.E.J. O’Brien, ‘Villierstown and the Linen Industry’ give website and when accessed; John Heuston, ‘The weavers of Shronell – 250 years go’, in the *Tipperary Historical Journal* 2002, pp. 99, 109; Philip Salmon, ‘Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, Co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts., HPO [accessed 30 November 2016].

<sup>94</sup> *Waterford Mirror*, 28 July 1824.

<sup>95</sup> Paul Salmon, ‘Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts.’; HPO [accessed 29 December 2016].

<sup>96</sup> Philip Salmon, ‘Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, Co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts. HPO [accessed 6 July 2017]; Kathleen James-Chakraborty, ‘The Dromana Gate: An Indian Fantasy in Ireland’, *India in Art in Ireland* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 82. James-Chakraborty suggests that it was the wife of Villiers-Stuart, Theresia Pauline Ott, a Catholic, who shaped Villiers-Stuart’s politics. This was unlikely as he had already joined the Catholic Association at the end of 1824, before perhaps meeting Ott on the Continent the following year.

<sup>97</sup> *Waterford Mirror*, 8 Dec. 1824; Thérèse Muir Mackenzie (Thérèse Villiers Stuart), *Dromana: The Memoirs of an Irish Family* (Dublin: Sealy, Byers and Walker, [n.d.]), p. 212. National Library of Ireland, Villiers Stuart MSS 24682, 24685, 24686, 24691 cited in Philip Salmon, ‘Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, Co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts., HPO [accessed 30 November

the constituency on 10th August 1826 from the Tory Beresford family which had held the seat for many years.<sup>98</sup> After his victory, a Grand Fancy Ball was held in October 1826, with an exotic theme as reported by the *Waterford Mail*:

I cannot describe to you how I felt at seeing the Great Turk with three Sultanas arriving from Youghal with all their spangles in a shandry dan – four Nuns with a Moorish Prince set down from a Lismore noddy – an Eastern Chief with half a score West Indian ladies, stepping down from a Cappoquin jingle, with sundry other loads to and fro.<sup>99</sup>

Daniel O'Connell helped Villiers-Stuart with his electioneering and subsequent victory, adding weight to Villiers-Stuart's stance on political reform. In his parliamentary maiden speech, on 12 February 1827, Villiers-Stuart urged that Catholic emancipation was essential, suggesting that the rule of India and Canada was enlightened when compared with the 'persecution and oppression' of Catholics in Ireland.<sup>100</sup> His endeavours were rewarded in 1829, when the 'Roman Catholic Relief Act' was passed allowing Irish Catholics to become members of the British and Irish parliament, and to gain civil and military posts.<sup>101</sup> On 7 May 1829 Villiers-Stuart petitioned Parliament for the need of an Irish poor law system, but he gained

---

2016]; Fergus O'Farrall, *Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O'Donnell and the Birth of Irish Democracy 1820-1830* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1985) p. 121, cited in Philip Salmon, 'Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, Co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts., HPO [accessed 30 November 2016]. Villiers-Stuart joined the Catholic Society with a twenty-pound subscription.

<sup>98</sup> H Crown Office, 10 August 1826 Henry Villiers-Stuart of Dromana in the County of Waterford Esq, Member returned to serve in the new parliament. His agent Sir William Homan was at a dinner where it was suggested that Villiers-Stuart should contest the second Waterford seat. *Waterford Mirror*, 1 Aug. 1825; Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity 1789-2006* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 114; Thomas Wyse, *An Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, Henry Colburn, 1829), i, p. 278. Other liberal Protestants also gained seats in Louth, Westmeath, and Monaghan. It was the readiness of both Protestants and Catholics to vote for Villiers-Stuart, which gave him the electoral support for his campaign.

<sup>99</sup> 'Grand Fancy Ball at Dromana the Seat of H. Villiers Stuart Esq.', *Waterford Mail*, Wednesday 25 October 1826. The proceedings of the Ball were suggested to be 'on the most extensive and splendid scale', Waterford October 18, 1826.

<sup>100</sup> Philip Salmon, 'Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, Co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts.', HPO [accessed 8 December 2016]; Catholic Emancipation: Speaker Mr. Villiers-Stuart, House of Commons Debate, 12 February 1827, Vol. 16, p. 425.

<sup>101</sup> See 'Roman Catholic Relief Act, 1829' 1829 Chapter 7 10 Geo 4, <<http://www.legislation.gov.uk>> [accessed 19 January 2017]. This success, though, was tempered with the curbing of Catholic Association activities, and the minimum property qualification to vote was raised from a rental of 40 shillings to £10, well outside the income of the lower echelons of Irish society.

very little support in the House of Commons, and withdrew his petition.<sup>102</sup> Later that year, to the consternation of O'Connell, Villiers-Stuart resigned from the County Waterford seat and from politics.<sup>103</sup> After his shock resignation Villiers-Stuart set about reversing the decline of his estate which had been exacerbated by his family having been absentee landlords for so many years.

When Henry Villiers-Stuart took over Dromana in 1824, there were many architectural and landscape features remaining from the old mansion and garden of his great-great-grandfather. The OS 1842 map shows remnants of the water-gardens, formal gardens, and river terrace walks beside the river Blackwater. A local Irish architect, Martin Day, was appointed to restyle the Dromana house and landscape, working on the estate for many years, his plans, drawings and photographs in the Irish Architectural Archive giving a lasting account of his work on the demesne.<sup>104</sup> In 1822, Day designed a portico and offices for the trustees of Henry Villiers-Stuart's late mother, Gertrude, as Villiers-Stuart did not come of age until 1824. Perhaps it is from this time that the grand elevation was drawn up by Day (Fig. 3.113), but never constructed.<sup>105</sup> Although the building did not receive its planned grand portico, pediments were added to the windows and the family arms were set above the

---

<sup>102</sup> Philip Salmon, Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts. HPO [accessed 30 June 2017].

<sup>103</sup> *Dublin Evening Mail* 7 April 1828: Villiers-Stuart had been accosted by publicans who stated their accounts had not been paid from the previous election. Villiers-Stuart denied he had agreed to pay for the debts of his Committee; *The Times*, 12 Apr. 1828, 20 July 1829; *Waterford Chronicle*, 20 Oct. 1829, *Waterford Chronicle* 28 Nov. 1826; Memorandum of Thomas Wyse regarding outstanding expenses incurred at the 1826 election (N.L.I., Wyse papers, MS 15,028) cited in Elizabeth Anne Higgs, 'The Nature and Development of Liberal Protestantism in Waterford 1800-42' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Maynooth University, Co. Kildare, October 2008), p. 205; David Mahony to Daniel O'Connell, 12 June 1829, in O'Connell, *Correspondence of Daniel O'Connell*, iv, 75-9. The reason for his resignation was given as ill-health but was more likely financial difficulties, as a figure between £10,000-£30,000 had been spent on election expenses, with £8,200 still unpaid in 1829.

<sup>104</sup> David Rowe & Eithne Scallan, *Houses of Wexford* (Dublin: Ballinakella press, 2004) n.1, no.484; Frederick O'Dwyer, "'Modelled Muscularity': Daniel Robertson's Tudor mansions", *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 15 (1999); Ann Martha Rowan, *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*. Irish Architectural Archive <<http://www.dia.ie>> [accessed 26 May 2016]; Other members of the Day family, John and William were also architects in Co. Wexford, and there was also an association with Richard Purcell who also worked as an architect in nineteenth-century architect Co. Wexford. Day was assistant to Daniel Robertson, the designer of Johnstown Castle (1846), Castleboro (c.1840), and Ballinkeele (1846), but, Frederick O'Dwyer contends that 'although Day's draughtsmanship and architectural repertoire seem to have improved under Robertson's influence, his talents were of a lesser order'.

<sup>105</sup> *A Design of an Elevation for Dromana House*, by Martin Day, Architect, 1849; Photographs of signed and dated elevation and plans (Coll: Mary Sherwood) in IAA; *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*. Irish Architectural Archive <<http://www.dia.ie>> [accessed 26 May 2016].

entrance doorway (Fig. 3.114).<sup>106</sup> Day also designed a classical gateway for Villiers-Stuart, and, although again likely not built, it indicated that a grand gateway was planned for the demesne, possibly a symbol of Villiers-Stuart's new status, either as an M.P in 1826, or as a married man in 1836 (Fig. 3.115).<sup>107</sup> Lady Barbarina Grey visited Dromana in September 1836, describing the mansion as more of a bachelor's retreat rather than a family home:

The house is ... full of contrasts – such as a grand drawing-room, such tumble-down offices, sixteen lamps on the chandelier, and pack-thread for bell-ropes; a beautiful gold paper, and no curtains to the six windows ... an old theatre turned into a workshop, the remains of what must have been very fine hanging gardens, connected by stone steps, down to the river.<sup>108</sup>

Lady Grey was possibly correct in that the house lacked a woman's touch, as although Villiers-Stuart allegedly married an Austrian Catholic, Theresia Pauline Ott (Fig. 3.116) in 1826, Lady Stuart was an infrequent visitor to Dromana, with the couple living in London and travelling on the Continent between 1827 and 1843, then returning to Dromana c.1843 while renting a villa in Dublin.<sup>109</sup> During the 1840s, however, the Stuarts appear to have been often resident at Dromana, in 1843 and 1844 arriving at the house in September, and giving a 'sumptuous and substantial' dinner for the Villierstown residents in December 1849, perhaps a celebration of the ending of the dark days of the Great Famine.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup>33 May 1843, Martin Day: A fifteen-page estimate of costs of renovating Dromana House, T3131 P32 (21);

Daniel Grose (c.1766-1838): *The Antiquities of Ireland, a supplement to Francis Grose*; Roger Stalley (ed.) (Dublin: The Architectural Archive, 1991), p. 58; Emer Twomey, 'Dromana 800: a Celebration of the Fitzgerald/Villiers-Stuart Family in Waterford <<http://blogs.ucc.ie/wordpress/theriverside>>' [accessed 24 January 2017].

<sup>107</sup> Photographs of signed and dated elevation and plans (Coll: Mary Sherwood) in IAA; *Dictionary of Irish Architects 1720-1940*. Irish Architectural Archive<<http://www.dia.ie>> [accessed 26 May 2016]. The date in the roundels of rampant lions, appears to have been altered from 1826 to 1836.

<sup>108</sup> Tuesday 27 September 1836, Gertrude Lyster (ed.), *A Family Chronicle: Derived from Notes and Letters Selected by Barbarina, The Hon. Lady Grey* (London: John Murray, 1908), p.131.

<sup>109</sup> Even when the couple were in Ireland they were still unsettled, renting a villa 'Maretimo' at Blackrock, and then in 1843 travelled between Dromana, a villa at Fortfield, Rathfarnham, Dublin, and abroad. A. P. W. Malcomson, *Introduction: Villiers-Stuart Papers*, Public Record Office of Ireland (PRONI), November 2007, pp. 15-16;

<sup>110</sup> *The Cork Examiner*, 19 September 1843; 23 September 1844. Tipperary Vindicator 5 December 1849. On this occasion, a turnip machine was awarded to the best turnip produced on the estate.

## The Great Irish Famine and India

The potato blight was first noticed in Belgium in June 1845 and by August it had appeared in Southern England. The arrival of the disease in Ireland was reported on 6 September 1845 in the *Dublin Evening Post* and the *Waterford Freeman*.<sup>111</sup> The summer of 1846 saw the disease return, destroying over ninety per cent of the potato crop, and with the grain harvest also inadequate, food became extremely scarce.<sup>112</sup> In the Waterford area, A. H. Leech, the Treasurer of the Ardmore Relief Committee wrote to the Commissioners:

The population amounts to 15,000, about 8,000 of whom are solely dependent upon the potato crop. Of this latter number ... upwards of 1,200 are totally destitute either from age, infirmity or widowhood. There are on average six deaths weekly arising from cold and want. The Poor House ... now contains eight hundred and crowds of poor are refused admission, the stables and sheds are already occupied.<sup>113</sup>

Irish Poor Law legislation for the 'Relief of the Destitute Poor' had been finally passed in 1838, but assistance was only available by application to a Union, which had a centralised workhouse, and in many areas a fever hospital.<sup>114</sup> A Board of Guardians was elected to oversee the relief, but outdoor provision away from the workhouse was not permitted.<sup>115</sup> By 1845 seventy-three fever hospitals had been opened and by 1846 one-hundred-and-thirty Union Workhouses.<sup>116</sup> The scale of the aid required was overwhelming. Workhouse construction provided employment for

---

<sup>111</sup> William Fraher, 'Overture to Disaster', *Desperate Haven – The Famine in Dungarvan*; <[www.waterfordmuseum.ie](http://www.waterfordmuseum.ie)> [accessed 8 December 2016]. 6 September 1845 in the *Dublin Evening Post* and the *Waterford Freeman*.

<sup>112</sup> Colm Tóibín, *The Irish Famine* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 1999), p. 28.; Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 2013).

<sup>113</sup> N.A./R.P. 9328. The Rev. Leech was accused of 'souperism' by the parish priest of Ardmore in a letter to the Waterford Chronicle in May 1847. For further information on this see: Eugene Broderick, 'The Famine and Religious Controversy in Waterford, 1847-1850', in *Decies* No. 51 1995, pp. 11-24; William Fraher, 'Despair and Death', *Desperate Haven – The Famine in Dungarvan*. <<http://www.waterfordmuseum.ie>> [accessed 8 December 2016].

<sup>114</sup> Colm Tóibín, *The Irish Famine* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 1999), p.105-106; See 'CAP. LVI: An Act for the More Effectual Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland, 31 July 1838', *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 and 2 Victoria, 1838* (London: 1838), pp. 274-314.

<sup>115</sup> Colm Tóibín, *The Irish Famine* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 1999), p. 106; See 'CAP. LVI: An Act for the More Effectual Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland, 31 July 1838', *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 1 and 2 Victoria, 1838* (London: 1838), pp. 274-314.

<sup>116</sup> Crosbie, p. 192.

over 12,000 labourers who required 1,000 horses and carts.<sup>117</sup> In 1843 the workhouse population was 31,500 which rose in 1845 to 43,000, but by 1846 the workhouses were full and extra sheds and buildings were constructed so that 95,000 to 115,000 paupers could be housed. In July 1847, 640,000 people were given food to stave off hunger.<sup>118</sup> Villiers-Stuart was heavily involved with both the governance of the Waterford workhouses, and fever relief. In April 1847, after he petitioned the Waterford Guardians regarding overcrowding at the workhouses and a revision of the system of 'exclusive indoor relief', a temporary fever hospital was built at Aglish with sheds constructed with timber and canvas drawn up to his design. Precursors to the Great Famine had already been known, particularly extreme cold and frosts in the mid-eighteenth century, when an estimated thirty-eight per cent of the population of Ireland perished.<sup>119</sup>

Some landowners provided famine relief by employing labourers for the construction of estate buildings. Connolly's Folly (Fig. 3.117), Co. Kildare, attributed to the Italian architect Alessandro Galilei assisted by Edward Lovett Pearce, was built in the demesne of Castletown House, after severe frosts in 1739.<sup>120</sup> Pearce, an architect whose mentors were Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, also introduced the obelisk form to Ireland, designing the Stillorgan monument in Co. Dublin, an aid project in the 1740s.<sup>121</sup> Another structure entitled the 'Wonderful Barn', likely a granary built for famine relief in 1743, was also commissioned by Mrs Conolly on the Castletown estate (Fig. 3.118).<sup>122</sup> Its cone encircled by an external staircase, the

---

<sup>117</sup> Malachy Powell, 'The Workhouses of Ireland', *University Review*, Vol. 3, No. 7 (Spring 1965), pp. 8, 10. By the end of the 1840s over 160 workhouses had been built designed by an Englishman George Wilkinson, appointed as Architect to the Poor Law Commission in 1839.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, pp. 10-11.

<sup>119</sup> William Fraher, 'The Plague Year', and 'Despair and Death' in Desperate Haven – The Famine in Dungarvan. <<http://www.waterfordmuseum.ie>>[accessed 8 December 2016].

<sup>120</sup> James Howley, *The Follies and Garden Buildings of Ireland* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 11-12.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, pp. 8-11. Dated by Professor G. N. Wright, Professor of Antiquities to the Royal Hibernian Academy. The Stillorgan monument is said to echo the design of the Bernini obelisk in the Piazza Navona, Rome. It does have a passing resemblance to the basic structure, however the Irish monument does not feature statuary. A similar monument, the Killiney obelisk, was erected in 1742 to relieve the poor on Killiney Hill, illustrated c.1842 in William Bartlett's *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland*, 2, 2 (London: George Virtue, [1842]), p. 163.

<sup>122</sup> Another monument the 'Bottle Tower' built at Churchdown, Dublin, was possibly inspired by the Wonderful Barn.

building preceded the similarly designed Golghar granary at Bankipore near Patna, India.<sup>123</sup>

Public works in Ireland set up by the National Board of Works during the famine years included the construction of roads, harbours, piers and drainage schemes, with 26,000 men employed in September 1846, which by March 1847 had risen to 714,000.<sup>124</sup> Politicians - particularly Tories - and Irish landlords contended that improvement work on estates should qualify as famine-relief, as road construction contributed little to the Irish economy whereas agricultural improvements brought added yield to the poorer estates.<sup>125</sup> Villiers-Stuart's accounts show that he set up a vast amount of new works at Dromana in the 1840s, adding new gardens and buildings, and renovating the old linen-village of Villierstown.<sup>126</sup> Receipts show Villiers-Stuart's men requested subsistence money as part of their pay, enabling them to buy food, and in a letter dated 13th April 1846 Villiers-Stuart outlined other works he had commissioned:

Mr. Day the architect is here and will begin pulling down the stables tomorrow. This will be the means of affording some additional employment to the destitute but the distress threatens to become so general that it would require the fortune of Croesus to find work for all that require it.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Jan Morris, Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>124</sup> William Fraher, 'Despair and Death', *Desperate Haven – The Famine in Dungarvan*; <<http://www.waterfordmuseum.ie>> [accessed 8 December 2016]; Colm Tóibín, *The Irish Famine* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 1999), p. 32.

<sup>125</sup> Edward G. Lengel, *The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger Publishers, 2002), p. 71.

<sup>126</sup> The Villiers-Stuart's accounts showing many tasks completed 1843-1858, see Estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc. in connection with building work done for or by tenants, Cork University Archives, *Villiers-Stuart Papers*, ref: T3131/P/32.

<sup>127</sup> Cork University Archives, *Villier-Stuart Papers*, T3131/P/32. Thomas Taylor, carpenter, employed on the Dromana estate and the Dromana Bridge, wrote to Villiers-Stuart in March 1850 his letter enforcing the workforce's desperation: 'My Lord, I Most Humbly take the liberty of Requesting of your lordship for A line to Mr Thos Keane for to have him Stop what Rent is due from me to your lordship and to have him to give me the Ballance for Indeed my Lord I am in A Most destitute State at present.' A footnote at the end of the letter suggests that Villiers-Stuart helped Taylor with his rent. Letter from Thomas Taylor to Lord Villiers-Stuart, 29 March 1850, Villierstown. *Estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc., in connection with building work done for or by tenants*, Cork Archives, *Villiers-Stuart Papers*, P/32; Letter: Stuart de Decies to his daughter Pauline, dated 13 April 1846, 'Appendix, No. 3. Letters from the late Lord Stuart de Decies to his Daughter Pauline, wife of Sir Charles Wheeler Denny Cuffe Bart.', in Parliament Lords, Proc., Vict., *5 Papers Relating to the Claim of H. W. V. Stuart to the Barony of Stuart of Decies* (Charleston, C.A.: Nabu Press LLC, 2011, first published 1876), pp. 24-25. *Cork Examiner*, 17 February 1847: The Commissioners agreed to

Villiers-Stuart was supported by the Chairman of the Clashmore Relief Committee for his tireless work and assistance ‘both in giving pecuniary aid, in furnishing employment to his tenantry, and in promoting by every means in his power, the speedy commencement of public works.’<sup>128</sup>

By December 1845, news of the blight in Ireland had reached Calcutta with the local press recording that: ‘some gentlemen … have formed a provisional committee for the relief of the distressed Irish.’<sup>129</sup> Well aware of the impending catastrophe in Ireland from their own experience of famine in India, they initiated fund-raising plans.<sup>130</sup> By 1846 in Calcutta the original committee became the organisers of the Irish Relief fund, headed by two Englishmen, Sir Lawrence Peel, a judge, and Sir James Grant, a civil servant. They opened the fund to all areas of India through a network of support organisations, which accepted both small and large donations, from Europeans and Indian natives.<sup>131</sup> The Calcutta committee insisted that the Board in Ireland which would distribute the money, should be made up of both Protestants and Catholics, and its Relief Fund was distributed in to the most needy Irish counties, the west of Ireland gaining immediate assistance.<sup>132</sup> The *Galway Mercury* reported that the Calcutta Committee ‘expressed its regret’ that

---

match any funds raised locally. December 1850. Villiers-Stuart had previously endeavoured to diversify the crops with the setting up of flax-growing in the district, a Silver Medal being awarded in 1845 by the Flax Improvement Society. At the meeting of the Board of Guardians in December 1850 Lord Stuart de Decies stressed the need for ‘adopting measures for encouraging the growth of flax’ and proposed opening a branch of the Royal Flax Improvement Society with the Poor Law Unions of Dungarvan, Lismore, and Youghal. Perhaps some renovations at Villierstown were due to a new attempt at linen manufacture, creating jobs in the midst of the famine. Villiers-Stuart also contacted the Poor Law Commissioners to discover what funds were available to the Villierstown Relief Committee to employ the local women in knitting and spinning as there was very little work for women on the public works.

<sup>128</sup> Letter from Richard Power Ronayne, Chairman Clashmore Relief Committee, to the Editor of the *Dublin Evening Post*, 8 October 1846.

<sup>129</sup> From *Englishman*, reported in *Hurkaru*, 26 December 1845), cited in Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 2013), n. 7, p. 41.

<sup>130</sup> Christine Kinealy, ‘Some Great and Terrible Calamity: India’s Response to Ireland’s Great Famine’, in Christophe Gillissen (ed.), *Ireland: Looking East* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang S.A., 2010), p. 13.

<sup>131</sup> Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), p. 43.C. A. Bayly, ‘Rammohan Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India, 1800-1830’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, 1 (2007), p. 38. In India, the *Mirat* and the *Calcutta Journal* both reported the unrest caused by the Irish famine in southern and western Ireland, and purported that little money had been collected from the Europeans to support the depredations of the Irish famine, whereas ‘native inhabitants, had ‘demonstrated their superior charity’ by donating more.

<sup>132</sup> Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), p. 43.

with limited funds Galway would receive only £15 although £100 had already been donated for the nearby area of Claddagh, an Irish-speaking fishing community with its own dialect, dress and customs.<sup>133</sup>

By February 1846, 60,000 rupees had been raised in Bengal alone, with donors including the large number of Irish soldiers present in India, British and European residents, Freemasons Lodges, and German and Russian Merchants.<sup>134</sup> The poor in India, the ‘low-skilled and low-paid native workers’ also contributed small amounts in annas, with nearly 100 rupees in total received, the money donated being distributed to the south of Ireland including Waterford and Cork.<sup>135</sup> In May 1846 a donation from the Calcutta Committee of £150 was reported in the *King’s County Chronicle*, and a depot in Tullamore, County Offaly, was opened up for the sale of flour, meal and bread to labourers and the poorer classes at prices well below the market price.<sup>136</sup> Relief work was underway in the Galway Union in June 1846, with meal stored in the Town Court House, and tickets given to working destitute labourers to claim meal until their wages were paid.<sup>137</sup> In September 1846, *The Limerick and Clare Examiner* reported that nearly £800 had been added to the account of the Indian Poor Relief Fund at the Bank of Ireland, £600 of which had been received from Bombay.<sup>138</sup> The newspaper described that the gross amount received by the Trustees of the Indian Poor Relief Fund was £11,150 with the majority received from Calcutta.<sup>139</sup> With many claims on its funds, and the Irish famine still raging, by the end of 1846 the Indian Relief Fund was expended, with c.£14,000 raised in one year.<sup>140</sup> However, the following year saw more Irish deaths

<sup>133</sup> *The Galway Mercury*, Saturday 6 June 1846; For Claddagh see James Hardiman, *The History of the Town and County of the Town of Galway* (Dublin: s.p., 1820), pp. 292-96. In 1820 Claddagh had a population of over 3,000 inhabitants.

<sup>134</sup> *Bengal Catholic Herald* 17 January 1846, and 14 February 1846, cited by Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers*, ns. 22, 24, p. 44.

<sup>135</sup> There were sixteen annas to the rupee at the time. *Hurkaru* 9 January 1846, cited in Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), n. 25 p. 44; *Freeman’s Journal* 15 May 1846, cited in Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), n. 31, p. 44.

<sup>136</sup> *The King’s County Chronicle*, Wednesday 13 May 1846; *The Evening Packet*, Thursday 14 May 1846. The Lord Lieutenant made a donation of £75 and the town and locality raised £175.

<sup>137</sup> *The Galway Mercury*, Saturday June 6, 1846.

<sup>138</sup> *The Limerick and Clare Examiner*, Saturday September 19, 1846. £200 had been received from Ceylon.

<sup>139</sup> *The Limerick and Clare Examiner*, Saturday September 19, 1846

<sup>140</sup> Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis* (London: Longman, Brown and Green and Longmans, 1880; first pub. In Edinburgh Review in 1848), pp.84-85, cited in Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great*

reported in the Indian press and fund-raising began again with thousands more pounds sent to the General Central Relief Committee for distribution.<sup>141</sup> In May 1847, the Bombay Relief committee reported that:

The Sepoys of some of the native regiments have subscribed as largely as the same grade, rank and file, in European regiments; the native employees in all the Company's departments of service, *jagheradars* and native princes, have all ... come forward most liberally, often most so where the means have been the shortest.<sup>142</sup>

The Irish tenants managed to gather a harvest in 1847 and this heralded the end of the relief measures set up by the British Government in 1845, and the cessation of fund-raising activities in India.<sup>143</sup> Between 1845 and 1849 more than one million Irish people died of starvation and disease, and, with many fleeing the country to Britain, America and Canada, or enlisting in the EIC army in India, Ireland lost half of its population.<sup>144</sup> The *Bengal Hurkaru* which had reported frequently on the endeavours of O'Connell, later suggested that it had taken the failure of the potato crop, 'some great and terrible calamity' to 'bring Irish people together'.<sup>145</sup> Many memorials were erected throughout in Ireland to honour those who had died, but the Irish people did not forget the help they had received from India, without which many more people would have perished. When famine broke out in India in 1877, an 'Indian Relief Fund' was formed in Ireland to help the poor and needy of India who had so generously contributed towards the destitute Irish thirty years before.<sup>146</sup>

---

*Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), n. 38, p. 45.

<sup>141</sup> *Nation* 10 July 1847, cited in Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), n. 40, p. 46.

<sup>142</sup> Extract of a letter from Bombay Committee, dated 1 May 1847, reprinted in the *Times* 7 June 1847, cited in Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), p. 46, n. 43.

<sup>143</sup> Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing plc, 2013).

<sup>144</sup> Laurence Geary, 'Epidemic Diseases of the Great Famine, *History Ireland*, Vol. 4, Issue 1 (Spring 1996), p.27; Christophe Gillissen (ed.), *Ireland: Looking East* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang S.A., 2010), p.20.

<sup>145</sup> Christine Kinealy, *Charity and the Great Hunger in Ireland: The Kindness of Strangers* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2013), p. 42.

<sup>146</sup> Freeman's Journal, 14 November 1877, cited in Christophe Gillissen (ed.), *Ireland: Looking East* (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang S.A., 2010), p. 20.

### **The Indo-Gothic Dromana Bridge (the ‘Hindu’ Gateway)**

While it is likely that the construction of the Dromana Bridge took place during the Great Famine, there are unanswered questions as to why it was built, and the architect for its design. Generally known as the ‘Hindu’ Gateway, this nomenclature is incorrect as the gate displays architectural details more consistent with both Mughal and Gothic design than Hindu. However, its age certainly can be linked to the early-nineteenth century, by the cast-iron used for the gateway’s minarets.<sup>147</sup> Sited on an open public road away from the main demesne mansion (Fig. 3.119), it is the gateway’s isolated position and Indo-Gothic design, which confers architectural distinction.<sup>148</sup> As Martin Day had been working at Dromana for many years, and with Day’s signature on sketches dated 1849 held by Villiers-Stuarts’ descendants (Fig. 3.120), it likely he was the architect of the Dromana Gate.

The work on the bridge was catalogued in the receipts of workmen on the project, with stone, lime, sand, hooks, nails and cord delivered, and carpenters, sawyers, masons and labourers on site between 1840 and 1849.<sup>149</sup> Labourers cleared the foundations for the ‘lodge at the Dromana bridge’ over six days in September 1848, and in June 1849 further renovations were carried out, Richard Taylor spending 8 days repairing the ‘Railing and Portcullis Gate and Carriage Way of the Bridge of Dromana’ for £0.18.8.<sup>150</sup> Presumably at this point in its history the bridge railings echoed the Langleyesque window-bars, as designs exist in the family archives for bridge balustrades, one of which appears to have been chosen, however, the window-bars may have been a later addition as they do not appear in Day’s 1849 sketches.<sup>151</sup> In August Samuel Stokes arranged for ‘2 Copper Mosks taken down at

---

<sup>147</sup> For details on cast-iron see Paul Dobraszczyk, *Iron, Ornament and Architecture in Victorian Britain: Myth and Modernity, Excess and Enchantment* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014). Cast-iron began to be used in preference to wrought-iron for architectural decorations, particularly the trellis and balconies of seaside towns such as Brighton and Scarborough, and the spa towns Cheltenham, and Leamington Spa.

<sup>148</sup> Damian Murphy, ‘Gems of Architecture: Dromana Gate, Co. Waterford’, *History Ireland* (July/August 2010), p. 53.

<sup>149</sup> Return for the week ending October 21 1840 for the Bridge, Cork University Archive, Villiers-Stuart Papers, P/32 (2).

<sup>150</sup> Work completed week ending 16 September 1848, T3131/P/37 (5), 25 November 1848, T3131/P/37 (1), and P/32 (57). Estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc.in connection with building work done for or by tenants, Cork University Archives, Villiers-Stuart Papers; 19 June 1849. To Richard Taylor for repairing the Railing and Portcullis Gate and Carriage Way of the Bridge of Dromana 8 days work £0.18.8.

<sup>151</sup> James Stevens Curl, *Georgian Architecture in the British Isles 1714-1830* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011 first published 1993), p. 131

bridge according to estimate £3.0.0', and 500 'Permission to Pass Dromana Bridge' cards were printed at Youghal Printing Office.<sup>152</sup> Lastly, in September 1849 the architect Martin Day produced illustrations of the bridge, and bridge railings. The gateway across the Phinisk was certainly in Indo-Gothic form by 1854 when John Burke visited Dromana, a crossing which he described as 'singularly fanciful and striking':

A handsome bridge over the Finnisk river conducts to a pagoda lodge, with its minarets and globular headed towers, looking like some romantic scene in the Arabian Nights suddenly realized before us.<sup>153</sup>

In his description, Burke alludes to 'globular headed towers', so perhaps at this point there were two domes, which would correlate with the two copper 'mosks' mentioned in the accounts. The domes may have been joined together at some point, giving its present ridged appearance.

The present single-storey building has a centralised archway over the road, with two symmetrical lodges, or gate-keeper's rooms on either side, reminiscent of both Mughal architecture seen in Daniell's Indian aquatints, and Irish flanked gate lodges.<sup>154</sup> With lodges either side of the large gated entrance, the building would have gained more status than a single lodge, proclaiming it as a grand entrance to a wealthy demesne.<sup>155</sup> Both Dromana lodges have cusped windows with 'Batty Langley' glazing bars, similar to the design of the Gothic Orangery at Frampton-

---

<sup>152</sup> August 1849: 2 Copper Mosks taken down at bridge according to estimate £3.0.0, Samuel Stokes. Estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc.in connection with building work done for or by tenants, Cork Archives, *Villiers-Stuart Papers*, P/32 (59); 30 May 1849: 500 'Permission to Pass Dromana Bridge' cards printed at Youghal Printing Office, Estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc.in connection with building work done for or by tenants, Cork Archives, *Villiers-Stuart Papers*, T3131/P37 (7).

<sup>153</sup> John Bernard Burke, *The Seats and Arms of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Great Britain and Ireland*, Second Series (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1854), p. 30.

<sup>154</sup> Look up in Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1880* (London: Eason, 1982). See Thomas Daniell's Oriental Scenery series of aquatints published in four parts between 1795 and 1807.

<sup>155</sup> Timothy Mowl, *Trumpet at the Gate* 1984, p. 471. Trisha Ryan concurs with Mowl in 'How East Met West: A Typological Explanation for Dromana Gatelodge', *Decies*, Vol. 69 (2013), p. 83. Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest Times to 1880* (London: Eason, 1982), p. 319 cited in Trisha Ryan, 'How East Met West: A Typological Explanation for Dromana Gatelodge', *Decies*, Vol. 69 (2013), p.83. Fireplaces were positioned in the lodges similar to other twin-lodged gateways used as family residences, with one room used for eating the other for sleeping.

upon-Severn, Gloucestershire, which was likely to have been based on Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture Improved* (1757).<sup>156</sup> Beneath the arched entrance at Dromana, there was further symmetry with false doors and entrances having the cusped-headed style echoing the form of the windows (Fig. 3.121).<sup>157</sup> But it was the large copper Mughal-style onion dome, which awards the gateway architectural distinction, together with eight cast-iron Hindu minarets similar to those at John Claudius Loudon's Turkish designed Hope End completed c.1815 in Herefordshire (Fig. 3.122).<sup>158</sup> Copper was used in antiquity as a roofing material for prestigious buildings in the Middle East and later in Europe, but its application in the mid-nineteenth century to a gateway was almost certainly inspired by the North Gate at Brighton. The North Gate, which has similarities with Thomas Daniell's depiction of the Jama Masjid, has a copper onion dome, central arch and lodges, built in 1832, by Joseph Good for King William IV (see Fig. 3.21) (see Chapter 3).<sup>159</sup> The Dromana dome, however, has been constructed with eight separate pieces of copper, giving it a ridged appearance, not the smoothness seen in Day's 1849 elevation sketch.<sup>160</sup> The quatrefoil filigree of the Dromana cast-iron lace parapet has echoes of the work of Charles D. Young and Co. of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the technique of which had reached its apogee in the Victorian Lace cast-iron buildings in Australia and America.<sup>161</sup> Local Brighton papers refer to Henry Villiers-Stuart staying at the Albion, Brighton, 31 March 1831, and members of the Villiers-Stuart family residing

---

<sup>156</sup> David Verey and Alan Brooks, *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire 2, the Vale and the Forest of Dean* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002 (first published 1970). Frampton Court was rebuilt for Richard Clutterbuck, an official of the Bristol Customs House in 1731-33 but the Orangery is suggested to be by William Halfpenny as it has echoes of Halpenny's Stout's Hill, Uley, with detailing taken from Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture Improved*, published in 1747.

<sup>157</sup> Cusp-headed windows may also be seen at Castle Ward, in Co. Down, which has a striking mixture of gothic and Neoclassical architecture in one mansion.

<sup>158</sup> Trisha Ryan, 'How East Met West: A Typological Explanation for Dromana Gatelodge', *Decies*, Vol. 69 (2013), p. 87. Hope End was the early family home of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire*.

<sup>159</sup> 'Copper and its Alloys in Architecture', Gerald W. R. Ward (ed.), *The Grove Encyclopaedia of Materials and Techniques in Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 144; 'North Gate of the Royal Pavilion and Attached Railings', English Heritage Listing Grade II\* No. 1380396, <[www.historicengland.org.uk](http://www.historicengland.org.uk)> [accessed 30 July 2017].

<sup>160</sup> Trisha Ryan, 'How East Met West: A Typological Explanation for Dromana Gatelodge', *Decies*, Vol. 69 (2013), pp. 85-86.

<sup>161</sup> Damian Murphy, 'Gems of Architecture: Dromana Gate, Co. Waterford', *History Ireland* (July/August 2010), p.53 See also John Gay, *Cast Iron: Architecture and Ornament, Function and Fantasy* (London: John Murray (Publishers) Ltd., 1985), foreword by Gavin Stamp, pp. 7-18. By the mid-nineteenth century there was a plethora of pattern books on cast-iron balustrades and parapets such as Lewis Nockalls Cottingham's *The Smith and Founder's Director* published in 1824.

on the south coast in 1836, so it is extremely likely that as a new attraction, they viewed the North Gate to Brighton Pavilion.<sup>162</sup>

The site of the Dromana Bridge, a fording place on the Phinisk river, had been well known for many hundreds of years. A bridge was already in place in 1752, used by Dr. Pococke to leave Dromana after visiting Earl Grandison: ‘I crossed the Phinisk on a bridge and came near Affane’.<sup>163</sup> A new stone bridge was considered in 1827 ‘in place of the wooden one which is very old and decayed,’ by the County Waterford Grand Jury, to which Villiers-Stuart had been appointed in 1824.<sup>164</sup> A bridge with lodges was certainly built before 1841, as such a building appears on the first edition of the 6” OS map, labelled as a wooden bridge, and there appears to be a construction with two wings identified as ‘Cappoquin Gate Lodges’ (Fig. 3.123).<sup>165</sup>

The belief that is frequently reported is that Villiers-Stuart and his wife Theresia Pauline Ott, honeymooned in Brighton after their marriage in 1826. On their return to Dromana, local tenants greeted them with a ‘papier-mache-detailed canvas-covered timber structure’ to welcome them home, the style of which was used in the same year to construct a new bridge over the Phinisk.<sup>166</sup> However, when Villiers-Stuart’s son wished to gain his father’s title, the House of Lords found no evidence that a marriage had taken place.<sup>167</sup> Nevertheless, there may be some credence in the suggestion that a model existed. The canvas-covered timber structure sounds very much like the temporary fever-hospital set up by Villiers-Stuart during the famine, or perhaps the model was built as decoration for the Grand Fancy Ball

---

<sup>162</sup> *Brighton Patriot* 1 March 1836; *Brighton Gazette*, Thursday 14 April 1836; a Mr. Villiers-Stuart stayed at the Albion Hotel in March and April 1836; *Brighton Gazette*, Thursday 22 December 1836 Mr. Villiers-Stuart, M.P. for Waterford visited his brothers at Brighton. *Brighton Gazette* 2 November 1836; Mr Villiers-Stuart and his family stayed at 42 Wellington Square, Hastings, was reported in the *Brighton Gazette* 2 November 1836.

<sup>163</sup> George T. Stokes (ed.), *Pococke’s Tour in Ireland in 1752* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co.; London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1891), pp. 123-24. Thérèse Muir Mackenzie (Thérèse Villiers Stuart), *Dromana: The Memoirs of an Irish Family* (Dublin: Sealy, Byers and Walker, [n.d.]) pp. 199-200.

<sup>164</sup> P/72 (2, 8) Villiers-Stuart Papers.; NLI, Villiers Stuart MS 24682, 24685, 24686, 24691.

<sup>165</sup> OS 6” map, surveyed 1841, published 1842, Waterford Sheet 29.

<sup>166</sup> Damian Murphy, ‘Gems of Architecture: Dromana Gate, Co. Waterford’, *History Ireland*, 18.4 (July/August 2010), p. 53.

<sup>167</sup> Parliament Lords, Proc., Vict., *5 Papers Relating to the Claim of H.W.V. Stuart to the Barony of Stuart of Decies* (London: 1876).

held in October 1826 to celebrate Henry Villiers-Stuart's political success. A likely hypothesis for the building of the bridge in Indian design, is that it was constructed as a physical, political metaphor, dedicated to the solidarity of the Indian people with the poverty-stricken Irish. Villiers-Stuart would have been conscious of the large amounts of money that had been sent from India and distributed via the various Unions to relieve the suffering of the Irish people. So it is likely he replaced the previous bridge not with a honeymoon fantasy, but with a political symbol, inspired by the North Gate to Brighton Pavilion, and that it would have formed part of his famine-relief programme, its unusual design honouring the monetary sacrifice by the poor of India.

Ireland and India were both brutally visited by famine in the nineteenth century, but recent articles only connect the two countries through their colonisation by the British, without investigating their social, cultural and economic links.<sup>168</sup> Contemporary accounts certainly made that connection, Lord Clarendon reporting in 1848 that with the famine 'western Irish peasantry' would be 'swept away like Hindoos'.<sup>169</sup> Despite the improvements in diversification of crops that Villiers-Stuart made at Dromana, the 1840s proved to be a devastating time, the demesne, like much of Ireland being severely affected by the Great Famine. Even before the famine, in times of scarcity livelihoods in India and in Ireland depended on the benevolence of their landlord. The Gateway was not only a symbol of solidarity between the *ryots* and the peasantry of Ireland, it also represented hopes for the political reforms of the common people advocated by men such as Raja Rammohun Roy.

\*\*\*\*\*

While other chapters have touched upon the influence of India on Picturesque artists such as Hodges and the Daniells, this chapter has examined the impact of their work on their return to Britain and Ireland. With no architects having visited India, it was Hodges' and the Daniells' pictorial representation of Mughal and Hindu

---

<sup>168</sup> Peter Gray, 'Famine and Land in Ireland and India, 1845-1880: James Caird and the Political Economy of Hunger', *The Historical Journal*, 49.1 (March 2006), p. 193.

<sup>169</sup> Clarendon to H. Reeve, 21 Aug. 1848, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Clarendon deposit, c. 534/I, quoted in Gray, p. 194.

constructions which made its way into British architecture and landscaping. The Picturesque sketches and aquatints of Hodges were used in the design of Hastings' Daylesford mansion, mirroring and externalising the architecture which appeared within the paintings by Hodges displayed inside the house. The Daniells, meanwhile, had more influence through their *Oriental Scenery* series, in particular the first part, which had been shared with the landscaper Humphry Repton, the Prince of Wales, and the architect John Nash, with resulting designs for Brighton Pavilion.

Although this thesis concentrates mainly on aspects of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century India, during this same period Britain was engaged in the Napoleonic wars, which influenced both architecture and garden design. After Napoleon's Egyptian campaign between 1798 and 1801, a fusion of Neo-classicism and Egyptian design became popular in both architecture and interiors. Napoleon, likely aware of the precariousness of the French Empire and of his own status, had endeavoured to gain prestige from the architecture of his reign reasoning: 'Men are only as large as the monuments they leave'.<sup>170</sup> It is not surprising that as his alleged British rival, the Prince of Wales also sought innovation in architecture. With Napoleon's foray into Egypt seen as a precursor to the French marching on India, perhaps the Prince in choosing an Indian design for the Pavilion emphasised Britain's power on the subcontinent. Motivated to seek an alternative novel style, the Prince and his architect Porden first used Indian elements in the new Riding School at Brighton. Repton, who had already become interested in Indian design at Sezincote, used a Red Book design with its stage-setting flaps, reminiscent of a theatrical raree-show, to interest the Prince in an Indian-influenced style for his Brighton palace and garden. Although Repton certainly engaged the Prince in the uniqueness of Indian design, due to overspending Repton's vision remained unadopted.<sup>171</sup> Nevertheless, another adaptation of an Indian-influenced style, from Joseph Good's North Gate to the Pavilion to the Dromana Gateway, in County Waterford, Ireland, was more successful. It was created for the Picturesque estate of

---

<sup>170</sup> Napoleon I to General Chasseloup Laubat, no. 7816, *Correspondence*, Vol. 9, p. 503 quoted in Frances H. Steiner, 'Building with Iron: A Napoleonic Controversy', *Technology and Culture*, 22.4 (October 1981), p. 700. It was converted in 1887 into the Bourse de Commerce.

<sup>171</sup> Windsor: Royal Collection Trust: GEO/MAIN/26855: Bill for various series of aquatints from Thomas Daniell to the Prince of Wales, 20 April 1808.

a landowner who at first appeared not to have much in common with India. However, through his political work, and efforts to organise famine relief for the starving people of his locality, he realised that vast amounts of money had been raised by the native population and Company men in India. The gateway's appropriation of the Indian design of the Pavilion was therefore not shallow or meaningless, its new form a metaphor for the solidarity between two countries in times of need.

This chapter is extremely significant in that it outlines the very narrow interval when Indian design was introduced into Britain through the creative endeavours of Hodges, the Daniells and Repton. It was also a time when India was still considered as a seat of learning through scholarly works on Indian literature and art which made the British social elite open to its innovative style. Without the momentum stirred by these men, through exhibitions, aquatint series, or Red Book and texts, there would have been very little published visual stimuli on Indian design available for other architects and landscapers to absorb and emulate. However, through their work the British Picturesque became enriched with new elements and motifs which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century when an interest in Indian design was reinvigorated by the 1851 Great Exhibition and other major trade fairs.

.

## Conclusion

In contrast with the pervasive aesthetics of *Chinoiserie* in the eighteenth century, the exoticism of Indian design featured in a more restricted way in British domestic architecture during the East India Company period, a scenario which may appear to be at odds with the vast number of personnel who travelled to, and returned from, India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While social, political and cultural responses to the problematic figure of the ‘nabob’ – as well as the enduring aesthetic and political potency of the Neo-classical style for elite architectural design – go a long way towards explaining a reluctance to deploy Indian design in Britain, the individual stories that emerge must be nonetheless considered when examining those instances when returning Company men, and other figures, turned to Indian art and architecture in designing their homes and landscapes.

The achievement of this thesis lies in the discovery that the reason for adoption of an Indian-influenced style in Britain was specific to a personal engagement with the landscapes and architectural fabric of India. *Chinoiserie* had emerged as a broad and modish movement; located in numerous fashionable homes, it was based on the architectural texts of William Chambers, on numerous design manuals, and Chinese ceramics and fabrics often produced to British designs. Crucially *Chinoiserie* lacked the direct personal and political encounters with the originating culture that Indian-style design revealed when used in Britain. Indian design in Britain was employed in infinitely more personal, more complex ways, being based on the art and architecture – as well as British representations – of India, but also underpinned by the hopes, aspirations, achievements, and tastes of individual men who had travelled to India to seek fame and fortune, but eventually made Britain their final home.

The nine case studies accompanying the chapters of this thesis have identified major examples of Indian design in Britain and Ireland in a period before debates about, and widespread engagement with, Indian design came to public attention in various World Exhibitions.<sup>1321</sup> The extensive archival research for these studies has

---

<sup>1321</sup> See Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian,*

focused on the lives of important colonial figures, viewing their Indian careers in relation to the choices made subsequently in relation to their British estates. The findings have indeed shown that the Indian experiences of the men in the years before they returned to Britain was paramount to their lifestyle choices as they re-engaged with British society – a society which, in many cases, they had been geographically-distanced from for most of their adult lives. Those who had two tours of duty in India, who had an interest in Indian art and architecture, who joined societies to disseminate knowledge of the history and culture of the subcontinent, or who gathered collections of Indian artefacts, were far more likely to construct temples, garden buildings or memorabilia displays in their homes. For others who lived in India but took only a superficial interest in their surroundings, preferring to find refuge in the European-styled classical cities of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, the construction of a stuccoed Palladian mansion on return from India perhaps memorialised the *chunamed* city buildings of those cities, while fitting unobtrusively into the physical, cultural and political landscapes of Georgian Britain. Notably, two major exponents of the Indian-influenced style, the Prince of Wales, and Sir Charles Cockerell, at Brighton Pavilion and Sezincote respectively, were men who were secure in their social positions and had control over their political opponents. Freed from the constraints of British society, they could express themselves through Indian design, albeit through the lens of the Picturesque artists whose work was used in the absence of architectural expertise.

Within these broad tendencies, we can detect a variety of practices and motivations underpinning the use of an Indian-influenced style in British gardens and architecture. Commemoration often structured the conception of new domestic designs – whether of a career (Redcliffe Towers, Daylesford, and Sezincote), landscape (Middleton Hall, Stanmore and Great Bealings), individuals associated with India (Novar), or political or humanitarian achievement (Dromana, Brighton Pavilion). Commemoration was an important process for returnees. Developing an estate and garden with an Indian structure or decoration likely eased the difficulty of leaving behind the country they had adopted as their home. Meanwhile, for one

---

*and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001; Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

landowner in Ireland, the development of a garden building became both a memorial of lives lost by famine, and a metaphor for the solidarity between the poor of two countries.

The original contribution of this research has been to demonstrate, firstly, that contrary to the assumptions of previous scholarly analyses, returnees from India were not a homogenous mass of ‘nabobs’ intent on taking over country estates and seats in parliament. The majority were hardworking men who had spent their early lives in India, returning to settle down to a quiet family life and improvement of their modest estates. The individuality of their backgrounds, careers, and networks is key to understanding the projects which they embarked upon on return to Britain. Secondly, my thesis has expanded the work of Head and Conner to distinguish between the ways in which both Mughal and Hindu iconography were used in British gardens and garden buildings. The representations of Mughal buildings by the Daniells and Hodges tended to emphasise the British regime’s succession to the Mughal legacy, later made more visible still in the Delhi Durbars of the Raj period when Mughal heritage was used to further imperial status.<sup>1322</sup> In Britain, with Dance’s Guildhall and Lugar’s pattern book designs inspired by the artists’ paintings and aquatints, Mughal heritage was again utilised as a vision of the British empire, its order, symmetry and strength replacing Palladian and Neo-classical styles. But it was Hindu iconography and architectural detail which were the most referenced in the British gardens and garden buildings for this period. For instance, at Great Bealings, Stanmore, and Melchet, fragments of Hindu statues were incorporated into garden buildings, while the Sezincote garden employed more extensive Hindu iconography, in the Surya temple, the Shiva pool and fountain and the Brahminy bridge. But it is the *amalaka* capitals from the Elephanta cave pillars which were employed most consistently in buildings, gardens, and paintings - the niches at Sezincote, the Clifton Baths at Gravesend, the aviary at Brighton Pavilion, and John Martin’s *Belshazzar’s Feast* –with Indian-gooseberry topped columns supplanting the acanthus leaves of Greece and Rome.

---

<sup>1322</sup> See *Power and Resistance: the Delhi Coronation Durbars, 1877, 1903, 1911*, ed. by Julie F. Codell ([Delhi], The Alkazi Collection of Photography in Association with Maplin Publishing, 2012).

This thesis has expanded, and added detail and nuance, to previous research on Indian design in Britain and Ireland c.1760-c.1865. However, despite scholarly interest in Indian design after the Great Exhibition, there is still very limited research on Indian-influenced gardens and landscapes after this period, and clear scope to pursue further analysis for the subsequent period c.1865-c.2019. Projects such as the seaside architecture and gardens of the late nineteenth century, the Edwardian formal ponds and rills of gardens such as Edward Lutyens' Hestercombe water garden in Somerset, and the Mughal Burial Ground Peace Garden in Woking designed by an Indian Office surveyor T. Herbert Winney, have been little researched as part of Indian influenced design. With the arrival of South Asian communities and the gardens they have constructed, research opportunities have also increased, for instance to study the BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir (Neasden Temple) gardens, and the twenty-first century King's Cross Islamic Gardens. This thesis has set out some of the ways in which Indian architecture, art, religion, and garden design, inspired features in the British gardens and garden buildings of EIC men, through the artistic works of the artists William Hodges, Thomas and William Daniells, and the landscaper Humphry Repton. It is clear from the findings that although it developed as a hybrid style, Indian influenced design, like *Chinoiserie*, should be considered an integral part of the British Picturesque, and a significant historical field worthy of further scholarly research.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

BL: British Library, London

DEV: Devon Record Office, Exeter

HE: Historic England, Swindon

HPO: History of Parliament Online

IOR: India Office Records, British Library, London

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

NA: National Archives, London

NIA: Archives départementales des Alpes Maritimes, Nice, France

PRO PROB: Public Record Office, Probate Record

RIBA: Royal Institute of British Architects, London

V&A: Victoria and Albert Museum

### Manuscript and Archival Sources

#### **Aberystwyth: CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Interest in Wales**

CADW/ICOMOS Register of Parks and Gardens of Special Interest in Wales: Middleton Hall, Llanarthney. Register Number PGW(Dy)4(CAM)

#### **Cork: Cork University Archives**

T3131/P/32 Estimates, accounts, bills, receipts, vouchers, etc. relating to building work done for or by tenants, *Villiers-Stuart Papers*

OS 6" map, first edition, surveyed 1841, published 1842, Waterford Sheet 29

#### **Exeter: Devon Record Office**

DEV: 57/11/62, Will of Robert Smith of Bideford, 1850

#### **Gloucester: Gloucestershire Archives**

D1652, Letter John Cockerell to Walford, November 1797

D3732/1 *Plan of Daylesford in the County of Worcester, 1786*

GA D4084/Box 52/2, Letters concerning purchase of Daylesford House (Worcs.) by Warren Hastings from Jn. Knight (all written by T. Walford on Hastings' behalf), 1784-85

GPS/108/3 Photograph of a pen and wash drawing of *Daylesford House*, 1805 by the Honourable Anne Rushout  
Particulars and Conditions of Sale of the Sezincot Estate, to be sold by auction 22 July 1880

**Swindon: Historic England** <https://historicengland.org.uk>  
No. 22 Palace Gardens, W8. Listing No: 1266930 [accessed 9 April 2019]

Batsford Park. Listing No: 1000431, Grade II\* [accessed 22 March 2019]

India House. Listing No: 1351101[accessed 21 March 2019]

The North Gatehouse and Attached Piers and Railings. Listing No: 1380400 [accessed 15 June 2017]

Redcliffe Hotel, Listing No. 1195234, Grade II [accessed 10 July 2013]

**Historic Environment Scotland** <https://www.historicenvironment.scot/>  
Preston Hall Policies, The Temple. Listing No: LB779 [accessed 9 April 2019]

Novar House and Walled Garden. Listing No: 338 [accessed 13 April 2019]

**Inverness: Highlands Archive Centre**  
D538/C/9, Estimate for Mason Work about Novar

D538/A/2/6/vii, Voucher 4; ‘Nove[mbe]r 31st ... 1792 Rec[eive]d (by William Reid) from Mr Geo[rge] Munro Factor of Nover [sic] the Sum of One Pound three Shillings Sterling in full pay[men]t for separating the Stones, Lime & Timber of the Ruin on Fyrish hill & laying up every article in different heaps & the same’

D538/A/2/6/X, ‘Stone was quarried for the ruin which measured nine roods and a quarter, and was taken up the hill by William Reid at a cost of £14.5.0’: Discharge Branch 1, Voucher No. 72

A/2/7/V Liming Accounts, May and June 1776, Loose vouchers, No. 31, Voucher Nos 2, 3, 4, 5

A/2/7/V Blowers Accounts, 1771-1774, Loose vouchers, No. 8

A/2/7/V, Vouchers for January wages Gardeners Shepherds in Novar, 18th October 1773

D538/A/2/7/vii Note of expence for carrying Lime and Sand to the Ruin by Mr Hector Munro’s Tennants, Voucher 4; ‘Nove[mbe]r 31st ... 1792  
D538/A/2/8/iv, Day labourer’s accounts

**Ipswich: Suffolk Record Office**

FC31/C/4/4, Great Bealings Tithe Map and Book of Reference, 1840

H15/3/2.3, Isaac Johnson completing measurement work for the area around Bealings House, 4 April 1815

H15/3/2.3, Letter from Edward Moor to his Grace the Duke of Grafton, 31 March 1814

H15/3/2.3, Letter from Headquarters, Woodbridge to Edward Moor Adjutant 2d E. S Regt. of Local Militia, 28 January 1815

H15/3/2.3, Letter from the War Office to Adjutant Edward Moor, 30 July 1814

HE402/2/1919/20, *The Bealings House Estate Sale Catalogue*, 1919

HE402/2/1919/20, 'The Property Market: Hintleham and Bealings', *East Anglian Daily Times (E.A.S.T)*, 30 July 1919

**London: Army Museum**

NAM. 1957-10-44-1 Attributed to Carl Christoph Adam, Baron von Imhoff (died 1800, *A British Officer of a Madras Sepoy Battalion, attended by a Sepoy or Servant*, c.1769

**London: British Library**

Add MS 41606, Warren Hastings Papers Vol XXXIX. Inventory of the Household Goods ... belonging to the late Mrs Hastings in her mansion at Daylesford, 1837, f. 14

Add MS 41609, Warren Hastings Papers, Vol XXXVIII, Account of the Furniture ... in the Apartments at Daylesford House, January 1799

Add MS 13664, fols. 67, 68, William Lambton, Captain Lambton's Journal of a Tour through the Countries of Soondah and Bednore, 1799

Add MS 15504, Copies of paintings inside a temple at Madurai, Tamil Nadu, 1780s

Add MS 29170, Warren Hastings Papers, Correspondence, Vol XXXIX, 16 March 1786-11 September 1787.

f.133, Letter to G. N. Thompson, 18 July 1786

Add MS 29171, Warren Hastings Papers, Correspondence, 1787-1789, Vol. XL, fols. 104-05, Turner, Allipoor to Warren Hastings, 10 February 1788

Add MS 29172, Warren Hastings Papers, General Correspondence, 1790-1792, Vol. XLI f.31, Letter from Samuel Turner to Warren Hastings, Alipoor, 7 February 1790

f.40v, Colonel Kyd's letter from Calcutta, 12 February 1790

f.124, Warren Hastings to Samuel Turner, Purley Hall, 16 September 1790

f.125, Letter of Sir J. Sinclair, 17 September 1790

f.326, Letter Warren Hastings to Sir John D'Oyly, 30 September 1792

Add MS 29228, Warren Hastings Papers: Bills and Accounts, Vol II, 1778-1783,

f. 537, Receipt from William Hosea: Rec'd the 8th of January 1778 from Mool Chund Jeweller, on acct the Honourable Warren Hastings

Add MS 29230, Warren Hastings Papers, Bills and Accounts Volume IV, 1787-1794,  
f. 56. Diary 13 Aug 1787

Add MS 29231, Miscellaneous Bills and Accounts of Warren Hastings, 1749-1818

Add MS 29232, Warren Hastings Papers, Miscellaneous Private Papers 1688-1814

Add MS 36491-36516, Cumberland Papers, Vols 1-XXVI, Correspondence

Add MS 36497, f. 337

Add MS 39879, Warren Hastings: Journal, Vol. IX, 1 January 1784 – 7 September 1785

Add MS 39880, Warren Hastings: Journal, 8th September 1785 – 31 December 1787, Vol. X

Add MS 39881, Warren Hastings: Journal, 1st January 1788 – 23 October 1789, Vol. XI

Add MS 39882, Warren Hastings: Journal, 24th October 1789 – 17 June 1794, Vol. XII

Add MS 39883, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement Vol XIII, Diary E, 18 June 1794-31 May 1799, f. 159, Friday 31 August

Add MS 39884, Warren Hastings: Journal, 1st June 1799 – 12 April 1801, Vol. XIV

Add MS 39889, Warren Hastings: Journal, 1787-1794 – Tour of Scotland 13-27 September 1787, Vol. XIX, f. 33

Add MS 39902, Warren Hastings Papers Supplement, Vol. XXXII. Daylesford estate papers: accompts, statistics of livestock, notes on methods of cultivation, etc. f. 91, f. 92

Add. MS. 41609, Warren Hastings Papers, Vol. XXXVIII, *Account of the Furniture ... in the Apartments at Daylesford House, January 1799*

Add. MS. 41610, Inventories: Household goods of Mrs Warren Hastings (formerly Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin, at Daylesford, 1799-1853, Vol. XXXIX

Add. MS 41611A: 1853, The contents of Daylesford House, 1853, Vol. XL A.

Add MS 45418 Anderson Papers Vol. II. Letters from Warren Hastings to David Anderson 11 September 1788, f. 27

Add MS 62112 fol.122r, 124r-125r, Repton's Memoirs, Part II

General Collection c.6(33), Prospectus for the Brighton Athenaeum and Oriental Garden

IOR/A/1/2 Contemporary transcript of the original royal charter

IOR/D/162 fols.132-37: Letter requesting to be allowed to retire on full pay, Edward Moor to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, 29 Aug. 1806

IOR/D/164

f. 156, Medical certificate signed by Surgeon James Lynn, 18 Aug 1806

ff. 157-58, Medical certificate signed by Everard Home testifying injuries sustained by Major Edward Moor render him unfit for military service, 26 Aug. 1806

ff. 159-60, Letter from Edward Moor requesting to be allowed to retire on half pay at the end of his furlough should his health have not improved, 15 June 1807

IOR/E/4/864, Madras Dispatches.

IOR/F/4/1324/52472

*Extract from Bengal Political Consultations*, ‘To the Expence of Repairing the Menar at Kotub, Delhi 15 March 1829’

*Extract from Bengal Political Consultations*, ‘Letter to the Governor-General’, 4 September 1829

Mar 1829-Jan 1831. Repairs made to the Kutb Minar and Jama Masjid at Delhi - suggestions of Major Robert Smith for the future preservation of the Kutb Minar - repair of a well attached to the Jama Masjid

IOR/L/MAR/B/392, A & B. Gun salute.

IOR/MIL/9/112: 1802-1803, Cadet papers for Robert Smith

IOR/MIL/9/252/287-94, 1859-60, Cadet Papers for Robert Claude Smith

IOR/L/MIL/9/252, 1859-60, Robert Claude Smith, Application for Cadetship

IOR/L/MIL/17/4/384, *Extracts from Bombay Government and Bombay General Orders* (BGO), 11 November 1814

IOR/Z/E/4/35/J84; IOR/E/4/864, George Jolland appointed as Captain: ‘Madras Dispatches, Fort Separate 23 March 1770’

IOR/Z/E/4/35/S234; IOR/E/4/864 George Jolland appointed as aide-de-camp to General Joseph Smith

IOR/Z/E/4/43/S464, Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Smith, Bombay Infantry created C.B

L/MIL/10/131, ‘Muster Rolls’, Bengal Army 1772

L/MIL/II/1-2, List of Military Officers, Fort St. George, in the Honourable Company Service on the Coast of Choromandel 25th March 1771; 10 September 1772; 30th January 1773

Maps KTop.115.38, Mark Wood, *A Survey of the Country on the Eastern Bank of the Hugly, from Calcutta to the Fortifications at Budgebudge, Including Fort William and the Post at Manicolly Point, and Shewing the Extent and Situation of the Different Courses, Embankments, Tanks, or Broken Ground, Likewise Representing the Sands and Soundings of*

*the River at Low Water in Spring Tides, from January to May, from the Year 1780 till 1784,*  
published 1785

Maps SEC.1.(17.) Lieutenant Murdock Mackenzie, *Survey of Southampton River, the Brambles and Cowes Road with the adjacent parts*, 1783 [Admiralty Chart]

MSS Eur D5 Journal by Isack Pyke, Commander of the East Indiaman 'Stringer', of his ship's stay at Bombay and return voyage to England, 1712-1713

MSS Eur F140/4, Journal of W. Pitt Amherst, July 1790-September 1794

MSS Eur 140/163, Lady Amherst's Journal, Feb 1823, July 1783.

RB.23 b.4295, Catalogue of the valuable contents of Daylesford House, Worcestershire, The Seat of the Late Right Hon. Warren Hastings [1853]

RP3041 (microfilm) Metcalfe, Sir Thomas, *Reminiscences of Imperial Dehlie*, Album 1844 (Microfilm).

WD4147, The Journals of William Daniell, 1788-1792

#### **London: National Archives**

1871 England census, [www.nationalarchives.co.uk](http://www.nationalarchives.co.uk), consulted 10 September 2013

BT 356/10656: Redcliffe, Torbay, Devon, Construction of Seawall by Lieutenant Colonel R. Smith, 1854

C211/40/92: 35 Victoria: Robert Smith, of Warren Hill, Torquay, Devon. Subject: Mental illness. Chancery: Petty Bag Office: Commission and Inquisition of Lunacy

PRO PROB. 11/1031/257, Will of George Jolland of Fort Saint George, Madras, East Indies

PRO PROB 11/1115/335, Will of John Gould, Late of Calcutta, April 1784

PRO PROB 11/1878/169 Will of Anna Maria Appolonia Hastings, Widow of Daylesford House, Worcestershire, 8th May 1837. Collection: Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury

#### **London: Metropolitan Archives**

ACC/262/26 (original), ACC/0668/029 (photostat) *Great and Little Stanmore in the County of Middlesex, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Lord of these Manors*

ACC 453/10/, Release and Uses and Covenant of Surrender of Copyhold with Conveyance of Pews, 1815

k1273846, View of Stanmore Hall [the Dower House] in Middlesex, c.1800.

ACC/0668/029 (photostat), ACC/262/26 (original). Henry Sayer Survey of Great and Little Stanmore, which includes Stanmore Hill

**London: Principal Probate Registry (Holborn)**

England and Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations) 1858-1966, for Rober [sic] Smith.

Will of Proby Thomas Cautley, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, March 1871. Principal Probate Registry, Holborn, London (previously Somerset House).

**London: RIBA Archive**

COC/9, COC/10 (Box 9-10), C. R. Cockerell, Memoranda of a journey through Devon and Wales, 23 July 1806, Cockerell Family Papers, Series 7: Notebooks and Diaries

SA 31/2 Sezincote sketch

RIBA83591 New Market House, Bennington Street, Cheltenham, Screen and Arcade, 1822

**Maidstone: Kent Archives**

1852 OS Map of Margate 10ft/1 mile

1873 OS Map of Margate 10ft/1 mile

**Nice: Archives départementales des Alpes Maritimes, Nice, France**

NIA ADAM 1Z273, Registre des demandes des visas

NIA O3FS 0155 26/06/1858 to 15/10/1858, Expert report on the work undertaken by Colonel Robert Smith for the construction of his house Montboron (known as Le Chateau de l'Anglais) in the trial against the masterbricklayer Guiseppe Gilli, watercolour plan 23 August 1858

NIA OIFS 0298, 29/1/1855 to 29/4/1857, Sale of uncultivated land to Colonel Robert Smith, 25 April 1856

**Oxford: Bodleian Library**

BOD Dep.B.254, f.62, Papers of the Cockerell (later Rushout) and Grieve Families, Special Collections

BOD Johnson d.790: *Daylesford house, Worcestershire. The seat of ... Warren Hastings. A catalogue of the valuable contents of the mansion.* Which will be sold by auction by messrs. Farebrother, Clark & Lye, 22d Aug., 1853, and 5 following days, by order of the executors of the late mrs. Hastings. (London, 1853)

BOD, Oriental Manuscripts, Douce FF66 (10), James Christie, *A catalogue of Indian idols, Indian paintings, drawings etc which were collected by Mr Simpson during a long residence in India which will be sold by auction by Mr. Christie, at his great room, in Pall Mall, on Saturday, May the 26th, 1792* (London: 1792)

BOD, Vet. A7 b.16. *Sezincot Estate in the counties of Gloucester & Worcester* (Auction Catalogue) (London: Norton, Trist, Watney & Co., 1880)

**Oxford: Oxfordshire Archive**

OA PAR 85/15/T1/1, *Plan of the Parish of Daylesford*, 1844 (tithe map, formerly Worcestershire)

OA PO1-18271: Obituary of Warren Hastings, *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 29th August 1818

**Windsor: The Royal Collection Trust**

GEO/MAIN/26855: Bill from Thomas Daniell, 20 April 1808

**Published Primary Sources**

'Catalogue', *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy* (1787) (London: T. Cadell, 1787)

'Catalogue', *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy* (1788) (London: T. Cadell, 1788)

'List of Subscribers and their Donations Towards the Erection of a Statue to Warren Hastings at Calcutta. Calcutta, Sept., 14th, 1820', *Selections from the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies, January 1816-June 1822*, Vols. 1-8 (Madras: Higginbottom & Co., 1875)

'Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, 13 May 1848', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 9 (1848)

'The Furlough Regulations of India', *The Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs* (1851), p. 499

*A Collection of Treaties and Engagements with the Native Princes and States of Asia, Concluded on Behalf of the East India Company, by the British Governments in India, viz. By the Government of Bengal from the Year 1757 to 1809; By the Government of Fort St. George from the Year 1759 to 1809; By the Government of Bombay from the Year 1739 to 1808* (London: Hon. United East-India Company, 1812)

*A Comedy in Three Acts* (London: T. Cadell, 1778)

*A state of the British authority in Bengal under the government of Mr. Hastings. Exemplified in his conduct in the case of Mahomed Reza Khan. With a Debate upon a letter from Mobareck ul Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal. From authentic Documents* (London: H. S. Woodfall, 1780)

Aikin, Edmund, *Designs for Villas and other Rural Buildings* (London: John Weale, Architectural Library, 1835)

Allen, Thomas, *The History of the County of Lincoln, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 2, 2 (London and Lincoln: John Saunders Junior, 1834)

Anon., 'The Nabob: A Tale', from *Tales and Fables* (London: T. Hookham, 1788)

Anon., *Sketches of India, or Observations Descriptive of the Scenery etc. in Bengal: Written in India in the Years, 1811, 12, 13, 14* (London: Black, Parbury, and Allen, 1816)

Archer, Major Edward, *Tours in Upper India and in Parts of the Himalaya Mountains*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1833)

*Articles Exhibited by the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament Assembled, in the Name of Themselves and of all the Commons of Great Britain, Against Warren Hastings Esq., Late Governor-General of Bengal, in Maintenance of their Impeachment against him for High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, 2nd edn (London: J. Debrett, 1788)

Auber, Peter, *An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company and of the Laws Passed by Parliament for the Government of their Affairs, at Home and Abroad* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury and Allen, 1826)

Auber, Peter, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, 2 vols (London: William H. Allen & Co., 1837)

Austen, Jane, *Sanditon* (Unfinished, 1817), University of Virginia Library  
Barton, Bernard, *A New Year's Eve and Other Poems* (London: John Hatchard and Son, 1828)

Barton, Bernard, *A Widow's Tale and Other Poems* (London: B.J. Holdsworth, 1827)

Bayley, Robert Slater, *Notitiae Ludae or Notices of Louth* (Louth: William Edwards; London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1834)

Boswell, James, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3 vols (Boston, MA: W. Andrews and L. Blake. Greenough and Stebbins, 1807)

*Brighton Gazette*, 28 July, 4 August, 11 August, 20 October, 8 December 1825; 13 March, 6 July, 20 April 1826, 20 October 1826

Buchanan, Francis, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar ... for the Purposes of Investigating the State of Agriculture, Arts, and Commerce; the Religion, Manners, and Customs; the History Natural and Civil, and Antiquities, in the Dominions of the Rajah of Mysore, and the Countries Acquired by the Honourable East India Company, in the Late and Former Wars, from Tippoo Sultaun*, 3 vols (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies/Black, Parry, and Kingsbury, 1807)

Burke, Edmund, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: R and J Dodsley, 1757)

Burnell, A. C., *The Voyage of J. H. van Linschoten to the East Indies*, from the Old English Translation of 1598, 2 vols (London: 1885)

Busteed, H. E., *Echoes from Old Calcutta: Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the Days of Warren Hastings, Francis and Impey* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1897)

*Calcutta Gazette; or, Oriental Advertiser*, Vol 3, No 63 (1785)

Castell, Robert, *The Villas of the Ancients Illustrated* (London: the author, 1728)

Chambers, William, *Designs of Chinese Buildings, Furniture, Dresses, Machines, and Utensils* (London: s.p., 1757)

Chambers, William, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of The Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry, The Seat of Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales* (London: s.p., 1793)

Clarke, Richard, *The Nabob, or Asiatic Plunderers. A Satirical Poem* (London: the author, 1773)

Cumberland, George, ‘A Plan for the Improvement of the Arts in England’, in George Cumberland, *Some Anecdotes of the Life of Julio Bonasoni, a Bolognese Artist* (London: Wilson, 1793)

Dalrymple, Alexander, ‘Account of a Curious Pagoda near Bombay, drawn up by Captain Pyke who was afterwards Governor of St. Helena. It is dated from onboard the Stringer East-Indiaman in Bombay Harbour 1712... and communicated to the Society [of Antiquaries], Feb. 10, 1780’, *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* (January 1785) 323-332

De La Garde, Le Compte Auguste-Louis-Charles, *Brighton, Scènes Détachées D'un Voyage En Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie De J-P Aillaud, 1834)

Dugdale, James, *The New British Traveller or Modern Panorama of England and Wales*, 4 vols (London: John Cundee, 1819)

Egerton, Thomas, *A Catalogue of an Extensive Collection of Books: in all Languages and Every Branch of Science and Literature* (London: Thomas Egerton Military Library, 1796)

Ellis, Welbore, *A Report from the Committee Appointed to Examine into the Several Facts and Circumstances Relative to the Late Obstructions to the Executions of the Orders of this House* [the House of Commons], 30th of April, 1771, vol III (London: n.p., 1803)

Farebrother, Clark and Lye, *Catalogue of the Valuable Contents of Daylesford House, Worcestershire, the Seat of the Late Right Hon. Warren Hastings*, 22 August 1853

Fay, Eliza, *The Original Letters from India of Mrs. Eliza Fay* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1908)

Forbes, James, *Oriental Memoirs: A Narrative of Seventeen Years Residence in India*, 4 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1834)

Foster, Sir William, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619*, 2, 1 (London: Hakluyt Society 1899).

Garde, Le Compte A. de la, Brighton, *Scènes Détachées D'un Voyage En Angleterre* (Paris: Librairie De J-P Aillaud, 1834).

Gilpin, William, *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cobham, at Stow in Buckinghamshire* (London: B. Seeley, 1748)

Gilpin, William, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales, &c, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (London: T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, 1800)

Gilpin, William, *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to Which is Added a Poem, on Landscape Painting* (London: R. Blamire, 1794)

Gleig, Rev. G. R., *Memoirs of the Life of the Rt. Hon. Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of Bengal*, 3 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1841)

Glyde, John (Silverpen), ‘Suffolk Worthies and Persons of Note in East Anglia’, *Suffolk Chronicle*, 17 May 1859

Goodrich, Chauncey A., *Select British Eloquence, Embracing the Best Speeches of the Most Eminent Orators of Great Britain* (New York: Harper, 1852)

Gordon, Peter of Islington, *The Oriental Repository at the India House* (London: [1835])

Graham, Maria, *Journal of a Residence in India* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, 1812)

Grandpré, Louis de (translated), *A Voyage to the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, Undertaken in the Years 1789 and 1790* (London: G. and J. Robinson, 1803)

Grant, Charles and Christian Frederick Swartz, *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, Particularly with Respect to Morals; and on the Means of Improving it* (Written to the Honourable the Court of Directors 1792, published by the House of Commons 1813)

Grant, Colesworthy, *Rural life in Bengal* (London: Thacker, 1860)

Grierson, Herbert, ed., *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 12 vols (London: Constable, 1932-37)

Griffith, Samuel Young, *Griffith's New Historical Description of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826)

Halfpenny, William and John Halfpenny, *Rural Architecture in the Chinese Taste, Being Designs Entirely New for the Decoration of Gardens, Parks, Forrests, Insides of Houses, &c. on Sixty Copper Plates with Full Instructions for Workmen. Also a Near Estimate of the Charge, and Hints Where Proper to be Erected ... With the adition [sic] of 4 plates in quarto of roofs for Chinese and Indian temples, etc.*, (London: Robert Sayer, 1755)

Halfpenny, William, and John Halfpenny, *Rural Architecture in the Gothick Taste being Twenty New Designs, for Temples, Garden-Seats, Summer-Houses, Lodges, Terminies, Piers, &c.: on Sixteen Copper Plates: with Instructions to Workmen, and Hints where with most Advantage to be Erected* (London, Rober[t] Sayer, 1752)

Halfpenny, William and John Halfpenny, *The Country Gentleman's Pocket Companion, and Builder's Assistant, for Rural Decorative Architecture: Containing Thirty-two New Designs, Plans and Elevations of Alcoves, Floats, Temples, Summer-houses, Lodges, Huts, Grotto's [sic] &c., in the Augustine, Gothic and Chinese Taste, with Proper Directions Annexed*, 2nd edn (London: Robert Sayer, 1756)

Halhed, Nathaniel Brassey, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* (Hoogly, Bengal: 1778)

Hamilton, Alexander, *A New Account of the East Indies*, 2, 1 (London: C. Hitch, A Miller, 1744)

Hamilton, Walter, *The East-India Gazetteer*, 2 vols (London: Parbury, Allen, 1828)

Hardy, Horatio Charles (revised by his son Horatio Charles Hardy), 'East India Company Regular Commanders of the Regular Ships with their Order of Rank', *A Register of Ships Employed in the Service of the Honorable the United East India Company from the Year 1760 to 1810* (London: Black, Parry and Kingsbury, 1811)

Heber, Reverend Reginald, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India, From Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1828)

Hodges, William, *A Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic Architecture* ([London: the author, 1787])

Hodges, William, *Choix de vues de l'Inde, dessinées sur les lieux. pendant les années 1780, 1781, 1782, et 1783, et executées en aqua tinta* (London: 1786-88)

Hodges, William, *Travels in India During the Years, 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783* (London: the author, 1793)

Hope, Thomas, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration Executed from Designs by Thomas Hope* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme), 1807

Horace, *The Works of Horace*, trans. by Barten Holyday, 2 vols (London: Joseph Davidson, 1753)

Howard, Joseph Jackson and Crisp, Frederick Arthur, 'Moor of Great Bealings, Co. of Suffolk', *Visitation of England and Wales*, Vol 5 (privately printed, 1897)

*Illustrated London News*, 31 January 1846

Johnson, Alexander, 'Biographical Sketch of the Literary Career of the late Colonel Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India; comprising some particulars of his Collection of

Manuscripts, Plans, Coins, Drawings, Sculptures, &c. illustrative of the Antiquities, History, Geography, Laws, Institutions, and Manners, of the Ancient Hindús', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 1.2 (1834) 333-364

Johnson, Edward Gilpin, ed., *Joshua Reynold's Discourses* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1891)

Johnson, John, Lieutenant-Colonel, *A Journey from India to England through Persia, Georgia, Russia, Poland, and Prussia in the Year 1817* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1818)

Jones, John Winter, trans., *The Travels of Ludivico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508 (translated from the original Italian edition of 1510)* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963)

Jones, Sir William, trans., *Sacontalá; or, the Fatal Ring; an Indian drama [in seven acts and in prose], ... translated from the original Sanskrit and Prácrit* (Calcutta: 1789)

Keltie, John Scott, Thomas Maclauchlan and John Wilson, *History of the Scottish Highlands: Highland Clans and Highland Regiments*, vol. 2.8 (London: MacKenzie, 1870)

Kincaid, D., *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* (London: Routledge, 1939)

Knight, Richard Payne, *An Account of the Remains of the Worship of Priapus* (London: T. Spilsbury, 1786)

Knight, Richard Payne, *A Sketch, from the Landscape, a Didactic Poem* (London: 1794)

Knight, Richard Payne, *The Symbolic Language of Ancient Art and Mythology: An Enquiry* (New York: J. W. Boulton, 1892)

Lawson, Charles, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings: First Governor-General of India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1895)

Leveson-Gower, The Hon. F. (ed.), *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville 1810-1845*, 2, 2 (London and New York, 1894)

Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, trans. William Phillip, *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten his discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies: devided into foure books* (London: Printed by John Wolfe, 1598)

*London Gazette*, 10 June 1826

Long, Rev. James, *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government 1748-1767*, vol 1, (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1869)

Loudon, John Claudius, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, New Edition (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1835)

Loudon, John Claudius, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening, Comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture and Arboriculture, and Landscape-Gardening* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1822)

Loudon, John Claudius, ed., *The Gardener's Magazine and Register of Rural and Domestic Improvement*, 19 vols (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1826-1844)

Loudon, John Claudius, *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton Esq: Being His Entire Work on These Subjects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Lugar, Robert, *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas* (London: J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1808, repr. 1815)

Lushington, Stephen, *Correspondence between Sir Stephen Lushington Bart. and Warren Hastings Esq.*, (London: Richard White, 1795)

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 'Lord Clive (1840)', in *The Historical Essays of Macaulay*, ed. by Samuel Thurber, (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1894)

Mackenzie, Alexander, *History of the Munros of Fowlis* (Inverness: Mackenzie, 1898)

Mackenzie, Sir George Steuart, *General View of the Agriculture of the Counties of Ross and Cromarty* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813)

*Madras Courier* (10 Jan 1793)

Malton, James, *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture, Being an Attempt to Perpetuate on Principle, that Peculiar Mode of Building, which was Originally the Effect of Chance* (London: Hookham and Carpenter, 1798)

Mandeville, Sir John, *The Foreign Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: post 1755)  
*Mogg's New Picture of London and Visitor's Guide to it [sic] Sights* (London: 1844).

Moor, Edward, *A Compilation of all the Government, General Brigade and Garrison Orders: Minutes of the Council Commands of the Honourable Company or Regulations from 1750-1804 that are now in Force and Operating on the Discipline or Expenditure of the Bombay Army* (Bombay: 1801)

Moor, Edward, *Oriental Fragments* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1834)

Moor, Edward, *Suffolk Words and Phrases; or, An Attempt to Collect the Lingual Localisms of that County* (London: Hunter, 1823)

Moor, Edward, *The Hindu Pantheon: Sri Sarva Deva Sabha, The Audience Hall of the Gods* (London: J. Johnson, 1810)

*Morning Post and Fashionable World*, Issue 7382 (October 6, 1795)

Nugent, Lady Maria, *A Journal from the Year 1811 till the Year 1815 including a Voyage to and Residence in India with a Tour to the North-Western parts of the British Possessions in that Country under the Bengal Government*, 2, 1 (London: 1839).

Obituary of Edward Moor, *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle for the Year 1848* (May 1848)

Parkes, Joseph., and Herman Merivale, eds., *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1867)

Parliament Lords, Proc., Vict., *5 Papers Relating to the Claim of H.W.V. Stuart to the Barony of Stuart of Decies* (London: 1876)

Parry, Edward, *Cambrian Mirror, or A New Tourist Companion Through North Wales*, 2nd edn (London: Simpkin and Hughes, 1847)

Paul, James Balfour (Lyon King of Arms), *An Ordinary of Arms: contained in the public register of all arms and bearings in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Green, 1895)

Phillipart, John, *The East India Company Military Calendar: Containing the Services of General and Field Officers of the Indian Army* (London: Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1823)

Phillipart, John, *The Royal Military Calendar or Army Service and Commission Book*, 5, 4 (London: 1820)

Pitt, William, *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, ed. by William Stanhope Taylor and John Henry Pringle, 4 vols (London: John Murray, 1839)

Plaw, John, *Sketches for Country Houses, Villas, and Rural Dwellings* (London: J. Taylor, Architectural Library, 1800)

Pope, Alexander, 'Epistle IV: Of the Use of Riches', *Moral Essays, in Four Epistles* (Glasgow: R. Urie, 1754)

Price, David, *Memoirs of the Early Life and Service of a Field Officer, on the Retired List of the Indian Army* (London: William H. Allen & Co., 1839)

Price, Joseph, *The Saddle Put on the Right Horse, or, An Enquiry into the Reason Why Certain Persons have been Denominated Nabobs; With an Arrangement of those Gentlemen into their Proper Classes of Real, Spurious, Reputed or Mushroom Nabobs* (London: the author, 1783)

Price, Uvedale, *Essay on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purposes of Improving Real Landscape* (London: Hereford, 1794-1798)

Price, Uvedale, *Sir Uvedale Price on the Picturesque with an Essay on the Origin of Taste* (Edinburgh: Caldwell, Lloyd & Co., 1842)

*Reading Mercury*, 4 May 1789

Rees, Abraham, *The Cyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and Literature*, 39, 36 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819)

*Report of Cases upon Appeals and Writs of Error in the House of Lords, during the First Session of the Fifth Parliament of the United Kingdom*, 53 Geo. III. 1813, Vol. I (London: W. Clarke and Sons, 1814)

*Reports from Commissioners Session 4 Feb – 19 July 1864: Report of the Commission on The Memorials of Indian Officers*, 1, 16 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864)

Repton, Humphry, *An Enquiry into the Changes in Architecture as it Relates to Palaces & Houses in England including the Castle and Abbey Gothic, the Mixt Style of Gothic, the Grecian & Modern Styles, with Some Remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture* (London: J. Taylor, 1806)

Repton, Humphry, *Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton* (London: J. C. Stadler, 1808)

Repton, Humphry, *Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening: Including Some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture, Collected from Various Manuscripts, in the Possession of the Different Noblemen and Gentlemen, for Whose Use They Were Originally Written: the Whole Tending to Establish Fixed Principles in the Respective Arts* (London: J. Taylor, 1803)

Richardson, Joseph and others, *Criticisms on the Rolliad*, Part the First (London: J. Ridgeway, 1791)

Slave Trade Abolition Bill', House of Commons Debate 10 February 1807, *Hansard* 1803-2005, vol. 8, cc. 17-22 <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1807/feb/10/slave-trade-abolition-bill> [accessed 26 June 2018]

Spencer, Alfred, *Memoirs of William Hickey*, 4 vols (1775-1882), 7th edn (London: Hurst and Blackett, [n.d.])

Stewart, Charles, trans., *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan, in Asia, Africa and Europe, during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, and 1803*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814)

Sykes, W. H., 'Vital Statistics of the East India Company's Armies in India, European and Native', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 10.2 (May 1847), 100-131

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, *Collection of Travels Through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies ... being the Travels of Monsieur Tavernier, Bernier and Other Great Men* (London: 1884)

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, trans. V. Ball, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier Baron of Aubonne*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1889, trans. From the French edition 1676)

Teignmouth, Lord, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of Sir William Jones* (Philadelphia: Poyntell, 1805)

*The Builder*, vol 21 (17 January 1863)

*The Examiner*, 20 December 1812

*The Gentleman's Magazine and Historic Chronicle, from July, to December 1815*, 85, 2 (1815)

*The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol 78, pt 1 (1808)

*The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol 101, Part 2; Vol. 150 (October 1831)

*The Globe*, 14 September 1805

*The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings Esq., Late Governor-General of Bengal, Before the High Court of Parliament in Westminster Hall, on an Impeachment by the Commons of Great Britain for High Crimes and Misdemeanours ... From Feb. 7, 1786, until His Aquittal, April 23, 1795* (London: J. Debrett, 1796)

Thurber, Samuel (ed.), *The Historical Essays of Macaulay*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1894)

Tijou, Jean, *A New Booke of Drawings ... of Which the Most Part Hath Been Wrought at the Royall Building of Hampton Court &c* (London: 1693)

Trotter, Lionel James, *Warren Hastings: A Biography* (London: William H. Allen, 1878)

Turner, Samuel, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama, in Tibet; Containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part of Tibet* (London, n.p., 1800)

Twining, Thomas, and Rev. William H. G. Twining (ed.), *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago, with a Visit to the United States* (London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1893)

Valentia, Viscount George, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (London: 1809)

Wardlaw, Revd. Ralph, *The Contemplation of Heathen Idolatry an Excitement to Missionary Zeal! A Sermon Preached Before the Missionary Society at Surrey Chapel on Wednesday Morning, May 13, 1818* (London: The Missionary Society, 1818)

Wheatley, Henry Benjamin, ed., *The Historical and the Posthumous memoirs of Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, 1772–1784*, 5 vols (London: Bickers & Son, 1884)

Wilkins, Charles, trans., *Bhagvat-Geeta or Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon* (London: C. Nourse, 1785)

Wilson, Horace Hayman, *Mackenzie Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and Other Articles Illustrative of the Literature, History, Statistics and Antiquity of the South of India Collected by the Late Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India*, 8 vols (Calcutta: Asiatic Press, 1828)

Wilson, Lieutenant-Colonel W. J., *History of Madras*, 1, 2 (Madras: Government Press, 1882)

Wright, Thomas, of Durham, *Universal Architecture*, 2 vols (London: self-published 1755, and 1758).

Wright, William Aldis, *Letters of Edward FitzGerald*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan & Co. Limited; New York: The Macmillan and Company, 1901 first published 1894)

Wright, William, *Grotesque Architecture; or, Rural Amusement: Consisting of Plans, Elevations, and Sections, for Huts, Retreats, Summer and Winter Hermitages, Terminaries, Chinese, Gothic, and Natural Grottos, Cascades, Baths, Mosques, Moresque Pavilions, Grotesque and Rustic Seats, Green-Houses etc.* (London: I and J. Taylor, 1790)

Wroth, Warwick, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1896)

Wyse, Thomas, *An Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, Henry Colburn, 1829)

Yule, Henry, and Robert Maclagan, *Memoir of General Sir William Erskine Baker, K.C.B., Compiled by Two Old Friends, Brother Officers, and Pupils* (London: s.p., 1882).

## Published Secondary Sources

‘A factor in his success’, *Times Literary Supplement (TLS)*, 3 September 1999

‘Frescoes from the Villa Stati-Mattei’, *Collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/437274> consulted 9 September 2013

‘General Sir Hector Munro’, *The Tiger and the Thistle: Tipu Sultan and the Scots in India* <http://www.tigerandthistle.net> [accessed 4 April 2016]

‘Robert Smith’, *Herald Express* (12 September 2001)

‘Silver Birch’, Tree Guidance Document, Fenland District Council, February 2013, p.10. [www.fenland.gov.uk](http://www.fenland.gov.uk) consulted 7 May 2015

‘Sir Hector Munro’ <http://scottishmilitary.blogspot.co.uk> [accessed 12 April 2016]

‘The Dutch Cemetery in Chinsurah: A Digital Archive of Memories’  
<http://dutchcemeterybengal.com> consulted 21 March 2017

‘The Letters of Richard Barwell – XVI’, Vol. 18, Nos. 35-36, *Bengal Past and Present* (January to June 1919)

‘Warren Hastings: Statesman and Diplomat’ <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/warren-hastings> [accessed 13 February 2019]

Adams, W. E., *Memoirs of a Social Atom* (London: Hutchinson, 1903).

*Adapting the Eye: an Archive of the British in India, 1770-1830*, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven October 11-December 31, 2011, exh. Cat. (New Haven, Yale Center for British Art 2011)

Amoia, Alba della Fazia and Enrico Iruschini, *Stendhal's Rome: Then and Now* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia E Letteratura 1997)

Andrews, C. Bruyn (ed.), *The Torrington Diaries, between the years 1781 and 1794*, 2, 2 (London: Eyre and Spottiswood (Publishers) Ltd, 1935)

Appadurai, Arjun, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 3-63

Appleby, Charles B., ‘Captain George Jolland (1743-73)’, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Issue 39, No. 158 (June 1961)

Archer, Mildred, ‘An Artist Engineer: Colonel Robert Smith in India (1805-1830)’, *The Connoisseur* (February 1972)

Archer, Mildred, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*, 3 vols (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1969)

Archer, Mildred, *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786-1794* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980)

Archer, Mildred, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825* (London and New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979)

Archer, Mildred, *The Tranquil Eye: The Watercolours of Colonel Robert Smith [of] a Journey Down the Ganges 1830* (London: Al-Falak and Scorpion Communications and Publications, 1982)

Archer, Mildred, *Treasures from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle* (London: The Herbert Press in association with the National Trust, 1987)

Archer, Mildred and Graham Parlett, *Company Paintings: Indian Paintings of the British Period* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1992)

Aris, Michael, ‘Turner, Samuel (1759–1802)’, *ODNB* [accessed 4 Feb 2016]

Auerbach, Jeffrey A., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999)

Bamford, Francis, ed., *Dear Miss Heber: An Eighteenth Century Correspondence* (London: Constable, 1936)

Bamford, Lady, *Daylesford House Gardens* brochure, n.d.

Banham, Joanna, ed., ‘Cockerell, Samuel Pepys 1753–1827’, *Encylopedia of Interior Design*, 2 vols (Abingdon, Routledge, 2015)

Banham, Joanna, ed., *Encyclopedia of Interior Design* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015)

Barcus, James E., ed., *The Literary Correspondence of Bernard Barton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966)

Batey, Mavis, *Regency Gardens* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1995)

Baty, Patrick, *The Anatomy of Colour: The Story of Heritage Paint and Pigments* (London: Thames and HudsonPresto, 2017)

Bayly, C. A., *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1999)

Bayly, C. A., *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830* (London: Longman, 1989)

Bayly, C. A., ‘Wellesley, Richard, Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842)’, *ODNB* [accessed 28 March 2017]

Bearce, George D., *British Attitudes towards India 1784–1858* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961)

Bell, C. F., *Annals of Thomas Banks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938)

Bence-Jones, Mark, *Palaces of the Raj: Magnificence and Misery of the Lord Sahibs* (London: Routledge, 1973)

*Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. 37, Part 1, Serial No. 73 (Jan. – Mar. 1929)

Benson, A. C., *English Men of Letters: Edward Fitzgerald* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1905)

Berg, Maxine and others, ‘Private Trade and Monopoly Structures: The East India Companies and the Commodity Trade to Europe in the Eighteenth Century’, in *Chartering Capitalism: Organizing Markets, States and Publics*, ed. by Emily Erikson (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2015)

Birid, Kedar, ‘Geotechnical investigations to assess subsurface stratigraphy of West Coast of Mumbai - A case study’, Paper number 35 (2006), *International Association for Engineering Geology*

Blatchly, John, ‘The Lost and Mutilated Memorials of the Bovile and Wingfield Families at Letheringham’, *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 33 (1975)

Blechynden, Kathleen, *Calcutta: Past and Present* (London: Thacker, 1905)

Boner, Alice, *Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture: Cave Temple Period* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers PVT. Ltd., 1990)

Bowen, Huw V., ‘Asian Interactions: India, the East India Company and the Welsh Economy, c.1750-1830’ in *Wales and the British Overseas Empire* ed. by H. V. Bowen (ed.) (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 168-92  
Bowen, Huw V., ‘Clive, Robert, first Baron Clive of Plassey (1725-1774)’, *ODNB* [accessed 7 March 2019]

Bowen, Huw V, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Bowen, Huw V., ed., *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

Bowen, Huw V., ‘Wales and the Making of British India During the Late Eighteenth Century’, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, vol 22 (2016), 90-109

Bowyer, T. H., ‘Barwell, Richard (1741–1804)’, *ODNB* [accessed 19 Sept 2017]

Bowyer, T. H., ‘Hastings, Marian (*née* Anna Maria Apollonia Chapuset; other married name Marian von Imhoff, Baroness von Imhoff) (1747–1837)’, *ODNB* [accessed 10 June 2015]

Boynton, Lindsay, ‘The Furniture of Warren Hastings’, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol 112 (August 1970), 512-20

Bradley, Mark ‘The Importance of Colour on Ancient Marble Sculpture’, *Art History*, 32.3 (June 2009) 427-457

Brancaccio, Pia, ‘Review: Ajanta: A Brief History and Guide by Walter Spink’ in *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 26 (1996) 114-115

Brayley, Edward Wedlake, *A History of the Palace, Prefixed to Illustrations of Her Majesty's Palace at Brighton; formerly the Pavilion: executed by the command of King George the Fourth, under the Superintendence of John Nash* (London: Nichols, 1838)

Bremner, G. A. 'The Expansion of England? Rethinking Scotland's Place in the Architectural History of the Wider British World', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 18 (2018)

Brooke, John, 'III: The Members', HPO [accessed 24 October 2017]

Brooke, John, 'Newdigate, Sir Roger, 5th Bt. (1719-1806), of Arbury, Warws. and Harefield, Mdx', HPO [accessed 24 October 2017]

Brown, David, and Tom Williamson, *Lancelot Brown and the Capability Men: Landscape Revolution in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2016)

Brown, Ian, *From Tartan to Tartanry: Scottish Culture, History and Myth* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010)

Brown, Joyce, 'A memoir of Colonel Sir Proby Cautley, F.R.S., 1802-1871, Engineer and Palaeontologist', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, 34.2 (March 1980)

Bryant, G. J., 'Asymmetric Warfare: The British Experience in Eighteenth-Century India', *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (April 2004)

Bryant, G. J., 'Munro, Sir Hector (1725/6–1805/6)', *ODNB* [accessed 11 April 2016]

Bryant, G. J., 'Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol LXIV, 1, No. 177 (April 1985), 22-41

Buchanan, Rita, *A Weaver's Garden: Growing Plants for Natural Dyes and Fibers* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1987)

Buckland, C. E., *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors* (Calcutta: Lahiri, 1901)

Bulley, Anne 'Forbes, James (1749–1819)', *ODNB* [accessed 9 May 2017]

Busteed, H. E., *Echoes of Old Calcutta, Being Chiefly Reminiscences of the Days of Warren Hastings, Francis and Impey* (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1908), p. 111

Campbell, Gordon, *The Hermit in the Garden: From Imperial Rome to Ornamental Gnome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Cannon, Garland H., 'Sir William Jones' Persian Linguistics', in *Portrait of Linguists: A Biographical Source Book for the History of Western Linguistics 1746-1963, Vol 1: From Sir William Jones to Karl Brugmann* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2002)

Cannon, J. A., ‘Fletcher, Sir Robert (c.1738-1776), of Ballinasloe, Co. Roscommon and Lindertis, Angus’ HPO [accessed 20 September 2017]

Cannon, John, ‘Francis, Sir Philip (1740–1818)’, *ODNB* [accessed 21 March 2019]

Carder, Tim, *Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Lewes: 1990)

Carr, Rosalind, ‘The Gentleman and The Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 28.2 (2008), 102-121

Carter, Terry G., ed., *The Journal and Selected Letters of William Carey* (Macon, GA: Smythe and Helwys Publishing Inc., 2000)

Catalogue of the Drawings collection of the RIBA Vol C-F (Farnborough, Hants, England: Gregg International Publishers Ltd, 1972)

Cavendish, Richard, ‘Tipu Sultan killed at Seringapatam’, *History Today*, Vol. 49, Issue 5 (May 1999)

Chandrababu, Divya, ‘Forgotten Library: 200-year-old Madras Literary Society’, *The Times of India* (14 March 2014)

Chattopadhyay, Swati, ‘Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of "White Town"’ in *Colonial Calcutta Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 59.2 (June 2000)

Chattopadhyay, Swati, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006)

Chattopadhyay, Swati, ‘The Other Face of Primitive Accumulation: The Garden House in British Colonial Bengal’ in Peter Scriven and Vikramaditya Prakash, eds, *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007)

Chaudhuri, K. N., *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-40* (London: F. Cass, 1965)

Clifford, Helen, ‘Accommodating the East: Sir Lawrence Dundas as Northern Nabob? The Dundas Empire and Nabob Taste’, *East India Company At Home* (February 2013), <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Aske-Hall-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf> [accessed 8 October 2018]

‘Cockerell, Charles of Sezincote, Glos. (1788-1863)’, HPO [accessed 26 June 2018]

Codell, Julie F., ed., *Power and Resistance: the Delhi Coronation Durbars, 1877, 1903, 1911* ([New Delhi], The Alkazi Collection of Photography in Association with Maplin Publishing, 2012)

Cohn, Bernard S., *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1928)

*Collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, <http://www.metmuseum.org> [accessed 9 September 2013]

Collen, Edwin, Chapter XI: Army in The *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 26 vols, New Edition (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1907-1909), IV (1907)

Collingham, E. M., Imperial Bodies: *The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Oxford: Polity, 2001)

Coltman, Viccy, *Fabricating the Antique: Neoclassicism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006)

Colvin, Howard, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 3rd edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995)

Conner, Patrick, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979)

Cook, B. F, ‘Townley, Charles (1737–1805)’, *ONDB* [accessed 9 May 2017]

Copland, Ian, ‘Christianity as an Arm of Empire: The Ambiguous Case of India under the Company, c.1813-1858’, *The Historical Journal*, 49.4 (December 2006) 10025-1054

Cotton, Sir Evan, ‘More Hastings Letters’, *Bengal Past and Present*, 37.1, No. 73 (Jan. – Mar. 1929)

Cotton, Sir Evan, and N. R. Ray (ed.), *Calcutta, Old and New: A Historical and Descriptive Handbook to the City* (Calcutta: General Printers, 1980 first published 1909)

*Country Life*, 140 (1 December 1966)

Crosbie, Barrie, *Irish Imperial Networks: Migration, Social Communication and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Crowley, John, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain’s Global Visual Culture 1745-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 2011)

Curl, James Stevens, *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1980).

Curzon, Lord of Kedleston, *British Government in India: The Story of the Viceroys and Government Houses*, 2 vols (London: Cassell, 1925)

Cust, Lionel, and Colvin, Sidney (ed.), *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1914)

Daish, Penny, ‘The Hook: Country Residence of William Hornby’, in *The Hook: The Story of a Forgotten Country Estate*, ed. by Christopher Gibson (Warsash: Warsash Local History Society, 2013)

Dalrymple, William, *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005)

Dalrymple, William, ‘Gods and Monsters’, *The Guardian* (Sat. 25 August 2007) a review of the British Museum exhibition: *Faith, Narrative and Desire: Masterpieces of Indian Painting in the British Museum*, 2007

Dalrymple, William, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004)

Daniels, Stephen, *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999)

Davis, Richard H., *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997)

De Almeida, Hermione, and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005)

De Bruijn, Emile, *Chinese Wallpaper in Britain and Ireland* (London and New York: Philip Wilson, 2017)

Debroy, Bibek, trans., *The Mahabharata*, 10 vols (Haryana, India: Penguin Books India Pvy. Ltd., 2010)

Desai, Madhuri, Review of ‘Adapting the Eye: An Archive of the British in India, 1770–1830, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 11 October–31 December 2011’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 71.3, Special Issue on Architectural Representations 1 (September 2012)

Desmond, Ray, *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturalists* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1994)

Desmond, Ray, *Kew: The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens* (London: The Harvill Press, 1998)

Desmond, Ray, *The European Discovery of the Indian Flora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Desmond, Ray, *The India Museum 1801–1879* (London: HMSO, 1982)

Devine, Tom, *The Highland Clearances*, Refresh 4 (Spring 1987)

Dias, Rosie and Kate Smith, eds, *British Women and Cultural Practices of Empire, 1770–1940* (New York and London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019)

Dias, Rosie, ‘A Map of Kolkata in 1785’, *Picturing Places*, The British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/a-map-of-kolkata-in-1785>, accessed 6 April 2017

Dias, Rosie, ‘Memory and the Aesthetics of Military Experience: Viewing the Landscape of the Anglo-Mysore Wars’, *Tate Papers*, 19, Spring 2013  
<http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/memory-and-aesthetics-military-experience-viewing-landscape-anglo> [consulted 16 October 2013]

Dinkel, J., *The Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Philip Wilson and Summerfield Press, 1983)

Dirks, Nicholas B., *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006)

Dobson, Jessie, ‘John Hunter’s Animals’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 17.4 (October 1962), 479-486

Dodwell, Edward and Miles, James Samuel, *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army 1760-1834 (corrected to September 1837)* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Co., 1838)

Dodwell. Edward and Miles, James Samuel, *Officers of the Indian Army* (Bombay Presidency) (London: Longman, Orme, Brown and Co., 1838)

Donovan, H. E., ‘Adlestrop Hill Barrow’, *Gloucestershire Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol 60 (1938), 152-164

Dyson, Ketaki Kushari, *A Various Universe: A Study of the Journals and Memoirs of British Men and Women in the Indian Subcontinent 1765-1856* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Eaton, Natasha, ‘Hodges’s Visual Genealogy for Colonial India, 1780-95, in *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration*, ed. by Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (Greenwich: Yale University Press for the National Maritime Museum; New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2004), 35-42

Eaton, Natasha, *Mimesis across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India, 1765-1860* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013)

Edney, Matthew H., *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India 1765-1843* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997)

Egerton, Franklin, ‘Sir William Jones’, in *Portrait of Linguists: A Biographical Source Book for the History of Western Linguistics 1746-1963, Vol 1: From Sir William Jones to Karl Brugmann* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2002)

Everett, Nigel, *The Tory View of Landscape* (London; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994)

Farrington, Anthony, *Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia, 1600-1834* (London: British Library, 2002)

Fazio, Michael W. *The Domestic Architecture of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 2006)

Feiling, Keith, *Warren Hastings* (London: Macmillan, 1954)

Field, John, Henry Croone Colborne, Samuell Wales, ‘To the Right Worshipfull Streynsham Master, Esq., Agent and Governour &c. Councell’, 1680, in *The Diaries of Streynsham Master 1675-1680*, 2, 2 (London: John Murray, 1911)

Finn, Margot, ‘Anglo-Indian Lives in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33.1 (2010) 49-65

Finn, Margot and Kate Smith, eds, *The East India Company at Home 1757-1857* (London: UCL Press, 2018)

Firminger, Rev. Walter Kelly, *Thacker’s Guide to Calcutta* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1906)

Fisher, David R., ‘Callendar, Alexander (1741-92), of Crichton and Preston Hall, Edinburgh and Elphinstone, Haddington’, in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820*, ed. by R. Thorne, 1986

Franklin, Michael J., ‘Jones, Sir William (1746–1794)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

Frick, Margaret J., ed., *Macaulay’s Essay on Warren Hastings*, (New York: Macmillan; London: Macmillan, 1900)

Garlick, Kenneth and Angus Macintyre, A., eds, *The Diary of Joseph Farrington, September 1796–December 1798*, 17 vols (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1979)

Garnett, Richard, ‘Alexander, William (1767–1816)’, rev. Heather M. MacLennan, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004)

Gayraud, Didier ‘Le Château Smith: di Château de l’Anglais ou Château de Mont Boron’, *Nice Historique*, 113.1 (2011) 47-63

Gayraud, Didier, ‘Le Chateau Smith: di Château de l’Anglais ou Château de Mont Boron’, *Nice Historique*, 113, 1 (2011)

Gerritsen, Anne and Giorgio Riello (eds), *The Global Life of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Gifford, John, *The Buildings of Scotland: Highlands and Islands* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1992)

Gilbert, Arthur N., 'Recruitment and Reform in the East India Company Army, 1760-1800', *Journal of British Studies*, 15.1 (Autumn, 1975) 89-111

Gilmour, David, *The British in India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience* (London: Allen Lane, 2018)

Gilvary, George K., *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008)

Ginger, Andrew, 'Daylesford House and Warren Hastings', *The Georgian Group Report and Journal* (1989), 80-101

Godsden, Chris and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World Archaeology*, 31.2 (Oct. 1999)

Grant, Eric, and Alistair Mutch, 'Indian Wealth and Agricultural Improvement in Northern Scotland', 35.1, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* (2015) 25-44

Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo, 'Loss and the Families of Empire: Thoughts on an Irish Artist's Portrait of a Bibi' in *India in Art in Ireland*, ed. by Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Groseclose, Barbara, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay to 1858* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, 1995)

Gude, Tushara Bindu, 'Hybrid Visions: The Cultural Landscape of Oudh', in *India's Fabled City: The Art of Courtly Lucknow*, ed. by Stephen Markel (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, c.2010)

Guha-Thakurta, Tapati, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)

Gupta, Bishnupriya, 'Competition and Control in the Market for Textiles: Indian Weavers and the English East India Company in the Eighteenth Century', in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850*, (Leiden; Boston (MA): Brill, 2009)

H. B. 'Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings' *Notes and Queries*, vol 154 (3 March 1928), 152

H. B., 'Unpublished Letters of Warren Hastings', *Notes and Queries*, vol 155 (14 April 1928), 256-257

Haden-Guest, Lady Edith, 'MUNRO, Hector (1726-1805), of Novar, Ross' HPO [accessed 12 April 2016]

Hägele, Hannelore, *Colour in Sculpture: A Survey from Ancient Mesopotamia to the Present* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013)

Hall, Catherine and Sonya O. Rose, ‘Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire’, in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Hankin, E. H., ‘On Some Discoveries of Methods of Design Employed in Mohammedan Art’, *Journal of the Society of Arts*, Vol. 53 (1905)

Harle, J. C., *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994)

Harper, Marjory, ed., *Emigrant Homecoming: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2005)

Harris, John and Michael Snodin, *Sir William Chambers: Architect to George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996)

Harris, Lucian, ‘Suffolk’s Hindu Mystery’, *Country Life* Vol 197, No. 42, (16 October 2003), 110-111

Harrison, Mark, *Climates and Constitutions: Health, Race, Environment and British Imperialism in India 1600-1850* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Hart, Vaughan, *Sir John Vanbrugh: Storyteller in Stone* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008)

Harwood, Kate, ‘Some Hertfordshire Nabobs’, in *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany*, ed. by Anne Rowe (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2007) 51-77

Head, Raymond, ‘From Obsession to Obscurity: Colonel Robert Smith: Artist, Architect and Engineer – I’, *Country Life* (28 May 1981)

Head, Raymond, ‘India Fantasy in Devon’, *Country Life* (21 May 1981)

Head, Raymond, ‘Indian Fantasy in Devon’, *Country Life* (28 May 1981)

Head, Raymond, *Colonel Robert Smith (1787-1873) and Redcliffe* (The Torbay Civic Society [n.d.])

Head, Raymond, *Redcliffe and Colonel Robert Smith: A History of the Redcliffe Hotel and its Original Designer* (Paignton: Redcliffe Hotel, 1997)

Head, Raymond, *The Indian Style* (London: George Allen & Unwin (Publishers) Ltd., 1986)

Henderson, Mary Sturge, *Three Centuries in North Oxfordshire* (Oxford and London: Basil Blackwell, 1902)

Herbert, Eugenia W., *Flora’s Empire: British Gardens in India* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011)

Herrmann, Luke, ‘Delamotte, William (1775–1863)’ *ODNB*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 12 September 2015]

Hickman, Clare, ‘The Garden as a Laboratory: The Role of Domestic Gardens as a Place of Scientific Exploration in the Long 18th Century’, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 48.1 (2014), 229–247

Hill, S. C. *The Life of Claud Martin, Major-General in the Army of the Honourable East India Company* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1901)

*Historic American Buildings Survey*, May 1967, Library of Congress, Washington.  
<http://www.loc.gov> [accessed 16 May 2017]

Historic Scotland & Scottish Natural Heritage, *An Inventory of Gardens and Designed Landscapes, Supplementary, Vol. 2: Highlands and Islands*, 2003

Hodson, V.C. P., *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834*, 4 vols (London: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1947)

Hoffenberg, Peter H., *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001)

Holloway, J. Christopher and Neil Taylor, *The Business of Tourism*, 7th edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2006)

Hook, Holger, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2010)

Hornblower, Simon and Anthony Spawforth, eds, ‘Mercurius’ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Howes, Jennifer, ‘Indian “Company School” Art from 1780 to 1820: Collecting Versus Documenting’ in *In the Shadow of the Golden Age: Art and Identity in Asia from Gandhara to the Modern Age*, ed. by Julia A. B. Hegewald (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2014)

Howes, Jennifer, *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821)* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Hunt, John Dixon, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Massachusetts Press (MIT), 1992)

Hunt, John Dixon, ‘Pope’s Twickenham Revisited’ in *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin (Williamsburg, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984)

Ingham, Patricia, ‘The Language of Dickens’ in David Paroissien, ed., *A Companion to Charles Dickens* (Maldon, M.A. et al, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008)

Jacobson, Dawn, *Chinoiserie* (London: Phaidon Press, 2007)

James-Chakraborty, Kathleen, ‘The Dromana Gate: An Indian Fantasy in Ireland’, in *India in Art in Ireland*, ed. by Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Jasanoff, Maya, ‘Collectors of Empire: Objects, Conquests and Imperial Self-Fashioning’, *Past & Present*, No. 184 (August 2004) 109-135

Jasanoff, Maya, *Edge of Empire: Conquest and Collecting in the East 1750-1850* (London: Harper Perennial, 2006)

Jones, Mike, *Set for a King: 200 Years of Gardening at the Royal Pavilion* (Brighton: The Royal Pavilion, Museums and Libraries, 2005)

Jones, Owen, *The Grammar of Ornament*, (London: Studio Editions, 1986)

Jones, William, ‘On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India’, in *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by P. J. Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970)

Jordan, Caroline, *Picturesque Pursuits: Colonial Women Artists & The Amateur Tradition* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2005)

Kay, George, ‘The Landscape of Improvement: A Case Study of Agricultural Change in NorthEast Scotland’, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 78.2 (1962), 100-111

Kaye, M. M. (ed.), *The Golden Calm and English Lady’s Life in Moghul India* (Exeter: Webb and Bower, 1980)

Kearney, Hugh, ‘Four Nations in Perspective’ in *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*, ed. by Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Phillips (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 10-19

Keay, John, *The Honourable Company: A History of the English East India Company* (London: HarperCollins, 1993)

Keay, John, *The Spice Route: A History* (London: John Murray, 2006)

Keirn, Tim and Norbert Schürer, eds, *British Encounters with India, 1750-1830* (Hounds Mills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

Keith, Arthur Berriedale, *A Constitutional History of India 1600-1935* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1936)

Keith, A. Berriedale, ‘Firman of Shah Alam granting the Diwani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa to the East India Company, 12 August 1765’ in *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy 1750-1921*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1922)

Kelly, Alison *Mrs Coade's Stone* (Upton-on-Severn, The Self Publishing Association Ltd, 1990)

Kemp, Eliza F., *Sacred Groves and Local Gods: Religion and Environmentalism in South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

Khanna, Balraj, 'Human and Divine: 2000 Years of Indian Sculpture', in Balraj Khanna and George Michell, *Human and Divine 2000 Years of Indian Sculpture*, exh. cat. (London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2000) 9-55

Koppelkamm, Stefan, *The Imaginary Orient: Exotic Buildings of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Europe* (Stuttgart and London: Axel Menges, 2015)

Kosmetatos, Paul, 'The Winding Up of the Ayr Bank, 1772-1827', *Financial History Review*, vol 21.2 (2014), 165-190

Kuiters, Willem G. J., 'William Paxton 1744-1824: The History of an East Indian Fortune', *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. 111 (1992), 1-22

La Roche, Sophie, *Sophie in London: 1786*, trans. by Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd, 1933)

Lancaster, Clay, 'Oriental Forms in American Architecture 1800-1870', *The Art Bulletin*, 29.3 (September 1947), 183-193

Lanciani, Rodolfo, *New Tales of Old Rome* (London: Macmillan, c.1901)

Lawson, Philip and Jim Phillips 'Our Execrable Banditti: Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Albion*, 16, 3 (Fall 1984), 225-241

Lawson, Philip, *The East India Company: A History* (London: Longman, 1993)

Le Faye, Deidre, *A Chronology of Jane Austen and Her Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Le Faye, Deirdre, *Jane Austen's Outlandish Cousin* (London: The British Library, 2002)

Leaman, Terry, 'Gentry List', extracted from, *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Devonshire*, 1856, <http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/terryleaman/Tiscali/1856-Kellys-gentry.html> [accessed 1 November 2017] .

Legacies of British Slave-Ownership, University College, London.  
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/> [accessed 26 June 2018]

Lenckos, Elisabeth, 'Daylesford', *East India Company at Home* (August 2014), <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Aske-Hall-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf>. [accessed 15 January 2019]

Lever, Jill, ed., *Architecture Unshackled: George Dance the Younger 1741 – 1825* (Exhibition Catalogue, Soane Gallery, Sir John Soane's Museum, London 2003-January 2004) (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 2003)

Leveson-Gower, The Hon. F., ed., *Letters of Harriet Countess Granville 1810-1845*, 2 vols (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1894)

Levine, Philippa, ed., *Gender and Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)  
Lewis, W. S., ed., *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 48 vols (New Haven, 1937–83)

Little, Bryan (Presidential Address delivered at the Council House, Bristol, 19 April 1980), ‘Calcutta in the Cotswolds’, *Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Transactions* Vol 98, (1980), 5-10

Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie, *A Very Ingenious Man: Claude Martin in Early Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie, ‘Lucknow and European Society’, in *India’s Fabled City: The Art of Courtly Lucknow* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, c.2010)

Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie, ‘Martin, Claude (1735–1800)’, *ODNB*, [accessed 17 April 2017]

Llewellyn-Jones, Rosie, *A Man of Enlightenment in Eighteenth-century India: The Letters of Claude Martin 1766-1800* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003)

Lloyd-Jones, Naomi and Margaret M. Scull, *Four Nations Approaches to Modern ‘British’ History: A (Dis)united Kingdom?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

Long, Revd. J., *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government for the Years 1748-1767 Inclusive*, 2nd edn (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1973)

Losty, Jeremiah P., *Calcutta City of Palaces: A Survey of the City in the Days of the East India Company 1690-1858* (London: The British Library Board, 1990)

Losty, Jeremiah P., *Sita Ram’s Painted Views of India: Lord Hastings’s Journey from Calcutta to the Punjab, 1814-15* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2015)

Love, Henry Davidson (ed.), *Vestiges of Old Madras 1640-1800*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1913)

Lucas, Edward Verrall, *Bernard Barton and His Friends: A Record of Quiet Lives* (London: Edward Hicks Jnr., 1893)

Macaulay, Thomas Babington and Arthur D. Innes, ed., *Warren Hastings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Mackenzie, John, ‘Essay and Reflection on Scotland and the Empire’, *The International History Review*, 15.4 (November 1993), pp. 714-739

Mackillop, Andrew, ‘A ‘Reticent’ People? The Welsh in Asia, c.1700-1815’ in H. V. Bowen, ed., *Wales and the British Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 143-167

Mackillop, Andrew, ‘The Highlands and the Returning Nabob: Sir Hector Munro’ in Marjory Harper, ed., *Emigrant Homecoming: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 233-261

Malins, Edward, ‘Indian Influences on English Houses and Gardens at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century’, *Garden History*, 8.1 (Spring, 1980), 46-66

Markel, Stephen, *India’s Fabled City: The Art of Courtly Lucknow* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, c.2010)

Marshall, P. J., ‘Benfield, Paul (1741-1810)’, *ODNB* [accessed 11 February 2019]

Marshall, P. J., *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)

Marshall, P. J., ‘Hastings, Warren (1732–1818)’, *ODNB* [accessed 11 June 2015]

Marshall, P. J., ‘Johnson, Richard (1753-1807)’ *ODNB* [accessed 15 October 2018]

Marshall, P. J. (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume II, the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Marshall, P. J., ‘The Personal Fortune of Warren Hastings’, *The Economic History Review*, new series, 17.2 (1964), 284-300

Marshall, P. J., ‘Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron’ in Anne Whiteman, J.S. Bromley and P.G.M. Dickson (eds), *Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth-Century History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 242-262

Marshall, P. J. ‘William Jones, ‘On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India’, *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970)

Marshall, P. J., *The New Cambridge History of India: Bengal: The British Bridgehead: Eastern India 1740-1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Marshall, P. J., and William B. Todd, eds., Edmund Burke, Speech on Fox’s India Bill, 1 December 1783 (1783-1827) in *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, Vol. 5: India: Madras and Bengal: 1774-1785*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981)

Mathur, Saloni, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)

Metcalf, Thomas R., *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain’s Raj* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Midgley, Clare, ‘Introduction: Gender and Imperialism: Mapping Connections’, in *Gender and Imperialism*, ed. by Clare Midgley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

Mitter, Partha, ‘European Responses to the Sacred Art of India’, in *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by R. G. W. Anderson and others (London: The British Museum Press, 2003) 119-126

Mitter, Partha, *Indian Art* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001)

Mitter, Partha, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977)

Moir, Martin, and Lynn Zastoupil, eds, *The Great Indian Education Debate: Documents Relating to the Orientalist-Anglicist Controversy, 1781-1843* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013)

Monks, Sarah, *Making Love: Thomas Banks’ Camadeva and the Discourses of British India c.1790*, *Visual Culture in Britain*, 11.2 (2010), 195-218

Monkton-Jones, Mary Evelyn, *Warren Hastings in Bengal 1772-1774* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918)

Morton, H. V., *A Traveller in Rome* ([n.c.]): Methuen Publishing Ltd., 2002)

Morton, H. V., *A Traveller in Rome* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1957)

Mostyn, Thomas, J.H. Gense, and D. R. Banaji, *The Third English Embassy to Poona* (London: D. B. Taraporvala and Co., 1934)

Mowl, Tim, *Gentlemen and Players: Gardeners of the English Landscape* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000)

Mukherji, Panchanandas, ed., *Indian Constitutional Documents 1773-1915* (Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co., 1915)

Murphy, Damian, ‘Gems of Architecture: Dromana Gate, Co. Waterford’, *History Ireland*, 18.4 (July/August 2010)

Musgrave, Clifford, *Life in Brighton: From the Earliest Times to the Present* (Rochester: Rochester Press, 1981)

Musgrave, Clifford, *Royal Pavilion* (London: Leonard Hill, 1959)

Namier, Lewis, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1982)

Namier, Lewis, and John Brooke, *The House of Commons 1754-1790*, Vol. 3 (London: Secker and Walburg, 1985)

Nechtman, Tillman W., 'A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 1. (Fall, 2007)

Nechtman, Tillman W., *Nabobs: Empire and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Nelson, Robert S., 'Appropriation', *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. by Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Nilsson, Sten, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850* (London: Faber, 1968)

No 1: Major Edward Moor, F.R.S. – A Memoir', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 16 August 1938

Nokes, David, *Jane Austen: A Life* (London: Fourth Estate Limited, 1997)

Norton, Paul F., 'Daylesford, S. P. Cockerell's Residence for Warren Hastings', *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (October 1963), 127-133

O'Brien, Niall C.E.J., 'Villierstown and the Linen Industry'  
<niallbrn.wordpress.com/2015/03/09/villierstown-and-the-linen-industry/> [accessed 27 October 2016]

O'Kane, Finola, *Ireland and the Picturesque: Design, Landscape Painting and Tourism 1700-1840* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013)

O'Kane, Finola, 'Peripheral Landscapes? Scotland, Ireland and the Picturesque', *Journal of Scottish and Irish Studies: After the Homecoming*, 5, 2 (Spring 2012)

Orde, Anne, ed., *Matthew and George Culley, Travel Journals and Letters, 1765-1798* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Osborn, James M., ed., *Joseph Spence: Observations. Anecdotes and Characters of Books and Men: Collected from Conversation*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966)

Ovington, John, *A Voyage to Surat in the Year 1689* ed. by H. G. Rawlinson (London: Oxford University Press, 1929)

Parasnus, Rao Bahadur D. B., *Poona in Bygone Days* (Bombay: The Times Press, 1921)

Parissien, Steven, *Regency Style* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1996)

Patel, Divia and Nicola Costaras, 'Conserving the Copies of the Ajanta Cave Paintings at the V&A', *V&A Conservation Journal*, Issue 52 (Spring 2006)

Pemble, John, ed., *Miss Fane in India: The Indian Diary of a Victorian Lady* (London: Headline Book Publishing Ltd, 1985)

Peter Gray, ‘Famine and Land in Ireland and India, 1845-1880: James Caird and the Political Economy of Hunger’, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (March 2006)

Pevsner, Nikolaus and David Lloyd, *The Buildings of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967)

Phillimore, Reginald Henry, *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, 4 vols (Dehra Dun: Surveyor General of India, 1950)

Piper, Cecil, ‘Stansted Park and its Owners’ in *Proceedings Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 8.3 (1919), 289-301

Platner, Samuel Ball and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929)

Pomeroy, Jordana, ed., *Intrepid Women: Victorian Artists Travel* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005)

Port, M. H., ‘Blore, Edward (1787–1879)’, *ODNB* [accessed 16 May 2017]

Porter, David, ‘Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste’, in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35.3: Aesthetics and the Disciplines (Spring 2002), 395-451

Porter, David, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Prior, Mary Ann, *An Indian Portfolio: The Life and Work of Emily Eden* (London: Quartet, 2012)

Priston, Ian, *India House: A Short History* (Margate: Boys and Maughan Solicitors, 2017)

Pritchard, R. E., *Peter Mundy: Merchant Adventurer* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011)

Punch, Keith F., *Introduction to Research Methods in Education* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2011)

Quennell, Peter (ed.), *Memoirs of William Hickey* (London: Hutchinson & Co (Publishers) Ltd, 1960)

Quilley, Geoff, ‘William Hodges, Artist of Empire’ in *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration*, ed. by Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (Greenwich: Yale University Press for the National Maritime Museum; New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2004), pp. 1-7

Ramanna, Mridula, *Founders and Guardians of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai: Edward Moor* (Mumbai: India Source Books, 2014)

Ray, Romita, 'The Memsahib's Brush: Anglo-Indian Women and the Art of the Picturesque' in *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture*, ed. by Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1998), pp. 89-115

Ray, Romita, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013)

Rees, Lowri Ann, 'Middleton Hall', case study for the East India Company at Home, 1757-1857 <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/middleton-hall-case-study/> [consulted June 2014]

Rees, Lowri Ann, 'Might and Spite – The Former Middleton Hall Estate' in *Buildings and Places in Welsh History: A New History of Wales*, ed. by Huw V. Bowen (Llandysul, Ceredigion: Gomer Press, 2013), pp. 90-98.

Rees, Lowri Ann, 'Welsh Sojourners to India: The East India Company, Networks and Patronage, c.1760-1840', in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45.2 (2017) 165-187

Repton, Humphry, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982)

Repton, Humphry (Ann Gore & George Carter (eds)), *Humphry Repton's Memoirs* (Norwich: Michael Russell (Publishing) Ltd, 2005)

Richards, Eric, *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2007)

Ridgway, Christopher, and Robert Williams (eds), *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England 1690-1730*, (Stroud: Sutton in association with the National Trust, 2000)

Riello, Giorgio and Tirthankar Roy (eds), *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850*, (Leiden; Boston (MA): Brill, 2009)

Roberts, Henry D., *A History of the Royal Pavilion Brighton* (London: Country Life, 1939)

Robins, Nick, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

Robinson, John Martin (Historic Building Consultants), *Daylesford, Gloucestershire – The Orangery: Historical Support Document & Heritage Impact Assessment* (June 2011)

Rocher, Rosane, 'Sanskrit for Civil Servants 1806-1818', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol 122, No. 2 (April-June, 2002)

Rocher, Rosane, *Orientalism, Poetry, And The Millennium: The Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, 1751-1830* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1983)

Rowe, Anne, ed., *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany* (Hatfield: 2007)

Roy, Kaushik, *War, Culture and Society in Early Modern South Asia, 1740-1849* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011)

Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978)

Salmon, Philip, ‘Cockerell, Sir Charles, 1st bt. (1755-1837) of Hyde Park House Mdx. And Sezincote, Glos.’ HPO [accessed 10 April 2019]

Salmon, Philip, ‘Villiers Stuart, Henry (1803-1874), of Dromana, co. Waterford and Bramfield, Herts.’ HOP [accessed 30 June 2017]

Sanders, Julie, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016)

Saxon, Arthur H., *Selected Letters of P. T. Barnum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983)

Schmidt, Karl J., *An Atlas and Survey of South Asian History* (New York and London: M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1995).

Scriver, Peter, and Vikramaditya Prakash’s *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (2007)

Sebeok, Thomas A., (ed.), *Portrait of Linguists: A Biographical Source Book for the History of Western Linguistics 1746-1963, Vol 1: From Sir William Jones to Karl Brugmann* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2002)

Seccombe, Thomas, ‘Moor, Edward (1771–1848)’, rev. J. B. Katz, *ODNB* [accessed 12 September 2015]

Sercombe, R. and Head, Raymond, ‘Redcliffe Paignton and its Builder, Col. Robert Smith’, *Devon Life* [n.d.]

Sheppard, F. H. W., ed., ‘The Crown estate in Kensington Palace Gardens: Individual buildings’, *Survey of London: Northern Kensington*, Vol. 37 (London: London County Council, 1973)

Shields, Nancy K., *Birds of a Passage: Henrietta Clive’s travels in South India 1798-1801* (London: Eland Publishing Ltd., 2009)

Shiva, Vandana, *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution and Profit* (London: Pluto Press, 2002)

Shorto, Sylvia, *British Houses in Late Mughal Delhi* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018)

Sibthorpe, Jan, ‘Sezincote’ in *East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* (19 August 2014) [<http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/06/Sezincote-PDF-Final-19.08.14.pdf> [accessed 3 November 2016]

Simmons, John E., *Museums: A History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016)

Singh, Jyotsna G., *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: Discoveries of India in the Language of Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996)

Skempton, A. W. (ed.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Civil Engineers in Great Britain and Ireland, Vol 1–1500 to 1830*, (London: Thomas Telford Publishing, 2002)

Sloboda, Stacey, *Chinoiserie; Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014)

Smith, Kate, ‘Manly Objects? Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares’, *East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* (2014), pp. 1-22. <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/armorial-porcelain/> [accessed 25 March 2019]

Smiliosopoulos, Christina, ‘Written and Reused: Imagining the Nabob through ‘Upstart Iconography’’, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Spring, 2008)

Sorkhabi, Rasoul, ‘History Carved Out of the Deccan Traps’, *GeoExPro: Geoscience and Technology Explained*, 7.6 (2010), 66-71

Spears, Percival, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932, repr. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Spink, Walter M., ‘Ajanta History and Development: Cave by Cave’ in *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section Two: South Asia*, ed. by J. Bronkhorst, 18 vols (Leiden and Boston, MA: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2007)

Stake, Robert E., *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd., 1995)

Steiner, Frances H., ‘Building with Iron: A Napoleonic Controversy’, *Technology and Culture*, 22.4 (October 1981)

Stokes, Eric, *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)

Stone, Jean, *The Rustic Garden* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1992)

Strong, Roy, *Royal Gardens* (London: BCA, 1992)

Stroud, Dorothy, *George Dance, Architect, 1741-1825* (London, 1971)

Stuebe, Isabel, ‘William Hodges and Warren Hastings: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Patronage’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 115, No. 847 (October 1973), 657-666

Sue Berry, ‘The Georgian Provincial Builder-Architect and Architect: Amon and Amon Henry Wilds of Lewes and Brighton, c. 1790-1850’, *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol 150 (2012), 163-83

Sutherland, Lucy Stuart, ‘Barwell, Richard (1741-1804) of Stansted Park, Sussex’, HPO [accessed 19 September 2017]

Sutherland, Lucy Stuart, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)

Swaby, J. E., *History of Louth* (London: A Brown and Sons, Limited, 1951)

Tandan, Banmali, *The Architecture of Lucknow and Oudh, 1722-1856: Its Evolution in an Aesthetic and Social Context* (Cambridge: Zophorus Books Limited, 2008)

Temple, Richard Carnac (ed.), *The Diaries of Streyntsham Master 1675-1680*, 2, 2 (London: John Murray, 1911)

Terhune, Alfred McKinley, *The Life of Edward Fitzgerald: Translator of the Rubáiyát* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947)

*The East India Company At Home, 1757-1787: the British Country House in an Imperial and Global Context*, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/> [accessed 29 August 2017]

Thomas, James H. ‘County, Commerce and Contacts: Hampshire and the East India Company in the Eighteenth Century’, in *Proceedings Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 68 (2013), 169-177

Thorne, R. G., ‘Lushington, Stephen Rumbold (1776-1868), of Norton Court, nr. Faversham, Kent’, HPO [accessed 8 April 2017]

Thorne, R. G., ‘Paul Benfield, Woodhall Park, Watton Woodhall, Herts.,’ HPO [accessed 11 February 2019]

Thuin-Chaudron, Véronique, ‘Le Mont Boron Autour des Années 1860. Une Colline en Pleine Mutation.’ in *Nice Historique: Le Mont Boron: L’Urbanisation d’une Colline Niçoise*, Issue 113, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 2011).

Tillotson, Giles, *The Artificial Empire: the Indian Landscapes of William Hodges* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015)

Tobin, Beth Fowkes, *Colonising Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters 1760-1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005)

*Torquay Herald Express* (12 September 2001)

Tyack, Geoffrey *John Nash: Architect of the Picturesque* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013)

Tyack, Geoffrey, ‘A Pantheon for Horses: The Prince Regent’s Dome and Stables at Brighton’, *Architectural History*, Volume 58 (January 2015), 141-158

Usher, George, *Dictionary of British Military History* (London: A. & C. Black Publishers Ltd., 2006)

Walch, Peter S., ‘The Chimney-Piece at Daylesford’ *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 107, No. 743 (February 1965), 88, 90-91

Walpole, Horace, *Horace Walpole’s Correspondence*, Vol. XXIII (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967)

Watkin, David, *The British Vision: The Picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design* (London: John Murray, 1982)

Watkin, David, *The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell* (London: Zwemmer, 1974)

Weinbardt Jr., Carl J., ‘The Indian Taste’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, New Series, Vol. 16, No. 7 (March 1958)

Weitzman, Sophia, *Warren Hastings and Philip Francis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1929)

Whiteman, Anne, J.S. Bromley and P.G.M. Dickson (eds), *Statesmen, scholars and merchants: essays in eighteenth-century history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973)

Willasey-Wilsey, Tim, *The Enigmatic Warren Hastings and his Calcutta properties* (2014) <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/74.html> [accessed 28 February 2016].

Williams, Clive, *The Nabobs of Berkshire* (Purley on Thames: Goosecroft Publications, 2010)

Williams, Robert, ‘A Factor in His Success. The Missing Years: Did Vanbrugh Learn from Mughal Mausolea?’, *Times Literary Supplement* (3 September 1999), 13-14

Williams, Robert, ‘Vanbrugh’s India and his Mausolea for England’, in, *Sir John Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture in Baroque England 1690-1730*, (Stroud: Sutton Publishing in association with the National Trust, 2000)

T. Williamson, ‘Estate Management and Landscape Design’, *Vanbrugh and Landscape Architecture*, ed. by Christopher Ridgway and Robert Williams (Stroud: Sutton Publishing in association with the National Trust, 2000)

Williamson, Tom, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud: Allen Sutton, 1995)

Wright, Thomas, *Life of Edward Fitzgerald*, 2, 1 (London: Grant Richards, 1904)

## **Unpublished Secondary Sources**

Bourne, John Michael, 'The Civil and Military Patronage of the East India Company, 1784-1858' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 1977)

Chowdhery, Hasan, 'The Fabulous Nabob: Miscegnations of Empire and Vocation in Eighteenth-Century British Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Auburn University, Alabama, 2006)

Fellinger, Meike, '*All Man's Pollution Does the Sea Cleanse*': Revisiting the Nabobs in Britain, 1785-1837 (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Warwick, 2010)

Fraser, Stuart, 'Exiled from Glory: Anglo-Indian Settlement in Nineteenth Century Britain, with Special Reference to Cheltenham' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Gloucestershire, 2003)

Harris, Lucian Guthrie, *British Collecting of India Art and Artifacts in the 18th and early 19th Centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Sussex University, 2002)

Head, Raymond, 'Sezincote: A Paradigm of the Indian Style' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Royal College of Art, May 1982)

Holtzman, James M. 'The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1926)

Johnson-Roehr, Susan, 'Sezincote: The 'Hindoo' Aesthetic in British Architecture, 1795-1820' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Oregon, 1994)

Shorto, Sylvia, 'Public Lives, Private Spaces: British Houses in Delhi, 1803-1853' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2003)