The East India Company's Engagement with Indian Dress in England, c.1720-1800.

Beth Louise Richards

A Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Sussex

September 2019

STATEMENT

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for a degree, unless you are re-submitting the thesis or portolio for re-examination.

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SUMMARY

This thesis investigates Indian dress - textiles and jewellery - brought back from the East Indies by East India Company servants and their subsequent function and role in British metropolitan and regional society. Whilst focusing on the senior EIC figures of Robert and Margaret Clive and Warren and Marian Hastings, it identifies a community of Nabobs who purchased or leased estates in Sussex on their return from the East Indies; offsetting Berkshire, Essex and Hertfordshire as the accepted centres for returning servants. Through examination of primary source material, a deeper more complex understanding of family transmission of material – both textile and jewellery – is demonstrated. On a thematic and conceptual level, the research generates an innovative direction for the study of dress within art historical enquiry, by adopting an inter-disciplinary approach that employs social anthropology, ethnography and material culture studies. It addresses dress objects within a dualistic, distinctive framework, as both a material dress object and its representation in art. Identifying a gap in our established perception of Oriental visual material, it institutes a genre of works that depicted East Indian dress, as a distinct means of representation from other forms of highly prevalent Oriental dress such as *turquerie*. It demonstrates that dress encodes and mediates social and cultural differences, alongside concepts of identity,

nationhood and gender. By recognising the EIC's notoriety as a monopoly that made money through corrupt practises, it reveals how the Company infected eighteenth-century constructions of gender and otherness; unsettling ideas of materiality and femininity.

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Introduction

Art historians have measured the portrait of *William Fielding, 1st Earl of Denbigh* (Fig 1) as the archetypal illustration of an East India Company servant who travelled to India and Persia in the seventeenth century. He returned to England with fabulous wealth together with 'jewels, seventeen pieces of "Mesopotamia cloth," and "a pagan coat.'[1] The portrait commemorates Denbigh's journey and the impact it had upon his identity in a material sense: through the physical materiality of the portrait itself and of the objects incorporated within it. However, it is far from unique in this regard. According to Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass the portrait of *Sir Robert Shirley* (Fig 2) - painted ten years before the Fielding portrait - represents 'a more radical undoing of Englishness.'[2] Dressed in the livery of his role as Ambassador to the Persian court, Shirley is bodily assimilated into the non-European and non-Christian state that was led by the Shah. Vitally, they argue it was his dress rather than that of his nationhood that formed Shirley's identity. Viewing dress as an assemblage of objects that a developing world system created by trade, migration and colonialism, Jones and Stallybrass reason that hybrid subjects in portraiture performed identity creation. But they acknowledge that 'to us, and probably even within fifty years of its painting, this portrait looks like the epitome of orientalism.'[3]

However, in this thesis I want to challenge this statement by demonstrating that portraits from the long eighteenth-century reveal a more complex interaction with the cultural 'other', which engaged visual constructs and customs from this previous practice. This was an incorporation of dress objects whereby each piece exhibited its individual meanings. Dress and jewellery historians operate within discrete terrains of

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[1] A. Jones and P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). p. 53.
[2] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 55.
[3] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 55.

scholarship that on the whole, function independently from one another. Whilst dress historians examine cut and construction, alongside debates surrounding the history of fashion, jewellery historians identify the history of the construction and composite materiality of a specific jewel. For the jewellery historian the precise attribution of a piece is of paramount importance. Nevertheless, portraiture is used by both fields to contextualise and give visual confirmation of the periodisation of particular items of dress and jewellery. As such, art historians have generally circumvented the depth of knowledge required to fully interpret what elements of Eastern dress these portraits contain. Moreover, it is the infrequency of East Indian dress in art, as opposed to *turquerie* that this thesis will specifically examine within the framework of scholarship relating to the history of dress and jewellery as objects of material culture.

This thesis adopts an innovatory approach. It seeks to consider dress in its plasticity, as material objects because the analysis of dress within art is not related simply to cut and construction. This is an artistic approach that was formulated by the art historian Henrich Wolfflin who stated:

> Lines are there, and are to be felt everywhere, but only as the limits of surfaces plastically felt and modelled throughout by the tactile sense. The emphasis lies in this notion. The tactile character of the modelling.[4]

Wolfflin's argument provides basis for a new method of interpreting dress objects as art objects in themselves but also in their artistic depiction. The composite nature of dress is a juxtaposition of soft and hard; exhibited in the soft drape of a textile or in the hard mineralogy of jewellery. A variety of dress objects are assembled or reassembled by the individual wearer to construct an ensemble or whole. Personal agency is demonstrated by the combination of constituent fragments being drawn together within the creative process. This research interrogates what transpires when an artist enters this process and it seeks to understand how the creative practice of the subject

[4] H. Wolfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1950) p. 42.

becomes entwined with the artist's motivation to capture an effective composition whilst interpreting, representing and denoting the subject's agency through their dress choices. The exciting and expansive possibilities afforded in adopting this approach means that dress is interrogated dualistically; dress as an object and as dress objects in their representation in art. Operating within the reflexive framework of embodiment, the body provides a prime space for individuals to use 'dress' through performance, masquerade or theatre. Crucially, this central element of performance can be comprehended and translated beyond the narrow confines of the stage, to virtually all elements of eighteenth-century society, including service in the EIC.

The EIC reached its zenith during this period, both in power and influence. Founded in 1600 the EIC's servants imported dyes and textiles and built factories on the southern Persian coast and in Calcutta. Here they established lucrative monopolies on the production of local textiles, such as silks and calicoes.[5] It was this monopolisation through frequently corrupt practices that led to the Company's increasing notoriety during the eighteenth century.[6] Yet its fluctuating fortunes and perception that were reported in the English press, progressed from deeply negative to an increasingly nationalistic and patriotic discourse.[7] Historically and politically, this was a period of intense upheaval and change. During the 1760s, British imperial holdings in America far outstripped the nation's holdings in the East Indies. However, with the loss of the Atlantic empire by the 1780s, governance of India became progressively important but also problematic.[8] Moreover, the French Revolution stimulated fears of the radicalisation of British politics and acted as a potential threat to the stability of British

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[5] Jones and Stallybrass*, Renaissance Clothing*, p. 52.
[6] N. Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire: India and the Creation of Imperial Britain* (London: Belknap, 2006). p. 9.
[7] J. Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750-1800*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 222-234.
[8] D. O'Quinn, *Staging Governance: Theatrical Imperialism in London*, 1770-1800 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 43-44.

society at the time of the developing danger posed by Napoleon.[9] For the EIC, the 1770s was a period of developing scrutiny of their affairs following the credit crisis and the need for the Company to be supported financially by the British Government.[10] This sits within the context of the emergent challenge to notions of nationhood and Britishness within politics and society. Early imperialism had become linked to the central notion of colonies acting as facilitators of national prestige and success that now placed Britain's global positioning at the centre of these dialogues.

Until now despite its power and reach the EIC has been marginalised in art historical scholarship. By contrast, there is a huge literature in history and local history. However, contemporary scholarship led by Margot Finn created a paradigm shift in our understanding of the EIC's relationship with material culture through the work of *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857, The British country house in an imperial and global context.*[11] Expanding out from this research, this thesis examines Indian dress - textiles and jewellery – that were brought back from the East Indies by Company servants and there subsequent meaning in British society. I demonstrate how portraits painted in India and back in Britain challenge our perceptions of the EIC servants' relationship with their public and private lives as expressed within their art. Upholding this steadiness was fundamental to successful EIC marriages. Textiles and jewellery acquired from the East Indies participated in establishing and sustaining status through correct societal conformity when worn in public. Whilst art works commissioned in this context were hung on the walls of newly acquired estates with the profits acquired from service, they offered visual imagery for the domestic environment that importantly commemorated travel and EIC service.

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[9] O'Quinn, *Staging Governance,* p. 119.
[10] Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire,* pp. 10-19. For more detail on EIC affairs see Robins, Nick *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational*, (London: Pluto, 2012), p. 12.
[11] This was a 3-year Leverhulme Trust-funded project research project based in the Department of History at the University of Warwick (2011-2012) and University College London (2012-2014). blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah.

The opposition between town and country in 18th century and 19th century discourse provides a central theoretical premise. This macro history of the City of London that was at the heart of a metropolitan culture that reached out globally is closely aligned with the history of the EIC, with its central London headquarters and docks. As Roy Porter writes 'London reached out all over the kingdom, primarily through its economic tentacles.'[12] By contrast, the micro or local history relating to the EIC is underexplored.

This research examines the status of Indian dress within the broader remit of the Nabob in Sussex to introduce a regional, rural perspective of the place of Indian dress in the integration of the returned EIC employee. Its objective is to understand the translation, adoption and hybridisation of Indian dress within Britain and as such, establish the degree to which the EIC permeated domestic society and culture outside of the traditional environs of London and the Home Counties. The focus on Sussex is intended to widen and particularise the argument presented in *The East India Company at Home* to address the significance of 'the EIC for British society and culture outside the ranks of the Company's families, and beyond the confines of London.'[13] Their research terrain focused on estates in Berkshire, Essex and Hertfordshire.'[14] The emphasis of the project was 'to locate Company men in wider social and cultural perspectives. Pushing beyond the stereotypes to explore imperial practices that include erasure, evasion and reconfiguration.'[15]

Building on this work, my project concentrates on four Sussex individuals and their families: Richard Bourchier, Ades (Chailey, East Sussex), c.1760, William Frankland, Muntham Court (Findon, West Sussex), 1768, Sir Elijah Impey, Newick Park (Newick,

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[12] R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Penguin, 1982), p. 39.
[13] *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857, The British country house in an imperial and global context.*
[14] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home*, p. 10.
[15] M. Finn and K. Smith (eds), Finn, *The East India Company at Home* (London: UCL Press, 2018), p. 9.

East Sussex), 1794 and Ewan Law, Horsted Place (Uckfield, East Sussex), 1810 (Fig 3). These have been identified from the recent work of Stephanie Barczweski *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* where she states:

> The geographical distribution of nabob estates reveals further patterns…shows an overwhelming concentration in the South East of England, where 35.8 per cent, or more than one in three, of the total estates purchased were located. [16]

William Frankland and Richard Bourchier represent early servants who had a professional relationship with Robert Clive. Whilst as a contrast, Elijah Impey and Ewan Law had proximity to Warren Hastings.[17] Nabobs mainly chose to reside in the southeast for three main reasons: firstly immediacy to London for trade, secondly because they were habitually members of Parliament and finally, these counties were suitably rural to deem them landed gentlemen. An estate in the county of Sussex, with its developing turnpikes afforded closeness to the market towns of Lewes (Eades, Horsted Place and Newick Place) and Horsham (Muntham), alongside nearness to the developing seaside pleasure resorts of Brighthelmstone [Brighton}, Worthing and Littlehampton. Archival material held at The Keep - the East Sussex Record Office, Brighton (ESRO) and the holder of the University of Sussex Special Collections - provides evidence of the estates purchased or rented by these individuals and how Nabobs living beyond the boundaries of London maintained their EIC networks in the rural domain of Sussex. Probate records reveal what material culture they owned, how it was passed through the family through transmission and most critically, whether the influence of Clive and Hastings impacted on their material wealth and status as both private families but also as families of the Company. The local archives of the Keep are supplemented with research at national centres of research such as the NA, BL, BM,

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[16] S. Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 256.

[17] Barczweski, *Country Houses,* p. 55. She states that Berkshire was the most popular with twenty-four Nabob estates, Surrey with sixteen and Essex with twelve. The second concentration of Nabob estates was in Scotland, with 19.4% of purchases.

NA and the NAM, and other regional museums and archives in Gloucester, Cheltenham and Oxford.

An early encounter with the portrait *A Windswept Girl in a Turban Walking with a Dog* (Fig 30), attributed to Arthur William Devis, led me to question the dominance of *turquerie* in portraiture during the eighteenth-century, particularly in the framework of the East Indies. A trend for *turquerie* was directly inspired by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's embodied experience of living with her husband the Ambassador at the Ottoman court. Moreover, *turquerie* provided the link between portraiture and masquerade with the two fields functioning in complete mutuality during this period. Here Aileen Ribeiro's *Dress worn at Masquerades in England 1730-1790* proved pivotal.[18] Written in 1984 Ribeiro's thesis delivered a supremely detailed visual documentation of the types of costume worn to masquerade and the portraits commissioned to record the chosen ensembles. Ribeiro argued that the selection of dress and its accessories was vital to interpreting fully the eighteenth-century's use of dress in capturing the 'other' within the established societal arenas of portraiture and masquerade. The exotic dress encounter was dictated by *turquerie* and there seemed little consideration for a more nuanced interpretation. It became apparent that there was a large gap in scholarship. As such, it is the exploration and examination of the East Indian dressed figure that stimulates this research and it is the central foundation of enquiry throughout.

My awareness of Ribeiro's work made me realise that works dealing with dress were on the whole, located within the Anthropology section of the library rather than the Art section. Marcia Pointon's *Brilliant Effects*: *A Cultural History of Gemstones and Jewellery* is classified under Anthropology, rather than Art History in the University of

[18] A. Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades In England, 1730-1790, and its relation to fancy dress in portraiture* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984).

Sussex library and this is emphasised in its self-designated title as a 'cultural' history.[19] It is a work of art historical scholarship dealing with the presence of jewellery within art and the illustrations largely include works of art such as paintings and prints but also images of objects pertaining to jewellery. It is indeed a 'cultural' history but at its very centre is art in all its decorative forms. It is the position of this thesis that such categorisations limit our ability as art historians to engage fully with the conceptual framework surrounding dress within art. By contrast, the comparatively rare scholarship related to specific dress objects within art, reveals how an immediate dialogue can be generated between the intense scrutiny of a specific dress object, its socio-cultural context and its associated art historical depiction.

Sheer presence: The Veil in Manet's Paris examines the veil worn by middle class women in nineteenth-century Paris.[20] The work explores and extrapolates the veil's visual representation within its socio-cultural context and extends the parameters of its enquiry into the contemporary contextualisation of the veil worn in society today. In discussing Gustave Caillebotte's *Paris Street: Rainy* Day (Fig 4) it exposes a scholarly oversight by stating 'while this picture has interested scholars particularly in terms of its urban context and formal complexities, none of their interpretations has noted that this women is wearing a veil.'[21] Whilst this work does not apply directly to my topic of enquiry, the question of oversight - in relation to the significations of dress in art - is highly relevant for my research: for the veil, we can substitute the turban, or the *sarpech* or other items of Indian dress to draw attention to them as signifiers within visual imagery.

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[19] M. Pointon, *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).
[20] M. Kessler, *Sheer Presence: The Veil In Manet's Paris* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).
[21] Kessler, *Sheer Presence*, p. xvii.

Exploration of the dress 'ensemble' enables a reflexive approach to its constituent parts such as its accessories or adjuncts. In this regard the historiographical value of Michael Snodin and Maurice Howard's work *Ornament: A Social History since 1450* cannot be underestimated.[22] Approaching ornamentation as a form of self-fashioning Snodin and Howard prompt a methodology that observes ornamentation throughout society in art and design and crucially they extend this remit to include dress. These themes and concepts are incorporated within my argument. However, my approach is to move the debate onward from the concept of ornamentation by examining dress and portraiture within a range of anthropological theories. My research relies on anthropological theory as a discipline and more precisely, anthropology that developed from the juncture of European encounter with colonialism and the natural sciences and its influence from the Darwinian revolution.[23] Since social and cultural anthropology looks to human organisation and their relationships with their associated artifacts people and their things - dress is a principal topic for study. Dress evokes a society's past and it is this area of intersection that allows art history to explore visual material - part of the process of 'making' – that is central to anthropological enquiry.

The diverse writings within *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural perspective* by Arjun Appadurai are therefore, central to this research's arguments and conceptualisation.[24] Diamonds and textiles were examples of high value commoditised objects originating from the East Indies but transmitted and circulated within EIC families on their return to Britain. Obtained during service in the EIC, on the one level gemstones functioned as financial commodities that were used to maintain and secure an individual's wealth and status when they returned. Whereas on another level, when

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[22] M. Snodin and M. Howard, *Ornament: A Social History Since 1450* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).
[23] J. Monaghan, et al., *Social and Cultural Anthropology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 1.
[24] A. Appadurai (ed), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

worn in society these jewels operated as active cultural markers that communicated their association to the East Indies. Acquired in the courtly context of the reciprocal gift-culture that continued to prevail in Mughal society, they immediately evoked luxury and status through their magnificent materiality. These rituals of exchange and reward enable the discussion to engage with a series of relevant anthropological concepts such as: gender, identity, kinship and descent, marriage, family and household, commodity, production, reciprocity, exchange, embodiment and rites of passage. My research uses these concepts to create new understandings of visual culture linked to the EIC. This modus looks specifically at the details of dress, a clear tenant of Pointon's *Brilliant Effects* in which she asserts that to truly understand and absorb the cultural significations of dress within portraiture, accessories must be intensely scrutinised.[25] Accessories work to further ornament and adorn the body but they also reveal personal choice in presentation and depiction. Each accessory is additionally an object in itself and thus lends to a series of anthropological and philosophical investigations such as biography, itinerary and relationality.

Moreover, this means deconstructing and challenging the function of an object of dress as a 'prop' used by an artist because as a construct, this arguably limits our understanding of the placement of a dress object within an image. Certain artists have consistently used items of dress as artistic props as they acted as compositional or creative 'devices' within their works. For example, this can be observed in a series of portraits created by Joseph Wright of Derby around 1769–1770, in which a piece of striped, transparent muslin is arranged around the shoulders of his female subjects. This is evident in *Mrs Thomas Parke* (Fig 5).[26] At this period muslin was a textile sourced only from the East Indies and whilst the subjects are painted wearing the

[25] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* pp. 1-10.
[26] Other portraits that feature this striped muslin include: *Catherine Sophia Macauley*, c.1770, Brighton and Hove Museums and Art Galleries, *Mrs Catherine Swindell*, 1769-1772, New Walk Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester Arts and Museums Service, *Mary Bold, Mrs Thomas Hunt III*, c.1765, NT, Lanhydrock, Cornwall, *Mrs Frances Hasketh*, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

highly fashionable *turquerie,* the recurrent striped muslin is a consistent East Indian trope. A portraitist who operated in the Midlands, Wright of Derby used the contemporary language of available textiles in his locality to create the 'exotic' look *turquerie* required. The textile appears in each portrait as a prop that aided the drape and flow within the composition by drawing the gaze to the head and downwards to the décolletage. Significant here is Anne Hollander's counter position that it was dress that fashioned art and she observed that 'the Orient offered an alternative kind of at-home or fancy-dress wear in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries.'[27] Whilst Hollander's approach is valuable, this research seeks to expand the narrow interpretation of Eastern dress as a simple manifestation of costume within portraiture. Its aim is to demonstrate that the EIC in the eighteenth century used East Indian dress in a range of ways that included a professional capacity that was related to the tradition of livery as taken from the example of *Sir Robert Shirley.* (Fig 2).

Before providing a summary of the following chapters, I will now establish the conceptual framework of this research. At its core are anthropological theories relating to dress and the body. Its ideological and philosophical approach is strongly rooted in Edward Said's *Orientalism.*[28] Said reasoned that Western dominance over the 'other' was established through the construct of the 'Orient'. 'Otherness' was a necessary paradigm in which hierarchical interaction could be maintained. For Said the 'Other' was a homogenous entity that did not differentiate between diverse cultural regions. Accordingly, interrogation of the 'Orient' through dress expands our understanding of the depicted imperial encounter because dress encodes and mediates social and cultural differences, such as identity, nationhood and gender.

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[27] A. Hollander, *Fabric of Vision: Dress and Drapery in Painting* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Art, 2016), p. 104.
[28] E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).

A substantial part of my research assesses jewellery as one of the most significant commodities acquired and worn by EIC servants. Jewellery counterbalances the tactile nature of textiles with the physically hard and static form of the mineral based gemstones from the East Indies. These were objects of the highest material significance but there was a dichotomy between their highest visibility when worn in public and their invisibility when stored in a family vault. Despite these inherent oppositional factors, there are unmistakable interconnections between textiles and jewellery. Like textiles, jewels were mobile and portable commodities, which were specific to the geographical location, with diamonds from Golconda and wool from Kashmir. Furthermore, their Mughal heritages coalesced and hybridised through Company trade and human engagement.

Gemstones were extracted through the physical labour of mining but they were then crafted into highly desirable objects through the jeweller's endeavour, labour and design. As ornaments of the body, they conventionally spoke of wealth since they were made of rare materials.[29] Jewellery intersects directly with discussions surrounding the relationship concerning gender and jewellery. In English society the wearing of jewellery at this period was predominately for women. However, it was through jewellery customs that the differences in English and Mughal cultures were most evident, particularly in the masculine approach to individual adornment that contrasted so sharply. For Mughal men jewellery reflected wealth and high status whilst for the English men overt masculine display in the wearing of jewellery demonstrated worrying effeminacy. Pointon's seminal work relating to jewellery in art opens up this expanding field of enquiry within the art historical context 'to begin to consider jewels and jewellery in representation as part of the overall process of communication.'[30] And in this aspect, I will build on Pointon's work by introducing textiles to the conversation to consider the

[29] Snodin and Howard, *Ornament,* p. 109.
[30] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects.* p. 5.

intersections that are identified within the imagery. In particular, I will expand and agitate the accessories of dress.

Through dress and other material goods the EIC had a major influence on the eighteenth-century constructions of gender and otherness. The EIC was seen to unsettle ideas of materiality and femininity. Amanda Vickery's work on eighteenth-century culture particularly addresses the role of material culture as historical evidence.[31] She argues that during this period women increasingly regarded dress as a powerful expression of the 'self' in which metropolitan chic was agreed as the highest level of attainment. Her work is relevant to this research because it illustrates how dress as art historical evidence can expand our understanding of the issues of gender through the EIC.

The issue of gender is a thread that persists throughout the thesis. In chapter one the portrayal of western women wearing a turban interrelated to the East Indies, a more unusual and less identified example of the accessory than the highly prevalent turbans worn as part of *turquerie,* is examined as part of the broader dynamic of imperial bodies and their dissemination in English society. In chapter two the male experience of this form is investigated as a counter-balance through a discussion surrounding the professional adoption of the headdress for professional service in the Company. Chapter five looks at queenly bodies as contested spaces where the wearing of diamonds was interpreted as metaphors for EIC corruption and political instability. It also considers the female role in securing familial status through transmission by marriage and the agency of women in EIC family economies. This theme continues in

[31] A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998) and J. Styles and A. Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

chapter six, which evaluates the complexity of familial inheritance that was centered on the continued importance of patrimony. The works of Emma Tarlo[32] and Janet Finch and Jennifer Mason[33] have been influential here. They have aided my scholarship through their examination of family relationships to material culture in domestic and global contexts. Recent scholarship on identity and its connection to the 'self' has also been fundamental to my approach, in particular theories of auto/biography because they are part of a personal narrative and life experience. This relates to levels of individual agency that were facilitated by the mobility of East Indian textiles, with dress offering a voice to the underrepresented other such as, the gendered other and the racial other. Relevant texts referenced include Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, Joanne Bubolz Eicher and Kim Karen Johnson [34], Peggy Phelan[35], and Carol Tulloch and Sid Shelton [36].

All chapters also deal with kinship and descent in some capacity through close scrutiny of household structures and networks. These facets were frequently expressed through portraiture but additionally through familial gifts of dress items that were associated with conventional gendered gift practices of the period. Chapter three examines the place of Kashmir shawls as EIC gifts for female members, and chapter six scrutinises the relationship between a Sussex estate and familial retention of dress objects, whether depicted or material. Influential here has been the work of Margot Finn[37], Jane Bennett[38] and Brian Spooner[39] in order to understand the systems of circulation and

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[32] E. Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
[33] M. Finch and J. Mason, *Passing On: Kinship and Inheritance in England* (London: Routledge, 2000).
[34] M. Roach-Higgins, et al., *Dress and identity* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1995).
[35] P. Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993).
[36] C. Tulloch, et al., *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Dispora* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
[37] M. Finn, 'Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and the Exchange of Goods in British India. c. 1780-1820,' *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 40. No. 1, 2006, pp. 203-231. Also M. Finn and K. Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home* (London: UCL Press, 2018).
[38] J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (North Carolina: Duke University Press Books, 2010)

habits of deference within social hierarchy. Gemstones and in particular diamonds are the predominant focus of chapters four and five, which build on the work of Igor Kopytoff[40] and Ruth Philips and Christopher Steiner[41] to explore different examples of material competition and dynastic opportunity.

Recent work on object biography has similarly strengthened the research throughout. Chapter two uses object biography to examine the translator Major William Davy's self-depiction in a conversation regarding identity, knowledge acquisition and imperial presentation within a professional environment. Chapter four explores the Clive family's relationship with the Clive *sarpech* or turban ornament, as a Mughal object with specific regionalism and cultural origin that circulated within a rite of passage. Chapter three uses Ileana Baird and Chrstina Ionescu's *Eighteenth Century Thing Theory in Context*[42] to engage thing theory in order to probe the deeper meanings inherent within the Kashmir shawl. It engages with the concept that an object's human attributes imbued it with phenomenological or philosophical values. By contrast, chapter five uses the work of Rosemary Joyce and Susan Gillespie's *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice*[43] to look at the routes of circulation of diamonds as mineral objects within an imperial economy. It takes as its starting point Marian Hastings's use of gemstones as financial currency. Finally, chapter six considers object relationality through the transactional dynamics of jewellery within family provision, through the direct scrutiny of the Bourchier family alongside other Sussex families.

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[39] B. Spooner, 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed by A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[40] I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commiditizationas process', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed by A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[41] R. Philips and C. Steiner (eds), *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (California: University of California Press, 1999).
[42] I. Baird and C. Ionescu, *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context: From Consumerism to Celebrity Culture* (London: Routledge, 2013).
[43] R. Joyce and S. Gillespie (eds), *Things in Motion: Object Itineraries in Anthropological Practice* (New Mexico: School for Advanced Research Press, 2015).

The first three chapters focus on the EIC's engagement with textiles. Chapter one and two are both concerned with representations of the turban in visual culture. Chapter one looks specifically at the East Indian turban as a metaphorical construct that was used by satirists to involve the Western feminine body with EIC politics. Engaging with the negative discourse surrounding the Nabob and his wife the Nabobina, it considers the ways in which textiles from the East Indies created gendered uncertainty. Dress creates an intersection in the discourse across colonialism, travel and visual culture in the context of the eighteenth-century's colonial encounter. Taking Said's account of 'Otherness' and the increasing Western dominance over the subcontinent it provides detailed exploration of gender, dress and cross-cultural encounter within visual depiction to show how the politics of empire impacted on decisions of dress through embodiment and performance. This resulted in innovative forms of visual imagery that portrayed the Western women in an Eastern setting and such imagery appealed to a metropolitan audience eager to engage with an expanding knowledge of East Indian culture through the scholarship of William Jones.

In the second chapter, portraits of British men wearing Indian turbans are examined. Conventionally categorised as Orientalist art this chapter actively critiques this designation. Firstly, it concentrates on the visual representation of Major William Davy who worked as a Persian translator to Warren Hastings. (Fig 40) The impact of the EIC upon its servants has not been fully explored regarding choices of dress and its depiction in portraiture. As such, it demonstrates how the Indian turban is a symbolic metaphor for the Company – its imagery extending beyond the stereotypical perception of the Nabob - to operate professionally as EIC uniform in the role of translator. Service in the EIC at this period relied heavily on the knowledge of regional languages to facilitate Company business. Servants were often drawn to the Company because of their ability to master these languages quickly. It considers whether the translators' position affected dress experiences by communicating a cultural engagement that

sought to recognise the 'self' as a composite of the individual's identities as communicated through dress. The second part of the chapter explores identity and its relationship to semi-professional East Indian dress by interrogating experiences of EIC travellers. It looks at how their depiction or creation of relatable works on their return to Britain reinforced their professional status and kinship networks.

The subject of chapter three is the incorporation of East Indian textiles in art. It addresses this under researched aspect of eighteenth-century culture by examining the place of the Kashmir shawl within British society. It focuses principally on two works by Arthur William Devis *Mr and Mrs Fraser,* 1785-1790 (Fig 61) and *Portrait of Judge Suetonius Grant Heatly and Temperance Heatly with their Indian servants in an interior in Calcutta*, c.1786 (Fig 64). Both of these works under researched in the compositional material culture. Evaluating them within the context of thing theory provides a methodology to tease out the compound social meanings of the shawl as a commodity and gift within an imperial context. It seeks to coalesce the ideas of art and integrated dress objects and does this by using the case study Ewan Law an EIC Servant who on his return from the East Indies purchased property in London and an estate in Sussex. It interrogates what the shawl meant expressly to the EIC servant through its function as a familial gift that communicated kinship affection but also embodied identity, translation and global commoditisation.

The last three chapters are concerned with the EIC families' relationship with jewelled material and visual culture. Chapter four directs attention to the Clive family and one object from their collection, the *sarpech* or jewelled turban ornament. It examines the shifting perception of this jewel within societal and political consciousness as the negative discourse surrounding jewelled objects given as gifts by subdued Indian Nawabs amplified. By studying the placement of this jewel within the collection of Clive's Indian 'curiosities' it looks to recognise the value of the jewelled objects to

familial legacy after Clive's death. As such it evaluates the agency of Margaret Clive in using East Indian jewels to preserve her family's status. Finally, the chapter unpacks the significance of this jewel to the artistic responses of later EIC servants, in particular James Wales and Robert Mabon at the Poona court. It considers how the diminishing status of the *sarpech* appeared to create a corresponding artistic response that allowed EIC servants to return home with visual depictions of the object, rather than the physical object itself.

Chapter five examines the dominant correlation between diamonds and femininity. Contextually, this is set within the parameters of gemstones or 'brilliants' acting as mediators in the contested sites of queenly 'bodies'. It argues that Marian Hastings took a position alongside Queen Charlotte and the French Queen, Marie Antoinette within the visual culture of British society. French politics – referenced through the body of Marie-Antoinette – impacted on the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings. Satirical prints focused on the intimate proximity of Mrs Hastings to Queen Charlotte through the diamonds presented to the King and Queen by her husband; gifts from the Nawab of Arcot. Through Marian Hastings it charts how the 'othering' of the female body was simultaneously enabled through the appreciation of gemstones as both a material commodity and as a highly desirable bodily adornment that projected familial status.

The final chapter concludes with an examination of three Sussex families and their individual engagement with gemstones from the East Indies. It commences with a discussion of the jewels belonging to Mary Impey, which contrast with the familial transmission of material objects by Marian Hastings. It moves to consider the jewels of William Frankland an early EIC servant, as a precursor to a detailed discussion of the Bourchier Family. Richard Bourchier was a colleague of Frankland and servant of Clive and he purchased a Sussex estate on his return to England, despite bankruptcy. For a family whose EIC service was primarily based in Madras, it suggests that it was the

Bourchiers' proximity to the Nawab of Arcot that afforded them the chance to acquire diamonds. As such, it examines the jewellery and related visual culture that circulated within the Bourchier family from Richard and on to his sons Charles and James.

For consistency, names used within the research conform to the original documents referenced. Otherwise, contemporary terms or place names are used.

PART I TEXTILES

Chapter 1

An Unsettling Adjunct: The Indian Turban in British Feminine Imagery, c.1770-1800.

> Social life is not just made up of performances, but accounts of these performances which provide the meaning and context for social action. Taking the example of consumption, we can see it as driven by the need to establish cultural identities and affiliations, then, conceptualising it as a type of 'consumption performance' where actors harness symbolic codes, narratives and objects to achieve certain ends, can offer new paths for conceptualising consumption.[44] Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture*

The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds (Fig 6) published in 1786 portrays Queen Charlotte ornamented with diamonds and rubies as she takes snuff. Gemstones are drawn in the Queen's hair, on her clothing and wrapped around her arms whilst on her fingers there are numerous rings. Large bow shaped diamond earrings hang from her ears and her neck and décolletage are garlanded with diamond necklaces that culminate in an over-sized jewelled bow. Drawn as an attractive and younger woman it is apparent that the jewels are translated as enhancing the Queen's beauty. She is depicted wearing contemporary dress and it is the adoption of the excessively large turban – the adjunct – that connects her bodily to the East. By filling the image space the turban engages the gaze upwards before resting on the overt reference to diamonds or 'Bulse'. Constructed in a shawl of striped fabric the Queen's turban replicates tiger stripes. Similarly, the printmaker has correspondingly included two additional East Indian tropes, namely rubies and a Kashmir shawl. Diamonds and gemstones are drawn within the border of the shawl and this enhances once again the

[44] I. Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (LA, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, 2007), p. 154.

intention to overtly commoditise the feminine body through its association to East Indian diamonds via dress.

The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds pictorially alludes to the presents given to Queen Charlotte in two years earlier in 1784 by Marian Hastings.[45] (Fig 7) On her return to England from the East Indies Marian, the wife of Warren Hastings the Governor-General of India, had been invited to attend court. Here she presented King George III and his wife Queen Charlotte with a set of ivory furniture that included a bed. A newspaper reported that the objects 'are not so valuable as they are uncommon, being the first of the kind ever brought to England.'[46] Warren Hastings who remained in India additionally gifted two fine Arabs to the King and despite being unaccompanied Marian had the honour of dining with their Majesties.[47] This invitation provoked harsh censure within society over concerns related to Marian's status as a divorcee.

However, within the print the relationship between the Hastings's, the material culture of the East Indies and the royal couple, is expanded further because of the political uproar that ensued after the King and Queen accepted supplementary presents from Warren and Marian Hastings in 1786, a year after Warren Hastings had returned to England. On this occasion the presents included a substantial diamond from the Nawab of Arcot. (Fig 8) Interpreted by English society as a material form of political bribery, it is these diamonds that the satirist has drawn. In 1786 – the year the print was published - a newspaper reported on the diamond that had been given to the Majesties, making reference once again to the ivory bed presented by Marian 'we can believe the story of the bed. It was the present of a Lady to a Lady. But for the story of

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[45] The Royal Collection Trust has a version of this print that has a handwritten note,'Queen Charlotte supposed to allude to her presents from Mrs. Hastings.' Unknown artist, *The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds*, c.1761-1800. Hand coloured etching, 17 x 12.5 cm. RCIN 604685.
[46] *Leeds Intelligencer,* 19 October 1784. The gifts were presented on the 12th October 1784.
[47] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 October 1784.

the diamonds.'[48] Through the embodied incorporation of jewels and the wearing of a 'masculine' turban it is the problematic feminine relationship to the East through the Queen and Marian Hastings that is vigorously articulated within the print.

The newspaper report provides evidence of this link to embodied luxury via textiles and gemstones that were part of a larger discourse in eighteenth-century Europe and 'The Diamond Necklace Affair' exemplified these fears. This scandal was central to the downfall of Marie-Antoinette in France and actively reinforced the point that diamonds were not neutral gifts to members of royal families in the last decades of the eighteenth-century. (Fig 9) Queen Charlotte herself was not immune to charges of being opulent in her jewellery selections.[49] Cindy McCreery observes that satirical prints of women in the late eighteenth century England 'form part of a wider debate, what we might call the 'satirical gaze', over women's role in English society.'[50] The image of Queen Charlotte wearing a turban is part of this complex discourse that focuses on the multi-faceted debates of the period, surrounding the changing nature of women's role in society at the same time as being a direct and pointed commentary on colonial discourse. As such, luxury debates of the eighteenth-century are highly relevant for the discussions within this chapter. They link directly to societies concerns surrounding fashionable dress. This was as a marker of status but was fundamentally interconnected within society to fears of changing social hierarchies – exemplified by Marian Hastings - as the middling sorts looked to mirror and mimic elite dress. This was expressed through the adoption of *turquerie* – Ottoman style costume that replicated Lady Mary Wortley's experience in the Ottoman court - that was worn both to masquerade and in portraiture. (Fig 10)

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[48] *Kentish Gazette*, 30 June 1786.
[49] T. Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* Vol. 41, No. 1 2007, p. 114.
[50] C. McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), p. 6.

Woodward argues that 'objects acquire cultural meanings and efficacy within social perspectives through performance or narrative.[51] Taking this premise we can see the a typicality of the Queen Charlotte being pictured alone demonstrates that the negative connotations of the turban were no longer masculine but by this period had become feminised. Within this context the Indian turban acted as a cultural and political metaphor with disruptive interventions. As an object the turban's association was undeniably Indian and signified the alleged corruption of the Queen through embodied luxury and adornment. Negative colonial discourses inherent in the links to the EIC are implicit. The depiction of Queen Charlotte in a turban is a direct commentary on the female western Queenly body in the East Indies; an imperial body that was openly related to the Nabob and his Nabobina. The turban worn by a western female is therefore part of what Tillman Nechtman, in his discussion of the role of the Nabobina, refers to as 'the interlocking relationship between nation and empire.'[52]

As a private trading organisation the EIC established a vast territorial empire by creating a monopoly on British trade conducted East of the Cape of Good Hope.[53] They traded with India for her cotton, indigo, silks and saltpeter, and in 1773 Bengal finally came under the auspices of the EIC. With its network of diplomatic and commercial relations extending throughout the subcontinent, its centralised power began to replace the weakening feudal system of the Mughals. An imperial power backed by a large army, the EIC exercised administrative control over millions of Indians and it only lost its remaining commercial privileges in 1833.[54] Agents or servants of the EIC formed the foremost share of the British community of Bengal in the eighteenth-century.[55] Formed

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[51] Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture,* p. 151.
[52] T. Nechtman, 'Nabobinas: Luxury, Gender, and the Sexual Politics of British Imperialisim in India in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 2006, p. 24.
[53] H. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 1.
[54] Bowen, *The Business of Empire,* p. ix.
[55] P. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 9.

of a predominately middle-class society officers were able to live on their earnings and prosper, unlike in England where they needed a private income.

Whilst this chapter looks specifically at the period 1770-1800, this is set within the context of Robert Clive's decisive recapture of Calcutta and the defeat of the Nawab at Plassey by EIC troops in 1757. This military victory instigated the growing ascendancy of the EIC within the sub-continent and enabled the acquisition of material culture that included objects of Indian dress to be brought back to England. The Bengal famine of 1770 resulted in the EIC appealing to the government in 1772 for final assistance. In 1773 the government passed the Regulating Act to reform EIC governance after scandalous accusations of corrupt practices. It was also in this year that Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General of India. William Pitt's 1784 India Act reflected increasing state powers over the EIC and in 1788 the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings brought these concerns to a climax. It would not be until 1795 that he would be acquitted. In 1799 the defeat of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam marked the supremacy of the British nation within the sub-continent, after French aspirations in the region were finally suppressed. However, with the EIC's power declining at the expense of the British nation, it was in 1813 that the Company finally lost its monopoly of trade in the East Indies.[56]

In this chapter, the dress accessory of the turban with its immediate visual significations of the East will be conceptually unpacked. The intention is not to list or catalogue the different regional forms of the turban within East Indian culture but to consider its implications for English society as a conceptual metaphor. A metaphor that directly linked society's established understanding of the English engagement with the East Indies through textiles brought back and traded within British society. The

[56] N. Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational* (London: Pluto, 2012), p. xvii. Chronology.

language of textiles of the period was highly varied and specific, a world that contemporary observers chose to note and record in correspondence and journals. Physical exchange of textiles from the East Indies demonstrably reinforced kinship bonds that were of particular significance to EIC families.[57] In *The Inner Life of Empires* Emma Rothschild argues that in the intensely masculine world of the EIC communication through letters was a powerfully intimate part of empire that was appropriated by the feminine voice.[58] Lady Henrietta Clive, the daughter-in-law of Robert Clive for example, wrote to her brother George 'we are in the greatest anxiety about English news and everyday in hopes of the signal of an East Indiaman.'[59] Making reference to the four Johnstone sisters, several of whose brothers worked for the EIC, Rothschild stresses that dress formed an integral part of this communication 'the family exchanges were a matter, above all, of pieces of cloth…a story about linens and muslins and shawls.'[60] From the earliest period of Company service male family members had consistently sent pieces of textiles home to their female family members as acts of affection and this is reflected by the evidence relating to the Johstone brothers and their textile relationships with their sister's 'the "Tanjibs flower'd" and "Mulmules" that John sent to James for Louisa, on Christmas Eve of 1761.'[61]

The arguments in this chapter draw on subtleties of the imperial experience through the prism of textiles that have not been previously explored. Used as an interpretative tool dress generates a highly effectual approach to the taxonomy of material objects within a portrait. This constructs a platform of analytical enquiry that employs anthropological concepts of embodiment and signification. Moreover, dress plays a

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[57] Lady Henrietta to George Herbert 2nd Earl Powis, September 8th in N. Shields (eds), *Birds of Passage: Henrietta Clive's Travels in South India 1798-1801* (London: Eland, 2009), p. 61.
[58] E. Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011) p. 193.
[59] Lady Henrietta to George Herbert, 2nd Earl Powis, September 8th in N. Shields (eds), *Birds of Passage: Henrietta Clive's Travels in South India 1798-1801* (London: Eland, 2009), p. 61.
[60] Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires*, p. 199.
[61] Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires*, p. 200.

central role in the awareness of the other in visual culture. The other is inherently linked to dress as a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication. The coded language of dress visually identifies sensory modifications and supplements that Joanne Eicher argues 'set off either or both cognitive and affective processes that result in recognition or lack of recognition by the viewer.'[62] As Eicher continues:

> Ethnic dress and ethnicity are linked. Manning Nash observed that although ethnicity and ethnic group seem to have clear references they are "among the most complicated, volatile and emotionally charged words and ideas in the lexicon of social science".[63]

Importantly, Nash indicated that the building blocks of ethnicity are: the body, a language, a shared history and origins, and religion and nationality.[64] As a sensory system of non-verbal communication, dress forms part of secondary surface pointers – as opposed to the deep or basic structure of ethnic group differentiation – and enable groups to recognise one another within society as he states 'difference in dress, from whole costumes to single items of apparel, serve as markers of group differences.'[65]

Taking the concept of the dress accessory further, Pointon in *Portrayal and The Search For Identity* refers to dress accessories within eighteenth-century portraits as 'adjuncts'.[66] In Pointon's text 'accessories are understood as both artifacts and discursive representations, generative of ideas and meanings.'[67] Furthermore, and perhaps most significantly for this first chapter, she states 'we should also keep hold of the very sense of the idea of an adjunct or subordinate detail as unsettling.'[68]

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[62] J. Eicher (ed), *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time* (Oxford and Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1995), p. 1. The author indicates that sensory modifications include taste, smell, sound, and feel. Supplements are defined as garments, jewellery, and accessories.
[63] Eicher (ed), *Dress and Ethnicity,* p. 1. Also M. Nash, *The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World,* (Chicago, University of Chicago, 1989).
[64] Eicher (ed), *Dress and Ethnicity,* pp. 4-5.
[65] Eicher (ed), *Dress and Ethnicity,* p. 5.
[66] M. Pointon, *Portrayal and The Search For Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), p. 129.
[67] Pointon, *Portrayal and The Search For Identity*, p. 129.
[68] Pointon, *Portrayal and The Search For Identity*, p. 129.

Given the increasing importance and visibility of Indian visual political culture, we might ask why so few depictions of women in Indian dress from the late eighteenth-century survive. This is inherently linked to issues relating to gender and appropriate dress. The turban - as an appropriated feminine sign of the 'exotic' - intersects within the discourse between colonialism and artistic culture and the historiography surrounding colonial engagement. William Dalrymple stresses that in eighteenth-century India cultural and ethnic hybridity was more commonplace than the established historiography in Britain after 1947 – the nationalist historiography of post-independence India – would suggest.[69] Furthermore, post-colonial work followed the path mapped by Edward Said who first explored the idea of cultural identity and its relationship to colonialism in his work *Orientalism*.[70] Seeking to identify 'the broad seam' within western culture and knowledge based on perceptions of the Orient (East), he coined the term Orientalism to cover the western fascination with a world 'other' to them.[71] Said argued that there was always inequality in the East's relationship with the dominant voice of Western society:

> In a quite constant way, Orientalism depends for its strategy on this flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand.[72]

Examining portraiture and prints within this dominant framework, allows an understanding of the highly charged and complex denotations present within these works and as such, their significance in encouraging deeper enquiry.

In order to investigate why women in India wore turbans and how this changed over the period, the social, political and cultural factors, which impacted the vagaries of depiction, will be examined. Moreover, this discussion will work in tandem with

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[69] W. Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), p. xlvi.
[70] D. Arnold (ed), *Cultural Identities and the Aesthetics of Britishness* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 3.
[71] J. Harris, *Art History: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 222.
[72] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 7.

contemporary literature from the period, such as fiction and first-hand accounts, in order provide the context of western societies' perception of the East Indian experience. Firstly, I will use Phebe Gibbe's *Hartly House* a novel from 1789.[73] Secondly, as a comparative contrast I will examine Lady Henrietta Clive's letters and journal, alongside her daughter's journals from the 1790s.[74] Her husband Lord Edward Clive was Governor of Madras during the vital period of 1798-1803 and in the aftermath of the defeat of Tipu Sultan at Seringapatam in 1799. By scrutinising Lady Henrietta Clive's letters and journals it questions the perceived perception of appropriate dress and display in the Anglo-Indian context as the eighteenth century moved into the nineteenth. Both of these texts work as interpretive tools within the fundamental relationship between dress, society and its visual depiction within a landscape of intricate cultural expectations. Yet most importantly, these works provide indispensible experience of feminine travel in the eighteenth century.

I aim to understand how the politics of empire impacted on decisions of dress through embodiment and performance that were interconnected with the popular pastimes of masquerades and the theatre. Politics of empire directly affected Anglo-Indian society in the East Indies. I will examine how returning EIC families introduced elements of Anglo-Indian culture into the metropolitan landscape by returning with textiles acquired in the East Indies. Furthermore, this chapter will cross-examine how literature interrelated to how the feminine subject chose to be represented in visual culture, principally – but not exclusively – through portraiture. Through an exploration of the visual record of this artistic output, the importance of a chronological journey of depiction will be unpacked. In this way it seeks to understand how the representation of English women wearing Indian turbans changed through space and time as EIC politics rose and fell within societal consciousness. It will examine how the traditions of

[73] M. Clough (ed), *Hartly House, Calcutta* (London: Pluto Press, 1987).
[74] N. Shields (eds), *Birds of Passage: Henrietta Clive's Travels in South India 1798-1801* (London: Eland, 2009).

English portraiture and the works created in India by artists working in the employ of the EIC intersect within these images.

Part I

The *Portrait of Captain John Foote* (Fig 11) is a consistently espoused example in art historical scholarship of a depiction of an EIC servant in East Indian dress. His costume has been labelled as 'power dressing' by projecting an aura of power on an imperial stage.[75] For the context of this chapter in its exploration of the feminine appropriation of the turban in imagery, it is pertinent that this portrait from the 1760s represents early masculine involvement with the Indian turban. The work can be understood as an entirely masculine construct generated by the artist and the subject. The male posture and symbolism is powerfully projected and the turban operates as a metaphor for dominant Western colonial power - a form of imperial self-fashioning. Moreover, there is conceptual space to view the turban as a mirror to the ethnically hybridised environment prevalent in the East Indies, where wearing Indian dress – alongside the learning of native languages and taking local wives - facilitated deeper cultural engagement by service in EIC. Foote's wearing of a complete ensemble of authentic Mughal dress evidences his proud immersion in colonial Anglo-Indian culture and it is significant that the constituent parts of his costume were retained within successive generations of the Foote family, *Gown, Shawl, Sash* (Fig 12). These were a group of dress objects that denoted strong familial and EIC kinship evocations and the Foote family donated them to the York Art Museum in the twentieth century. The portrait and costume thus operate as coupled material artifacts of empire, in a three-dimensional narrative.[76]

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[75] Tate Britain Artist and Empire 25 November 2015 – 10 April 2016. Room 4 Power Dressing. Large Print Guide, p. 1 www.tate.org/file/artist/artist-and-empire-large-print-guide-room-4 [th February 2020].
[76] Harris, *Art History*, p. 42.

Painted in the 1760s and as such pre-dating the impeachment trial of Hastings, this image of Foote by Joshua Reynolds is a demonstrably positive engagement with the East Indies. In the portrait Reynolds depicted his friend and neighbour in full Mughal dress.[77] Moreover, it fits within the artist's oeuvre of works that portray his subjects' in costume from other cultures.[78] Mildred Archer states that Company servants such as Foote frequently commissioned portraits from British portrait painters working in Britain while on leave or after their retirement.[79] During the 1780s there was intense competition for work in London with over one hundred portrait painters competing for commissions.[80] As such, artists like Arthur William Devis applied to the EIC in order to secure work and the EIC patronage gradually extended out beyond the three principal cities to more remote regions where work was obtainable. Consequently, representative images of India began to be exhibited in England after 1770 when professional artists were able to 'observe the country through the eyes of British taste.'[81] Tilly Kettle, for example, was enticed to the sub- continent because of the lucrative commissions of the princely rulers and the reports of their magnificent costumes and jewels.[82] An Indian costume was an integral part of the physical experience of the East and the wearing of a turban for a portrait by servants such as Captain Foote, was the ultimate expression of this cultural engagement.

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[77] M. Archer, *India and British Portraiture 1770-1825* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), p. 411.
[78] Tate Britain Joshua Reynolds: The Creation of Celebrity 26 May – 18 December 2005. Room 2. www.tate.org/whats-on/tate-britain/joshua-reynolds-creation-celebrity [accessed 24th February 2020]. Joshua Reynolds, *Captain the Hon John Hamilton*, about 1746. As a hero of battle from the War of the Austrian Sucession Reynold's has depicted Hamilton wearing the uniform of the Hungarian Hussars, which latterly became popular as masquerade costume.
[79] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 409.
[80] Heniz Archive and Library, NPG. Arthur William Devis: notes on the artist and Red Artists Box - Arthur William Devis (1775-1800). Also see M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 40; M. Pointon, 'Portrait! Portait!! Portrait!!!' in *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836,* ed. by D. Solkin, David (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001). p. 93.
[81] M. Archer, et al., *India Observed: India as Viewed by British Artists 1760-1860* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982), p. 8.
[82] Archer, et al., *India Observed,* p. 13.

England had been trading with the East Indies since 1600 after Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to the EIC. However, fortunes were most readily available during the 1750s to the mid 1770s. In the 1770s Mrs Fay reported to her friend her experience of Madras:

> Asiatic splendor, combined with European taste exhibited around you on every side, under the forms of flowing drapery, stately palanquins, elegant carriages, innumerable servants, and all the pomp and circumstance of luxurious ease, and unbounded wealth.[83]

The association with the luxurious East was reinforced by Lord Clive who stated 'Calcutta is one of the most wicked places in the Universe… Rapacious and Luxurious beyond conception.' [84] Clive was one of the first EIC servants to acquire a country estate on his return to England in 1760 where he purchased Claremont from Lady Newcastle for £25,000. Walpole wrote to Horace Mann 'General Clive is arrived, all over estates and diamonds.'[85] Seen as a traditional marker of wealth, power and prestige, land equated nationhood and was synonymous with the strength of the nation's people. West Indian wealth was acceptable to the aristocracy because it was based on the cultivation of the land. As Philip Lawson and Jim Philips comment 'plantation economies presented Britain with no such difficulties.'[86] East Indian wealth conversely, did not conform to the established notion of nationhood and consequently induced anxiety within society.[87]

Foote's costume is comprised of a generous turban with non-jewelled aigrette, an embroidered *jama* (surcoat), a shawl and a *patka* (waist-sash).[88] East Indian courtly society operated within a terrain of reciprocal gift-culture in which dress items -

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[83] M. Macmillan, *Women of the Raj* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), pp. 34-35.
[84] Dalrymple, *White Mughals,* p. 33.
[85] Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown?', p. 78.
[86] P. Lawson and J. Phillips, ''Our Execrable Banditti": Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies,* Vol. 16, Issue 3, 1984, pp. 225-241. p. 238.
[87] Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown?', pp. 74-75.
[88] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 411.

predominantly textiles and jewels were given as gifts. They were fundamental to the process that helped to facilitate and maintain the steady political relations between the EIC and the Nawabs. As a contemporary observer noted 'Some jewels, shawls, and rich presents were then offered to his Lordship [Cornwallis] as a matter of form.'[89] The receiving of textile gifts was not just a masculine process however, as an entry in Lady Henrietta Clive's journal observes 'I went through the same ceremony of *betel* and shawls and then my visit ended.'[90] E. M. Collingham has suggested that the British combined elements of Indian ideas of appropriate forms of display and oriental magnificence with the traditional notions of English ceremony, acting as a counter to the perceived threat to the British monarchy from the French Revolution 'this combination of oriental and occidental magnificence constructed the body of the Nabob at its centre as a hybrid of East and West.'[91]

In Indianist discourse the term Nabob referred to Mohammedan officials who acted as deputy governors of provinces or districts in the Mughal Empire. Whilst on the other hand, it applied to those returning EIC servants whose enormous wealth had been acquired in India.'[92] Taken as a discrete form of exotic ornament, Western society viewed the turban as a signification of the compound correlation between trade and imperial conquest. Foote's turban – as a masculine metaphor for growing EIC dominance of the East Indies - represented on one hand, the immediate material benefits of time spent in the East Indies. However, on the otherhand it progressively came to signify a growing anxiety and ambivalence towards empire within British society that would ultimately lead to the intense public scrutiny of Robert Clive in 1772 by Parliament and of Warren Hastings during his Impeachment trial of 1788-1795.

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[89] A. Dirom, *A Narrative of the Campaign in India, which Terminated in the War with Tippoo Sultan in 1792* (London: W. Bulmer, 1793), p. 231.
[90] Lady Henrietta Clive's Journal, August 12th 1800 in Clive (eds), *Birds of Passage,* p.87.
[90] M. Macmillan, *Women of the Raj* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), p. 16.
[91] E. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Cambridge UK: Polity Press, 2001). p. 17.
[92] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 190.

As Kathleen Wilson writes the English empire was a 'bulwark and emblem of English superiority' and alongside its profitability 'empire was imagined to create a far-reaching and inclusive *British* polity that preserved the most valued components of the national identity.'[93] Nonetheless, the figure of the Nabob generated worrying shifts in British society and represented for Nechtman the integration of the imperial world into the fabric of British national culture.[94] Indeed Romita Ray states 'the most problematic of fashionable accouterments to be embraced by the nabobs was the turban'.[95] This negative societal association with the turban is illustrated in the print *'The Night Walker or Little Thief' for 'The Dramatick works of Fletcher and Beaumont'* (Fig 13). The print directly refers to Samuel Foote's theatrical production *The Nabob: A Comedy in Three Acts* that was first performed in London in 1772 where it actively dragged negative stereotypes of colonial officials to new depths.[96] The print describes the interior of a hallway with a man and woman terrified at the sight of a ghost who wears a beard and a turban. Viewed by candlelight, the figures cloak is parted to reveal one man sitting on the shoulders of another. As a visual signifier, the turban through its disproportionate size and its elevation seizes the gaze, whilst the candlelight reflects its decoration and significance. This print replicates the fear and suspicion provoked by the inclusion of a turban as a source of anxiety associated with the Nabob.

The translation of the feminine East Indies into the masculine body is apparent in the portrait of *Prince Azim-Ud-Daula, Nawab of the Carnatic* (Fig 14). This work illustrates Ray's assertion that turbans were 'visual ciphers for both "Oriental" as well as the Orientalised body, the turban (like wigs and hats) encoded wealth and status for its

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[93] K. Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 49.
[94] Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown?', p. 7.
[95] R. Ray, *Under The Banyan Tree: Relocating The Picturesque in British India* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 186.
[96] N. Eaton, 'Nostalgia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750-1793', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 39, Number 2, 2006, p. 236.

wearer.'[97] Henrietta Clive's encounter with a *Rajah* in her journal provides direct evidence of male courtly dress 'he was magnificently dressed in a full petticoat, with a sort of jacket of *kincob* and a large red turban covered with pearls and had a prodigious fine emerald hung from his neck'.[98] Thomas Hickey's portrait of Prince Azim-Ud-Daula captures with accuracy the relaxed looseness of the masculine dress within the Mughal court and its interconnectedness with jewels. Across the Prince's yellow floral robe he wears numerous ropes of pearls and the fabric of his turban is banded with supplementary pearls. Notably, the turban provides space for a *sarpech* or jewelled turban ornament that signifies his high status.

East Indian textiles were multi-faceted in their oppositional nature for EIC servants in their interaction with the Indian courts. They represented the supposed femininity of the Mughal court through the soft, sensuous visual forms created by the fabrics and the customary systems of bodily adornment. By contrast, as a highly valued commoditised product of Empire, these textiles were conventionally gendered masculine within the mercantile world of the EIC. The textiles and jewels functioned as objects of translation within a culturally hybridised engagement. Felicity Nussbaum argues that national boundaries were explicitly drawn, whilst the blurring of gender boundaries was prevalent amongst English observers in the eighteenth century designating 'the entire Indian nation gendered female.'[99] When the artist William Hodges arrived in Madras for the first time for example, he observed:

> This is the moment in which a European feels the great distinction between Asia and his own country. The rustling of fine linen…present to his mind for a moment the idea of an assembly of females.[100]

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[97] Ray, *Under the Banyan*, p. 186.
[98] Lady Henrietta Clive's Journal, Tanjore September 20th 1800 in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* p. 233.
[99] F. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 176.
[100] Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones*, p. 176. The author is quoting from William Hodges, *Travels in India During the Years 1780, 1781, 1782, & 1783* (London, 1793).

Descriptions of the feminised nature of the *Rajah's* attire and the western bewilderment of those encountering such masculine dress for the first time are reiterated in *An Emblem of Asia* (Fig 15). This print graphically reinforces the association between the East Indies and femininity, particularly as the century drew to a close. In this representation Asia is an allegorical figure but the presence of an elephant with a howdah on its back, restates the correlation to the East Indies. The feminine subject wears a costume with strong visual references to *turquerie*: the open gown trimmed with ermine, and sash and whilst the turban is adorned with a crescent brooch and pearls, again referencing Ottomoan attire, the dress looks unquestionably to the East Indies.

Instances of East Indian dress being worn to masquerade had been reported in contemporary society since the 1760s. According to Ribeiro masquerades reflected the popularity of Oriental costumes, as a mirror to the wider societal interest in the Orient and this was a continuous leitmotif of eighteenth-century society.[101] More specifically, these costumes commonly paralleled with contemporary politics as a report from the King of Denmark's masquerade in 1768 demonstrates:

> The Duke of Northumberland appeared in a Persian habit with a turban richly ornamented with diamonds…Lord Clive appeared in the dress of a Nabob, very richly ornamented with diamonds. An East Indian Director was dressed in the real habit of a Chinese Mandarin, ornamented with diamonds, particularly the collar which was entirely covered in diamonds. Mr Cambridge and his three daughters composed the Indian family. Mr Scrafton in the superb dress of a Nabob.[102]

The reader is made wholly conscious of the richness of the ornamentation of the East Indian gentlemen, the gemstones on their costumes expressing embodied 'exotic' luxury, though there is scant detail relating to the three daughters composing the Indian family. But the account also indicates that the Chinese Mandarin was heavily jewelled. This suggests that an exclusive link to East Indian wealth through diamonds was not

[101] Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades,* p. 217.
[102] Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades*, p. 223.

fully articulated in 1760s and that this developed commensurably during the 1770s. However, evidence reveals that in London the wearing of Indian costume to masquerade was highly unusual and this was especially the case for women. The *Habit of a Lady of Indostan* (Fig 16) is taken from 1770. The ensemble is comprised mainly of Indian muslin, apparent in its gauzy transparency. The textiles she wears are adorned with botanical and floral forms from the East Indies and the smaller yellow floral design is similar to that worn by *Prince Azim-ud-Daula, Nawab of the Carnatic* (Fig 14). It is the specificity of the textiles she wears whilst working in tandem with the specific suit of jewellery - the ropes of pearls, bracelets and anklets alongside pearl adornments on her head and in her ears - that designate her as East Indian, as opposed to Ottoman.

Ribeiro states that this dress may have been a compromise version of Jeffrey's Habit of a lady of Indostan, as she notes 'it was a rather unusual choice, but according to Fanny Burney, Miss Monckton was a rather an eccentric character.'[103] Burney noted:

> Miss Monckton…. appeared in the character of an Indian sultana, in a robe of cloth of gold and a rich veil. The seams of her habit were embroidered in precious stones, and she had a magnificent cluster of diamonds on her head; the jewels she wore were valued at 30.0001.[104]

The report skillfully draws the readers' attention to the material wealth represented by the subject's jewellery in what is an explicit correlation to gemstones acting as a method of financial transmission by returning EIC servants. However, it is the reference to an Indian Sultana – a designation from the Ottoman Empire rather than from Mughal culture - which once again demonstrates compromised translation of the cultural symbols being displayed. The popularity of *turquerie* as the most fashionable costume for masquerade and its contingent portraiture, was directly stimulated by Lady Wortley

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[103] Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades*, p. 288. The author is referencing Jeffrey's *A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations* (Volumes I and II, 1757, volume III and IV, 1772) which indicates the variety of material that was open to those in search of fancy dress; also p. 281.

[104] Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades*, p. 288.

Montagu's experience in the Ottoman Empire as the wife of Edward Montagu Wortley, the Turkish ambassador.[105] These ambassadorial links provided a conduit for information and detail on the lives of Turkish women, which had a profound influence on costume and dress in Europe and America.[106] *A Woman Called Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Fig 10) provides painterly confirmation of an English feminine body in an imperial setting where her adoption of local costume – a low-cut gown of rich fabrics edged in ermine, a wrapped turban and pearls – was used to reflect an appreciation of the culture and customs of Turkey.

Ray identifies an important symbolic correlation between the turban as an accessory that was being used to critique British masculinity and the turban's association with the body of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.[107] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's pioneering taste for *turquerie* in eighteenth-century England stimulated its universal appeal amongst fashionable aristocratic women. [108] Moreover Ribeiro confirms that *turquerie* 'had immediate appeal to a public ready for novelty; rich, glamorous, even erotic.' Moreover, *turquerie's* duality - as a form of fashionable dress interrelated to Eastern eroticism - was communicated more broadly to the empire through letters, works of fiction, newsprint and in prints. In *Hartly House* Sophia Goldbourne, the main character comments 'I thought of Lady Wortley Montagu's account of her being noticed by the Grand Seignior, when spectator of a Turkish procession, on the Nabob's observation of me.[109] The Grand Seignior had noticed Lady Mary Montagu Wortley in passing but for Goldbourne the Nabob had held her flirtatious gaze and this was the crucial difference in experience for her. This indicates the sustained cultural significance of *turquerie* to

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[105] M. Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 141-151.
[106] D. Birkett, *Off the Beaten Track: Three Centuries of Women Travellers* (London: NPG, 2004), p. 47.
[107] Ray, *Banyan Tree*, p. 188.
[108] A. Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789* (London: Batsford, 1984), p. 266.
[109] Clough (ed), *Hartly House,* p. 273.

English women in the East Indies. The experience of contact with the 'other' - through ornament and dress - characterised a performative physical embodiment in which the turban was central to this evocation. Moreover, it formed a dialogue between the sexual possibilities that were now thinkable for a young English woman as evidenced in *Hartly House*.

Turquerie's authority within the colonial context is likewise unmistakable in portraits by John Singleton Copley that were painted before the American Revolution, such as the *Portrait of Margaret Kemble Gage* (Fig 17). Isabel Breskin reasons that the husbands who commissioned these portraits deemed *turquerie* suitably patriotic attire for their wives to be painted in - costume in this context being used to actively impart a political message. Breskin states 'the appeal of fashion was strong, but the political, social, and sexual connotations of the costume complicate that explanation for the sitter's choice of dress.'[110] Pointon supports Breskin's position by stating 'all these made the body a mobile cluster of signifiers indicating party-political affiliation, class, gender and sexuality'.[111]

Portraits painted to memorialise a masquerade provided a visual platform to depict a selected costume at a period when the two aspects of masquerade worked integrally. In this way, a meaningful parallel can be acknowledged between the infrequency of Indian dress being worn to masquerades and it's a typicality in associated commemorative portraiture. Thus, whilst *turquerie* portraits proliferated portraits of European women in Indian costume did not. In her work *The Dress worn at Masquerades in England, 1730-1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture*

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[110] I. Breskin, '"On the Periphery of a Greater World": John Singleton Copley's "Turquerie" Portraits', *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture*, Vol. 36, no. 2/3, 2001, p. 97.
[111] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 142.

Ribeiro identifies only one female subject wearing Indian costume. This is juxtaposed against seventy-eight women wearing *turquerie*.[112]

The relationship between Indian dress and the Nabobina was one of the factors that would have reduced the commissioning of such imagery, which would have gone against the domestic trend for the fashionable turquerie. Domestic critics considered the Nabobina to be more dangerous than their male counterparts as Lawson and Phillips state 'the wives of Nabobs appeared at the fashionable watering places and at social functions in town resplendent in diamonds, rubies and pearls, grotesquely draped about their person.'[113] By wearing gemstones on their bodies they participated in the sexualised commercial of the East Indies and conceptually their bodies became commiditised material objects. Fears within society were associated with increasing impropriety and vulgarity. This was linked to disquieting transferals in the structure of social hierarchy this was particularly apparent in the East Indies. Letters reveal this growing disquiet and in Lady Henrietta Clive's correspondence with Lady Douglas we see her judgment of Madras society 'I am terribly inclined to agree the fair sexes in this country are not too agreeable. Many women have come out to Madras to marry'.[114]

In 1792 Fanny Burney described an encounter with Marian Hastings in London society:

> Her dress now was like that of an Indian princess, according to our ideas of such ladies, and so much the most splendid, from its ornaments and style and fashion, though chiefly muslin.[115]

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[112] Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades,* p. 245. Ribeiro is referring to William Hoare's *Lady in a Turban* (pl. 84). She argues that it depicts the sitter wearing the sort of Indian embroidered muslin similar to that worn by Reynolds's Captain Foote and also seen in the Jeffrey's plate of a *Lady of Indostan.*

[113] Lawson and Philips, 'Our Execrable Banditti', p.229. The author's are quoting G. Hill, *History of English Dress from the Saxon Period to the Present Day*, (New York, 1893), p. 142.

[114] Lady Henrietta Clive to Lady Douglas, 24th August 1798 in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* pp. 58-59.

[115] H. E. Busteed, *Echoes From Old Calcutta: Being Chiefly Reminiscences of The Days of Warren Hastings, Francis, and Impey,* 4th edn (London: W. Thacker and Co., 1908), p. 146.

Bahar Ali Khan, who had visited Calcutta in 1780 as an emissary from the Lucknow court, reported that Marian Hastings wore 'ear-drops each worth fifty thousand rupees.'[116] (Fig 7) These reports created an image of Marian that embodied the public perception of the Nabobina. This view was informed by the uncertainty surrounding her procurement of a substantial private fortune in India and the vulgar manner in which she wore her diamonds by contravening society's feminine jewellery conventions.[117] However, it was her German nationality and her reputation as a divorcee that engendered the deepest censure in society. As a consequence, Marian Hastings embodied Nechtman's assertion that 'The Nabobina's body became as a result, the boundary at which questions of empire, luxury, commerce, morality and sexuality met.'[118] Labelled in this manner the imperial female body was accused of blurring cultural and gender connotations. *A Sale of English-beauties, in the East Indies* (Fig 18) by Gillray was published in 1786 at the time of Edmund Burke's instigation of the impeachment proceedings against Hastings. Gillray pictorially reinforces the escalating fears concerning the nation's moral standards by focusing on the perceived corruption of British femininity in the sub-continent. Women in India were generally from the class lower than the nobility or gentry and they had frequently journeyed to India in the search of wealthy husbands, what was by the nineteenth century referred to as the 'fishing fleet'.[119]

Colonel Antoine Polier watching a nautch (Fig 19) depicts a group of three Indian dancing-girls performing before a seated Polier.[120] As an act of explicit cultural immersion Polier wears Indian dress and a hookah pipe is displayed prominently next to him. The ornamental motifs surrounding this western gentleman are immediately made known to the viewer at a period in India when men such as Polier frequently had

[116] Busteed, *Echoes From Old Calcutta,* p. 360.
[117] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* p. 37.
[118] Nechtman, 'Nabobinas', p. 24.
[119] McMillian, *Women of the Raj*, p. 16.
[120] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, pp. 84-85.

bibis or Indian mistresses. Two of the dancers wear decorated turbans and the principal dancer whose arm is raised aloft, wears a turban with an aigrette and a large white feather. It is unusual to see an Indian woman portrayed wearing a turban as the majority, such as the women in the background covered their heads with scarves. Indeed *nautch* girls frequently worked as courtesans and thus, the turban operated on one level, as a symbolic dress motif in the interplay between costume, performance and the sexual tensions of the East Indies.[121] Collingham asserts 'A nabobess therefore faced the risk of degenerating to the level of Indian mistress.' [122] Indian dress was an effective Indianisation of the physique but it left Western women unprotected by European rules governing sexual relations, which served to preserve a woman's honour. Yet, Percival Spear observes that English women behaved in a masculine fashion in the East Indies by coping aspects of the East Indian culture. For example, they smoked hookah pipes, attended *nautches* and wore turbans. Most significantly, as a transportable dress accessory from the East, the turban journeyed home to England and was witnessed in metropolitan society.[123] In this context, the turban as an adjunct of East Indian society facilitated a culturally hybrised translation of the feminine body.

Moreover, central to moralists concerns was the fear that fashion was seen as disguising rank and status.[124] As Vickery observes:

> Concern about immoral profusion and meaningless glitter was still not a spent force in the early 1800s. How *could* wealth be reconciled with virtue? One popular answer was through the operation of taste.[125]

Considered a vague and indeterminate concept by Vickey she argues that whilst philosophers placed the highest value on taste they did not in turn indicate how an

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[121] R. Hardgrave and S. Slawek, 'Instruments and Music Culture in Eighteenth Century India: The Solvyns Portraits'*, Asia Music,* Vol. 20, No. 1, 1988-1989), p. 1.
[122] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, pp. 39-40.
[123] P. Spear, *The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century India* (Oxford: Oxford India Paperbacks, 1998), p. 133.
[124] M. Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774-1858* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994) p. 54.
[125] Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture,* p. 201.

ordinary consumer should employ this in their consumption. *Lady Impey Supervising her Household at Calcutta* (Fig 20) suggests however, that Western women's engagement with the dress culture of the East Indies demands a more flexible reading. Works of this type were made by Indian artists for British employees of the EIC who were living and working in the sub-continent.[126] Lady Impey is most notable for her employment of 'three Indian artists to record the local flora and fauna.'[127] Yet, this intimate portrayal of a domestic interior scene is unusual. Lady Mary Impey was the wife of Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal who was a long-standing friend of Warren Hastings.[128] On their return to England they rented Newick Park, an estate in Sussex and it was here that Warren and Marian Hastings would visit them. (Fig 104) In the painting, with the shutters closed against the morning heat, Mary Impey wears a turban and contemporary white muslin dress whilst she converses with her servant or *Banian* as he helps her to select a turban.

The image is significant because it pictorially establishes Mary Impey's immersion in the local culture through her close interaction with her household staff. As the central feminine figure in the composition it is her agency that we are witnessing through her curating and control of the gaze. However, unlike the turban worn by Queen Charlotte in the print *The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds* (Fig 6) Lady Impey's turban and the turban she selects meld into the image in harmony with the physical depiction of the dress worn by the masculine members of her household. We can interpret this as an image of oriental consumption in which the turban is an object of material culture. Lady Impey would have picked a turban because this accessory was considered a highly fashionable form of western feminine dress by this period. Equally, its inherent

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[126] A. Jackson and A. Jaffer (eds), *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800* (London: V&A Publishing, 2004) p. 282.
[127] Macmillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 130-131.
[128] Macmillan, *Women of the Raj*, pp. 130-131.

East Indian authenticity demonstrates that she commissioned this scene for a painting because of her wish to capture the specific cultural environment in which she was able to acquire such an object. The image signifies a record of the Impey's EIC service and it's the prolonged familial value of the work is reflected in its position in the Impey family collection today.

The discussion has demonstrated that imagery of Western women wearing Indian turbans connected to two main aspects of the luxury debate in the eighteenth century: the female vice and the link between luxury and the exotic. Taking the first aspect Berg and Eger argue that the gender politics of the luxury debates 'was often associated with the dangers of effeminisation and perilous female desire.'[129] Allied to this were concerns of appropriate feminine behaviour that was inherently linked to aspects of class, namely female prostitution and social hierarchy. Furthermore, Vickery argues that luxury generated anxiety around the effects of new wealth: moral, political, social, and economic.[130] Negative critiques of luxury from the Classical era had focused on national social problems of excessive indulgence, profligacy and most importantly, urban chaos and plebian idleness.[131] Issues surrounding fashion and appropriate feminine dress spoke directly to these societal fears. The fashion theorist Simmel in his writings on the politics of female culture, indicates that certain groups search for fashionability:

> First are women, who are denied the opportunities to express individuality in other civil and social spheres, and have to rely on fashion as a means of asserting a meaningful social personality.[132]

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[129] M. Berg and E. Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2003), p. 3.
[130] Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture,* p. 201.
[131] Berg and Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century,* p. 3.
[132] Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture,* p. 125.

However, Simmel states it is the middling sort who were the most motivated as they had 'a psychological drive to scale social strata, and discretionary resources to achieve such an end.'[133]

Secondly, the consumption of oriental luxuries in Britain was understood by certain sections of society as a dangerous process that weakened and feminised the economy.[134] This was a feminisation that extended to English masculinity through the figure of the Macaroni and the perceived effeminacy in masculine dress that they exhibited. (Fig 21) This 'Otherness in dress formed part of the dialogue associated with the conceptualisation of the turban, which increasingly operated as an object of fashionable dress within an oriental narrative. In 1788 Eliza Davidson had written that there was a growing fashion for turbans among the women of the colony writing of 'caps, Hats, &c, &c, all now given away for this more convenient Asiatic head dress.'[135] The orient interpreted as a mysterious and stimulating world was as such incorporated into society as a fashionable commodity.[136]

Oriental commodities were luxury goods to their consumers in this period and this reaction was part of the wider luxury debates of the period.[137] As the discussion is this chapter has demonstrated the Oriental engendered strangeness, exoticism and the other through a sensory engagement of colour, texture, smell and taste. To Berg this meant that 'luxury was conflated with sensuality and foreignness.'[138] Imported Asian manufactures such as Indian calicoes mixed with Chinese porcelain and Japanese

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[133] Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture*, p. 125.
[134] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* p. 24.
[135] Dalyrymple, *White Mughals*, p. 29. The reference is in the footnote at botton of page. Dalrymple is quoting from Amin Jaffer*, Furniture from British India and Ceylon* (London, 2001), p. 40.
[136] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, p.33. For example after Napoleon's defeat in Egypt in 1798, crocodile bonnets were all the rage in Paris and London.
[137] M. Berg and H. Clifford (eds), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850* (Machester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 66.
[138] Berg and Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century,* p. 228.

lacquers, and their new materials and forms of manufacture instantly conjured the exotic. Described by Berg as semi-luxuries they crucially appealed to the growing middling orders of the metropolis and provinces, as well as the elite. As she states:

> They undermined the uniformity and clear social hierarchies previously imposed by sumptuary legislation, and made individuality and variety an option to much broader parts of society.[139]

As a construct Asian luxury was specifically 'Persian' or 'Oriental' but this did not include objects from China, which were associated with ethics, harmony and virtue, as opposed to sensuality.[140]As a direct consequence, luxury became increasingly concentrated on the Nabob and his wife because of their association with imported eastern material commodities, particularly during the 1760s and 1770s.

The chapter will now examine how the production of new forms of innovative imagery negotiated and converted *turquerie* during a period of persistent negativity linked to 'going native' through the wearing of ethnic dress. By adopting the turban as a form of visual remembrance of travel the EIC servants continued to participate in Indian princely gift culture. As the discussion has demonstrated, this dialogue reached its representational zenith in the satirical prints produced during the impeachment trial of Hastings. Jeremy Osborn's work focusing on the newspaper reportage of the EIC in London establishes that from the 1780s the British public became increasingly absorbed in the Orient because the end of the American war had generated less imperial anxiety and enabled the British to strengthen position in the East Indies at the expense of the French.[141]

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[139] Berg and Clifford (eds), *Consumers and Luxury*, p. 67.
[140] Berg and Eger (eds), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century,* p. 229.
[141] J. Osborne, 'India and the East India Company in the Public Sphere of Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *The Worlds of the East India Company,* ed by H. V. Bowen, M. Lincoln and N. Rigby (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2002), p. 203.

The evidence has demonstrated that the turban was principally gendered male in this visual context and that this was a well-established trope. Yet in the print *The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds* (Fig 6) the depiction of the Queen unaccompanied signposts that this was a trope that was becoming progressively feminised. For the satirist the Queen Charlotte's turban functioned as a space to exhibit diamonds. Diamonds symbolised the worst aspects of the Nabobs, their ostentation in the overt bodily display of the gems in society and their acquisition of estates through the sale of these diamonds. Here the conceptual construct of the turban within its female appropriation converges in response to the scandal surrounding Queen Charlotte and her alleged association with Warren Hastings, the Governor of Bengal and Indian diamonds. Hastings had been accused of bribery after the Nawab of Arcot tasked him with the presentation of a diamond from his treasury - weighing 101 carats - to the King and Queen in June 1786.[142] Horace Walpole had observed Queen Charlotte wearing a 'bouquet of brilliants' from the Nawab of Arcot and consequently the King and Queen were quickly drawn into the scandal.[143]

Published in 1786, the same year as *The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds* (Fig 6)*, Cheyt Sing in his Eastern Dress* (Fig 22) depicts George III wearing a king-size turban. However, unlike the turban his wife wears this is not an accessory or adjunct. This turban forms part of his Eastern dress in which he wears a robe and the satirist provides labels for 'The Shawl', 'Gold Dust' and on a band across his forehead 'Monarch'.[144] The treatment of Chat Singh, Raja of Benares was the subject of debate of 13 June 1786 when Pitt and Dundas voted against Hastings setting impeachment proceedings in motion. Unlike the King, who is depicted wearing full oriental costume

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[142] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 192.
[143] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, pp. 193-194.
[144] *Cheyt Sing in his Eastern Dress,* BM item 1868,0808.5594. Curator's comments with a description and comment from M. Dorothy George, 'Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum, VI, 1938, She writes that this print is a satire on the diamond presented to the King by Hastings on behalf of the Nizam of Deccan; also BMSat 6966 which satirizes the presents which Hastings and his wife were believed to have given the King and Queen.

and a turban the Queen wears only the turban alongside a vast range of jewellery. However, she is in fashionable contemporary dress. As a direct critique on the representation of the feminine Royal body it is highly significant that the satirist has not stepped over this sensitive and final boundary of gendered respectability by presenting the Queen as fully orientalised. The viewer is not given written labels to identify the jewels in this gendered representation and this discloses a subtlety that is not manifest in the satirists handling of her spouse.

A year later in 1787 the print *The Friendly Agent* (Fig 23) was published as a commentary on the Hastings impeachment. In the image Hastings is drawn raised on a scaffold with bags of 'Rupees' and 'Pagodas' on his feet that are weighed down by his agent Major Scott. In the distance, rising from a cloud, stands the Indian figure of Nuncomar's spirit. King George is dressed wearing a turban and crown and he holds a packet labelled 'Bulse'. Each masculine figure is drawn wearing Oriental dress and a turban that contrast sharply with Queen Charlotte's generative function represented by her swollen belly.[145] In this context she is drawn without a turban because the 'Bulse' the King holds is as Pointon states in *Brilliant Effects*:

> The form of jewels could also, in representation and in actuality, lend weight to certain interpretations of the Queen's role. Charlotte's famous stomacher of diamonds served to draw attention to her materiality, to her role as mater for the nation.[146]

The wearing of oriental dress by all the male subjects' demonstrates an overt masculine gaze within the construction of this print. Here through dress, the feminine gaze and agency is sublimated to this gendered hierarchy.

The broader conversation surrounding the orient was situated within an interlocking overlap that will be evidenced through performance, literature and print culture. Conceptually the turban acted as a metaphor for Indian culture in this emergent

[145] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 184.
[146] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects,* p. 184.

metropolitan translation. The eighteenth-century's central use of performance impacted on the dissemination of news obtained by English women in the East Indies, through its global circulation in letters. As Ribeiro writes 'the Arabian Nights element of the Orient ensured the continued success of eastern themes for entertainment, literature and interior design.'[147] It is important to reflect on how a burgeoning female readership who was avidly consuming contemporary literature operated within a broadening discourse of orientalism that ran concurrently with developing Indology through the works of the William Jones. Said has postulated the concept of 'Imaginative geography' which is relevant here. He argues that it 'legitimates a vocabulary, a universe of representative discourse peculiar to the discussion and understanding of Islam and the Orient.'[148] In this context the turban operated as an object of translation. As a dress object of dress it returned to England and was understood as a souvenir of time spent in the East. Yet, as the evidence has demonstrated, its denotations extended beyond this at times over-simplified designation as an object of travel because it created embodiment through its otherness. This embodied engagement was revealed in metropolitan print culture through pictorially divergent representations of the Western female in culturally hybridised encounters.

Evidence suggests that from the 1770s a specific East Indian visual 'aesthetic of exoticism' was created in Britain because of the emergent Orientalist scholarship of William Jones. *Sir William Jones* (Fig 24) was painted towards the end of Devis's time in Bengal and the portrait portrays Jones 'his hand resting on a manuscript and a figure of the elephant-headed *Hanesha* on his table serving to suggest the subject's prime quality, his sagacious oriental scholarship.'[149] In observing the inclusion of the highly symbolic – and at this period unique object of *Ganesha* – Devis projected an

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[147] A. Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750 to 1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 228.
[148] Said, *Orientalism,* p. 71.
[149] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 251.

immediate visual connection to India. The Hindu God reflected a new form of knowledge about the culture and religious habits of the sub-continent to a British audience. Known initially for his Persian translations, Jones was widely celebrated for his study and translation of ancient Sanskrit texts following his appointment to the Calcutta's supreme court in 1783. *The Songstress* (Fig 25) relates to one of Jones's pre-India poems entitled *The Palace of Fortune, An Indian Tale* from 1769. Seated facing a mountainous vista that is suggestive of an East Indian landscape, a young woman wearing a white flowing gown and a large white turban, holds a sheet of music as she sings. In this image the orientalist gaze has appropriated the white western female; with the turban acting to reinforce both the appreciation of this newly understood culture and its acceptance. *The Songstress* redirects the dissemination of Indian literature and verse as part of a more expansive engagement with the 'exotic' in London, which was part of a thriving print culture prevalent in the metropolis at this time. Natasha Eaton supports the concept of travel being memoralised through visual imagery:

> These images recreated travel experiences whether real or vicariously through literature. These narratives underscore the significance of the exotic to mainstream metropolitan English taste.[150]

Indian dress motifs were a direct method of pictorially memorialising a growing sub-set of colonial engagement, that of female travel.

Gillian Perry argues that issues of gendered spectatorship and the feminisation of viewing took place in the consumption of art and theatre in the late eighteenth century.[151] Actresses or 'female actors' were often considered a subtext for 'prostitute' explaining the frisson and sexual tension engendered by the female performer.[152] The eighteenth century had seen an expanding culture of public entertainment and

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[150] N. Eaton, 'Nostalgia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750-1793', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 39, Number 2, 2006, p. 230.
[151] G. Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations*: *Viewing the Actress in British Art and Theatre 1768-1820* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 7.
[152] Mcreery, *The Satirical Gaze*, p. 82.

theatrical performances with audiences increasing dramatically, encouraged by regular theatre attendances of the Royal Family.[153] Within this context actresses in the theatre disseminated the turban within feminine society. This is visually evidenced by the print *Mrs Crouch* (Fig 26) that depicts the actress and singer in a dramatic posture wearing eastern dress as she enacts Collier's "Selima in Seima and Azor".[154] *A Persian Tale*, in three parts it was performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane in 1784.[155] However, it was *The Arabian Nights Entertainment* that made the richest imprint on female travellers to India. In a letter to Lady Douglas Lady Henrietta Clive wrote 'as myself, I look forward to all sorts of things – like the *Arabian Nights* – and put away every idea of all other places as much as possible.'[156] Influencing Lady Clive's gaze and perception may have been these *Four Illustrations* (Fig 27) from a series of ten illustrations from *'The Arabian Nights'* for the *Novelists Magazine* from 1785. Women it made up thirty percent of the patrons at circulating libraries in the country and were avid newspaper readers, despite their legal standing as dependents in a masculine political environment.[157] Portraying tales in Eastern settings these exotic illustrations provided detail and information relating to Eastern fantasy, its dress and furnishings.

The Beautiful Stranger Poisoned by her Sister (Fig 28) supports this re-establishment of the feminine presence in *The Arabian Nights Entertainment*. This coloured version aids the interpretative assessment of the attire worn by the participants. Designed for the British audience, the two sisters join the male subject in wearing elaborate turbans that are adorned with jewels and large coloured feathers with their hair loosely arranged. Still, unlike the man - who wears harem pants, a fur-edged cloak, Persian

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[153] Perry, *Spectacular Flirtations*, p. 5.
[154] In the print the actress is playing the character of Rosetta.
[155] This is a reference to *Selima & Azor: A Persian Tale, In Three Parts,* as performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane in 1784.
[156] Lady Henreitta Clive to Lady Douglas, December 20th 1797 in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* p. 41.
[157] K. Wilson, *The Island Race*, (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 2003), p. 40.

slippers and gold sash - the women's dresses are of contemporary Western design. This form of depiction can also be witnessed in *Sheik Ibrahim Entertains Noureddin and the Fair Persian in the Palace of Pleasures* (Fig 29) from 1790. It exposes highly meaningful aspects of the dress of the young western female – described as 'the fair Persian' – illustrated in this view. Playing the lute as part of the entertainment for *Noureddi* [the Vizier's son] the women occupy a visual equivalence with the male sitter. We are not witnessing full masquerade costume, where fancy dress guise is adopted for performance.[158] Instead, as this image establishes, the turban is an accessory that had been specifically chosen to operate as a symbol of oriental hybridity.

Part II

The discussion has demonstrated that the print culture of the 1790s increasing began to depict Western women wearing turbans as dress adjuncts. This reveals a growing containment over the ethnical ramifications of the exotic through alliance to established literary and fashionable tropes such as *turquerie* and the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*. Furthermore, a greater understanding of East Indian culture meant that dress became increasingly recognizable within metropolitan society. Evidence has confirmed that imagery prior to this period was confined predominately to prints and satirical prints. As such, the final part of the chapter will now concentrate on depictions of western women wearing turbans during the 1790s and the emergence of portraiture.

By wearing a chemise made of white muslin the subject of *A Windswept Girl in a Turban Walking with a Dog* (Fig 30) is consciously adopting a garment that achieved lasting popularity - and notoriety - when Marie Antoinette, the French Queen, was portrayed wearing the dress in 1783 *Marie Antoinette in a Chemise Dress* (Fig 9).[159] Pointon observes that the female body was strictly differentiated for indoors and

[158] Ribeirio, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades,* p. 222.
[159] L. Welters, and A. Lillethun (eds), *The Fashion Reader* (London and New York: Berg Publishers, 2007), p. 18.

outdoors wear, for formal or informal, court dress or 'home attire with boundaries sharply defined. The gradual wearing of loose clothing for example, transgressed these boundaries leading to unorthodoxy and censure. Yet as she notes, dress was one way in which women 'could exert agency by controlling the gaze.[160] The combination of dress elements within *Windswept Girl* alludes to the discussed imagery that recognised this colonial link to the *Arabian Nights Entertainment*. Ribeiro states that 'by the late 1780s the chemise gown was *de riguer* for fashionable informal wear all over Europe.'[161] This casually revealing style was 'often worn with simple pastoral accessories such as a straw hat, aprons and coloured sashes.'[162] The subject's hair hangs loosely reflecting changes in dress throughout Europe that were instigated by the French Revolution that mirrored ideals of freedom and egalitarianism in dress when 'hoops, wigs and hair powder had virtually disappeared from fashionable circles; women's tower hairstyles relaxed into soft, round clouds of curls.'[163]

Hence, within this portrait the subject's dress reproduces the East Indian adoption of current modes of fashionable dress and projects the societal aspirations of the subject. The turban as a specific accessory or adjunct explicitly mimics and apes the dominant vogue for *turquerie*. Furthermore, constructed in a blue silk fabric with white embellishments and an ostrich feather the headdress directly alludes to contemporary metropolitan fashions and this is evidenced in the print *Characters in High Life* (Fig 31) from 1795. Here the satirist frankly lampoons two female companions at a ball because of their blatant adoption of vertiginous ostrich feathers in their turbans. As Mcreery observes 'satirical prints help provide a window onto this complex, inconsistent, and at times paradoxical cult of women.'[164] One of the subject's is pictured wearing a 'grotesquely high bunch of erect feathers in her turban' whilst the other wears 'a

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[160] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p.143.
[161] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.230.
[162] Welters and Lillethun (eds), *The Fashion Reader,* p. 18.
[163] Welters and Lillethun (eds), *The Fashion Reader,* pp. 14-15.
[164] McCreery, *The Satirical Gaze,* p. 5.

fashionable turban with tall feathers at the front.'[165] Initially the contemporary observer is impressed by the independence of these young women walking together at the New Rooms at the Opera House in London. Yet the satirist quickly draws the gaze back to the negative critique of the outrageously fashionable feathered turbans and their problematic and overtly sexualised femininity.

However, in *Windswept Girl* the turban is a constructed object of costume that does not represent authentic Indian dress. Despite these limitations the portrait allows us to engage with the discourse surrounding the Indianised female body because the feminine subject is assumed to be standing in a picturesque Indian landscape and the British experience of India was an intensely physical experience.[166] Lady Henrietta Clive for example, recorded in her journal that her daughters 'will I am afraid lose their bloom before you see them and be quite brown. I will be *black*, much more so than any of the *Herberts* at Powis Castle.'[167] Despite this, Devis's figure stands formally and the erect subject's limbs are elongated with the look of deliberate artifice that arguably stemmed from Devis's employment of his father's formal qualities in this work, together with Reynolds's 'advanced idea about the natural dignity of classical drapery.'[168] Devis's adoption of these methods of representation suited the belief that British women reflected the civilization of the west and within their position in Indian society they were 'the primary indicators of western refinement and high culture.'[169]

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[165] James Gillray, *The High Life*, BM 1868,0808.63449. Description and comment from M. Dorothy George, 'Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum', VII, 1942. They are identified as the Duchess of Rutland and her unmarried sister [sic], Lady Gertrude Manners.
[166] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* p. 1.
[167] Lady Henrietta Clive's Journal, August 30th, 1800 in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* p. 211.
[168] Hollander, *Fabric of Vision,* p. 99.
[169] Collingham, *Imperial Bodies,* p. 42.

Captain Bambridge and Mrs Elsie Bambridge the daughter of Rudyard Kipling purchased *Windswept Girl* in 1942.[170] The portrait physically embodied the family's East Indian narrative for the house and estate. The specific appeal of objects relating to India stemmed directly from Rudyard Kipling's time spent in the sub-continent and the impact it made on his daughter. In 2007 Alastair Laing, the National Trust's Curator of Pictures attributed *Windswept Girl* to Arthur William Devis. This was on the basis of 'the exotic buildings and turban, and affinities with other portraits of children by Devis.'[171] He continued 'but it must be admitted that the attribution is not beyond cavil: whilst it is not clear whether the subject may not after all be an actress rather than just a young girl.'[172] As the previous discussion has demonstrated, actresses such as Elizabeth Farren achieved significant celebrity within eighteenth century metropolitan society. In 1790 Thomas Lawrence exhibited *Elizabeth Farren, Later Duchess of Derby* (Fig 32) at the Royal Academy but as Kenneth Garlick comments 'it was not, however, *Queen Charlotte* but *Miss Farren* which caught the popular imagination.'[173] The belief that *Windswept Girl* may have been incorrectly labelled as a depiction of Farren reveals that any examination of portraiture from the sub-continent must navigate this complex terrain of historical uncertainty and iconographic misinterpretation. Moreover, attributing Devis's work has proved historically problematic because he rarely signed or

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[170] The Curators notes indicate that the portrait *A Windswept Girl* [NT 207810] was purchased at a 'sale of a mansion at Tattershall, near Chester" and was lent by F.C Graham Menziers in 1930 to a Park Lane Exhibition.

[171] Email correspondance with Iain Stewart, House & Collections Manager, Wimpole Estate, Arrington, Cambridgeshire.

[172] Email correspondance with Iain Stewart, House & Collections Manager, Wimpole Estate, Arrington, Cambridgeshire. Laing argues that the inspiration for the picture originated from Thomas Lawrence's *Miss Sarah Moulton-Barrett 'Pinkie',* 1794. He suggests that 'Pinkie was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1795, so it is very possible that Devis – if he is the artist – saw it there on his return from India that same year.' The Heinz Archive and Library, NPG, Artists box, Ben Marshall, contains a negative of *Windswept Girl* with the reverse inscription 'Portrait of a Young Lady' by Ben Marshall, 'Nellie Farren'; for the connection to Ben Marshall see W. Shaw Sparrow, 'C.J.H (Sir Charles Holmes), George Stubbs and Ben Marshall', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 57, No. 329 (Aug., 1930), p. 97. It states 'It was mentioned in his review of Shaw Sparrow's Stubbs & Marshall in the Burlington Magazine, August 1930, 'The remarkable picture of *A Young Lady Walking in a Landscape* by Ben Marshall may possibly not have been discovered till the proofs had gone to press.'

[173] K. Garlick, *Sir Thomas Lawrence* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), p. 3.

dated his pictures.[174] A large proportion of Devis's work has been credited in the past to other artists, notably Zoffany and Romney.[175]

Arthur William Devis had arrived in Calcutta in November 1784 where he joined the resident artists Johan Zoffany, Francesco Renaldi and Thomas Hickey.[176] Artists in London used EIC servants to bring art works back to England on Company ships thus emphasising how a work of small proportions would be practically more useful and Devis clearly adopted this method. This image from Wimpole Hall in Cambridgshire demonstrates the diminuitive dimensions of this full-length work and its current hang above the fireplace in Mrs Bambridge's bedroom. (Fig 33) As Sydney Paviere states 'many of the important portraits he [Devis] painted were on canvases that measured fifty by forty inches.'[177] Gavin Hamilton writing to Ozias Humphry from Calcutta 1789 confirmed this method 'if I can get any of the officers of this ship to take charge of them I may send them to you.'[178] Devis became known for the placement of his subjects' on their own estate, a style of conversation piece that was a typical trait of his fathers work, and this helped distinguish him from his rivals.[179] His father had painted Warren Hastings on two occasions in 1769 and this association may have eased Devis's introduction into the society of Calcutta.[180] William Baillie writing to Ozias Humprey on the 23rd November 1793 commented 'he paints most delightfully I think especially small figures, in which I like his handling and colouring even better than Zoffany's.'[181] The physical similarity of the portrait to other pictures by Devis created during his time

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[174] Archer, *India and British Portraiture,* p. 239.
[175] A. Walker, *Arthur William Devis* (Preston: Harris Museum and Art Gallery 2000), p. 7.
[176] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p.238.
[177] S. Paviere, *The Devis Family of Painters* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1950), p. 112.
[178] GB/0397 Royal Academy of Arts Archive. HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810, HU/4 Original correspondence of Ozias Humphry, volume 4 1788-1795, HU/4/18, Gavin Hamilton, Calcutta, to [Ozias Humphry], 15 Feb 1789.
[179] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 239.
[180] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 235.
[181] GB/0397 Royal Academy of Arts Archive. HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810, HU/4 Original correspondence of Ozias Humphry, volume 4 1788-1795. HU/4/88-89, William Baillie, Calcutta, to Ozias Humphry, Portrait Painter to His Majesty, No. 13 Old Bond Street, London, 23 Nov 1793.

in the East Indies and the artist's culturally engaged depiction of East Indian cultural details in his works, supports his making of *Windswept Girl* as these were compositional features that were specific to his practice.

Windswept Girl's dimensions suggest this was a modest commission by a Company servant who would have been a soldier within their army or a colonial merchant. This reflected the growing desire motivating the middle classes to use portraiture to project a distinct social identity.[182] Within commercial society, aristocrats and merchants employed portrait painters equally and David Solkin notes that 'images of these men and their families mingled promiscuously on the walls of the Academy.'[183] Yet portraiture in this period was not solely for the elite either in London or in the East Indies. The type of individual drawn to the East Indies was attracted by the prospect of rapid financial and social advancement. Whilst an EIC servant might receive a salary from the Company, most also expected perquisites and unofficial profits that were attached to the office, particularly from trading.[184] Nonetheless, they had to endure a long and hazardous journey to India that could take up to two months onboard a Company ship. Lady Henrietta Clive wrote to her brother George Herbert in July 1798, recounting news of a lady's unexpected arrival in Madras 'think of anybody coming to the East Indies by *mistake!!!!*'[185]

As discussed earlier in the chapter, Breskin argues that dress was fundamental within colonial society in transmitting societal allegiances and martial status. She notes 'it would be historically inaccurate to ignore the prominent role a husband played in the commission of his wife's portrait and the concomitant decisions about dress, pose, and

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[182] S. West, *Portraiture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 81. Despite extensive research at the NPG Heniz Archive and Library, I have been unable to establish how much Devis charged for his portraits.
[183] S. West, *Portraiture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 93.
[184] Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes,* p. 13.
[185] Lady Henrietta Clive to George Herbert, July 23rd in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* p. 87.

setting.'[186] For a woman in the eighteenth century this identity could be indispensable in securing her husband's position within society. Marriage was recurrently the clearest commissioning motivator for portraits since it was a fundamentally life changing practice for the majority of genteel woman in this period. As Vickery states 'marriage was a 'thing of the utmost consequence', involving 'so material a Change of Life.''[187] This is apparent in *Windswept Girl* through the posture of the female subject. (Fig 30) Her left-hand and ring finger are directed to the viewer's gaze and a ring is clearly discernible on her ring finger. Given this, it is highly plausible that her prospective spouse commissioned this work to celebrate their East Indian marriage.[188] While many portraits were initially exhibited in the Royal Academy's Great Room and were then delivered to their original owners, the direction of this portrait – as a souvenir of time spent in the East Indies – would have been to hang in an English country house obtained through wealth that had been acquired from service in the EIC.[189]

Yet, unquestionably this work is extremely elusive, even down to its uncertainty of authorship. The very lack of security about the painting is itself a validation of the complex, protean, centrality and conflicted circumstances of late eighteenth century pivotal imperial exchanges with, in, and about India with which it engages. Since the subject is unidentified the picture is divorced from the circumstances of its original commission.[190] Vibert has argued that a de-contextualised portrait has:

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[186] Breskin, '"On the Periphery of a Greater World", p. 110. Breskin makes this comment in relation to the *turquerie* portraits of John Singleton Copley.
[187] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter,* p. 39. Also see p. 8.
[188] Heinz Archive and Library, NPG, Artists box, Ben Marshall. Negative of image, reverse inscription 'Portrait of a Young Lady' by Ben Marshall, 'Nellie Farren', sent by Miss Lee Boyce, 1930. Negative (no. 83995) was taken by Henry Dixon & Son, 112 Albany Street, NW. This image demonstrates that she is wearing a wedding ring on the index finger of her left hand.
[189] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 26. See Chart 2; See the NT curatorial notes in which the provenance states that it was originally acquired from a "sale of a mansion at Tattershall, near Chester" in the North West of England, which was the second most popular place for landed estates by colonial merchants during this period.
[190] G. Perry, K. Retford and J. Vibert (eds), *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), p. 193.

> A story that involves restoring some of the original contexts of its production and display, and reflecting on how such contexts might have shaped its meaning for a contemporary audience.[191]

As the evidence has demonstrated *Windswept Girl* marks a specific stage in the life of this young woman. In this context the turban can be read two ways, firstly as a gender trope that marks the girl's place within the gendered world of the colonies. Secondly, it can be seen as masquerade costume, a highly performative adoption of dress within this framework. This work was commissioned and painted during a period of changing fortunes for the EIC. In 1793 the 'Permanent Settlement' of Bengal's finances and new Charter Act was passed and this breached the Company's trade monopoly for the first time. Furthermore, in 1795 Hastings was finally acquitted at his Impeachment trial that had begun in 1788.[192] Yet most significantly, the portrait anticipates the Siege of Serigaptam in 1799 - part of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War – which was a moment of pivotal national pride for Britain. Beth Fowkes Tobin argues that Devis's portraits hint at India's power to absorb British activity and thereby dilute British authority.[193] In this work, the turban symbolises an embodied intimacy with the East Indies. Moreover, it signals a final flourish of cultural-hybridisation during a period of transition in which the power of the EIC in the East Indies would latterly diminish under Lord Wellesy.

Whilst the insecurities inherent within the provenance of *Windswept Girl* limit a fully rendered interpretation of the choice to wear a turban in India by a feminine subject, by contrast the portrait of *Susannah Wales, Lady Malet* (Fig 34) expands the representational issues of burgeoning young womanhood and the complex sexual politics of empire. Susannah Wales was the eldest of James Wales's five daughters who had journeyed with their mother to Bombay to join the artist in the sub-continent

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[191] Perry, Retford and Vibert (eds), *Placing Faces,* p. 220.
[192] N. Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational* (London: Pluto, 2012), p. xvii.
[193] Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power,* p. 138.

and the portrait was painted after the death of Wales's wife Mary in 1795.[194] Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin state:

> Susanna's clothing acknowledges her adventure of traveling to India with her father for it mixes Western and Eastern styles. She is dressed in an English morning gown with a frilly lace collar, but overlaying her arms is a gold-flecked shawl of Indian silk, and she wears a hat with a partial shape of a Rajput turban headdress decorated with gossamer and braided silk.[195]

The wearing of cool Indian muslin, a fabric woven with gold and silver, was particularly prevalent between 1790-1810 as it 'fitted in with glittery regency taste.'[196] A journal entry confirms Lady Henrietta Clive's appreciation of the textile 'one particular of brown muslin with a very handsome gold border which is the same as the *Rajah's* wives wore.'[197] The adoption of Indian textiles by English women strengthened its popularity as a highly fashionable and culturally hybridised textile. The work returned to England the Malet family collection at Dillington House in Somerset.[198] Corresponding with *Windswept Girl* the portrait's portable dimensions of 75 x 63 cm facilitated the portraits safe passage on an EIC vessel back to England. But unlike *Windswept Girl* the original commissioning context of this work remained intact and identifiable within its familial context.

Wales portrayed his sixteen-year-old daughter within a climate of nostalgia and sentiment, which was highly personal to him due to the recent death of his wife. This was aligned to the broader cultural trends within eighteenth-century society as to the precious nature of children. However, Pointon observes that:

> Women were infantilised in practice and in theory, and portraiture of women and children is one of the disciplines where representation, linking theory and practice, establishes the analogous relationship that equates femininity and childhood.[199]

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[194] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 347.
[195] H. de Almedia and G. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 84.
[196] Collingam, *Imperial Bodies*, p. 42.
[197] Lady Henrietta Clive's Journal, September 24th 1799 in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* p. 239.
[198] dillingtonhouse.com [accessed 2nd March 2020].
[199] Pointon, *Hanging the Head,* p. 184.

She reasons it exposed the centrality of gender, class and age in the dynamics of eighteenth-century power relations. In the East Indies this was more overt as girls could be married at puberty. As Lady Henrietta Clive observed 'he [the Nawab] admired my girls and asked if they were married! He thought them quite old enough at eleven and thirteen for marriage in this country.'[200] The interchangeability between the sitter being perceived a 'female child' or a 'young woman' of marriageable age expresses the complexity in reading the visual symbolisation of depictions of English women wearing Indian dress accessories, in an age when it was not uncommon for girls to be married at fifteen.[201]

As such, Fowkes Tobin reflects that as a child Lady Malet's adoption of Indian dress forms would not have been considered as corrupting or damaging.[202] Wales's deep affection for his family is evidenced in his diary for 1792 that included long lists of the posting dates of letters to his Margaret, his wife at home in England.[203] Evidence of a father spoiling his daughter with Indian ornament is evident in *Hartly House* 'that a set of diamond pins from the very mines of Golconda have been given to me by my father.'[204] Still, an alternate reading of the portrait of *Susannah Wales* links patriarchy in its familial and sexual manifestations. Within this framework, Lady Malet's appropriation of the turban is engendered with latent sexual connotations that foretell her future marriage. This is an argument Pointon employs in relation to Lady Mary Montagu Whortly – who was paraded and exhibited amongst members of the Kit-Kat Club at the age of seven, in a form of masculine ritual – whilst toasting her beauty.[205] (Fig 10)

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[200] Lady Henrietta Clive to Lady Douglas, October 6th 1798 in Shields, *Birds of Passage,* p. 66.
[201] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 141.
[202] Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, p. 128.
[203] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 347.
[204] Clough (ed), *Hartly House*, p. 97.
[205] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 144.

In 1792 Wales had painted Amber Kaur who was the esteemed *bibi* of Sir Charles Warren Malet, then the Company Resident at Poona. This work formed part of the collection of works undertaken by Wales for his patron at the Maratha court after Malet had successfully negotiated a treaty with the Maratha prince Peshwa Madhu Rao Narayan against Tipu Sultan in 1790 (Fig 35).[206] Taking a *bibi*, or Indian mistress aided an Englishmen's assimilation and in the second half of the century a large proportion of Company servants continued this practice.[207] The resulting burgeoning Eurasian population meant transculturation became an accepted norm in a period when as Dalrymple notes 'the world of friendship was not yet soured by imported European ideas of racialism, nor was apartheid-like separation of races considered at all desirable.'[208] Wales died in in October 1795 and Charles Malet subsequently returned to Britain with Susannah and his three children by Amber Kaur, where they were married.[209]

Expanding the discourse of the sexualised portraiture of English women wearing Indian dress is the portrait of *Mrs Elizabeth Sophia Plowden; with her children and Indian fan-bearer* (Fig 36). As with the two other portraits considered in part II of this chapter, it was painted in the 1790s and it portrays Plowden dressed in the sexually charged costume of a *nautch* dancer. Despite her heavily jewelled décolletage Plowden maintains a modicum of decorum by projecting her gaze downwards to her child, whilst she clasps the child's hand to reinforce her maternal role. Nevertheless, the Indian male servant observes her openly. This is an atypical portrait and one that again demonstrates the western feminine appropriation of Indian dress as a performative act to evoke travel. Plowden wears an authentic costume of Indian dress that incorporates

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[206] De Almedia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, p. 83.
[207] Jackson and Jaffer, *Encounters*, pp. 161-162.
[208] Jackson and Jaffer, *Encounters*, p. 167.
[209] Busteed, *Echoes From Old Calcutta,* p. 126.

a turban and jewellery similar to that worn in the *Habit of a Lady of Indostan* (Fig 16). Debatably, Plowden is able to subvert acceptable standards of feminine presentation because in the 1790s Britain's supremacy of the East Indian continent was reaching its climax. Mirroring the familial transmission of the ensemble worn by Captain John Foote (Fig 11) Plowden's outfit returned to England from India and it has been interpreted as a gendered form of imperial self-fashioning.[210] Archer states that whilst in India the sitter would have only been able to wear Indian dress for masquerade but that crucially, within the dynamic of metropolitan portraiture this was now permissible.[211] Painted on Plowden's homecoming to England in 1797 Archer states that the portrait was commissioned to commemorate Mrs Plowden's acceptance of a *sanad* through Major Palmer from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam in 1788 in which she was granted the title of 'Begum' and cited as 'the Bikis' (Queen of Sheba) of the age.[212]

Adopting Said's position Fowkes Tobin argues:

> The wearing of "native" clothing for Britons often was an index of their ability to master the alien and the exotic. In having their portraits painted wearing native costumes, Britons claimed authority over the foreign by displaying alien practices on their bodies. In an act of incorporation, they signaled their pleasure in, and thus their mastery over, the exotic.[213]

Correspondingly, Nechtman writes that in 1783 Plowden attended a masquerade in Calcutta as a 'Cashmiri Singer' which was not out of cultural admiration for Indian dress but because she was an influential British woman in Calcutta society. As in London masquerades in the three Presidency cities were as an integral part of the social scene.[214] Despite dears of 'going native' English women wore Indian costume to masquerade here because in this performative role they did not transgress any societal and cultural norms. Moreover it was her desire to emulate the ultra fashionable vogue

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[210] M. Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East 1750-1850,* (New York: Knopf, 2005) pp. 3-114.
[211] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 12.
[212] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 412.
[213] Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, p. 111.
[214] Busteed, *Echoes From Old Calcutta*, p. 143.

of *turquerie* as initiated by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.[215] Plowden was described as wearing a 'turban…of coloured Muslin with a silver Tasel [*sic*] and a band of silver embroidery around it which fastened with a Clasp of jewels composed of Rubies, Diamonds and Emeralds.'[216] Hence, Ray states that the costume conventions of masquerade and portraiture – both visualisations of performance - enabled Plowden to flirt with the dangerous dichotomy of home and empire and the accusation of having 'gone native'.[217] As such she had converted into an imperial hybrid, a British female body and a Queen of British society in Indian costume.[218]

In examining the three paintings from the 1790s, it has been demonstrated that the narrative surrounding the turban as a negative political metaphor for the EIC was no longer present. In this decade the turban was not an unsettling adjunct. It represented two tangents of thought during this decade. Firstly, it engendered a final physical engagement with the ethnicity of the East Indian sub-continent by wearing dress directly connected to the region. Secondly, this confidence in wearing Indian dress at this particular time exhibited the mounting ascendency of the British nation. Whilst Britain's fortunes were still inherently linked to the EIC the imagery began to reflect the confidence of nationhood at the growing expense of the Company. In response to this Eaton argues:

> Mimicry has played an instrumental role in the reassessment of cross-cultural encounters. The transactions that took place between the metropolis and colonies resulted not so much in the desired replication of metropolitan authority but rather in the production of undesirable resemblances.[219]

The British acquisition of nationhood in the nineteenth century is apparent in *Ackerman's Repository of Arts* from June 1813. (Fig 37) The illustrations

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[215] Nechtman, 'Nabobinas', p. 11.
[216] Nechtman, 'Nabobinas', p. 12. This quote is taken from a letter that Mrs Elizabeth Sophia Plowden wrote to her sister Lucy on the 4th April 1783 [Miss Eur, B 187, 10, OIOC].
[217] Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree,* p. 185.
[218] Nectman, 'Nabobinas', p. 12.
[219] N. Eaton, 'The Art of Colonial Despotism: Portraits, Politics, and Empire in South India, 1750-1795', *Cultural Critique*, Vol. 70, 2008, p. 65.

accompanying the text describe the dress as 'an Indian turban, of silver frosted crape, decorated with pearl or white beads.'[220] The turban itself bears little relation to an authentic Indian turban and it supports Eaton's contention that the authentic oriental experience had become lost in metropolitan translation. Under the title 'Letter from a Young lady in London to her friend in the country' she gives a description of fashionable 'Full dress' 'few Eastern turbans were observed to blend with the small Spanish hat and regent's plume, at a recent assembly given by a celebrated marchioness; but the hair is still dressed in the Grecian style.'[221] As such, it demonstrates the altered communality to dress that developed in the early nineteenth century, whereby garments relating to different nations were adopted piece-meal to form an ensemble.

The images examined demonstrate this societal shift away from the once highly controversial figures of the Nabob and his wife, the Nabobina. Indeed, James Holzman states that after 1785 the Nabob had become less contentious and was increasingly accepted in British society.[222] For Archer India was now 'a matter of national pride and the earlier misgivings about the expansion of British rule were fading.'[223] John Wilson, Aide-de-Camp to General Robert Abercrombie in Bombay had written to his cousin General Sir Adam Williamson in 1788 'India is now a very different place to what it was some few years ago, and I believe it would be as difficult now to make a fortune as in any part of the world.'[224] Osborne stresses that newspapers from the period played a central role in shifting public opinion away from a corrupt view of the EIC to a more inspiring view of imperial expansion. Moreover, he argues that evidence from

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[220] R. Ackermann (ed), *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics*, For January 1813. Vol. IX. (Jan-Jun), p. 368.
[221] Ackermann, *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics,* For July 1813. Vol. X., (Jul-Dec) p. 54.
[222] J. Holzman, *The Nabobs in England: A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785* (New York, 1925), p. 13.
[223] M. Archer and R. Lightbowen, *India Observed: India as Viewed by British Artists 1760-1860* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982), p. 13.
[224] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 91.

contemporary newspapers demonstrated the public's desire for greater information about India and the EIC in the English press during the period of the Revolutionary Wars with France in the 1790s, particularly when compared to reportage during the Seven Years' War in the 1750s.[225] This was in large part because fortunes were now less easily come by and as such the perceived threat of new wealth towards the nation had receded.

The imagery has established that during the 1790s a final pictorial engagement for western women with Indian dress. These works provided a final fanfare of cultural-hybridity and translation whereby the turban did not feature as an unsettling adjunct but was instead a marker of ethnic understanding and value. Conversely, from the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a marked and progressive absence of Indian dress in portraiture by British servants of the EIC because of the growth in racialism and ethnic separation. Multi-cultural assimilation and racial hybridity were no longer tolerated, particularly amongst the women of the gentry whose husbands or fathers would have commissioned a portrait. De Almedia and Gilpin state that 'portraits could work with the interiors of houses to establish bombastic narratives of imperial conquest and containment.'[226] Thus the country house by operating as a frame for the portraits and objects positioned within it could be seen as stimulating this negotiation of imperial space.[227]

To conclude, this chapter has considered the relationship between societies perception of the Nabob – a masculine figure that identified specifically with the Eastern excesses of the EIC – and its shifting relationship with the feminine equivalent, the Nabobina. Through close scrutiny of the visual material but within this context specifically prints, it

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[225] Osborne, 'India and the East India Company in the Public Sphere of Eighteenth-Century Britain', p. 203.
[226] De Alemdia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance,* p. 104.
[227] Perry, Retford and Vibert (eds), *Placing Faces,* p. 5.

has demonstrated that prominent feminine figures such as Queen Charlotte and Marian Hastings became subsumed in this rhetoric as broader societal fears relating to overt luxury and fashion were affixed to these feminine bodies.

Moreover, through a closer understanding of the power of contemporary literature and the relationship it had with the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, it has been shown that the burgeoning East Indian scholarship of William Jones instigated a fusion of dress that began with the ubiquitous *turquerie* but began to incorporate East Indian elements from the 1790s onwards. Portraiture in this later period establishes this position clearly and demonstrates that at this point Western women felt sufficiently confident to be depicted wearing ethnic dress that managed to negotiate the problematic perception of 'going native' that was beginning to take hold at the start of the nineteenth century. The role of ethnicity by the Western wearer demonstrated a stronger awareness and engagement with the other. However, as the imagery has reflected, societal and cultural group differences persisted and the surviving portraits of western feminine engagement with Indian dress denote a final flourish of cultural-hybridisation that appealed to the British gaze.

The next chapter will continue the discussion of pictorial demonstrations of the visual aesthetic of the Orient through the turban. It will expand the remit of forms of knowledge acquisition acquired by a mercantile Company to include dress from a professional and semi-professional frame. Specifically, it will look at the relationship of the EIC servant and the role of Indian dress as a cultural mediator within the linguistic service of the translator. In considering this alternate reading of the turban, the themes discussed in this chapter, and the relationship to gendered appropriation, will be interrogated more intensely to understand the embodied cultural hybridity created through specific forms of dress and in turn, their pictorial representations.

Chapter 2

Travellers and Translators: The Returning Indian Turban as EIC Uniform.

In *British Asian Style, Fashion and textiles/past and present* Christopher Breward, Philip Crang and Rosemary Crill identify the impact of Indian dress in colonial and post-colonial British society as an 'under-represented aspect of Britain's cultural heritage and contemporary creative environment.'[228] This chapter will examine the Indian turban in British society from a male perspective. It will extend the narrative beyond Foote's portrait and surviving dress to identify and give far greater attention to currently underexplored portraits. Association with India and the British male was almost exclusively through service in the EIC. As identified in the previous chapter, the turban is a specific dress accessory with important significations. Whilst identifying the more obvious despotic oriental associations allied to the turban and society it will create a discursive enquiry into unexplored themes of the translator and traveller and their interaction with Indian dress on their return to Britain. It will provide an expanded reading of the complex inter-connected relationship between the British and the Indian turban, seen as a focal point of Indian princely magnificence and EIC corruption.

It will assess portraits of British men wearing turbans as part of depicted Indian dress and interrogate whether these portraits fall under the orientalist sub-category of art as postulated by Edward Said. Tara Mayer has presented new perspectives on this theory, arguing that Art Historians have traditionally seen them firstly, as part of the European imperialist project of 'gaining mastery over the Orient' and secondly, as

[228] C. Breward, P, Crang and R. Crill (eds), *British Asian Style: Fashion and Textiles Past and Present* (London: V&A Publications, 2011), p. 9.

visual proof of Europeans 'going native'.[229] By analysing portraiture as an act of public performance, however, she argues for a third perspective 'The performance of both artist and sitter alike were not intended for the colonial population, but for the spectators of colonialism situated 'back home' in Europe.'[230] For the context of this chapter, with its primary focus on the reception of Indian dress in Britain, there are fundamental discussions allied to deeper arguments surrounding identity, the 'self' and more recent theories of auto/biography. Persistently seen within the parameters of imperialism and post-colonialism, the influence of the EIC upon its servants - influencing choices of dress and subsequently portraiture - has not been fully surveyed. Seeking to understand how the role of public performance operated within the employment of a mercantile company it will examine whether personal agency or communication was demonstrated through the adoption of Indian dress. As such, it will challenge our conventional perception of the dishonest and culturally dominant nature of service in the EIC, to establish that language similarly facilitated a higher level of cultural hybridity through dress than has hitherto been acknowledged.

Bernard Cohn observes 'The substantial nature of authority in the Indic World is crucial for any understanding of the widespread significance of cloth and clothes, as they are a medium through which substances can be transferred.'[231] The male turban in India he argues, alongside other Middle Eastern cultures, can be assessed under both materialist and symbolic lenses. 'Clothes literally are authority', whilst their symbolic 'significations' are allied to the mystique of Kingship, with the head the locus of power.[232] Prior to the nineteenth century, the widespread headgear in India was the

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[229] For discussion of 'going native' see V. Wilson, 'Western Modes and Asian Clothes: Reflections on Borrowing Other People's Dress', *Costume* 36 (2002), pp. 139-57.
[230] T. Mayer, 'Cultural Cross-Dressing: Posing and Performance in Orientalist Portraits', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 22, Issue 2, 2012, p. 281.
[231] A. Weiner and J. Schneider (eds), *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1989), p. 312.
[232] Weiner and Schneider, *Cloth and Human Experience*, p. 345.

turban and this was worn by all of society, from the lowest menial to the ruler.[233] As independent kingdoms grew, regional turban styles developed and individual types established themselves with their distinctive shapes, fabric, and adornment.[234] *Nawab Mubarak al-Daula of Murshidabad (1770-93) enthroned in durbar, with British Resident, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, and the Nawab's son, Babur 'Ali* (Fig 38) a watercolour from 1795, visually confirms the strong bodily significations of the turban in Indian culture whereby the greater the ornamentation and decoration of the turban, the higher the status of the wearer. The Nizam - in an audience with the British Resident Sir John Hadley D'Oyly - is placed centrally in the composition, whilst his courtiers circle him in turbans of increasing plainness.[235] In contrast, *Colonel Polier and his Friends* (Fig 39) by Johan Zoffany presents Antoine Polier wearing an unadorned Afghan fur turban and a long Mughal moustache. Dressed in his EIC uniform he sits beside Claude Martin and John Wombwell - likewise wearing EIC uniform - alongside Zoffany wearing a blue cloak. Considered a Eurocentric work of orientalism the image is assessed by Maya Jasanoff in *Zoffany: Society Observed*. She writes 'Polier surveys the fruit of his land with proprietorial care, every inch the lord of the manor, and a nabob from the neck up: with his fur hat and long drooping moustache, he uncannily resembles his employers, the nawabs.'[236] However, the importance of the turban worn by Polier and its signalled engagement within the work has not been sufficiently interrogated. Most obviously it can draw us into a debate regarding the semi-mughalisation of Polier and his colleagues who were residing and working in Lucknow during the 1780s.

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[233] R. Crill, *Hats from India* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1985), p. 6.
[234] Crill, *Hats*, p. 11.
[235] Crill, *Hats*, p. 16. Crill observes that the Southern states had a far less developed tradition of wearing turbans because 'most turban-wearing areas came under Mughal dominion early on and their costume was correspondingly influenced by Northern Indian Muslim dress. The costume of the early Mughals was basically Persian.'
[236] M. Postle (eds), *Johan Zoffany: Society Observed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 134.

Formed of two parts this chapter will first examine how the portrait of *Major William Davy, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General, in Persian Dress* (Fig 40) was read and absorbed within the context of cultural authority in Britain on its return from the East Indies. In assessing the work concerning the professional capacity of Major Davy as a translator the Indian turban – with its multiple readings – can be interpreted as a reproduction of the EIC as a form of uniform, part of the military sense of pride in presentation. Similarly, it can be seen to reflect the crossing influences of cultural absorption exhibiting an appreciation and outward display of pride and respect for this culture through the work of translation. The chapter will consider the duality witnessed through the theoretical framework of auto/biography as part of a personal narrative. By adopting this approach, it will question whether service in the EIC superseded personal preference of depiction and as such, what personal agency was available whilst working for the EIC. Translation, within the framework of cultural dominance – as argued by Lawrence Venuti, in what he maintains is the scandal of translation - will be unpacked to offer a more nuanced methodology to the depicted professional life of an EIC translator.[237]

The second part of the chapter will challenge the image making of EIC travellers. Acting as a marker of place the male turban embodied travel. It will consider the function of Indian dress for travellers associated with the EIC and whether portraits of travellers wearing turbans whilst in India operated in the same way as portraits of male travellers wearing the oriental dress from the Ottoman Empire. It will explore these intersections in the context of three individuals. Firstly, William Frankland of Muntham Court, Sussex, who after service with the EIC in India spent the following three years travelling through the Middle East wearing oriental dress as protection before acquiring

[237] L. Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 166.

an estate in Sussex.[238] Secondly, it will examine Hugh Seton, Baron of Touch and Tullibody, who fled to India to escape financial difficulties in Britain and was latterly painted by James Wales between 1792-1794. Finally, it will scrutinise the artist Charles Smith, who journeyed to India to find work in a competitive market dominated by Zoffany. His subsequent work raises deeper questions surrounding the turban's appropriation for self-promotion and status at a time of patriotic fervor, nine years after the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings.

Tilly Kettle represents an EIC translator in the portrait of *Major William Davy, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General, in Persian Dress* (Fig 40).[239] To be depicted in this form of dress offers a glimpse into the dynamics that existed between an EIC officer and the artist; and as such the method, intention and purpose of this work. Kettle's depiction of Davy as a Company servant is typical; his depiction of a European in the native dress is not. Crucially, this relies on whether the portrait was painted whilst Kettle was still in India or whether it was painted or completed on his return.[240] As such, it suggests that Davy revisited England before returning to India and sat for Kettle. Additionally, the ownership of the outfit and turban is brought into question within this artistic context. Artists traditionally used dress items as a prop and it is highly plausible that Kettle may have acquired some items during his time in the East Indies. However, *Khilats* were given as a ceremonial gift to EIC servants and thus it is plausible that in his professional role as translator Davy obtained this dress ensemble.

Kettle has chosen an oval format to capture Davy with the sitter facing to his right, his eyes engaging directly with the viewer. Reynolds's *Portrait of a gentleman in a red coat* (Fig 41) reveals the elevated sense of depth and recession this form provided. By

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[238] D. R. Banting, *William of Muntham: A Nabob of Sussex* (Sussex: Dr. Banting, 1984), p. 21.
[239] S. Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife: Transcribed in Full From the Originals in the British Museum* (London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1905), p. 212.
[240] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. Contents.

tightening the gaze on the sitter a new psychological intensity was created which is evident in the portrait of Davy. Kettle's use of the oval demonstrates knowledge of this popular device but his representation of Davy, which measures a diminutive 35 x 30 cm, suggests an intimate and very personal depiction of the sitter. Held at the NAM the portrait of Davy forms part of their collection associated with the English experience in India. Two oval portraits of Major Davy are held within the collection and neither is currently on public display. *Major William Davy, Bengal Army, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General, in Persian Dress* (Fig 42) depicts Major Davy in Persian dress, with the curatorial file suggesting a date of c.1781. Whilst the portrait *Major William Davy, Bengal Native Infantry* (Fig 43) measures a slightly smaller 34.8 x 29.4 cm and portrays Major Davy, Bengal Native Infantry, c.1780 wearing the epaulettes associated with this rank.[241]

In the Persian portrait of Davy (Fig 42) he is depicted wearing a white shirt and undershirt with a sash beneath an embroidered or patterned burgundy jacket. The print detailing is picked out loosely, with gold paint used to show the collar and lapel detailing. His turban is made up of two fabrics, the matching patterned fabric of his jacket at the sides with corresponding striped brocade, possibly from Lucknow - in the centre. The portrait of *Two Indian Brothers wearing brocade coats and fur hats* (Fig 44) confirms the sumptuous use and detailing of the fabrics at the Lucknow Court. However, closer inspection reveals the existence of red underpainting of the right-hand shoulder, along with navy uniform edging and gold buttons/buttonholes from an EIC uniform under the added paint layer of the Persian costume. Also, under the striped turban, grey hair, styled in the same manner as in the second portrait is clearly visible.

[241] NAM Department of Fine and Decorative Arts, NAM.1981-01-22-1, Acc No.: 8101-22 and NAM.1981-01-21-1, Acc No.: 8101-21. Note: this gives the date for both paintings as c.1780. Pip Dodd, the Senior Curator at NAM has stated that the date given usually relates to what uniform the wearer is depicted in according to his rank and the date he acquired that rank.

The condition report indicates that 'the main area of loss, which has been over-painted, is in the shoulder and jacket of the sitter. There is also loss in the headdress.'[242]

The second portrait depicts Davy in Bengal Native infantry uniform (Fig 43) wearing a red jacket, navy collar, and lapels, gold buttons with embroidered gold button openings, gold shoulder epaulettes, with a cream waistcoat, frilled to the front and a white cravat. Clive had first introduced the British red coat into the Bengal army and the Bombay and Madras armies soon followed suit despite its unsuitability for the climatic conditions.[243] Kettle has positioned Davy in front of a landscape with a low horizon, with tumultuous rain-bearing skies, low hills, a stone wall and a tree placed to the left of the image. Whether this is an English or Indian landscape is inconclusive but any Indian landscape references appear lacking.[244] The two works immediately indicate that the decision to be depicted wearing this Persian dress was part of a complex narrative involving artist and sitter interaction, and layered meaning associated with Davy's service in the EIC. The evidence would suggest that Kettle painted two portraits in his uniform; one looking to the right, one to the left, and one was adapted later. The physical properties of the two portraits present strong similarities in painterly style and composition, yet the material make-up of the works differs enough to suggest they were not necessarily compiled side by side.

Consequently, the two portraits of Davy provide a reflexive engagement by representing the dichotomy of service with EIC – loyalty to the Company as a soldier who wore a uniform signifying position and rank, alongside portrayal in Indian dress – a more unusual choice suggesting personal agency in the adoption of the form of dress

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[242] NAM 8101-22, Condition Report, Curatorial file. [accessed 16th February 2016].
[243] R. Money Barnes, *Military Uniforms of Britain and the Empire* (London: Sphere, 1972), p. 42.
[244] Again painted on canvas, but this time cut to an oval and applied to soft-wood board without nails This work has been restored (see the 2 brown patches on the forehead) and there is damage in 2 places to the top left-hand corner. See Condition Report, Curatorial File, NAM.1981-01-21-1.

for the work. They speak of a representational arrangement with the 'other' that adheres to an aesthetic of exoticism but which expands the narrative of Davy's life further. In seeing a visual representation as part of the politics of performance, Peggy Phelan writes 'a representation of the real the image is as always, partially, phantasmatic.'[245] So, whilst representational visibility and political power are cultural theories challenged by the 'real', her approach allows space for 'the sexual and racial other.' It is in this aspect that her work is of relevance, 'in framing more and more images of the hitherto under-represented other'.[246]

Furthermore, within this framework Carol Tulloch and Sid Shelton consider the specific role dress plays. They observe that 'the subject of dress as auto/biography is of growing interest, the ways in which bodies are fundamental to life experiences, which in turn reflects everyday life.'[247] Their argument rests on the head wrapping of black African women in late nineteenth century Jamaica who wore this type of head covering every day as a 'styling system'.[248] As a 'styling system' the Indian turban was not everyday wear for Europeans in India; it was worn at specific times for specific events. So whilst the Curatorial file at the NAM refers to his dress as 'Persian Dress/Fancy Dress' my argument suggests there was a deeper ethnographic engagement in operation.[249] The curatorial statement suggests a link to masquerade and the fleeting performance of costume as displayed by Reynolds's portrait of Foote. Despite this, I will now expand the argument that Davy's portrait speaks directly to the specificity of his professional role as an EIC translator.

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[245] P. Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. 1.
[246] Phelan, *Unmarked,* p. 2.
[247] C. Tulloch and S. Shelton, *The Birth of Cool: Style Narratives of the African Dispora* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 7.
[248] Tulloch and Shelton, *The Birth of Cool*, p. 34.
[249] NAM Department of Fine and Decorative Art, NAM.1981-01-22-1, Acc No.: 8101-22.

To understand the pivotal relationship between Major William Davy and Robert Barker, the next part of the chapter will analyse the highly meaningful portrait *Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Awadh, with Four Sons, General Barker and Military Officers* (Fig 45). The work, signed and dated 1772, was one of eight surviving pictures identified by Archer from Kettle's time at Faizabad, with the artist being present at the proceedings and thus able to accurately depict dress details, as drawn from life. Sir Robert Barker – who had conducted negotiations with Shuja-ud-daula during his tenure as Provincial Commander-in-Chief in Bengal from 1770 to 1774 – commissioned the work.[250] Offering lower rates of pay than the regular army, EIC salaries were made up of *ad hoc* allowances and promotion was also strictly governed by seniority within the service: rather than through regimental authority, purchase, and merit. This would have attracted Davy. He had absconded from Eton and travelled to the West Indies where he then obtained a Cadetship in the EIC through his father in 1767 and by February 1782 he had risen to major which was the highest rank in the service.[251] Artistically, Kettle and Davy's relationship was established during the artist's stay in Faizabad, Lucknow during the early 1770s. Kettle petitioned the EIC in August 1768 arriving with a letter of recommendation for Hastings. Remaining in Madras for two years he moved to Calcutta towards the end of 1771.[252]

This is a statement work of art, full of impact, narrative and intercultural connotations. Nevertheless, whilst this image is discussed in Archer's *Portraiture in India*, insufficient attention has hitherto been paid to the compositional rendering of the EIC servants dress and their Indian sitters. Fundamentally, the previous scholarship has failed to fully interpret and interrogate the dress worn by Davy beyond its frequently denoted orientalist properties. Commemorating the offensive and defensive alliance concluded between Shuja-ud-daula and the Rohillas it depicts Captain John Cockrell, Military

[250] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 75.
[251] NAM 22-1, Curatorial file.
[252] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 72.

Secretary to Barker, Captain Gabriel Harper, commanding officer of the Company's troops, and 'in charge of negotiations with the Rohillas, Lieutenant William Davy, the Persian interpreter.'[253] Archer does not allude to Davy's Indian outfit. Her reference to him as 'the Persian translator' is taken from 'Tilly Kettle' by James Milner, published in In 1927 The Walpole Society published a mono illustration of the work with the caption making reference to the 'The Persian Interpreter', with the assumption therefore that as the interpreter he is wearing this dress.[254] Milner describes the dress of the participants:

> The Vizier, his right arm extended holds with his left hand the General's right; he and his four sons, ranged on his right are dressed in Afghan caps turned up with fur, and coloured silk robes; the General is wearing a tricorne hat, heavily gold-braided, scarlet military coat, gold-braided white waistcoat, and white breeches; his staff bareheaded and in scarlet uniforms, are on his right, with the interpreter in oriental costume in the foreground, somewhat to the rear of Sir Robert.[255]

The coded imagery proposes that this specific occasion – a celebration of the treaty – warranted particular apparel for Davy. Designated 'robes of honour' in English, the presentation of the *Khilat*, a Princely gift of dress items, symbolised a bodily act of incorporation, creating followers or subordinates.[256] Divided into three, five or seven pieces, the seven-piece *Khilat* included, 'a turban, long coat with a full skirt (*jamah*), a long gown (*ka'bah*), a close-fitting coat (*alkhaliq*), one or more kamrbands, trousers, a shirt, and a scarf.'[257] After the robe, the garment of most significance was the turban and associated ornaments that were customarily jewelled.[258] The outfit worn by Davy is most likely to have been gifted to him by the Nawab as a *Khilat* and that at this specific event he was entitled to wear the culturally laden ensemble. Other semi-Mughalised

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[253] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 75.
[254] J. Milner, 'Tilly Kettle, 1735-1786', *The Walpole Society*, Vol. 15, 1926, pp. 47-103. p.47, Plate XXIII.
[255] Milner, 'Tilly Kettle', p. 69.
[256] Weiner and Schneider, *Cloth and Human*, p. 314. A *Khilat* can also include weapons, horses and elephants.
[257] Weiner and Schneider*, Cloth and Human,* p. 313.
[258] Weiner and Schneider*, Cloth and Human,* p. 314.

Europeans generally wore Muslim dress only in the privacy of their homes, adopting their EIC uniforms in their public functions.[259] As such, this image of Davy is unusual.

The work is highly significant for three reasons. Firstly, it depicts an EIC solider in native dress, secondly because Davy's front row placement in the composition - in the foreground but not in front of Robert - confirms his status and thirdly, because it provides immediate evidence of the link between this depiction of himself wearing a turban and the later oval image wearing a turban. Davy's diminutive stature does not immediately assert his presence. Nevertheless, further scrutiny demonstrates that Kettle spent as much time in capturing Davy's outfit – with Faizabad turban – as the Vizier and his son's. Kettle's particular skill in accurately rendering local dress is something Archer comments upon, 'Kettle is highly skilled in treating costumes and through the use of slight impasto, he conveys the different textures of silk, muslin, rich brocade or soft marten fur.'[260] Davy even adopts a Mughal moustache alongside his hosts, a sartorial statement adopted by Polier (Fig 39).

This image proposes an highly significant visual correlation between *Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Awadh, with Four Sons, General Barker and Military Officers* (Fig 45) and Kettle's later work *The Teshu Lama (d 1780) Giving Audience* from c.1775 (Fig 46). This work portrays Bogle, an envoy sent by Hastings on a diplomatic trade mission to Tibet in March 1774, standing barefoot and wearing Tibetan dress as part of the diplomatic process. It reinforces the previously unidentified correlation of Company servants adopting native dress as a direct method of facilitating a higher level of cultural engagement when conducting Company business. This was a noteworthy expedition for Bogle and Hastings and this is evidenced by Bogle keeping a narrative of his journey. It is understood that Hastings commissioned Kettle to render the

[259] Weiner and Schneider, *Cloth and Human*, p. 310.
[260] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 80.

diplomatic engagement of Bogle with the Lama, as a work to be sent back to George III. [261] What this work can add to the discussion is that it demonstrates, and to a greater extent than has been considered before, the centrality of Hasting's policy to fully engage culturally through both language, and most importantly, the wearing of local dress. The knowledge of culture – in all its forms – was clearly vital. However, the Barker portrait of Davy wearing a native dress does pre-date the portrait of Bogle, proposing that Davy, working as Persian Secretary to Hastings, may have inspired the idea to send Bogle in Tibetan dress.

The Persian dress Davy wears in (Fig 42) and (Fig 45) differ considerably, suggesting he may have owned several *Khilats*. Eight years had elapsed between these two portraits. It asks the question, did Kettle the commence work on the oval before he left India, or did he revisit the work, finishing it in England? Or did Davy commission the work in England during a break from India? These interrogations are highly significant. If the work was finished in England, eight years after this event, then it demonstrates the consequence Davy placed on his work with the EIC and dress acted as a visual confirmation of this status and position when he had revisited England. The importance of this event is clear when reference is made to the named executors of Davy's will and individual material bequests. 'And hereby… appoint my said wife the said Sir Robert Barker, William Raikes, Thomas Raikes and Samuel Pepys Cockerele executors of this last will and testament.'[262] A codicil also makes a bequest to:

> My dear friend Major Gabriel Harper was residing in London and Major John Cockerell residing in Bengal to each of them a ring of the value of twenty pounds to my dear and esteemed friend Sir Robert Barker Bart as a proof of my affection and remembrance of his long friendship for me a ring of the value of fifty pounds.[263]

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[261] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 92.
[262] PROB 11/1/21/307 Will of Major William Davy, Major of Infantry in the Service of the Honorable East India Company of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex, NA, 1 of 3, p. 3.
[263] PROB 11/1/21/307 Will of Major William Davy, Major of Infantry in the Service of the Honorable East India Company of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex, NA, PDF 2 of 3, p. 2.

Presented at the Society of Artists in 1775, *Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Awadh, with Four Sons, General Barker and Military Officers* (Fig 45) was cited in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1785 as being at Busbridge, the residence of Robert Barker, Bart near Godalming, Surrey.[264] Consequently, the image had transferred from the cultural context of the East Indies to become part of the material culture of England; Indian garments – worn by a serving EIC servant – were now visible and present. This was not a contrived orientalism but an authentic dress for a genuine purpose. The two works discussed, fashioned an emergent visual account that provided British citizens who had not travelled to the East Indies with an accurate illustrative understanding of their culture through dress.

Kettle returned to England on board the *Talbot* on the 30 March 1776, arriving in London in November. He retrieved five unfinished paintings that he had sent ahead by the *Hillsborough*.[265] Sending unfinished paintings home was common practice, as until 1792 customs duties were levied on all finished 'foreign' paintings coming into England as paintings by British artists in India were not deemed to be 'foreign'.[266] The pioneer of Indian subjects, Kettle had been sending back his first paintings since the 1770s.[267] Writing to Ozias Humphry in Covent Garden, London December 1770, Charles Imhoff - the first husband of Marian Hastings - had commented 'Mr Kettle who is here does pretty work he has 36L for a Head, 72L for a half-length, 144L: for a full length he gets a great deal of money and wife [?} informs if he leaves in a few years with a handsome fortune. I believe he has made 10000L already…'[268] A letter written by Davy and published in *A Specimen of the civil and military Institutes of Timour*, dated 'Gloucester, Oct 24. 1779' reveals that Davy was in Gloucester at this time.[269] Furthermore, his son

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[264] Milner, 'Tilly Kettle', p. 69. Also see p. 91.
[265] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 92.
[266] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 440.
[267] De Almedia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance,* p. 105.
[268] HU/1/98 C. Imhoff, Calcutta, to [Ozias Humphry] 27 December 1770, RA Collections.
[269] J. White, *Institutes Political and Military: Written Originally in the Mogul [or rather, Jagatai-*

William Gabriel Davy was born in 1780 – the following year – thus corroborating his visit in 1779.[270] It is known that Kettle looked to his Indian contacts for work on his return with the continued domination of the market by Reynolds and Gainsborough, and having worked with Davy - evidentially on two portraits previously - is confirmation that he worked with him once more in England.

Archer does not refer to the Davy ovals in *Indian Portraiture*, largely because her work was not published until 1976. The NAM only acquired the ovals from H.A Arthington Davy in December 1980. Consequently, as private works, public exposure had been minimal. However, *Major William Davy* (Fig 47) – a further portrait of Davy by Kettle – was put up for auction by H.A. Arthington-Davy, a year after the oval portraits entered the collection of the NAM. [271] Situating Davy in his study surrounded by numerous volumes, Kettle depicts him seated at his desk, fully occupied in his work; with his EIC uniform immediately signally his loyalties. Yet, emblematically, it is his hand that assertively draws the gaze to the sheaf of Persian documents he is in the process of translating. These are the tools of his specific and highly valued profession offered in visual form. He is painted without epaulettes – he became a Major on the 24th of February 1782 – and as such, this portrait pre-dates this. Davy's gaze is directed intently to the right, unlike in the oval portraits where he fixes his gaze frontwards, engaging the viewer openly. Nevertheless, there are certain visual connections to the oval portraits (Fig 42, Fig 43); his powdered hair is styled in the same manner, where as in comparison with (Fig 47) painted in 1772, Davy is depicted with a dark moustache and sideburns. This suggests that (Fig 47) was additionally painted by

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Turki] Language by the Great Timour, Improperly called Tamerlane, [first translated into Persian by Abu Taulib Alhusseini; and thence into English, with marginal notes, by Major Davy] (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1783), p. 3.

[270] General Sir William Gabriel Davy was the eldest son of Major Davy. He bought Tracey Park, Gloucestershire in 1820.

[271] They were sold at Spink Ltd in London in October/November 1981, at a Sale of English Portraits. Heinz Archive and Library, NPG Sitters Box: Davy to David, Davy various, Major William Davy.

Kettle in England when Davy returned, before leaving for India for the final time. It was on a subsequent journey to England on the *Dutton* that Davy died at sea in June 1784.[272] This is a public-facing, composed piece of work imbued with Indian cultural symbolism through the inclusion of his professional materials that denoted his essential 'self'.

The progress of the transmission of *Major William Davy* within the Davy family lineage is unclear.[273] However, the information on the backs of the two ovals is significant because they reflect family possession and the hierarchical status of the two works. (Fig 48) The reverse of the Persian oval is a wooden board composed of several wooden panels with a rectangular insert held in with nails, with a wash of paint over the top. This seems indicative of a make-shift form of material that the artist had once used for a different purpose, perhaps suggesting that this work was originally a preparatory work for the second oval. At the top, in the centre of the back is the only inscription, written in pencil, 'Mrs Davey, Allen Meadow, Wooten Courtenay, 25/8/59.'[274] (Fig 49) By comparison, the second oval, comprised of a plain board with no insert, has four identifiable Davy family labels, the most recent from H.A. Arthington-Davy.[275] The most significant, place this work at Tracey Park, near Bath, the estate his eldest son William Gabriel Davy bought for more than £12,000 in 1820. A celebrated military hero, it seems plausible that William Gabriel Davy would have asserted the regimental connections as a marker of status. From this evidence, it can be argued that the

[272] NAM 1981-01-22-1 Curatorial File. 'Cadet 1767, Ensign 11 Dec. 1767, Lieut. 19 Oct. 1769, Capt. 31 Mar. 1778. Major. 24 Feb. 1782. Resigned. 22 Jan. 1784, d. at sea in 1784.'
[273] Heinz Archive and Library, NPG. There are no available details as to the provenance of this work.
[274] NAM 1981-01-22-1, Condition Report, Curatorial file. [accessed 16th February 2016]. This indicates that the framing 'is in a square frame with an inner wooden mount.'
[275] NAM 1981-01-21-1. Labels from the top down: 1. Plastic tape 70s or 80s?, 'Major William Davy HEICS, Portrait by Tilly Kettle, H.A 4-Davy', 2. Handwritten label possibly from the 1920s or 1930s stating 'Major Wm Davy', 3. Pencil 'Major Davy' and 4. Biro, 'By Tilly Kettle from Tracey Park, near Bath, (Rev C.B. Davy).

portrait of Davy wearing his Major's uniform remained at the family seat, whilst the Persian dress portrait did not.

Davy's representation in Indian dress acted as a visual mechanism of the diffusion of Indian culture and language in Britain. Yet, the level of cultural authority exerted by EIC translators is open to scrutiny because of its essential function for the EIC, the facilitation of their commercial and business interests. Venuti comments, 'its fundamental role in the colonization of the Americas, Asia, and Africa is without question, through the translation of indigenous texts, religious, legal and educational.[276] Translation was a significant agent of the process of transmitting and mediating colonial power. As Said notes when William Jones left England for the East Indies in 1783 'immediately upon his arrival there to take up a post with the East India Company began the course of personal study that was to gather in, to rope off, to domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into a province of European learning.'[277] Jones translated Sanskrit legal texts since he distrusted the reliability of Indian interpreters and sought to restore Indian law to its ancient purity.'[278] In 1777, William Jones had published the *Grammar of the Persian Language* in which he stressed the need for EIC officials to learn the languages of Asia 'it was found highly dangerous to employ the native as interpreters, upon whose fidelity they could not depend.'[279] Trust was the critical element of official and business relationships, as standards of ethical behavior were not high. The critical authority of the translator to the EIC is made plain by Rothschild in relation to the EIC servant John Johnstone 'even his enemies in the Company referred gloomily to the "deep fund of critical Learning which Mr Johnstone displays in the Country Language.'[280]

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[276] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation,* p. 158.
[277] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 77-78.
[278] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 166.
[279] T. Niranjana, 'Translation, Colonialisim and Rise of English', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 25, No. 15, 1990, p. 774.
[280] Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires*, p. 49.

Venuti argues that translation read as a form of imperialist stereotyping negates the central role of translation as a cultural practice, that involves the 'creative reproduction of values.'[281] Yet, Tesjaswini Niranjana states 'paradoxically, translation also provides a place in "history" for the colonised.'[282] Davy's letters reveal the pride he took in providing an accurate translation as a means of serving the Company's business interests effectively. They also reveal that it was equally important to him because he was as a passionate scholar of these languages. Writing to Hastings on the night of Wednesday 12th March 1783, Davy urgently states:

> Dear Sir,
> I have just been looking over the papers transmitted by *Hyder* and find I have been guilty of an error that may perhaps do injustice to design. It relates to the word stipend [his underline]... The mistake struck me as a consequence of observation of upon that word when abstracting the *Lucknow* papers instead of "I will and advance anything for the … of his Surcot, I will suspend the payment "of his stipend" the original says "I will not ad "… any thing to the …. Of his Surcot, "I will stop it."' In all probability this may not be the only mistake of the same nature to be found in my translations… whichever such mistakes may exist I will most readily subscribe to them, …as I am conscious that such errors have not proceeded from Design, but from the hurry of translation…but errors of the proceeding Description accepted I will make an oath that to the best of my judgment and knowledge they are faithful translations... I hope this will be in time to enable you to correct the error which has led to trouble you with this, I entreat you to pardon. Your faithful servant, William Davy.[283]

The reputation of the translator was of paramount importance within the EIC for continued work and status. For Davy the translation of Persian and other native languages was essential to an appreciation of the Asiatic culture that in 1778 had resulted in him being gifted the title *Muasim ud Dowlah Nuseer ul Mulk, Bahadur, Mahabat Jang* after a visit to the Great Moghul at Delhi.[284] The following year, at the request of Joseph White of Wadham College, University of Oxford, Davy had provided a 'Letter of Support in the Authenticity of the Institutes of Timour'. Written from

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[281] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 1.
[282] Niranjana, 'Translation, Colonialism and Rise of English', p. 773.
[283] Add. Ms. 29192, Warren Hastings General Correspondence. ff. 226, Major William Davy to Warren Hastings, BL.
[284] NAM. 1981-01-22-1, Curatorial file.

Gloucester on the 24th October 1779 Davy wrote, 'My Good Friend, You apply to me for *external* evidence to establish the Authenticity of Timour's Institutes.'[285] White was looking to propose the establishment of a Persian Professorship in the University of Oxford and *The History of Timour,* written by Timour himself, was still unknown in the West. White desired Davy's approval to bring the work to a broader audience because Davy 'placed the importance of the Persian language for transacting the Company's affairs in India.'[286]

Nevertheless, Davy – a posthumous member of the Asiatic Society – received scholarly criticism from its first nominated President William Jones in January 1784, in *'A Dissertation of the Orthography of Asiatick Words in Roman letters'.*[287] Jones observed that 'he [Davy] valued himself particularly on his pronunciation of the *Persian* language, and on his new way of exhibiting it in our characters.'[288] He continued 'his method, therefore, has every defect; since it renders neither the original element of the words, nor the sounds represented by them in *Persia.*'[289] However, written in 1830 - forty-six years after Davy's death -*The Mulfazat Timury of Autobiographical Memoirs* by Major Charles Stewart, dedicated the work to Davy. This is revealed in a letter to his son Colonel Davy at Tracey Park, Gloucester:

> Dear Sir, As the Public are indebted to your late Father not only for his able Translation of the Institutes of the Emperor Timur, but also for his having with much perseverance procured and first brought to Europe an authentic copy of the Memoirs of the Monarch.[290]

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[285] J. White, *A Specimen of the Civil and Military Institutes of Timour, or Tamerlane: A Work Written Originally by that Celebrated Conqueror in the Mogul Language, and Since Translated into Persian* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1780), p. 27.
[286] White, *A Specimen of the Civil and Military Institutes of Timour,* p. 27.
[287] *Asiatick Researches: Or, Translations of the Society instituted in Bengal*, *For Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, the Sciences, and Literature, of Asia* (Calcutta: Asiatick Society, vol. 1, 2nd edn, 1798-1799), pp. 436-437.
[288] *Asiatick Researches*, p. 6.
[289] *Asiatick Researches*, p. 7.
[290] C. Stewart, *The Mulfuzat Timury or Autobiographical Memoirs or Autobiographical Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Timur written in the Jagtay Turky Language, Turned into Persian by Abu Talib Hussyny, and Translated into English by Major Charles Stewart Late Professor of Oriental Languages in the Honourable East India Company's College,* vol. 13 (Oriental Translation Fund, 1830), p. Dedication.

Referring directly to the Persian edition of the *Institutes of Timour,* that had been published in 1783 by Professor White of Oxford, Stewart praised the English translation by Major William Davy 'which was deservedly much admired.'[291]

In *Dress and Identity* Roach-Higgins, Eicher and Johnson define 'self' as a composite of an individual's identities communicated by dress that are the cumulative result of socialisation observed from social referents. As such, an individual can occupy many social positions and hence can have several identities, which contribute to the total configuration of the self.[292] The two oval portraits of Davy present two parts of the self that are linked to the positions he achieved within the structure of the EIC. Evidence has shown however, that his agency, through cultural assimilation, was extremely powerful. Davy's will does not refer to specific Indian or Asiatic material objects. There is no reference to the turban or robe worn in the oval portrait although as shown he returned with Persian texts. More telling is his first bequest, which preceded any reference to his wife or children of the marriage, 'I give and bequeath to my natural daughter Zemat Davy born at Benares in the East Indies now residing at my house in the City of Gloucester of the age of seven years or thereabouts the sum of five thousand pounds.'[293] This connection to Gloucester strengthened relationships Davy had made with several of those individuals named in his will.[294] These included Samuel Pepys Cockerell, the British architect who designed Sezincote House for his brother John Cockerell, and Daylesford House for Hastings in 1788. Davy's letter to Hastings from Lucknow 17th July 1782 supports this strong debt of effection 'Mr dear Sir, I feel so

[291] Stewart, *The Mulfuzat Timury or Autobiographical Memoirs*, p. Preface.
[292] M. Roach-Higgins, et al., *Dress and* Identity, p. 12.
[293] PROB 11-1144-229 Will of William Davy, Major of Infantry in the Service of the Honorable East India Company of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex. 2 Parts, Part 1, p. 2. NA.
[294] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 131.

devilishly and so constantly that kind patronage to you …perhaps I am at present indebted for my existence.'[295]

Yet the question of a dress for EIC translator is more complex. Traditionally, those who have expertise in the complexities of their design and manufacture have curated Military uniforms. Dress historians consider them a specialist area of research.[296] The NAM states 'the question about interpreters is a little tricky. It appears the norm was to wear the regimental uniform unless the interpreter was also an aide-de-camp or a military secretary, in which case they had a special uniform conferred by that role. I agree that the Persian dress is an anomaly, and my feeling is that it is most likely to have been added by Tilly Kettle, presumably at the request of the sitter.'[297] Valerie Cumming argues 'all clothing, to a greater or lesser extent, offers either uniformity or disguise. The reverse of this, the desire to be different or innovative, may indicate powerful personalities and the intellectual or financial means to explore boundaries (the exotic, the foreign the historical), or it might just suggest eccentricity.'[298]

The miniature of *Lieutenant John Malcolm, Madras Army* (Fig 50) portrays the Lieutenant in the uniform of an aide-de-camp from c. 1795. Comparison with the oval of *Major Davy in Bengal uniform* (Fig 43) reinforces the dissimilarities in uniform details between the two: the gold-edged, high-necked navy collar with gold frogging and further gold frogging down the front of the jacket. The *Reception of the Mysorean Hostage Princes by Lord Cornwallis* from 1792 (Fig 51) portrays a number of EIC servants who were interpreters. Records confirm this, yet it is only through the interpretation of their uniform that identification of individuals has been confirmed.[299]

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[295] Add. MS 29,155 Warren Hastings Papers – General Correspondence Jul – Aug 1782, f.121, p.1. BL.
[296] V. Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History* (London: Batsford, 2004), p. 102.
[297] Email correspondance with Pip Dodd, Senior Curator, NAM.
[298] Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History*, p. 99.
[299] Email correspondance with Pip Dodd, Senior Curator, NAM.

The artist – who had accompanied Cornwallis's army in Mysore – carefully records the dress of both EIC uniforms and natives, whilst placing himself in the image wearing a green jacket. Nonetheless a European wearing native dress is not identifiable in this work.

In discerning whether Davy's embodied actions represented the typical behaviour of a translator in the EIC a comparison can be made to Edward Otto Ives. Otto Ives came from a family with a strong EIC heritage.[300] Ives had written to Sir Elijah Impey from *Moridapour* on the 19th of September 1783 in relation to some translation work that had materialised that he hoped to take on alongside his work. He had aspired to write to Hastings directly but recorded 'I am too sensible of the many claims he had upon him.'[301] In reference to Elizabeth Plowden's diary, Rosie Llewellyn-Jones writes about the close-knit nature of the European society in Lucknow of which Ives became a part '[Claude] Martin was invited to dinner with the Plowden's the day after their arrival on 19th December 1787, when the Resident, Edward Otto Ives, and his wife were also guests.'[302] Ives's services as a translator had enabled him to gain promotion and status within the Company and this included proximity to senior Company figures such as the Plowden's. Llewellyn-Jones observes 'in February 1788 Elizabeth Plowden described a pleasant evening where Mr Ives played the harpsichord and sang to entertain the Nawab. She sang a Persian song at the Nawab's requests.'[303] Yet the evidence of hybridized cultural immersion is not evident in Ives's will which is dated the 6th of June 1809. Contrasting Davy's will, there are no precise mentions of Asiatic goods and the EIC is only mentioned in relation to his marriage bond and his brother-in-law who was

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[300] M. Houghton, *The Hamiltonians: 100 Fascinating Lives*, (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 2003), p. 84.
[301] Add. MS 16264. Ff.234. Correspondence of Sir E Impey Vol VI. 1783 Correspondence in India. Edward Otto Ives to Sir Elijah Impey, BL.
[302] R. Llewellyn-Jones, *A Man of Enlightenment In Eighteenth Century India: The Letters of Claude Martin* (Hyderbad: Sangam Books Ltd, 2003), p. 285.
[303] Llewellyn-Jones, *A Man of Enlightenment,* p. 285.

a Captain in the EIC.[304] This evidence demonstrates that despite Ives's full immersion in the culture of Lucknow society and the friendship of Senior Company figures, in contrast to Davy, this did not translate materially or visually on his return to Hampshire; either in dress items brought back with him or in the commissioning of a portrait on his return.

As the above discussion has established, the two oval portraits of Davy wearing an Indian turban – as part of an ensemble of Indian dress – survive and this visually ratifies the uninterrupted association between service in the EIC as a translator and immersion in Indian linguistic and visual culture. The evidence has substantiated that these are a graphic record of Davy's professional life, which charts his career and the relationships he forged in the East Indies and in England. Nevertheless, Davy's embodied incorporation of Indian culture did denote a higher cultural absorption, which was directly empowered through his professional status. This was expressed in his duality of his 'self'. As such, these works significantly broaden our understanding of the range of symbolic codes and conventions that are displayed through the wearing of Indian dress by EIC servants. In turn, this enables a more nuanced and expansive visual interpretation of the EIC's surviving visual material.

In the remainder of this chapter, the role of Indian dress as semi-professional and professional attire associated with the EIC will be interrogated more deeply. Within the wider remit of travel in the East Indies the textual and pictorial evidence will be unpacked further to continue the thematic discussion of the turban and its relationship with identity. Juxtaposing the embodied image of Davy we do not have a portrait of William Frankland of Muntham Court, Sussex, wearing Indian dress. Nonetheless, his

[304] PROB 11-1499-43 Will of Edward Otto Ives of Titchfield, Hampshire. 6 June 1809, Pt 1 of 4, p. 2. NA.

will places the material culture of India - acquired through service spent with the EIC and subsequent travel home through the Middle East - prominently in his estate:

> About said capital Mansion house and premises called Muntham Estate and except my musical instruments, weaving and other looms and philosophical and mathematical instruments and apparatus … following, that is to say my Indian Persian and Turkish swords …two pairs of Indian slippers embroidered with gold, sundry Indian dresses and turbans, Turkish boots and slippers.[305]

One of the portraits that exist of Frankland *Portrait of Sir William Franklin of Muntham Court* (Fig 52) – one of two painted by Mather Brown - is a visual demonstration of the hierarchy of Frankland's interests in his later life; with the scientific instruments in the foreground and the documents relating to his experience of travel placed behind these. Of particular relevance however, is the lack of direct reference to India and his service in the EIC. The will of Frankland itemises dress items alongside decorative objects and the ephemera of travel. Forming part of his collection he signifies these items as 'memorials of my travels in distant and foreign parts.'[306] This examination of a will exposes what was preserved and what objects had significant familial and kinship value, materially and sentimentally to a returned EIC servant.

Returning to England from the East Indies in 1760 – after twenty years of service in the EIC in Bengal – in 1765 Frankland purchased the manor of Muntham, in Findon, in the country of Sussex *MUNTHAM*: *The Seat of Sir W. Frankland Esq* (Fig 53). Observed travelling across the Persian Gulf in the character of a Tartar messenger, he journeyed through Baghdad to Jerusalem, where en route he visited the site of Babylon and the ruins of Palmyra. Frankland's purchase of Muntham Court corresponds with one of two main peaks in Nabob purchases of landed estates between 1751-1760.[307] Quoting from figures disclosed by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1773, Holzman

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[305] PROB 11-1436-213 Will of William Frankland of Findon, 26 January 1806, PDF 2 of 3, p. 270. NA.
[306] PROB 11-1436-213 Will of William Frankland of Findon, 26 January 1806, PDF 2 of 3, p. 271. NA.
[307] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire,* p. 53. See Chart 4.

records that in 1757 Mr Frankland obtained £11,367, by contrast to Lord Clive who received £211,500.[308] Dying unmarried Frankland's obituary noted 'in his later years his habits were recluse and studious.'[309] Yet, Frankland's process of cataloging dress items and objects is uncommonly meticulous and the reader is given the particulars on the object's material of manufacture, decoration, and its function. This demonstrates the eye of the collector and within this context; the Indian turban finds its natural place as a physical, bodily reminder of the East Indies, to be worn for a portrait or around the estate at Muntham Court on specific occasions of commemoration and embodiment.

This relationship with Indian dress by the Frankland family is pictorially exhibited in the portrait of *Henry Frankland, Governor of Bengal* (Fig 54). It portrays William Frankland's father as an Indian warrior with a bow and arrows, a dagger, a shield and a hookah pipe positioned to his left. Henry Frankland had been a servant of the EIC but died in Bengal in 1738. William Frankland makes reference to a portrait depicting his father in his will 'a picture of Henry Frankland her [Lady Frankland's] son in an Indian dress.'[310] At one time the portrait was attributed to Zoffany. However, the early date negates this attribution.[311] Furthermore, it seems likely that it could have been painted posthumously as an act of commemoration, visually cementing his position and as such – the choice of Indian dress – rather than EIC uniform is meaningful. Frankland wears a floral *jama* of embroidered or woven silk and a sash. Crill confirms 'if woven, it could also possibly be from Iran as well as India, although the garment itself is certainly an Indian *jama* in the cut. The sash does not look Indian and could also be Iranian.'[312]

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[308] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* p.10. Holzman is quoting figures by Mill as 'disclosed by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1773' Vol. 367-370.
[309] Frankland, William, Biography, historyofparliament.org [accessed 10th May 2018]; Also see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1805, p. 1242.
[310] PROB 11-1436-213 Will of William Frankland of Findon, 26 January 1806, PDF 2 of 3, p. 270. NA.
[311] Heinz Archive and Library, NPG. Sitter's boxes, Frankland Various, photograph of Henry Frankland, Governor Of Bengal, 1738, reverse of image states: [Called Zoffany], 47" x 35", Anonymous Collection, bought W. Wilson, Christie's Sale Lot 124, NPG 1956.
[312] Email correspondance with Rosemary Crill.

His small constructed turban, in a striped, leaf-patterned fabric, is a late Mughal style that is appropriate for Bengal at the time of the painting.[313] The outfit is authentic dress for its period and location. Crill argues that the sash is the only item that does not correspond with the outfit but it is not incorrect. Most essentially, it is not a masquerade costume.

The portrait of Henry Frankland wearing Indian dress places direct emphasis on the collection of Indian and oriental dress as a familial tradition that is part of habitual kinship. This is demonstrated in William Frankland's will, which indicates that he sat for a portrait wearing the oriental dress items 'a picture of William Frankland his son (that is to say) a picture of my self, in which I am represented in a wig which is not powdered, a pair of Turkish slippers, with beads.'[314] It is the mobility of Indian textiles Breward argues that have bound the relationship between Britain and India 'through histories of exchange, through contemporary production routes and via the memories attached to cloth.'[315] From this perspective, Indian dress is a cultural marker of place. Through its materiality, it operates as a physical testimony of an experience of travel that is made manifest because of its ethnic and cultural authenticity.

Barczewski asserts that the Nabob's estate was at the centre of this 'cultural display of empire.'[316] She places objects at the centre of a paternalistic engagement with place in which it can be understood that the EIC's presence in India facilitated collecting and embodiment through dress. For William Frankland this additionally translated into the architecture and estate at Muntham (Fig 53). Here he constructed a two-storied building with a portico and veranda and in the garden an octagonal pavilion, whilst on

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[313] Email correspondance with Rosemary Crill.
[314] PROB 11-1436-213 Will of William Frankland of Findon, 26 January 1806, PDF 2 of 3, p. 270. NA.
[315] Breward, Crang and Crill (eds), *British Asian Style*, p. 9.
[316] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 140.

the hill behind the house stood a minaret in the Mughal style.[317] For Frankland – with his family's prolonged association with India – the presence of objects from the East Indies coalesced with the Indian architectural details at Muntham, and they reflected the Indian cultural and decorative values that were deeply embedded in his psyche. Hitherto, the European traveller's adoption of native dress whilst travelling in the East was commonly linked to the trope of eccentricity. The portrait painter Jean-Etienne Liotard for example, was seen in this manner because he wore Eastern dress as a 'focus of curiosity for patrons.'[318] Liotard adopted Turkish dress, as in *Self-portrait in Turkish costume* (Fig 55) to win commissions and promote his portraiture. This was part of his professional persona and he employed it to assert his painterly individuality. Accordingly, eccentricity and travel establish discursive connections between Frankland and Liotard but for Frankland the wearing of a turban projected a physical embodiment that was directly concomitant with the EIC. Without time spent in the service of the company, Frankland would not have been able to travel or to purchase an estate with his fortune. By using dress objects he could fashion an embodied Indian experience in Sussex and this was one that engendered and projected a rural cultural engagement with the 'other'.

The relationship between travel and eccentricity is echoed in the portrait of *Hugh Seton* (Fig 56) by James Wales.[319] Commissioned by Wales's patron Charles Warre Malet this work was painted in India and was then conveyed to England by Malet, as part of his collection of Wales's works. It is this dynamic - the portrait of a Scots man wearing a turban and gown, forming part of a collection that returned to England - that will now be explored. It will question why Malet commissioned a portrait of Seton for his collection and whether the unconventionality of his dress warranted his depiction,

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[317] W. Head, *The Indian Style* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1986), p. 10.
[318] C. Baker and D. Bull, *Jean Etienne-Liotard: 1702-1789* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2015).
[319] For further detail on Hugh Seton see F637, Wales, James (1747-1795), India Office Select Materials, BL.

which would be viewed as a 'novelty' in England. Additionally, drawing on the earlier arguments that demonstrated how some translators such as Major Davy used the native dress in their professional capacity as EIC translators, it will consider if Malet's earlier role as a translator conferred a deeper appreciation and cultural curiosity of the East Indies, replicating what we have seen in the imagery of Major Davy, of which dress was an vital part.[320]

Wales painted Seton wearing a simple wrapped turban and robe of white cotton. Unlike Davy's turban Seton's is plain, functional and understated.[321] We are not witnessing princely magnificence but neither is this masquerade costume. It was know that European merchants and travellers in the Ottoman Empire did dress in local dress, *a la longue*, as it suited the climate and it observed local manners and customs. It also offered protection and aided physical survival where Muslim prejudice was strongest.[322] Seton engages the gaze directly and in this format it conforms to Wales's preferred compositional style of half-length portraiture of this period, with the subject brightly lit against a simple dark background.[323] Wales's journal indicates that as an artist he believed the function of portraiture was to capture the essential character of the sitter. On the other hand, in his judgment, dress or costume did not warrant the same level of attention or consideration 'as the people of India are fond of fine or rather rich dresses with watches, snuff boxes, rings introduced, it is no easy matter for an artist to please them without sacrificing the best principles of his art.'[324]

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[320] Reference is made to C. W. Malet as a 'Persian Translator' in IOR/H/239, Extracts from Bengal Letters, 11th Feb 1784 to 17th May 1787, India Office Select Materials, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, BL.
[321] Crill, *Hats from India*, p. 11.
[322] P Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 40.
[323] See also *Mahadaji Sindhia*, James Wales, BL and *Bhairo Raghunath Mehendale, Diplomatic Agent to the Peshwa at Poona*, James Wales. BL.
[324] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, pp. 353-354.

James Ramsay of Ochtertyre who was Seton's neighbour and contemporary, wrote in the *Scotland Scotsman* 'for a number of years he (Seton) lead a very pleasant and respectable life at Touch.'[325] *Hugh Seton* (Fig 57) depicts Seton as the respectable Laird of Touch, dressed in a turquoise jacket with carefully styled hair and presentation. However, after the death of his wife in 1775 Seton borrowed money on the estate through a commission established by his son and was eventually thrown into Dover Castle for his debts.[326] On his release he changed his name to Christopher Roberts [Robarts] and left England whereby he travelled through the Middle East and 'having adopted Arab dress he crossed the Red Sea in January 1790'.[327]

In June 1792 Wales was due to travel to Poona with the artist Robert Mabon and as Archer writes 'he had been given detailed instructions about the route by a strange, unbalanced Scot, Hugh Seton, who happened to arrive in Bombay at that very moment.'[328] Wales painted Seton's portrait the following year and the work sits alongside portraits of the Marathas that Malet commissioned for himself. *Bhairo Raghunath Mehendale, Diplomatic Agent to the Peshwa at Poona* (Fig 58) demonstrates the strong sense of palette and colour correlation between the Maratha Court portraits and Seton. Mehendale's white robe with gold edging is simply but well described by Wales and his small white turban captured in broad painterly strokes. There are more details to observe in this portrait, yet the essential dynamic of both works is the same. Wales treated Seton in equal terms to his Maratha subjects and as such, there is equality in the depiction that is arguably generated by the adoption og local dress. Wales had endeavored to capture genuine authenticity in the treatment of

[325] J. Cornforth, 'Touch, Stirlingshire:…the Ancient House of the Seton's, Hereditary Armour-bearers to the Kings of Scotland…', *Country Life,* Aug. 19 and 26, Sept.2, 1965.
[326] Cornforth, 'Touch, Stirlingshire', p. 506.
[327] Cornforth, 'Touch, Stirlingshire', p. 507.
[328] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 336.

Seton's dress. However, Cornforth has stated that it was Seton's 'personal magnetism that enabled him to win the friendship of EIC officials in India.[329]

Warre Malet returned to England in 1798 together with two of James Wales's daughters; one of which was Susannah who Warre Malet would later marry when they returned to England. They travelled home alongside Wales's collection of paintings, sketches, engraved plates and notes and once settled Warre Malet actively began promoting Wales's work in England.[330] This is only one of a handful of works depicting a European in Indian dress in the British Library's Fine Art Collection. This demonstrates the interconnections that Indian dress facilitated within the EIC amid artist, patron, and subject.[331] For Seton, wearing a turban represented a full immersion in the culture of the East Indies and critically, an espousal of English societal modes of dress and behavior. Wearing the turban alongside a full beard and plain, cotton garments, physically allowed him to differentiate himself from EIC servants in the East Indies. Yet, the characteristics that set him apart – his white skin, his Scottish accent – attracted patrons and artists like Malet and Wales who incorporated cultural hybridity in the works they commissioned and painted.

However, as private portraits these works did not transfer to prints for the consumption of the general public in England. *CHARLES SMITH, Painter to the Great Moghul* (Fig 59) marks a departure. In this print the British male is self-depicted wearing an Indian turban in a manner that is self-consciously intended for public consumption and circulation. Smith engages the viewer in a direct, self-confident style that is reminiscent of Davy's demeanour in the oval portraits. He adopts an elaborate, striped, wrapped turban beside a shirt with frilled collar and cloak, and in his hand – which sports a large

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[329] Cornforth, 'Touch, Stirlingshire', p. 507.
[330] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 349.
[331] M. Archer, *The India Office Collection of Paintings and Sculpture* (London: BL, 1986), pp. 46-47.

ring with a gem on his little finger – he holds a rolled scroll of paper.[332] Smith's connection to the EIC was established on the 8th of January 1783 when he applied to the Company to journey to India. Like Zoffany, who had sailed a few months earlier, Smith arrived in Madras in July and had travelled north to Calcutta by September.[333] The earlier arrival of Zoffany had an immediate and detrimental effect on the work available to Smith where 'faced with so formidable rival, Smith may have found it almost impossible to secure patrons and clients.'[334] However, writing to the Nabob Vizier John Macpherson the Governor-General noted 'since I wrote to your Excellency Mr Smith, who is a friend of mine – perhaps he has not arrived yet at Lucknow – Mr Zoffany and Mr Smith are artists in different styles.'[335]

This endorsement from a senior EIC Servant stimulated additional work, yet his introduction to the Nizam also led to the dispute regarding pay between himself, Ozias Humphry and the Vizier.[336] Smith, in the process of attempting to recover the fees owed to him from the Nizam, also made a pointed reference to his association to Reynolds writing to Ozias Humphry (who had returned to Calcutta to push Macpherson to get payment) from Benares on the 23rd February 1787 'as I have some hopes of being able to obtain at last some considerable pay from *Hyder Beg Kawn* on his return to Lucknow…I shall not hesitate to act upon his immoral Behaviour towards me.'[337] He

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[332] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 183. Archer publishes a version of this print on p. 183. However, although the portrait is the same, Archer's print has a different inscription 'in between the two names is a Persian seal which bears the dates October 1786-1787.' On p. 184 Archer states 'it is most unlikely that Smith would have been given a *sanad* unless he had done at least some work for the Emperor.'
[333] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 179.
[334] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 179.
[335] HU/3/98 [copy] J[ohn] M[acpherson], Calcutta, to the Nabob Vizier 17 Jan 1786, HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810. RA Collections.
[336] For greater detail on this case see HU/8 Claim on the Nawab of Oudh 1787-1856, HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810. RA Collections; also see E. Cotton, *An Artist and his Fees: The story of the suit brought by Ozias Humphry, R.A., against Sir John Macpherson in the Supreme Court at Calcutta: in March 1787…* (Reprinted from Bengal: Past and Present, 1927), BL.
[337] HU/3/125-126 Charles Smith, Benares, to Ozias Humphry, 23 Feb 1787, HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810. RA Collections.

continued 'remember me in the kind to Sir Joshua.'[338] Smith however, had reached Delhi by October 1786 and began utilising the Governor-General's influence in the outlying districts to gain patronage.[339] The *Annual Register* states that Smith was 'for some time painter to the imperial family of the Great Moghul, Shah Alam.'[340] It is this relationship that Smith is explicitly referencing in the print and the turban functions in this framework as a graphic symbol of his professional association to Shah Alam.

The print – facilitated by the turban acting as an immediate visual reference point between the public and the East Indies – operated as an overt act of self-promotion or propaganda for Smith in his attempt to assert his artistic and financial success in a market dominated by Zoffany.[341] The evidence for this can be drawn from the Royal Academy's 27th Exhibition in 1795. Smith exhibited two works with the first numbered 104 and hung in the Main Chamber 'Mars and Venus blindfolding Cupid – C. Smith'.[342] The second numbered 247 and was listed as 'Portrait of himself – C. Smith.'[343] No further detail or description of the portrait is given in the listing and as such it cannot be definitively established that this is the same work but significantly, both the portrait and print were produced in the same year.[344] This supports Almedia and Gilpin's position that the 'exhibitions held each year by the Academy, from the very first year of its founding, gave a visual image to an idea of India and fostered public awareness of an actual India.'[345] Zoffany exhibited just one painting in this exhibition the '*Plundering of the King's cellar at Paris, Aug, 10, 1793 – J. Zoffany'* that was numbered 18 in the Main

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[338] HU/3/125-126 Charles Smith, Benares, to Ozias Humphry, 23 Feb 1787, HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810. RA Collections.
[339] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 184.
[340] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 184.
[341] De Almedia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, p. 105.
[342] JU/6/48-54, Exhibitions of The Royal Academy MDCCLXXXIII to MDCCXCVI, The Exhibition off The Royal Academy M,DCC,X,CV. [1795] The Twenty Seventh, p. 5.
[343] JU/6/48-54, Exhibitions of The Royal Academy MDCCLXXXIII to MDCCXCVI, The Exhibitionn of The Royal Academy M,DCC,X,CV. [1795] The Twenty Seventh, p. 8. RA Collections.
[344] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 183.
[345] De Almedia and Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance*, p. 105.

Chamber.[346] Zoffany had returned from India in 1789, two years before Smith and it is interesting to note that in this exhibition Zoffany's only work depicted a subject unrelated to India.

Published nine years before Smith's print the satirical print *Cheyt Sing in his eastern dress* (Fig 22) depicts George III as Cheyt Sing. Dressed in an over-sized turban and shawl the print is a satire on the diamond presented to the King by Hastings on behalf of the Nawab of Arcot and on the presents – as demonstrated in chapter one - that Hastings and his wife Marian presented to the King and Queen. Smith returned from India in October 1787 - a year after this satirical print was published - and it was not until eight years later that his print was published.[347] This is significant, because by 1795 the EIC had won the Third Anglo-Mysore War where they took two of Tipu Sultan's younger son's hostage. *The Reception of the Mysorean Hostage Princes by Marquis Cornwallis* (Fig 51) was part of this triumphalist, celebratory rhetoric in which the presence of the turban, worn by the young princes, began to be seen back in England as a positive visual marker of the EIC's growing dominance in India. This manner of labelling suggests that Smith was responding to a mounting demand for visual imagery that was connected to India. He used the print to emphasis his professional association with the East Indies and cultivate future patronage. Smith was able to tap into this rhetoric because he had the means to do so. William Baillie writing from Calcutta to Ozias Humphry in London on the 4 October 1795 noted 'I have heard that Smith is in Edinburgh having earnt £20,000 in India.'[348]

The title of the work *Charles Smith, Painter to the Great Moghul* (Fig 59) is highly specific. Smith used this title in the 1795 RA Exhibition's List of Exhibitors section that

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[346] JU/6/48-54, Exhibitions of The Royal Academy MDCCLXXXIII to MDCCXCVI, The Exhibition of The Royal Academy M,DCC,X,CV. [1795] The Twenty Seventh, p. 8. RA Collections.
[347] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. Contents.
[348] HU/4/112, W[illiam] B[aillie], Calcutta, to Ozias Humphry 4 Oct 1795, 5 pieces (note: previously HU/4/113-117). HU Ozias Humphry papers 1753-1810. RA Collections.

listed their 'Places of Abode.'[349] Smith was listed as 'C. Smith, Painter to the Great Moghul, 2, James Street, Adelphi-104, 247.'[350] However, as Smith was not an Academician, Affociante or an Honorary of the RA he used this title to assert his Indian connections and enhance his status. This was within a framework of mounting nationalistic fervor within Britain and aligned to this was an increasing cultural engagement with the East Indies by the British public. Mayer argues 'the use of the 'authentic' oriental costume simultaneously serviced the interests of both portraitists seeking to forge their authenticity as orientalist painters, as well as sitters striving to publically commemorate their foreign travels or adopt a fashionably exotic persona.'[351] Working as a pictorial symbol of India the turban exerted its authority through its decorative qualities and associated exoticism. Fundamentally, it also personified the experience of travel that Smith was transmitting to his British audience and the highly competitive artistic community of portrait artists at this period.

The discussion in this chapter has demonstrated that by adopting a turban for professional and semi professional dress that our understanding of the symbolic nature of a dress accessory has been expanded. It has revealed that the turban, as part of an Indian dress ensemble, was adopted for professional reasons to incorporate a range of careers within the service of the EIC. The evidence has demonstrated that William Frankland used the material and visual culture he acquired on his travels in the East, to fashion an embodied self-identity at his estate in Sussex. Here he not only wore his Indian dress but most notably commissioned a portrait of himself wearing this Indian dress as an act of cultural remembrance. Furthermore, in using East Indian architectural motifs he created a physical landscape to incorporate these objects. This somatic response to the geographical space was also evident in the depiction of Seton

[349] JU/6/48-54, Exhibitions of The Royal Academy MDCCLXXXIII to MDCCXCVI, The Exhibtion of The Royal Academy M,DCC,X,CV. [1795] The Twenty Seventh, p. 21. RA Collections.
[350] JU/6/48-54, Exhibitions of The Royal Academy MDCCLXXXIII to MDCCXCVI, The Exhibtion of The Royal Academy M,DCC,X,CV. [1795] The Twenty Seventh, p. 27. RA Collections.
[351] Mayer, 'Cultural Cross-Dressing', p. 286.

who impelled artists working for the EIC to depict his unusual form of dress. In this manner, the EIC expanded the range of visual imagery generated within the East Indies for a British audience. The evidence has established that the artist Charles Smith consciously employed this imagery to claim his networks in the subcontinent that aided the procurement of new commissions on his return to London. These thematic continuities of professional physical embodiment, affected all three individuals surveyed and established a visual language of cultural markers that are particular to the East Indies.

This chapter has approached the portraits examined as works firmly rooted in the artistic and aesthetic cultural contexts that existed in the East Indies and in England, traversing across continents like the EIC servants and their artworks. The portraits referenced do not subscribe to the narrow and restrictive labelling of orientalism. Instead, they substantiate an expansive thematic enquiry surrounding professional dress by incorporating cultural markers of the 'other'. Specific EIC servants – such as translators and artists – incorporated dress elements; hence creating a tension between company display and personal expression that was associated with identity and the 'self'. In particular, in the first part of the chapter the close analysis of Davy's portraiture has permitted the EIC to be measured as both a military organisation and a cultural body. Furthermore, it has signalled the contrasting levels of internalisation of Indian culture that was demonstrated by Company servants and has revealed that Davy was a man of strong outward individuality and personality. Yet, abundant evidence has validated the importance of generational family participation in the EIC in affecting the way Indian dress was acquired, retained and depicted by Company employees and their families. It has disclosed the sustained significance of Indian dress and particular tropes such as the turban in English culture and that as visual signals; they immediately communicated to the British public their East Indian heritage. The turban worked as a mobile entity within the enmeshed cultural contexts that

radiated out from India to Britain. Few wore the Indian turban in their official role within the EIC and it was not an official form of uniform. Nevertheless, in Britain, the turban was uniformly considered a symbolic representation of India and the EIC.

The following chapter will expand this theme of textiles providing a method of knowledge acquisition and learning of Indian craftsmanship, by looking specifically at Kashmir shawls. Becoming a ubiquitous object in eighteenth-century society, their East Indian origins relied on EIC trade and vessels to physically bring the garments to Britain. But there were additional approaches – such as their depiction in portraiture painted in the East Indies – which this chapter will explore. The first part of the chapter will assess two portraits by Arthur William Devis to determine the motivations for the inclusion of these objects. In the second part, the case study of Ewan Law, a returned Sussex Nabob, will be examined to contextualise a specific relationship with this ubiquitous and highly valued textile.

Chapter 3

Seeing Company Textiles: The Kashmir Shawl and a Sussex Nabob, Ewan Law.

Gillray's satirical print *The Leadenhall volunteer, drest in his shawl* (Fig 60) incorporates the shawl as a recurrent 'trope' for India. Published before the highly celebrated and culturally significant moment when Tipu Sultan was decisively defeated at Seringapatam in 1799, it visualises a society ill at ease with the EIC's power in the Indies. This was linked to a perceived weakening of the male physiognomy that directly corresponded with a struggling British nationhood. The inclusion of a shawl – fixed oppressively around the shoulders of this soldier – acts forcibly to agitate the varying meanings associated with the shawl and its entwined relationship with the EIC. Negatively parodying the volunteer companies position, Indian motifs abound. Wearing a large ring on the fourth finger, the drawing presents an EIC soldier physically weighed down with the perceived feminised materiality of the region. Emma Tarlo states 'the terms 'effeminate', 'childlike' was frequently used by the British to describe the clothing of the Indian elite, particularly the elaborate and colourful combinations of the maharajahs.'[352] The *Leadenhall Volunteer* reflects the fluctuations in the perception of the shawl related to the politics of empire. This operates in tandem with the growing phenomenon of the shawl as an object of fashion and exoticism on both a European and global stage. This chapter seeks to coalesce the ideas of integrated dress objects within the framework of returned EIC, as a means of reflecting complex gendered interdependency.

[352] Tarlo, *Clothing Matters,* p. 34.

The function and thematic connotations of the Kashmir shawl within EIC history and art history are ready for a robust re-evaluation. A recent study *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context, From Consumerism to Celebrity Culture* sought to deconstruct an absent offering in the scholarship on understanding 'thing theory' within the terrain of the eighteenth century. It reasoned:

> Thinking of things as partaking in relations involving human presence imbues them with phenomenological [philosophical] values but also calls attention to their role in organizing our existence, dictating trends and fashions, promoting stereotypes and desires, threatening the status of the subjects itself.[353]

The desire therefore, is to reimagine the nature of the shawl as a valuable mercantile commodity. Using the oriental carpet Brian Spooner evaluated the commodification of an exotic textile.[354] His work sought to understand society's relationship with authenticity through a hierarchical taxonomy of types that were rationalised in terms of age, provenance, materials, colour design, "handle", condition, fineness, and evenness of weave.[355] In adopting this form of classification for the shawl, its impact on the market value is relatable to the EIC.

The place of the Kashmir shawl within British society and more broadly in a global context has been discussed at length. Works of specific specialisation include John Irwin's *The Kashmir Shawl*[356] and Pamela Clabburn's *The Norwich Shawl*[357]. As such, this chapter looks specifically at the initial days of the shawl's arrival from India and its entrance into English society. It seeks to locate these objects within the daily context of senior members of the company such as Warren Hastings, to extend the range of the returned EIC servant geographically outwards, beyond the metropolis to Sussex. As

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[353] Baird and Ionescu (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory,* p. 5.
[354] Spooner, 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet', pp. 195-215.
[355] Spooner, 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet'p. 196. This is referred to as Taxonomic science.
[356] J. Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl* (London: HMSO, 1973).
[357] P Clabburn, *The Norwich Shawl* (Norwich: HMSO, 1995).

discussed in the previous chapter, the shawl formed an essential part of the *Kh'ilat.* This transmission of garments between male relatives was customary practice and fashioned the concept of colonial gifting. Clive stated during his speech in his defense before Parliament 'should your stoicism still continue, [when] he returns it stuffed with diamonds; and if, for fear of detection, you refuse even this temptation, he displays his bales of merchandise.'[358] Clive was stating that even when he had declined all other forms of jewelled gifts the Nawabs would continue to present gifts by moving to the highly valued but lesser offering of textiles. Textiles from the Indies in the form of calicoes had decorated English interiors and been worn by English women from early in the eighteenth century. As such, the English were at once completely familiar with Indian textiles but at the same time in thrall to the newly introduced Kashmir shawl. It was an object that EIC male servants were tasked to obtain by their female relatives who remained in England and knew of its growing fashionable status. As such, shawls were increasingly sent home as highly desirable exotic gifts. Marian Hastings for example, instigated a specific shawl commission asking that her husband Warren Hastings procure sufficient shawls to be sent back to England.[359]

Within its lightly woolen folds, sewn with the intricate flowered patterns of the sub-continent, the sensory, tactile allure of the textile played out and emitted both a visual dynamic and at times the physical, literal scent of the East. Its innate exoticism spoke of the mysticism of the East by tapping into the romantic and idealistic English vision of India gathered from the popular contemporary literature such as the *Arabian Nights Entertainment* (Fig 27). Novelists such as Jane Austen, whose writings reinforced notions of what was fashionable, channelled its significance in contemporary literature. This is evidenced in *Mansfield Park* where the character Lady Bertram stated:

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[358] O'Quinn, *Staging Governance*, p .48.
[359] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife,* p. 336.

> William must not forget my shawl, if he goes to the East Indies; and I shall give him a commission for anything else that is worth having. I wish he may go to the East Indies, that I may have my shawl. I think I will have two shawls.[360]

The way a shawl was 'tastefully displayed' by the manner of it drape alluded to both the classical manner of the antique but increasingly with an Eastern exoticism.[361] As a fashion magazine from 1809 noted 'shawls are much worn. They are adapted to promenade, as they afford in the throw and arrangement, such fine opportunities for the display of the wearer's taste.'[362]

This chapter will firstly examine two works by Arthur William Devis, firstly *Mr and Mrs Fraser* (Fig 61) and secondly, *Portrait of Judge Suetonius Grant Heatly and Temperance Heatly with their Indian servants in an interior in Calcutta* (Fig 64). Evaluating them within the framework of the 'thing' provides a means to tease out the compound social denotations of the shawl as a commodity and gift within an imperial context. These works have traditionally been viewed within the frame of the conversation piece. However, their visual interiority and exteriority motivate comparison and discussion. Therefor, by viewing these portraits as works containing 'things' we can broaden the conversation. Heidegger's interpretation of what makes a 'thing' is:

> The "gathering" in the object's physical presence of meanings that illuminate its existence in the world: the empty space contained by the jug, its capacity to hold and the nature of what it holds, the gift-value of its content.[363]

As such, the object is transformed into a ritualised presence by conferring meaning to the space it inhabits that create unique paths of organisation, mapping and networks in its relationship with geography and human subjects.[364] Taking this theoretical framework, the second half of this chapter examines Ewan Law, a Nabob who

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[360] P. Byrde, *Jane Austen Fashion: Fashion and Needlework in the Works of Jane Austen* (Excellent Press, Shropshire, 1999), p. 305.
[361] Claburn, *The Norwich Shawl,* p. 29.
[362] Byrde, *Jane Austen Fashion,* p. 36.
[363] Baird and Ionescu (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory*, p. 47.
[364] M. Heideggar and A. Hofstadter, *Poetry Language Thought* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1971), pp.161-184.

alongside owning a property in London purchased a country estate in Sussex, Horsted Place. It questions the extent to which gift culture permeated his approach to the Indies during his early service in the 1760s in order to reveal its translation from EIC procurement to placement in English society.

In *Picturing Imperial Power* Fowkes Tobin assessed several of Devis's conversation pieces under the theme of 'Sharing Space.'[365] In each of these works Devis situates the subjects within the Indian landscape sitting amongst their estates. As such, they conform to 'all the conventions of country house portraiture in which the owners are placed in their beautiful gardens that front their manor houses.'[366] Devis employed a distinct specificity of place in his work that allowed the authenticity of Indian elements to be witnessed. In her examination of artworks created in an imperial context, Fowkes Tobin writes about the space they are created in, rather evaluating the 'things' within the works. This dissection of the physical content of the portraits does not contemplate the sitter's physicality or the dress they are adopting. As such, an in-depth discussion of the two Devis portraits and their relationship to the shawls depicted within them, will readdress this absence and open out the motivations for the artist and subjects to include particular dress items within these compositions.

The Indian conversation piece *Mr and Mrs Fraser* (Fig 61) was painted between 1785 and 1790. Positioned beneath a banyan tree, with a domed building and palm trees in the distance, the couple are depicted as affluent, young and English. Soberly attired, the male figure wears a contemporary dress. Whilst in contrast, his wife is painted wearing two obvious symbols of India: a pearl necklace and a large Kashmir shawl that is tied as a sash around her waist.[367] Compositionally, the artist has used the

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[365] Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, p. 129.
[366] Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, p. 129.
[367] S. Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910: The International Era* (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), p .33.

upstanding Mr Fraser to draw the gaze to the right and towards Mrs Fraser's profile and her dress. Here, English dress etiquette and portrait conventions, which extends to the choice of jewellery worn, are observed within this Indian landscape. Nevertheless, of primary significance is the shawl tied around Mrs Fraser's waist. Based on the evidence, I am proposing that Devis pictorially incorporated this dress item for several culturally motivated and ethnographic reasons that will now be explored. Firstly, the artist included this dress accessory as a compositional device. We can see that the shawl's placement within the composition is a natural conclusion to the diagonal trajectory of the gaze, which journeys from the top left-hand corner to the bottom right-hand corner. This is where he wants our gaze to rest and it is arguably the central emphasis of the work. Secondly, for the artist to incorporate this item of dress it would have undoubtedly been at the behest of Mrs Fraser who would have been acknowledged as highly fashionable by being painted wearing this shawl. A third and final motivation for the shawls inclusion in the portrait was Mr Fraser's desire to exhibit his status within the EIC and through which he was in a position to obtain such a garment for his wife. Within the gender politics of the subcontinent the shawl encompassed and reflected these myriad significations that were circulating both in Mughal culture, but additionally within the hybridised society of EIC servants whose families would latterly return to England. We will now look to open out these particular arguments.

Mrs Fraser's shawl is described in minute detail by Devis. On a neutral background woven with a green pattern, flower motifs or *bhutas* are set within red and green decorative borders and a deep fringing runs along the borders of the shawl. The design of the *bhuta* –simplistic in their early form – provides evidence of the age and rarity of this piece. The intrinsically Mughal colours of red and green provide an immediate visual locality of place to this piece. Furthermore, the weight and mass of the shawl is defined by the artist; knotted securely around her waist, its size and texture are

evident. Extending from her waist one end of the shawl rests folded in its fullness on her knee, whilst the other end continues to the floor, drawing the viewer's gaze to the textile. This Kashmiri sash is would have been made in Northern India and was woven from the wool of the mountain goats of East Asia whose fleece was globally renowned for their warmth and lightness of texture.[368] It is clear the artist - in communion with his subjects - is conveying a strong cultural message by including this exact shawl. Yet, Mrs Fraser's shawl and the arrangement of the rest of her ensemble do not openly conform to the dictates of *turquerie* as was demonstrated in chapter one. Employing a reflexive approach, I will now interrogate the individual form of visual dialogue that is being generated in this conversation piece and the impulses behind it.

As previously stated, the motifs and design of Mrs Fraser's shawl indicate that this is an early type of shawl. The *bhuta* or flower motifs within the end-borders of the shawl suggest that the shawl dated from between 1720-1750. Standing almost vertical the *bhuta* are without the later streamer like bending tip and their flowers are still separated. At this period the *bhuta* were yet to solidify into the firm formal shape that began to develop from the mid-eighteenth century.[369] As shawls designs advanced the abstracted form of the *bhuta* evolved into highly stylised forms.[370] Identification of the origin of the shawl demonstrates the value and prestige this item would have held within the range of material objects acquired by the Frasers in the Indies. This was an object that already had an age and value when it was acquired. A *Nobleman's sash* (Fig 62) from Northern India, shares many resemblances in design and form to the shawl worn by Mrs Fraser. Dating from c.1700 this shawl is a masculine court *patka* or waist-sash that is decorated with a brocade border with flowering plant designs at each end. As the image demonstrates when tied at the waist the twin floral borders hung in

[368] Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, p. 4.
[369] Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, p. 11.
[370] For an example of a *buta* style from the 1840 see Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, p. 191.

front of the wearer.[371] As a traditional and ubiquitous form of male courtly dress, the sash was an integral part of an ensemble of garments that fashioned a highly symbolic embodiment of patriarchy, status, and luxury. Visual representations of the masculine dressed form were prevalent within the Mughal court and this as depicted in a portrait of *Maharaja Ajit Singh* (Fig 63). In an era before the universal adoption of the *sarpech* or turban ornament, the sitter was able to reinforce his nobility through the dress and ornamentation he adopts; such as the ropes of pearls strung around his neck – one adorned with a large drilled emerald, the other set with emerald beads – the ornamented sword in his right hand and a jewelled dagger that is held securely at the waist by his *patka*.

Accordingly, it is necessary to decode Devis's portrayal of Mrs Fraser wearing this royal male garment (Fig 61). Due to the growing vogue for Kashmir shawls in British society, Mrs Fraser would have undoubtedly desired such an object. As such any suggestion that Devis used the sash purely as a prop can be dismissed. What is evident given the artist's range of composition within his oeuvre, is his powerful internalisation of Indian culture and customs. However, Mrs Fraser's awareness of the negotiation of the ethnographical and anthropological significance of what she was wearing is open to conjecture.

Devis's carefully recorded and precise rendering of the specificity of Indian form, design and decoration is again present in the sensitive and the painstaking execution of Indian textiles displayed in *The Portrait of Judge Suetonius Grant Heatly and Temperance Heatly with their Indian servants in an interior in Calcutta* (Fig 64) from c. 1786.[372] In this conversation piece the viewer observes the Heatlys listening to their

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[371] Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Mughal India Room, 1500-1900 Textiles Display Case, Item.1, EA 1995.160, Object label. www.ashmolean.org [accessed 7th July 2018].
[372]Archer, *India and British Portraiture,* p.245, and no. 159; also see Lot 16: Arthur William Devis (1762-1822), Christie's, London, 23 September 2005, UK.

Banian.[373] Compositionally, the gaze studies the servant's elegant vertical frame, his light muslin dress and turban that are complimented with a traditional waist sash and a gold-coloured shawl draped across his shoulders. His manner of dress conforms to contemporary conventions, that as Irwin states was 'worn by Indians as a shoulder-mantle, the shawl was essentially a male-garment; its degree of fineness was traditionally accepted as a mark of nobility.'[374] With his hands held together in a deferential stance he indicates towards Temperance who is positioned centrally in the work. Dressed again in white muslin, it is the corresponding shawl draped around her shoulders with its white ground and pale blue floral motifs that corresponds with the blue silk sash tied around her waist. Thus, the inclusion of the shawl in this work by a female member of an EIC family offers a cultural engagement with Indian textiles that transcends gender and societal hierarchies.

The conversation piece effectively replicates formal and stylistic features of Devis's oeuvre of portraits that depict members of the EIC and their household-staff from the mid-1780s. Here Devis's use of cool painterly tones offer an alternative East Indian landscape to those of his works that he painted when outdoors, where the warm hues of the Indian landscape saturated the textiles and the garments he incorporated. By contrast, in this depiction the restricted palette enabled Devis to fully articulate how the subjects' bodies provided a space to accentuate the drape of the Indian textiles. In positioning his subjects' halfway down the canvas, he employed the traditional trope of the conversation and able to use the expansive and unadorned background wall to effectively draw the gaze to the most vital aspect of the visual narrative, the social interaction. The gaze is concentrated on the sole female subject who wears a dress accessory that Western Europe was progressively starting to adopt as the height of fashionable attire. The *patka* (court girdle or sash) she wears is similar to the *Sash*

[373] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 245.
[374] Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, p. 1.

(patka) (Fig 65). Featuring a Mughal form of embroidered decoration this example consists of a row of six flower sprays or *bhutas* in what has been described as being 'stylized into a shape probably influenced by contemporary jewelled turban ornaments.'[375] However, Temperance takes centre stage in the composition because of her decision to be depicted wearing a Kashmir shawl that functioned as an implicit and unconcealed cultural commitment to her environment.

Fowkes Tobin's position - as to the potentially subversive element of Devis's inclusion of Indian elements within his portraits - is a line of enquiry that holds relevance for these works.[376] His ability to evoke the acknowledgement of economic exchange pictorially is pertinent for the Seuitonius portrait. Its compositional structure – by placing the *Banian* in an imposing position on the left-hand side of the work – indicates that the *Banian* obtained the shawl for Temperance under instructions from her brother. Hence, it is the *Banian* who controls the quality of the sourced goods. William Bolts provided a contemporary description of their role in East Indian society 'he conducts all the trade of his master, to whom unless pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is difficult for any of the natives to obtain access.'[377]

This discussion establishes that the painting operates on a series of levels. Furthermore, it can be seen to recommend the female agency of Temperance in working with Devis to include the shawl in the image for its compositional virtues, its drape and exotic design. By being portrayed wearing this garment, she was undoubtedly sending a visual message to those in the West about her proximity to Eastern exoticism. This 'authenticity' was a highly desired commodity and introduced the concept of an appreciation of the objects' ethnographic merits.[378] In returning to our

[375] S. Ashmore, *Muslin* (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), p. 76.
[376] Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power*, p. 135.
[377] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home*, p. 418.
[378] Philips and Steiner (eds), *Unpacking Culture*, p. 2.

earlier reflection on Spooner's discussion on the hierarchical taxonomy of textiles, it is a social mechanism that negotiates authenticity.[379] Its tangibility offered immediate physical connection to the East through its diffused sensory elements. These textiles were known to emit a distinctive smell that represented exotic travel that was 'thought to proceed from spices, and from having been closely packed on the voyage from India.'[380] Thomas Ainsworth manufactured muslins in Bolton that replicated Indian muslins up until the 1920s, with its peak in 1793 and he observed 'many persons buying muslin in a shop, judged of it being Indian or otherwise, by the smell and touch.'[381] Thompson's card *Trade-card/print* (Fig 66) graphically echoes the hierarchical taxonomy of textiles offered in England during this period. India shawls feature strongly at the top of his advertisement, whilst equally desirable 'Gold and Silver Muslins' are illustrated underneath the shawls.

However, an alternative reading would propose that Seutonius, who was working as a Judge in the East Indies, bought the shawl for his sister as a familial, colonial gift. The evidence suggests this was his prime commissioning motivation behind the portrait. His position within the work – with his louche, relaxed body and his leg outstretched, resting protectively against his sister's leg – can be interpreted as a marker of masculine familial pride and status. Within this context the shawl reflects 'the possessive individual within the relations of a colonial family, kinship and marriage', as argued by Finn.[382] Its presence, viewed as part of a strategic gifting repertoire, worked to incorporate an exotic textile commodity – that represented a new form of wealth acquired from the global trade – into established forms of circulation present in England. Obtaining a shawl was seen as a sign of upward social mobility with shawls

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[379] Spooner, 'Weavers and dealers: the authenticity of an oriental carpet', p. 200.
[380] Ashmore, *Muslin*, p. 38.
[381] Ashmore, *Muslin*, p. 38. See the Author's footnote. It indicates that this quote is from the Ainsworth archives. Ainsworth used spices to scent the first muslins he made and his British muslins were also sent to India to be repacked, returning to 'England as Indian muslins.'
[382] Finn, 'Colonial Gifts', p. 207.

functioning as hereditary items to be passed through female family members which, were habitually stored in boxes that were scented with sandalwood or cedarwood that acted as moth preservatives.[383] Furthermore, Finn implies that these systems 'inculcated habits of deference with the social hierarchy.'[384] As such, it is significant that Devis has portrayed the servant in a woolen sash, whilst Temperance is placed in the leisured, lighter muslin sash, further strengthening the colonial hierarchies that would have been immediately read and absorbed when this painting returned to English society.

The sending home of textile items that included shawls to family members, had been common practice amongst the EIC since the early part of the eighteenth century. In particular, this was a repetition that applied particularly between EIC servants and their female relatives residing in England. Between 1733 and 1734, Richard Benyon had given the role of acquiring textile items as gifts for his daughter Molly and her companion to his brother Charles. Objects included a 'flower'd Apron and Handkerchiefs along with three petticoats.'[385] Situated in the context of his letters to his brother, they denote a strong awareness of the remembered material world of Molly's domestic environment alongside a knowledge and respect for the design and manufacturing process of such items demonstrating that 'Benyon used these objects to express affection across space and time.'[386]

Baird and Ionescu assert that this link between the 'self' and the bodily association with textile objects manifests in the latter part of the eighteenth century with an interest in '"part objects" – dresses, hats, muffs miniature portraits, or fans – which are

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[383] Claburn, *The Norwich Shawl,* p. 29.
[384] Finn, 'Colonial Gifts, p. 207.
[385] Englefield House Case Study: Material Knowledge. Footnote 4: Papers of R. Benyon inc. letters to his brother and a list of clothing, D/EBy/B7 (1708-1757), Letter from Richard Benyon to Charles Benyon, 12 January 1743/4. www.blogs.ucl.ac.uk [accessed 6th June 2018].
[386] Englefield House Case Study: Material Knowledge. www.blogs.ucl.ac.uk [accessed 6th June 2018].

increasingly involved with sentimental; they act as supplements of the human.'[387] As such the shadowing of a 'things' trajectory allows interpretation of its human translation and circulation. As Arjan Appardurai confirms 'from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context.'[388] In choosing to concentrate on these specific 'things' in these works, it is the object – or shawl – that succeeds over the 'space' in expanding our understanding of Devis's intention to subvert the gaze. It is the force of the 'thing' as Jane Bennett asserts 'in this assemblage, *objects* appeared as *things*, that is, as vivid entities not entirely reducible to the contexts in which (human) subjects set them, never entirely exhausted by their semiotics.'[389]

The second part of this chapter will now expand these discussions by examining the case study of Ewan Law and his relationship with textiles. In particular, the concept of the shawl as an 'affectionate thing' within familial translation and circulation will be explored further.[390] Tilly Kettle's portrait of *Ewan Law* (Fig 67) portrays a youthful sitter who had arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1763.[391] By the time of this portrait Law had risen to Merchant at Patna, having spent some years rising through the EIC ranks as Assistant Collector and then Factor at Patna.[392] He left Bihar in 1780 and is said to have returned to England with the substantial sum of £150,000.[393] Arguably commissioned to commemorate his advancement through the EIC, the portrait demonstrates Kettle's fulsome skill in using paint and canvas to convey the EIC servants experience at this period. Law – with this body leaning towards the classical

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[387] Baird and Ionescu (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Thing Theory in a Global Context,* p. 11.
[388] Appaduari (ed), *The Social Life of Things*, p. 5.
[389] Bennett, *Vibrant matter,* p. 5.
[390] Englefield House Case Study: Material Knowledge. Footnote 4: Papers of R. Benyon inc. letters to his brother and a list of clothing, D/EBy/B7 (1708-1757), Letter from Richard Benyon to Charles Benyon, 12 January 1743/4. www.blogs.ucl.ac.uk [accessed 6th June 2018].
[391] Letters from Ewan Law of Horsted Place, Little Horsted (1747-1829), 1816-1820, SPK 1/126. The Keep, Brighton.
[392] LAW, Ewan (1747-1829), of Lower Brook Street, Mdx. and Little Horsted, Suss. Law also held the Constituency of Newton I.O.W 5th May 1802 www.historyofparliamentonline.org [accessed 6th March 2016].
[393] Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 244.

column placed on the left- hand side of the work – frankly confronts the spectator's gaze. On the right-hand side of the work the lower placement of the large palm tree strengthens the pleasing transverse in the composition that allows the viewer to effectively interpret the self-assurance of the subject where are witnessing both his ambition and his success. As an active visualisation of the Law family's relationship with the EIC, this work remained Horsted Place – the Law's Sussex Estate – until his great-granddaughter: Gertrude Law, sold it to Thomas Agnew in 1926.[394] The portrait provides two important avenues in which to formulate a discussion of Ewan Law's engagement with the material culture of India through textiles, firstly through his relationship with Warren Hastings and secondly, through his purchase of a country estate, Horsted Place at Little Horsted in Sussex in 1810.[395] (Fig 68)

Comparably to the Frankland family, the Law family and Ewan's wife Henrietta Markham's family - whose father William Markham had been an EIC servant – had a domestic tradition of service within the Company. [396] Law corresponded with his brother throughout his tenure in the East Indies and these letters disclose a strong familial and brotherly bond.[397] Moreover, Ewan Law had a professional connection to Hastings. Yet, despite Ewan's service in India under Clive and Hastings, it would be his elder brother Edward Law, later 1st Lord Ellenborough, who would act as one Hastings's defense consul during the Impeachment Trial. Edward Law became Hastings's consul on the recommendation of his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Rumbold and Ewan Law was called

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[394] Milner, 'Tilly Kettle', p. 93.
[395] Summons to a General Court Baron, c.1812. Endorsed with a note that Mr [Ewan] Law bought the Horsted Estate in May 1810, East Sussex Record Office, The Keep, Brighton. BAR 3/2/13; See also BAR 2/2/1-11, f.6, '11th July 1791 Policy of Insurance of Horsted Place, Furniture, Stock etc £1600 'Sun Fire Office. No. 385723, SussexJuly 1791 that confirms that Rev Anthony Nott was residing at Little Horsted in 1791; See also Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire,* p. 256. Appendix 2 – Landed Estates purchased by Indian Nabobs, 1700-1850. This states that Horsted Place (Uckfield) was purchased by Ewan Law in 1780. The evidence suggests this date is incorrect. The Keep, Brighton.
[396] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* p. 41.
[397] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John, which includes accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA, Kew. F.11-18, (p. 16).

to give testimony during the trial.[398] It is clear that Ewan was latterly defined by his brother's ascendant position in society, as the *Sussex Advertiser* reported in 1813 'on that day dines with Ewan Law, Esq, (Lord Ellenborough's brother) at Horsted Place.'[399]

After the Regulation Act of 1773 – which prohibited amongst other high-status objects jewelled presents from being brought back to England – textiles provided a remaining, acceptable form associated with the customary exchange.[400] Evidence of this is provided by Hastings in a letter to his wife 'the Captain had also the charge of two shawls in one package and your *firmaun*.'[401] These shawls were a gift from the royal court, rather than being acquired by a *Banian*. Queen Charlotte had been the recipient of a sizeable number of textile gifts. It was reported in a newspaper report that these were rediscovered after her death 'in another apartment was a large store of the most superb shawls, Oriental presents to her Majesty.'[402] Sydney Grier states the gift of a shawl was 'a present from the Prince; but of no other value.'[403] Yet, as the evidence has demonstrated from earlier in the chapter, Kashmir shawls operated in a sophisticated and complex terrain of cultural meaning that directly counters this statement. This complexity is inherent in the very nature of the diversity and range of textiles available in the subcontinent as proven by a further letter from Hastings to his wife:

> I have this moment (the 8th), received a Letter from the Prince addressed to you, with a Present of a Rezy[404] and a Shawl Handkerchief. These I will send to you by the Surprize [ship]. They are according to the Etiquette: so accept them as they are intended, and don't examine them by their Qualities; for they are of ordinary Fineness.[405]

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[398] *Lettered Minutes of Evidence on East India Affairs,* 1813, Volume 1, p. 188.
[399] *Sussex Advertiser*, Monday 16th August 1813.
[400] Frederick Lord North introduced the Regulating Act of 1773 on the 18 May 1773 to overhaul the management of the EIC's rule in India.
[401] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife,* p. 407. *Firmaun*: in Turkey and some other Oriental countries, a decree or mandate issued by the sovereign; a royal order or grant; generally given for special objects or to a traveller to insure him protection and assistance.
[402] *The Norfolk Chronicle and Norwich Gazette*, January 18th 1819.
[403] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 409.
[404] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 409. *Rasai*: see Grier's index on p.480, 'A REZY (*rasai*] is a wadded quilt; also see p. 370.
[405] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, pp. 371-388.

Hastings's reverence and passion for Kashmir shawls, their wool and the goats that the wool came from, is borne out by his attempt to import several goats back to England.[406] (Fig 69) However, the retention of Kashmir stockings, gloves and socks within his collection suggests that these were unique examples that he valued highly. Through his textile acquisition, it is clear that Hastings predominantly esteemed quality and trusted a *Banian* – as we saw in the relationship between Suetionius Heatly and his *Banian* - for this skilled role. Furthermore, it was during this time that other EIC servants close to Hastings such as Major William Sands returned to England with East Indian textiles, such as a Kashmir shawl and a muslin sash.[407] (Fig 70) Woven of pashmina wool in very fine weave twill, Sand's shawl features a reduced fringe panel of compressed and stylised large *bhutas.* These stylistic modifications in design underscore the increasingly complex and beautiful colour combinations of Kashmir shawls in the 1780s and demonstrate how EIC servants' continued to acquire shawls for their family members in England. The feminine and masculine dialogue with this specific textile form was fully incorporated within a family's gifting repertoire.

Warren Hastings exerted powerful cultural hybridity in his engagement and appreciation of all aspects of East Indian culture, which the previous discussion has demonstrated extended to textiles. That this influenced physical actions indirectly procuring material culture is supported by evidence relating to Ewan Law. After his appointment as Factor at Patna Law wrote to his brother to confirm and celebrate the news.[408] Meaningfully for this discussion he finished his letter by writing:

> I sent a letter addressed to my sister with a Pair of shawls they are made of Goats hair in Cashmeer about 12/5 yard square their worth about 15 £ each

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[406] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 13.
[407] Object History note: according to the donor, this shawl (IS.83-1998) and the muslin sash (IS 84-1988) were brought back from India by her forebear Major William Sands (1750-1790). V&A.
[408] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John, includes accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA. ff. 35-44, letter Patna 15th Jan 1770. f. 37.

> they are used here by the ladies as handkerchiefs for the week and I am told are become fashionable in Europe Pray do oblige me by writing for anything curious from thus Parts.[409]

Law's letters to John Law, his brother give us a valuable insight into the early period of Law's career in the Indies; his arrival and assimilation into the culture and society of Bengal during the period 1764 -1768. This was before he transferred to Patna after his promotion to Assistant Collector in 1768. In the letter he continues by indicating how the shawls were procured 'our buying and selling are carried on by the means of *Banian* ie. A Bengal man who has acquired some knowledge of our language.'[410] Evidence shows however, that Law was learning Persian in 1767:

> I really have not had much time but what is taken up either with Persian or what I ought to have mentioned first the Company's Business…Here I shall experience the utility of understanding Persian, and by constant intercourse and conversation with Men of fashion, I shall be able to perfect myself in that language.[411]

The *Banian's* role was essential in enabling the shawls social circularity amongst EIC servants, especially amongst those servants who had not learnt Persian to a sufficient level to barter over such high-quality textile goods. As the discussion demonstrated in chapter two, the EIC relied on translators within the service and many of their servants to learn Persian or other native languages. Cohn argues that this was a method of knowledge acquisition that enabled the subsequent appropriation of the revenues of Bengal.[412] However, the continued reliance on *Banian's* to obtain high quality textile items such as the Kashmir shawl, even amongst servants who had a level of

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[409] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John, includes accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA. ff. 35-44, letter Patna 15th Jan 1770. f. 43.
[410] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John, includes accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA. Patna 15th Jan 1770. f. 39.
[411] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John, includes accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA. 16 Feb 1767. f. 22.
[412] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 20.

understanding of local languages, reflects the utmost importance both cultures placed on these textiles.

Law's desire to send textiles items back to his female relative conformed to customary practice. Textiles received under the bonds of kinship reinforced the advantages of a position within the EIC but they were moreover, allied to memory through cloth. This was because they functioned as a mediated point of remembrance when they were worn out in society. In the first instance, Law's letters narrate Company events; they then shift to his situation and lastly deal with any items that are to be sent back to his family in England. However, this evidence expands the paradoxical nature of the shawl for the EIC. Law unmistakably informs his reader of the material manufacture of the shawls and their measurements, noting specifically that they originated in Kashmir. By doing this he was asserting the hierarchical taxonomy of the shawl and as such its symbolisation of upward social mobility. However, there is no additional information as to their colour or design and this suggests that their aesthetic qualities were of a lesser value to Law. More significantly, is the description of their worth, £15 each.[413] These were luxurious items of substantial material value. Nevertheless, as Law wrote from Patna 13th January 1768, two years before the gift of shawls to his sister 'I am now in a very advantageous & no less creditable position, by the last ship I made a Remittance of the first 100 which I hope to double the next year.'[414] This substantial increase in his wealth enabled him to participate in these gendered EIC and high-status familial gift practices.[415]

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[413] £15 in 1800 is today valued at approximately £878.44. moneysorter.co.uk, UK Inflation Calculator [accessed 22nd June 2019].
[414] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John including accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA. Patna, 13 Jan 68. f. 29.
[415] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* p.148. Additionally see PROB 11/1504/141 Will of Sir Elijah Impey, p.2. NA. It states 'I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary my Harpsichord made by Kripman [and] the shawl given to my by Mrs Arbuthnot.'

The earliest reference to an Indian shawl being described in English society is from the letters of Laurence Sterne. Writing in March 1767 to Elizabeth Draper – the wife of Daniel Draper, Marine Paymaster at Bombay – he refers to her as 'my fair Indian disciple, and to see her eclipse all other nabobesses as much in wealth as she does already in exterior and (what is far better) in interior merit.'[416] Three days later on the 30th March Sterne notes that during a visit to him when he was unwell 'that you folded the shaul about my waist, and, kneeling, supplicated my attention.'[417] He continues:

> The style is new; and would almost be a sufficient recommendation for their selling well, without merit-but their sense, natural ease, and spirit, is not to be equalled I believe, in this section of the globe.[418]

Law sent the pair of shawls home to his sister only three years after Sterne's description. Whilst there is no visual account of this gift transaction, unlike the portrait of Seuitonious Heatly and his sister, the shawls method of acquisition and spatial designation does demonstrate a thematic repetition. Once more we see a negotiation of upward social mobility and colonial hierarchies through the shawl. Law's interaction with the textile material culture of the shawl was in the infancy of the objects' desirability. Nevertheless, it is plain from Law's letter that contemporary accounts such as Sterne's influenced the EIC servant in the Indies and facilitated an inter-connection of desire that circulated through early global imperial networks to England.

Ewan Law, M.P (Fig 71) by Thomas Lawrence depicts Law imbued with confidence as the returned EIC servant who held the Constituency of Westbury from 1790 to January 1795.[419] In this portrait Law is positioned in front of a heavily draped red curtain sat upon a chair and with his hair is heavily powdered he engages the viewer with a

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[416] Curtis, Lewis Perry (ed), *Letters of Laurence Sterne* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 304. First published in Laurence Sterne, *Letters from Yorick to Eliza* (London, 1773), letter 193; also see p. 307, footnote 5, for further details on the EIC service of Daniel Draper.
[417]Curtis (ed), *Letters of Laurence Sterne,* p. 320.
[418]Curtis (ed), *Letters of Laurence Sterne,* p. 321.
[419] LAW, Ewan (1747-1829), of Lower Brook Street, Mdx. and Little Horsted, Suss. www.historyofparliamentonline.org [accessed 6th March 2016].

similarly direct gaze as witnessed in the earlier portrait by Kettle. (Fig 67) The half-length work facially captures Law in full clarity of expression and the liveliness of the sitter is reflected in the well-handled application of paint. Nonetheless, any visual references to the East Indies are entirely lacking. It represents therefore, a returned Nabob who was now heavily involved in contemporary society, both as a politician and as a patron of Lawrence. India may not be appearing pictorially in the work; nevertheless it is East Indian wealth that has facilitated this commission.

Law's purchase of Horsted Place in Sussex works against the accepted concept of the returned Nabob purchasing an estate directly on his return, with Law acquiring his in 1810. [420] In terms of segregated geography of rank, the distinction between the fashionable metropolitan, a provincial townsperson and country folk was not to be overstated. Porter states that eighteenth-century society saw the countryside as a place in which estate could be established thus 'creating in the heart of the country a sanctum of civilization.'[421] Hertfordshire and Middlesex were the traditional environs of desirability for the returned Nabob because of their easy proximity to London. Here they were could procure the twin desires of an estate and a seat in Parliament, which they believed would secure their rising social standing.[422] Nevertheless, Sussex offered an attractive environment of regional diversity and suited Law's desire to retire quietly to the country as he had written to his brother 'I am a so little struck with Eastern Grandeur and Luxury that I shall, with the greatest pleasure, give up Parade & outward Pomp, for a moderate-income and quiet retirement in England.'[423] As discussed in

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[420] BAR 2/2/1-11, (Deeds), Description of the estate in 1724. The Keep, Brighton; also see *Description of every Rape, Hundred, River, Town, Borough, Parish, village, Hamlet, Castle, Monastery and Gentleman's seat in that County* (Sussex: E. Taylot, 1834) p.151. In 1834 it recorded 'HORSTED PARVA. Or LITTLE HORSTED. A parish, in Rushmonden hundred, rape of Pevensey…Horsted Place, the seat of the late Ewan Law, Esq. is a pleasing residence. It is a Rectory.'
[421] Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 45.
[422] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* p. 70.
[423] PRO 30/12/17/2, Letters from Ewan Law, 2nd son of Bishop of Carlisle, to his brother John including accounts of life in India and political comments as a Member of Parliament. NA. Patna 13 Jan 68 [ff.27-34]. f. 31.

chapter one, luxury debates raged within this period. However, it is clear that for Law his service in the EIC was a means of acquiring sufficient capital for him to retire quietly to the country. This goes against the universally understood concept that the majority of returned EIC servants actively participated in overt engagement with luxury through their dress, house purchasing and ostentatious behaviour in society. Contextually therefore, Horsted Place provided a domestic, pastoral environment in which Kettle's portrait of Law was hung as visual survivor of his EIC service in amongst imagery by Lawrence and the trappings of an expanding, rural family life.[424]

Nevertheless, it is evident that his EIC connections remained necessary for him and his family as a newspaper report of attendance at the Brighton Pavilion revealed 'The Rev. Roger Frankland, Mrs Frankland – Miss Frankland and Miss Octavia Frankland, from Muntham; Mr, Mrs and Miss Law, from Horsted Place were here'.[425] The First County [Sussex] meeting was held in 1780 under the chairmanship of William Frankland and it was within this context that the Frankland and Law family's kinship networks were sustained.[426] Law died at Horsted Place in 1829 with the estate passing to his wife until her death in 1844. [427] The Law family sold the estate to the Mr Francis Barchard in 1849 whereby a new mansion was erected between1850-52; the present house that we see today.[428] As such, the Law Family monument at St Michael and All Angels Church provides the last remaining physical evidence of the Law family's tenure at Horsted Place, despite Ewan Law's desire to establish a sustainable country estate for

[424] PROB 11-1755-466 Will of Ewan Law of Little Horsted, Sussex. pt 1, p. 2.
[425] *Sussex Advertiser,* January 5th 1824; under the sub-heading 'Brighthelmstone, Brighton News.'
[426] L/C/X/1, County Meetings for Economical and Political Reform, The Keep, Brighton.
[427] *The Morning Post*, April 27th 1829.
[428] Historic England: HORSTED PLACE. List entry Number: 1000202. Grade II listed. Built between 1850-52. www.historicengland.org.uk [accessed 6th March 2016]; also see: Photograph, Horsted Place, ca. 1860, Barchard, Francis (photographer), Albumen print, E. 3258:134-1991, Prints & Drawings Study Room, level F, case X, shelf 506. V&A. www.collections.vam.ac/uk [accessed 7th April 2016].

his family. [429] (Fig 72) Created in high quality pink Calabrian marble, the classically inspired monument is prominently positioned by the front door of the church. Ewan Law and his wife Henrietta Sarah Law's inscriptions take prominence on the front of the monument whilst their family's engravings cover the remaining space. This demonstrates their one time centrality to their family's status with Sussex society. Yet, any mention of Law's service in the East India Company is entirely absent from his memorial indicating a nineteenth century desire to establish a distance between status and the EIC.

The evidence in this chapter has demonstrated the fundamental significance of the authenticity of a commodity to the EIC kinship networks. An examination of the life of Ewan Law has reframed our understanding of our approach to the returning Nabob that actively demands a more nuanced approach. This is a methodology that distances itself from the stereotypical interpretation of the returned EIC servant. Law's participation in the acquisition of shawls that were to be sent back to his sister in the late 1760s reflects the adoption of collective textile gift practices at this time by EIC servants. This chapter has provided an examination of the EIC's relationship with the Kashmir shawl through a variety of visual mediums to provide an expanded understanding of its cultural value during this period. This correlation is pictorially displayed in the *Portrait of Suetonius and Temperance* where a physical acquisition of shawls of the highest quality and value is portrayed. The commoditised value of the shawl was reflected firstly, in its economic worth and secondly, in its craftsmanship in the use of materials of the highest quality and the superior level of design. Devis's deep cultural absorption and fascination with the East Indies is expressed in the two portraits assessed. It seems significant that he chose to portray a muslin *patka* or waist-sash in the other portrait. By incorporating two different forms of shawl or sash he

[429] St Michael's Church, Little Horsted. www.sussexparishchurches.org [accessed 6th March 2016].

thus demonstrated his sophisticated knowledge of textile taxonomy that existed in Indian society. This mirrored a level of engagement demonstrated by Tilly Kettle, arguably reflecting an elevated internalisation of Indian aspects by these artists.[430]

The next chapter will take the discussion of the EIC's engagement with Indian dress into a new realm of rich and unexplored enquiry to comprehend the value of jewellery acquired in the East Indies. As objects of dress, jewellery by its hard materiality performed in diametrical opposition to the soft, texturally qualities of textiles. Nevertheless, eighteenth-century bodies made space for both. It will negotiate these tensions to consider the representational differences of these objects, and the reasons for both display and absence by examining the Clive family's relationship with a specific object, the *sarpech* or turban ornament. The discussion will challenge the current stereotypical view of Robert Clive's rapacious engagement with jewels to demonstrate the agency of his wife Margaret Clive who employed jewels as valuable heritable items of familial transmission. Furthermore, the conversation will uncover visual material relating to the *sarpech* that charted the fluctuating status of the EIC towards the end of the century because of escalating British nationhood.

[430] Finn, 'Colonial Gifts', p. 210.

Part II JEWELLERY

Chapter 4

Visualising the *Sarpech*: The Clive Family and a Mughal Jewel.

Our framing of the function of jewellery and gemstones transported home from the East Indies by EIC servants converges on the negotiation of the term corruption. This is contextually exemplified by the service of 'Clive of India', Lord Clive of Plassey. In *The Scandal of Empire* Nicholas Dirks states that the eighteenth century was 'the long century of imperial scandal, a time when trade and empire led to successive crises around the fundaments of English politics, culture, and society.'[431] At the heart of these concerns was the EIC, an exclusive corporation that destroyed any pretense at a competition by monopolising every economic and business terrain it encountered.[432] Since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Dutch and English had established Asian commerce yet, after Clive's success at the Battle of Plassey in 1757 commerce became intrinsically linked with personal gain and wealth and this reflected a growing challenge to national wealth. As Nick Robins comments 'almost immediately after Clive's acquisition of the *diwani* [*jaghire*], concerns arose about the social, political and ethical implications of this dramatic change in the Company's circumstances.'[433]

Susan Stronge has stated that in the eighteenth century the EIC acquired Indian jewellery:

> In one of three ways; it was brought to convert cash into a more liquid asset that could be sent home; it was presented by an Indian ruler or dignitary or it represented the spoils of war, acquired through the process of 'prize' (that is, dividing between military forces of the booty seized in accordance with its monetary value.)[434]

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[431] Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, p. 9.
[432] Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World*, p. 104.
[433] Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World*, p. 105.
[434] S. Stronge, 'Indian Jewellery and the West: Stylistic Exchanges 1750-1930', *Journal of*

Cash, gift or prize – these were the three main motivations. Crucially, she argued 'it was not collected by the British for its aesthetic appeal.'[435] This chapter will interrogate this statement. It will question this dismissal of aestheticism to propose a profound shift of orientation in which jewels from the East Indies were desired materially, but also visually. In doing this, the role of craftsmanship will be elevated to demonstrate that EIC servants were culturally engaged. Open to intense scrutiny our contemporary perception of the EIC's relationship with jewels is designated by their rapacious methods of acquisition concerning the outrageous levels of wealth generated through service in the Company.

Any cultural examination of jewellery – and in particular its relationship to the EIC – relies on an understanding of its complex commodification. In monetary terms commodities circulate through economic system, as they are exchanged, typically for money. However, from a social perspective the production of commodities is a cultural and cognitive process, which adheres varyingly to a range of values dependent on different cultural groups.[436] In *Commodities in Cultural Perspective* Igor Kopytoff notes 'where societies differ is how commoditisation as a special expression of exchange is structured and related to the social system.'[437] Typically commercial exchanges are discrete yet, as he states, notable exceptions are the exchanges that mark reciprocity 'here gifts are given to evoke an obligation to give a gift back, which in turn will evoke a similar obligation.' [438] The Indian courts adhered to this form of gift culture in which textiles and jewels acted as transactional objects during worship and in the

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South Asian Studies, 6, 1990, p. 1. Stronge qualifies her argument by referencing 'the small amount of research that has been done on the subject of English jewellery on the one hand, and the very few surviving pieces from India that are securely dateable on the other.'
[435] Stronge, 'Indian Jewellery', p. 1.
[436] Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things', p. 64.
[437] Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things', p. 68.
[438] Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things', p. 68.

confirmation of political alliances.[439] They were used throughout society to symbolise status and transformation but as C. A. Bayley states 'the complexity of the Indian social order imparts unusual variety to the symbolism of nakedness and dress.'[440] Jewellery and individual gemstones formed these exchanges and it is important to refine the distinction between these two categories. Both were portable forms of material wealth brought back from the East Indies. It was commonplace for EIC servants to have stones set into a piece of jewellery for their spouses. However, loose stones delivered a particular type of remittance for the EIC in an environment in which the extraction of monetary funds to Britain was highly challenging.

This chapter will firstly examine jewellery as a form of presentation observed in the public domain of metropolitan society and how returning Nabobs and Nabobians may have affected changes to these rules. It will reference Finn's argument that:

> Imperial conquest further enhanced this process of evolution [in the strategic gifting repertoires], bringing a wealth of new and exotic goods into carefully orchestrated systems of circulation that inculcated habits of deference within the social hierarchy.[441]

It will consider how kinship operated as an expanded social network within the EIC. EIC servants acquired properties and created familial environments in which to both project their entry into British society but additionally display objects from Empire.[442] The immediate family acted as a conduit for display and projection. As such, jewels brought back from India functioned beside diamonds that had been refashioned into family jewels in England. These jewels became heritable objects that were integral to family systems of transmission and the evocation of status within English society.

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[439] C. A. Bayley, 'The origins of swadeshi (home industry): cloth and Indian society, 1700-1930', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* ed by A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). p. 286.
[440] Bayley, 'The origins of swadeshi', p. 287.
[441] Finn, 'Colonial Gifts', pp. 206-207.
[442] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home;* also see Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, pp. 136-164, Chapter 6: The Cultural Display of Empire in Country Houses.

Secondly, this chapter will interrogate jewellery as depicted in visual culture. Within the gendered terrain of eighteenth-century society and a mercantile trading company, it is important to cognise when jewels were incorporated in portraiture. In this aspect of presentation and its portrayal, it is essential to contemplate how eighteenth-century jewellery etiquette through a range of established societal conventions dictated depicted presentation. This will be scrutinised in direct contrast to jewellery as a form of presentation.

When searching for inheritance rules anthropologists have adopted, in differing ways, biographies of 'things' as part of material culture 'a kind of biography in terms of ownership.' [443] This method poses a series of relevant anthropological questions of the 'thing' and its 'status' pertaining to eighteenth-century culture. By embracing a biographical approach through a specific, targeted examination of the *sarpech*, I am proposing to comprehend the culturally hybridised encounter of Clive through his acceptance of a turban jewel after the military success of the EIC after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Margaret Mead remarks 'one way to understand a culture is to see what sort of biography it regards as embodying a successful social career.'[444] The *sarpech* Clive received from the Nawab forms part of the biography of Mughal culture that designates the premier status to the wearer of a *sarpech.*

Of all jewel types it was indisputably the *sarpech* that grabbed the attention of the EIC servants when they were in courtly society. The performance was central to the cultural role of the jewel in the gift-giving context of the Durbar. With its jewelled elevation it stood proudly above the court officials who had gathered together and instantly signalled the pre- eminent status of the wearer. It was traditionally the most revered of Eastern masculine jewellery, taken from a vast array of jewellery forms for the Indian

[443] Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things', p. 66.
[444] Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things', p. 66. Kopytoff is quoting Margaret Mead, the cultural anthropologist.

male and it directly signified royalty and hierarchical power. This elaboration of a specific language and etymology of jewellery is represented in *Rites and Festivals of Muslims and the main Hindu Castes* (Fig 73). In Indian culture societal standing related directly to personal appearance rather than your physical environment and a noble was expected to maintain a standard of dress for himself, his family, and his servants. Rank was of the utmost importance and this was reflected in Mughal court rituals. As Patricia Baker observes 'thus the presentation of clothing and fabrics quickly came to dominate the system of honorific gifts or *khil'a* (Arabic) (Persian: *Khil'at*; or Turkish: *hil'at*).'[445]

Symbolically, the *sarpech* had come to represent in jewelled form the historical power of the Persian and Ottoman world.[446] According to Mughal sumptuary laws these ornaments were to be worn by royalty, blood relatives or a chief and honoured individuals where the exchange of turbans was considered the ultimate honour.[447] Conversely, the object's status within English culture during the period exposes an uncertainty with the object's form because of its otherness and exotic connotations. Following Said's interpretation its Western construction as a material object of orientalism was through 'its strangeness, its difference, its exotic sensuousness, and so forth.'[448] In observing this position society layers contemporary meaning on this object through its postcolonial designation as an Islamic work of art. Yet Said's approach is still pertinent as he states:

> But if we agree that all things in history, like history itself, are made by men, then we appreciate how possible it is for many objects or places or times to be assigned roles and given meanings that acquire objective validity only *after* the assignments are made.[449]

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[445] P. Baker, 'Islamic Honorific Garments', *Costume*, Vol. 25, Issue 1, Jan 1991, p. 25.
[446] For an example of an early Ottoman turban ornament see Chadour-Sampson, Beatriz and Bari, Hubert, *Pearls* (London: V&A Publishing, 2013), p. 147.
[447] O. Untracht, *Traditional Jewellery of India* (New York: Abrams, 1997), p. 381.
[448] Said, *Orientalism,* p. 72.
[449] Said, *Orientalism,* p. 54.

This orientation to assigned roles and given meanings relates directly to the discussion that will develop in this chapter concerning the *sarpech,* which was seen on one level as a form of presentation and on another through its portrayal in visual culture. By disconnecting the physical object out from its representational form as an exotic object, the rules pertaining to the visual depiction can be demarcated from its embodied role.

Theoretically as an object of Imperialism the *sarpech* can be seen to straddle the liminal position that non-Western objects held within Western aesthetic discourses.[450] As Ruth Philips and Christopher Steiner remark 'much of the literature on the reception of non-Western arts takes the dualistic art/artifact distinction as a given and focuses on its ambiguities and inadequacies.'[451] Whilst Pollock and Parker have sought to deconstruct the conventional classification of 'fine' and 'applied' arts under a feminist revision, by contrast in postcolonial theory the turban began to be seen as mediation of a new reassertion of national and cultural identity. Cohn states 'the Sikh's turban can be seen as a symbolic displacement of economic, political, and cultural issues, rooted in two hundred years of the tangled relationships between Indians and their British conquerors.'[452] Within this designation, the *sarpech* can be interpreted as an emblem of oppression that reproduces the controlling power that the EIC servants exerted over the Nawab courts'.

Tilly Kettle's portrait *Mohammad Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot* (Fig 8) illustrates the immense spectacle of pearls and diamonds that Indian princes wore. These were intrinsically emblematic of the richness of their treasury.[453] Affixed to the front of the turban he wears a sumptuous *sarpech* with feathered plume and suspended jewel that are worn alongside other turban ornaments such as the *kalgi*, the *sarpatti* and the

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[450] Philips and Steiner*, Unpacking Culture*, p. 5. The authors' refer to this as 'Folding Non-Western Objects into Western Art History'; also see p. 6.
[451] Philips and Steiner*, Unpacking Culture,* p. 5.
[452] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge,* p. 107.
[453] Chadour-Sampson and Bari, *Pearls*, p. 11.

turra.[454] These objects customarily demarcated the physical masculine power that was synonymous with the Mughals.[455] Painted in India between 1772-1776 the work was exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1775. The Mughals had ruled the majority of the Indian subcontinent from 1526 until its height in the eighteenth century.[456] Yet ironically, Kettle captures the dichotomy of the rise and fall of Mughal power in this work. The portrait visually broadcasts the Nawab's position on the cusp of decline because of his distribution of diamonds amongst EIC servants that were used as political levers back in Britain.

This chapter's emphasis is on one specific jewelled object, the turban ornament or *sarpech.* Mir Jafar presented Clive with a *Gem-Set Enamelled Gilded Silver Turban Ornament* (Fig 74) - along with gifts of money and textiles - after the Battle of Plassey on the 23rd of June 1757.[457] This was a moment of pivotal victory for the EIC in which their involvement expedited a resounding defeat against the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies. Representing a moment of public glory for the Company, the jewelled form of the Clive *sarpech* was the physical symbol of early imperialistic gains for the British nation in the East Indies. Furthermore, it signified the escalating, pre-eminent status of the Clive family who were the first EIC family to publically announce and exhibit their familial wealth in English society. The Clive *sarpech* is comprised of diamonds – the jewel the Mughals esteemed the highest – with the gems being closely positioned and placed together to form a cohesive whole. [458] Its *jigha* has a central

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[454] Untract, *Traditional Jewellery of India,* p. 344. For an additional definition of the term *sarpech* see Prior, Katherine and Adamson, John, *Maharajas' Jewels* (New York and London: Vendome Press, 1999), p. 38.
[455] Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge,* p. 109.
[456] Chadour-Sampson and Bari, *Pearls*, p. 150.
[457] In 1987 a *sarpech* catalogued as 'A Gold Sarpech Set with a Spinel, Diamonds and Emeralds, probably Murshidabad, mid XVIIIth century' appeared on the front cover of a Sotheby's Switzerland Exhibition catalogue of Mughal art held in Geneva. Listed as item 31 it was 'said to have been in the collection of Robert 1st Lord Clive.' Since 1997 the *sarpech* has been in the collection of the MIA in Qatar. www.mia.org.qa [accessed 22nd June 2017].
[458] Islamic and Indian Art, 6th October 2015, London, Lot 123 A Fine Gem-Set Enamelled Gold Turban Ornament (*Jigha*) ['Set with diamonds, carved emerald and pink tourmaline in gold.']

medallion in the form of an open-work flower-head whilst the large square table-cut spinel is surrounded by smaller table-cut diamonds, with a single emerald suspended below.[459] The red spinel – similar to a ruby but geologically distinct – was a royal jewel of enormous value symbolically and materially, superseding even the diamond.[460] The central line of the jewel is composed of foiled rectangular-cut emeralds that are surrounded by diamonds in bud shaped collets. From the tip of the plume, a large teardrop emerald is suspended. In its form and geological composition it is apparent that Clive had been presented a *sarpech* that mirrored his distinguished status within the EIC at this time. The Clive *sarpech* is a jewel of noble status and this corresponds directly with the material value of the gemstones used in its manufacture. Moreover, it was created in Murishidabad in the modified Persian style. Therefore, this jewel represented the growing stylistic influence of the regional courts at the expense of the declining power of the Nawabs in Bengal because of reliance on the EIC.[461]

Aside from the *sarpech*, Clive additionally received £234,000 (or £22 million in 2002 values) from his success at Plassey, creating one of the richest men in England. Moreover as Robins states 'intriguingly, this English executive of a trading corporation and Lieutenant colonel in the British army had become an *omrah* or Mughal noble, a 'flower of the Empire.'[462] The *sarpech* formed part of the 'presents' that the select Committee of the House of Commons would investigate between 1772-1773 and led directly to the passing of Lord North's India Bill of 1773, known as the Regulating

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North India, 18th Century. Sold for £68,500 inc. premium. www.bonhams.com [accessed 27th June 2017].

[459] L. Tan, *Jewelled Treasures from the Mughal Courts* (London: Catalogue of The Islamic Art Society, 2002), p. 36; item no. 8.

[460] N. Barnard, *Indian Jewellery*: *The V&A Collection* (London: V&A, 2008), p. 32; also see Manuel, Keene, *Treasury of the World: Jewelled Arts of India in the Age of the Mughals* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 132.

[461] Tan, *Jewelled Treasures,* p.7. Tan states that whilst the provincial courts rose in stylistic importance, their Nawabs still adopted the manners and rituals of the Mughals, with a continued reverence paid to their Persian heritage.

[462] Robins, *The Corporation that Changed the World*, p. 76.

Act.[463] Euphemistically referred to as 'presents', bribes were integral accompaniments of any business transaction carried out in India. In a gift-practice that was specific to India Holzman describes their regularity as 'the current of presents'.[464] Nevertheless, the majority of more responsible Company servants realised that the excesses since Plassey occurred due to the breaking down of conventions relating to private fortunes, not because there was a problem with the law of conventions themselves. Clive and Hastings are known to have distinguished between those presents given as bribes for expected services, which they condemned and those that were given as a mark of gratitude and friendship, which they thought a servant of sufficient seniority might accept.[465]

Clive's position enabled him to incorporate a *sarpech*, a highly exoticised piece of Indian masculine jewellery, into an aristocratic collection through familial transmission. Evidence for this is drawn from the inventory compiled by Lady Clive and his executors after Clive died in unclear circumstances on the 25th of November 1774.[466] The inventory catalogues all items within the Clive estate at the time of his death and exposes what Indian jewellery Clive possessed, paying particular attention to three specific items:

A bulge[467]	40 Diamonds	3 Rubies	3 Garnets	3 Emeralds
One serpeach	65		1	29
A pair of Bracelets	12	2	4	

Delivered to Lady Clive 24th Jan. 1775.[468]

[463] Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire,* p. 10; see also p. 15.
[464] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* pp. 9-10.
[465] P. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 131.
[466] R. Harvey, *Clive: The Life and Death of a British Emperor* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998), p. 367.
[467] *Bulge:* a type of dagger.
[468] Indian Papers of Colonel Clive and Brigadier-general Carnac, 1752-1774. 1. Clive's household management papers, 1755-1775. Series H. Ref. No. 71859CliveH. Holder of Originals: National Library of Wales. Inventories, [c.1769] -1781. T7. Inventory of Indian Curiosities, [1774, Dec T7/6). www.microform.digital/boa/collections/so/taking-india-how-the-military-established-company-rule-1752-1774 [accessed 3rd June 2017].

Moreover, the inventory lists 'An Indian Dress viz a *jamma*, a broad fringed Muslin Sash with Gold & Red flowers, three narrow Sashes or Girdles and a broad short Girdle, strings at the sides', demonstrating that when they worn together with the jewels listed they formed a *kh'ilat* – a highly symbolic ensemble of dress that was given as a gift.[469] This was discussed in chapter two in relation to Major Davy. *The Institutes of Timur* stated that besides the customary belt, sword and horse a warrior who distinguished himself would be rewarded with a jewelled heron's feather or *sarpech*.[470]

The presentation of a *sarpech* to Clive and Watson to reward military accomplishment would have suited the EIC, which operated as a mercantile and military body. In 1982 the V&A's Indian Department acquired the Watson *sarpech* because of its rare, accompanying documentation.[471] (Fig 75) Like the Clive *sarpech* the Watson jewel, its *jigha,* and *sarpati* were created in Murshidabad and they combine enamelled gold set with diamonds, rubies, a sapphire, Columbian emeralds, and a pendant pearl.[472] The Watson *sarpech* uses diamonds as an accent around the large central sapphire, whilst rubies encircle the main central stone and accentuate the feathered form of the aigrette with its central stem of square-cut emeralds.[473] In contrast to the diamond-encrusted Clive *sarpech*, the 'great gems' or the *maharatnam* are listed in Col. Watson's *sarpech* and *sarpatti.*[474] This was a highly symbolic grouping of precious and semi-precious stones in terms of their spiritual and physical properties but it was not of uppermost value materially. Yet, its *verso* did mirror the Clive *sarpech* in being set in traditional

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[469] For discussion on the currency of clothing see Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 17. They state that a currency of clothing or 'things' had existed since the Early Modern period where a non-monetary economy perisisted in pre-capitalist societies.
[470]U. Krishnan and M. Kumar, *Dance of the Peacock: Jewellery Traditions of India* (New Delhi: India Book House Pvt., 2000), p. 217.
[471]Stronge, Susan, *'Mughal Jewellery', Jewellery Studies*, Vol. I, 1983-19844, p. 51.
[472] *Turban Ornament*, V&A, IS.3&A-1982, More Information, 'Descriptive line'. Note: these *Turban jewels (jigha and sarpati)*, featured in 'Maharaja: The Splendour of India's Royal Courts, October 2009 – 17 January 2010', V&A, media.vam.ac.uk.
[473] Bonham's, Islamic and Indian Art, 24 Apr 2012, London, Lot 225, 'A gem –set gold Turban Ornament (Jigha) North India, Mughal, 18th Century, Sold for £12,500 inc. premium. This *sarpech* provides a contemporary example to the Watson *sarpech*.
[474] Barnard, *Indian Jewellery,* p. 33.

Kundan enamelling that had been worked in gold with red, green and white as this image demonstrates. (Fig 76) It is agreed that Watson's *sarpech* was selected by Mir Jafar from his treasury rather than being a jewel that was commissioned specifically for presentation and this mirrors Watson's marginally lower status as Admiral, Commander of the British Fleet.[475] Edward Ives, an early EIC servant and traveller had written that on the 26th of July 1757:

> The new Nabob [Nawab] sent presents, after the custom of the country, to the admiral'. These included 'a rose and plume composed of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds, which though not of great value, made a pompous appearance.[476]

More recently, Cary Welch continued the stereotyped labelling of the jewel by describing it as 'a bauble vibrant with history' further suggesting a linked effeminacy to this specific jewel type.[477] This neatly displays the contradictory nature of the *sarpech* by inhabiting an effeminate, gaudy display unfamiliar to the European man, whilst working in tandem with its nature as a reward from battle and thus highly masculine in its denotations. As this print *The Shuffling Macaroni* (Fig 21) from 1772 demonstrates, the highly visible and ornamented figure of the Macaroni had begun to agitate and challenge ostentatious self-presentation in British society. In this print, the Macaroni admires himself in the mirror as he takes a stroll. Expansive hair arrangements sat alongside ornamented accessories such as swords and fancy ruffling to necklines that were all features of the Macaroni. It can be seen that the characterisation of the effeminised British male fashioned a stronger language of masculine embellishment in which their ornamentation became progressively associated with the emergent language of exoticism within dress.

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[475] *Turban Ornament*, IS.3&A-1982 object summary, 'It is probable that the jewels were taken from the treasury rather than being made especially for presentation by Mir Jafar.' V&A. www.collections.vam.ac/uk [accessed 7th April 2017].
[476] Stronge, 'Mughal Jewellery', p. 51. Stronge is quoting Ives, Edward, *A Voyage from England to India in the Year 1754* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1773), p. 154.
[477] C. Welch, *India: Art and Culture 1300-1900* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Prestel, 1993), p. 276.

Painted posthumously the portrait of *Admiral Watson and his son* (Fig 77) depicts Admiral Watson wearing naval uniform as he holds a telescope. In 1757 Watson had sailed with Clive to recover Calcutta. By contrast his young son is painted wearing Mughal dress with a *sarpech* fastened to his turban.[478] The visual framing indicates that the artist in treating the Mughal dress as 'costume' is echoing the highly fashionable mode for Eastern masquerade costumes of the period. Positioning the turban jewel on the side of his son's turban exposes the artist's lack of direct knowledge of how Indian jewellery functioned and the correct placement of the ornament at the front of the turban.[479] Nevertheless, the postural arrangement of Watson and his son delivers a pictorial confirmation of the Watson's family possession of these jeweled, exotic 'objects'.

As the above discussion demonstrates, EIC kinship is pictorially verified through these dress objects by visually signposting their heritable value. Kate Retford confirms the centrality of familial domestic portraiture to position and status when she states 'however, when hung in the home, the portrait regained its identity and became a crucial component of a visual family narrative.'[480] Indian dress provided immediate graphic symbolisation of the Watson family's position within the EIC, whilst portraiture conformed to society's portrait conventions for the domestic environment by reinforcing the family's status in British society. Hence, the Watson portrait was commissioned to vigorously commemorate Watson's son being made a Baronet in recognition of his father's achievements and death in Calcutta on the 16th August 1757. Moreover, during this period the EIC commissioned a substantial marble memorial for Admiral Charles Watson in Westminster Abbey that states 'The East India Company as a grateful testimony of the signal advantages which they obtained by his valour and prudent

[478] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 411.
[479] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 411. Watson's descendants owned the costume until the twentieth century.
[480] K. Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 233.

conduct caused this monument to be erected'.[481] As such, the body of Watson's son is used by Hudson as a space on which to forcefully applaud and commend the naval success of Watson, whilst demonstrating the material and cultural rewards of early imperial acquisition through his depiction in authentic Indian dress. The *sarpech* directly coupled Watson to Clive since they had both been presented parallel objects at the same moment of national glory. And as a direct consequence, the compositional ploy permits the *sarpech* to be incorporated in the depiction without compromising the masculinity of Admiral Watson.

Hitherto within the Mughal court's masculine jewellery practice the *sarpech* was an integral component of the rites of passage between generations. This was inherently linked to masculinity and status and this ritual is clearly defined in the watercolour *The Emperor Shah Jahan with his Son Dara Shikoh* (Fig 78).[482] By depicting the Emperor holding a red gem in his right-hand and a small tray of coloured gems in his left, the spectator is immediately made aware of the dynasty's jewelled heritage and power. As an intergenerational portrait it illustrates the important Indian tradition of transferring gems among family members.[483] Similarly, in the print *Bahadur Shah I with his sons handing a sarpech to a grandson* (Fig 79), Bahadur Shah is exhibited bestowing his grandson with an emerald and ruby *sarpech* to ornament his crown.[484] This form of depiction within Mughal court miniatures had developed principally from the sixteenth-century and this early visual portrayal of the custom is demonstrated in *Jahangir presents Prince Khurram with a turban ornament* (Fig 80). Here, Emperor Jahangir is

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[481] Admiral Charles Watson memorial, Westminister Abbey, London. [North transept, statue, marble]. www.westminister-abbey.org/abbeycommemorations/commemorations/charles-watson [accessed 13th April 2020].
[482] 'Rites of Passage in the Indian Jewellery Tradition', Courtney A. Stewart, Senior Research Assistant, Department of Islamic Art, MET, posted: Wednesday, January 21, 2015. www.metmuseum.org/blogs/now-at-the-met/2015/rites-of-passagein-the-indian-jewelry-tradition [accessed 7th April 2017].
[483] 'Rites of Passage in the Indian Jewellery Tradition', posted Wednesday, January 21, 2015.
[484] *Bejewelled Treasures: The Al Thani Collection,* 21 November 2015 to 28 March 2016. V&A. www.vam.ac.uk/content/exhibitions/exhibition-bejewelled-treasures-the-al-thani-collection [accessed 7th December 2015].

drawn presenting a family jewel to his son Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) on his victorious return from the Deccan in 1617. Importantly, these works validate the earlier conversation as to the societal importance of textiles within the gift culture of these courts, where jewellery was fundamentally coded to status and position.

However, unlike the Watson family portrait there is no surviving evidence to suggest that Clive pictorially represented his *sarpech*. Instead, the one portrait that bodily unites Clive to Indian male jewellery is *Baron Robert Clive, 'Clive of India'* (Fig 81). The painterly markers reveal unswerving self-fashioning where by the viewer observes Clive Baron Plassey rather than Clive the soldier. Wearing the robes he received on gaining his baronetcy, his coronet is pointedly placed on the table whilst his right-hand reaches out towards it. There is no inclusion of a family member, as in the case of Watson to reinforce familial kinship networks. In its place, the profile of the Mir Jafar who gifted Clive a *sarpech* is prominently incorporated in the upper right-hand corner of the work. The presence of the Indian ruler in intimate juxtaposition to Clive's head or his loci of power symbolically acts within the work to acclaim the possession of the *jaghire* he received.[485] Recent scholarship has looked to cite this work within the remit of imperial encounters and cultural exchanges. As Ray argues 'Clive represents the fragile ontology of transculturation in his overlapping but conflicting identities as Clive of Britain and Clive of India. Like many other Nabobs, Clive was castigated because he signified the *Othering* of British masculinity.'[486] In this context, his association with the adorned and jewelled body of Mir Jafar expands this uncertainty inherent in the exploration of the 'self' in the context of EIC servants. It exposes the persistent tension between Company and personal gain within a framework of biculturalism and intercultural encounters.

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[485] Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 39.
[486] J. Codell (ed), *Transculturation in British Art, 1770-1930* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 21.

Clive died a year after the publication of the print *The Present times, or the Nabobs Cl-VE and C-L-KE brought to account* (Fig 82). At the top of the print it states *A New Scene for the Proprietors of Indian Stock* and Clive is depicted saying 'You shall have the tenth of my jaghire'. This was the quit-rent given to Clive by Mir Jafar amounting to nearly £30,000 a year, which the Directors had limited to ten years. Britannia is drawn with her eyes covered to defend her decency from the shame of the events happening in her domain. Whilst Clive wears military uniform and there are no oriental references in his dress, neither does he sport a turban or *sarpech*. In his defense from the previous year Clive had stated 'human nature is frail, and the desire of wealth is as strong a passion as ambition. Where then is the wonder that men should sink under the temptations to which they are here exposed?'[487]

This print was published as a direct commentary on Clive's interrogation by the Secret Committee of the EIC as to the level of presents he had accepted in the East Indies. It links the economically valuable *jagire* - as one type of present - to jewels such as the *sarpech.* Whilst the *sarpech* was of a lesser monetary value than the *jaghire* it was of the uppermost intrinsic worth. Its very form quantified its prestige as an object from the Indian court. Conversely, diamonds acted as a vital method of remitting money back to England. Yet, the 'rough' old cut diamonds from India required specialist cutting in Europe and this treatment only strengthened the suspicion and anxiety associated with these symbolic and highly valued gemstones. As the discussion has demonstrated Clive believed the *jaghire* would offer a permanent financial means of securing his position within British society. The *jaghire* he believed would work in tandem with jewels such as the *sarpech* besides uncut diamonds and both of these elements were central to the status of the Clive family. Working as heirlooms in the transmission of resources, these jewels represented dynastic ascendancy within a social hierarchy of habitual deference.

[487] O'Quinn, *Staging Governance*, p. 48.

The discussion will now examine how his wife Margaret, Lady Clive interacted with the *sarpech.* Clive had left India for the last time on the 1st of February 1767, sending home 'a Chest full of Shawls, Pictures, Swords & other Curiosities.'[488] Margaret performed an active role in supervising her husband's political and financial affairs whilst maintaining a public profile when it was necessary to support Clive's political position. On encountering the *sarpech* amongst Clive's returned items it is highly probable that she would have been familiar with the jewel type because of her time spent residing in the East Indies. Evidence demonstrates that this understanding was stimulated by first-hand proximity to the Nawab during her time spent in his court with her husband:

> On their entrance they found the Nabob very splendidly dressed, his Garment, Collar, and Turban, being almost covered with diamonds of inestimable value… after the ceremony, taking particular notice of a beautiful sprig of diamonds that were exquisitely set in the most modern European taste, which the Colonel's lady wore in her hair, she immediately took it from her head and stuck it in his turban.[489]

The evidence reflects that because of Margaret Clive's time at the Nawab's court after her marriage to Clive, she had a direct and intimate experience of Mughal court culture. Moreover, members of her own family, such as her brother had a history of professional service within the Company.[490] This it can be suggested stimulated an enhanced appreciation of the visual aesthetics of Mughal society. However, the *sarpech* one of the three high-value objects to be expressly conveyed to her custodianship after Clive's death and this supports the premise that this object had specific personal value for Margaret. It can be suggested that the *sarpech's* unique form and gemological content represented the peak of her husband's achievements within the EIC. Moreover, it was a cultural expression of the highest level of Mughal

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[488] M. Archer, et al., *Treasures from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle* (London: Herbert Press/National Trust, 1987), pp. 21-22; see authors' FN. 20a, p. 30, IOR.MSS.Eur G37 Box 3. Clive to Lady Clive, Calcutta, 31 January 1766; also also Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 221.
[489] *Caledonian Mercury*, Monday 20th August 1759.
[490] Spear, *Master of Bengal*, p. 54.

craftsmanship, as Philips and Steiner state 'specific cultural and historical factors that gave their local productions their unique forms.' [491] The specific colour palette of the *sarpech* announced its Persian heritage through the specificity of its visual aesthetics and its manner of manufacture. Likewise, its composite jewelled ornamentation was imbued with a gemological language that was particular to this region, one that conveyed a higher level of embodied meaning to jewels than was apparent in English jewellery. Consequently, for Margaret engrained within this object was the geographical specificity that gave it its material uniqueness, its supreme quality and the uninterrupted link to her East Indian legacy.

Jasanoff does not consider Margaret's agency yet her actions after Clive's death were fundamental to the survival of the Clive dynasty.[492] Gender played a key role in the functioning of these inheritance-based welfare systems and women frequently inherited family property.[493] Lady Clive was accountable for the maintenance of the Clive dynasty and had the familial responsibility of securing appropriate marriages for her daughters and second son. But Clive's will makes evident their divergent assessments on the significance and value of the objects they possessed. Lady Clive was to retain all her jewellery whilst 'the Sword set with Diamonds presented by the EIC & the Diamond Badge belonging to the Testator as Knight of the Bath and likewise all his Plate books Pictures and prints the Testator directed his Trustees to deliver to his Son Edward at 21.'[494] Notably, rather than the *sarpech,* it is the ceremonial sword and Diamond Badge as Knight of the Bath that Clive specifies within his will; both expressive of his legitimate status within English society.

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[491] Philips and Steiner*, Unpacking Culture*, p. 4.
[492] Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 39.
[493] D. Green and A. Owens (eds), *Family Welfare: Gender, Property, and Inheritance Since the Seventeenth Century* (Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2004), p. 22.
[494] MSS Eur. E285, 'Abstract of the Will of the Right Honourable Robert late Lord Clive 24th Nov 1773'. BL.

For Lady Clive and other wives of EIC high-ranking servants jewellery operated together with country houses in facilitating socially beneficial marriage alliances in British society.[495] The EIC wife played a vital part in this process in negotiating their reintegration into British society. This was a highly challenging process whereby the observation of correct modes of conduct included the appropriate wearing of jewellery within society and at court. As the discussion demonstrated in chapter one, an excessive display of jewellery could lead to accusations of vulgarity in their jewellery selections. Nonetheless, for the fashionable or *beau monde* the display of jewellery was a principal method of announcing familial networks and as such jewellery circulating between family members and acquaintances.[496] Country houses provided a space to host large marriage ceremonies and these simultaneously operated as nodes for the EIC where family networks could be strengthened. Significantly for this discussion, they also offered a physical stage for high value jewels to be displayed.[497]

Although EIC servants frequently purchased country estates there was also a vibrant rental market and it was in this context that Lady Clive rented Englefield House in Berkshire. One of the factors in its rental was its proximity to the marriage market of London for her youngest daughter.[498] Besides, Englefield was a house with a long history of EIC associations and Lady Clive worked to advance these networks during her residence 'Berkshire became known as the 'English Hindoostan', and Englefield was at its centre.'[499] On her daughter's engagement to Mr Walpole Mrs Clive sought smaller residence in 1788, although this corresponds with Richard Benyon inheriting the house in 1789. A visitor to Lady Clive at Oakly Park, Shropshire - one of the Clive

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[495] D. Scarisbrick, *Ancestral Jewels* (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1989), p. 52.
[496] Styles and Vickery (eds), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture,* p. 307.
[497] The East India Company at Home, 1757-1857, The British country house in an imperial and global context, Englefield House Cast Study: Lady Margaret Clive At Englefield House (1780s), p. 2. www.blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/englefield-house-berkshire/englefield-house-case-study-lady-clive-at englefield-house-1780s/ [accessed 23rd March 2017].
[498] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home*, p. 193.
[499] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home*, p. 193; also see p. 11.

family homes - recorded in 1811 'she found her Dear Lady Clive in excellent health & spirits. Her figure much bent but the same sweetness of countenance & vivacity of manner.'[500] Described as both a society hostess and a recluse her extensive collections were central to a continued interest in Indian objects.[501] This sustained relationship to Indian textiles and jewellery is seen in the miniature of *Margaret Maskelyne, Lady Clive* (Fig 83) that gives a colour image of the sitter in later life. Sitting quietly it is the yellow shawl that is part visible in the bottom right-hand corner that is significant. This shawl is visible in *Margaret, Lady Clive* (Fig 84) by W. Owen, which gives a fuller description of the compositional arrangement and dress of Margaret. Importantly, we can see that the yellow shawl is a Kashmir shawl that has been woven with a boarder of *bhutas* that are picked out in red, mirroring the colours in the miniature. The inclusion of this textile from the East Indies is vital as it reveals a continued narrative to Margaret's life in relation to dress objects from the subcontinent.

The discussion has showed that EIC families acquired jewels primarily through the process of commodification. Open to intense scrutiny and critique, the debate surrounding 'presents' over-shadowed a more nuanced interpretation of an EIC family's relationship with the vast variety of jewelled objects acquired. Interrogation of a precise jewelled dress object – the Clive *sarpech* – has traced out the complex range of cultural values assigned to this individual piece as a form of presentation. Primarily, it has given space to the under-represented female voice of Margaret Clive. She understood acutely the heritable value of this jewel that sustained their elevated dynastic social status as returned EIC servants. Furthermore, this non-western transactional object was biographically embodied with Mughal materiality and

[500] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home*, p. 181.
[501] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home*, p. 36. Finn and Smith are using the 'Casket of Tipu Sultan' as an example of an object that demonstrated Lady Clive's continued re-engagment with Anglo-Indian affairs after her son Edward Clive was appointed Governor of Madras.

craftsmanship, a high status art object that was appreciated for these explicit locational qualities.

In negotiating these complex themes this second part of the chapter – in contrast to the arguments discussed hitherto to the perceived negativity of the *sarpech* as a physical embodiment of colonial acquisition – will examine the object's broader significations. This is evidenced in the complementary and mutually reinforcing environment of the artists commissioned by the EIC to depict these jewels. These artistic responses to the *sarpech* shifted as the nature of the EIC and its relationship with Indian Nawabs changed towards the end of the century. It will demonstrate why the *sarpech* became a marker of economic value and political unity within the Indian courts, a move that replaced the designation of it as a 'feminised bauble'. It will argue that this was a reflection of a changing political relationship with the East Indian courts that is made evident through the mounting inclusion of the *sarpech* in visual culture.

Said argues that during the eighteenth-century orientalist structures and restructures developed within the perception of Western society's engagement with the material and visual culture of the East 'the eccentricities of oriental life, with its odd calendars, its exotic spatial configurations, its hopelessly strange languages, and its seemingly perverse morality.'[502] These eccentricities unquestionably extended to forms of dress. Jewels were part of societal fears about the disruption of British masculinity. Emergent anxieties over the ornamented male body of the Macaroni and its perceived feminisation contributed to fears of 'going native' by wearing Indian jewels in English society that overtly transgressed an expansive range of cultural and societal boundaries 'the suggestion was made that they were an unnatural hybrid, containing a mingling of male and female attributes.'[503]As Horace Walpole writing to Horace Mann

[502] Said, *Orientalism,* p. 166.
[503] P. McNeil and V. Karaminas, *The Men's Fashion Reader* (Oxford and New York: 2009), p. 6.

on 13th July 1772 commented 'what is England now? – A sink of Indian wealth, filled by Nabobs and emptied by Macaronis!'[504]

As a consequence, artist depictions of EIC servants wearing a *sarpech* are highly occasional. Nevertheless, their visual codification proposes examination. In *Sir Charles Warre Malet, Concluding a Treaty in 1790 in Durbar with the Peshwa of the Maratha Empire* (Fig 35) we see the corporeal and symbolic inclusion of the *sarpech* as a mode of inclusive orientalism. Within this image Malet wears the *sarpech* to demonstrate his acceptance of the Indian associative values placed on items of dress. In this specific political context Malet wears a *sarpech* in his tricorn and was undoubtedly gifted to him by the Peshwa. Malet is pictured brokering of a treaty between the British and the Maratha ruler, the Peshwa, against Tipu Sultan in 1790.[505] He had originally commissioned James Wales to commemorate the event but after Wales's early death in 1795 Thomas Daniell completed this monumental work. As the EIC's Resident in Poona between 1785 and 1798 Malet had fully embraced Indian culture and society by taking a *bibi* and fathering several children. It is notable that on returning to England he chose to commission this work and its substantial size denotes its relevance and significance to his reputation as the returned EIC servant who at that time had subdued the threat poised by Tipu Sultan.

Compositionally, Malet takes the lower centre ground with the viewers' gaze instantly drawn to the close physical proximity of the *Peshwa* and Malet.[506] Yet, without question it is the *sarpech* worn in Malet's bicorn – mirroring the turban jewels of the young

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[504] McNeil, Peter, *Pretty Gentlemen: Macaroni Men and the Eighteenth-Century Fashion World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), p.72 author's FN 92.
[505] H. Shaffer, *Adapting the Eye: An Archive of the British In India, 1770-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 1.
[506] For a fuller reading of the Maratha costume in relation to this work see D. Fordham, 'Costume Dramas: British Art at the Court of the Marathas', *Representations*, Vol. 101, No. 1, 2008, pp. 57-85.

Peshwa – that voices an unusual level of cultural engagement and understanding. Surveying the gathered audience of nobles, it is evident that only those closest to the Peshwa are wearing jewels and this includes Malet. Douglas Fordham notes 'Sir Charles Malet was a particularly shrewd and able Resident who relied more on diplomacy than on economic carrots or military sticks.'[507] The *sarpech* worn by Malet is similar in form and style to Robert Mabon's drawing of a *Diamond Feather Worn by the Peshwa in this Turban* (Fig 85).[508] Wales, and then arguably Daniell, may have developed their ability to depict this particular *sarpech* from the drawing which had been observed and recorded by Mabon during his time spent sketching and cataloguing dress ornaments as Wales's assistant.[509]

Conversely, a letter dated 19th February 1790 from Malet to Cornwallis disproves this interpretation 'that a large Reduction has been made in the extraordinary Expense of New Year's Day and that the presents to the Peshawar have been regulated by my idea of the strictest economy.'[510] Taken from the 'Diary of the Proceedings of Charles Warre Malet Esq.re. Resident at Poona' it contains an 'Account of the Presents made to Mhadow Tao' Narrain Peshwa on his visiting me at Poona the 10th February 1790.' (Fig 86) The list – alongside indicating costing's for each item – commences with the most expensive items at the top '1 Elephant, 1 Arab Horse with Furniture' alongside a number of textile items, under the subheading 'Cloths viz' including several shawls and '1 piece velvet price not yet known but conjecture about 300 [£]'. However, after the elephant and Arab horse the list for 'Jewels' comprises:

a pair of Pearl Bracelets	3500[511]
a pair of Bazoo Bunds	345
1 Surpach	540.2

[507] Fordham, 'Costume Dramas', p. 62.
[508] Shaffer, 'Adapting the Eye', p. 1; also p. 23 'OBJECT LIST', 6.
[509] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 336.
[510] Mss Eur F149/7, 'Poona January 1790. Diary of the Proceedings of Charles Warre Malet Esq.re. Resident at Poona.'. BL, p. 96.
[511] Malet notes at the bottom of the list 'Deduct the amount of the above Pearl Bracelets being presented to me on a former occasion by the Minister.'

I Kulgry	500
1 Gold Time keeper watch with chain	1200.[512]

This list of jewels provides evidence of the type of gifts that were presented to the *Peshwa* by Malet in his role as Resident. It is surprising therefore, that they are predominately Indian objects. The pearl bracelets are the most valuable piece of jewellery at £3500 with the *sarpech* at a far lower £345. The only non-Indian object is the gold watch and at £1200.

The 1790 Diary records two further lists of presents.[513] The first dated 'Poona 16th May 1790, This Day made the following presents to Pursardon Bhaou his Nephew Ragonath Rao & his officers viz'.[514] Included in the shorter list '1 Horse with furniture, A Sword, Dagger & pair of gauntlets of Parisian fabric, A Serpich & Kulgey'. These gifts were being given to the nephew of the Peshwa and this is reflected in the lower status and value of the gifts. The only jewelled object is the *sarpech* and *kulgey* valued at 650 [£]. The second is a list of five items only, dated 'Poona, 17th May 1790. This day Reced the following presented from Pursaran Bhaou, I surpich & Kulgey, I pair shawls, I pse kincob [type of fabric], 4 pses white cloth, 1 sword.' On this occasion Malet has been presented with a *sarpech* worth 530 [£]. The Resident of Poona records at the bottom of the list 'once more which I shall keep till an opportunity offers of Dispersing of, on the Company's account.'[515]

Several conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. Firstly, the exchange of gifts occurred regularly as an accepted form of court etiquette within the Maratha and elsewhere in the Mughal court. Secondly, the EIC conformed to these rules in order to

[512] Spellings are written as per the original document.
[513] Mss Eur F149/7, 'Poona January 1790. Diary of the Proceedings of Charles Warre Malet Esq.re. Resident at Poona.'. BL, p. 498.
[514] Mss Eur F149/7, 'Poona January 1790. Diary of the Proceedings of Charles Warre Malet Esq.re. Resident at Poona.'. BL, p. 498.
[515] Mss Eur F149/7, 'Poona January 1790. Diary of the Proceedings of Charles Warre Malet Esq.re. Resident at Poona', BL, p. 498.

facilitate effective diplomatic relations with the ruling princes and consequently, translators were integral to this dynamic. In the higher levels of society it was deemed politically astute to appear in public on equal terms with the Nawabs with whom they had contact.[516] Thirdly, despite being a jewel of royal status the *sarpech* was routinely presented, as witnessed by Clive and Watson being presented with such objects, it was deemed a lower status court jewel by this period. Jewelled objects it appears gained further importance within the gift economy as Mughal power waned. As Stronge, Smith and Harle contend 'the use of turban jewels interestingly mirrors the decline of Mughal authority and the rise in importance of the provincial courts.'[517] Fourthly, the lists reveal the precise nature in which the EIC under Malet listed and recorded every item and its value. Finally, the lists demonstrate the cultural exchange of valued objects – of which jewels were integral – between the princes and the EIC. The gold watch, an object either manufactured by European craftsman working in the court or sent over from the continent, provides an example of EIC seeing value in these European objects in the eyes of the Indian princes. However, ultimately the presents were offered and exchanged in the service of facilitating the treaty between the EIC and the Marathas and this meant its depiction in the celebratory painting that presented Malet wearing a jewelled *sarpech*.

Malet had been presented 'with an honorary dress, a jewelled Serpech and Jeega, a string of pearls, and a horse" during the durbar'.[518] In an attempt to officially legalise the gifts within EIC procedure Malet informed Governor Cornwallis that they would be 'converted to the Company's use and credit.'[519] His will confirms that 'all my personal

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[516] S. Stronge, et al., *A Golden Treasury: Jewellery from the Indian Subcontinent* (London: V&A Publications/Mapin Publishing Pvt., 1988), p. 43.
[517] Stronge, et al., *A Golden Treasury,* p. 35.
[518] Also see R. Cribb, *A Representation for the delivery of the Ratified Treaty of 1790 by Sir Charles Warre Malet Bart to His Highness Soneae Madarous Peshwa*, 1807. Aquatint. 59-1-c, BL.
[519] Fordham, 'Costume Dramas', p.65. For a fuller discussion of gifting and artistic practice in Northern India see N. Eaton, 'Critical Cosmopolitanism: Gifting and Collecting Art at Lucknow,

estate not hereafter...disposed of to my most beloved wife Lady Malet.'[520] He does not mention to any specific Indian objects nor does he refer specifically to a *sarpech*.[521] On an individual level the *sarpech* he wore represented his personal fulfillment in securing the treaty and his status within the EIC. Whilst politically its national significance related to the very real fear of Tipu Sultan's alliance with the French at this time. It can be suggested that Mabon's drawing of the 'Diamond feather' – included amongst all of Wales's works that he took back home with him – translated the material form of the *sarpech* pictorially by taking the place of the physical jewel that he was now unable to personally possess.[522] Nevertheless, on the 23rd of October 1798 *The Times* reported that the *Peshwa*, or hereditary chief minister of the Maratha confederacy (then *Baji Rao* II) had sent the directors of the EIC two chests of Indian jewellery. Malet had returned to England on July 1798 'bringing over the first testimonials of personal attachment and respect that had ever been transmitted directly from the *Peshwa* to the King and the East India Company, consisting of jewels and rich cloths.'[523] It would suggest that his close personal relationship with the court lead directly to the jewels being sent to England as part of the new 'museum that the EIC had decided to establish that year 'reflecting the growth of interest in India's culture among the Europeans in the late eighteenth century.'[524]

In this study *A Drawing of a Diamond feather worn by the Peshawar in his turban'* (Fig 85) Mabon, following the requirements asked of him by Wales, has depicted the object

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1775–97', in *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), ed by T. Barringer, G. Quilley and D. Fordham, pp. 189-204.

[520] PROB11/1566/338. Will of Sir Charles Warre Malet of Wilbury House, Wiltshire, 22 March 1815, p. 1 (of 8)

[521] PROB11/1566/338. Will of Sir Charles Warre Malet of Wilbury House, Wiltshire, 22 March 1815, p. 3 (of 8)

[522] For reference see Bahadur, Rao, *Poona in Bygone Days* (Bombay: The Times Press, 1921), p. 14.

[523] W. Courthope (eds), *Debrett's Baronetage of* England, 7th edn (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1835), p. 243.

[524] Barnard, *Indian Jewellery*, p. 84.

as a preparatory piece for the larger commissioned work.[525] Drawn in graphite with pen and black ink on paper, it operates two dimensionally and shape and form are drawn in graphic style and quality. Mabon delineated the colours of this study through an alphabetised key that indicates that the *sarpech* is composed of A: Green emeralds and B: Green Diamonds. Mabon's progressive series of sketches scrutinises the *sarpech* from the perspective of the artist. His initial sketch treats the study as an 'object' that develops into a composite assemblage of objects within a larger sketched study to ultimately become the finished work by his employer James Wales, *Madhu Rao Narayan*, *the Maratha Peshwa with Nana Fadnavis and Attendants* (Fig 87). The sketch of *Narima Furnaveesa* (Fig 88) forms part of this compositional progression of the 'object'. As a senior minister in the Poona court Narima Furnavessa is captured in the form of miniature that is sketched in a combination of ink and pen. For a sketch, the jewelled ornamentation is highly accurate and the *sarpech* is picked out in red thus establishing his rank. The empathy of the depiction indicates that Mabon has observed this subject from life and the turban jewel is part of a jewelled composite that signifies the wearer's authority to be portrayed in this dress.

Travelling north to gain new painting opportunities, Wales had instructed Robert Mabon to create a series of sketches that captured a sizeable array of objects and scenes germane to the culture and society at the Patna court. A number of these sketches were employed in Wales's completed work (Fig 35). Yet in this work, the sensitivity in the depiction of *Narima Furnavessa,* who is positioned on the right-hand side of the arrangement, seated on a cushion next to the Peshwa, witnessed in Mabon's sketch is lacking. The *sarpech* he wears is simply an illustration and its integrity of depiction is sublimated to the whole. Significantly, Mabon's treatment of the *sarpech* mirrors similar compositional handling to a *sarpech* jewellery design from the period. (Fig 89) In this

[525] Also see B1977.14.22261, Robert Mabon, *Diamond Ornament Worn by the Peshwa in his Turban*, undated, 'No. 10' – "Ornament of diamonds worn by the Peshwa in his Turban.' YCBA.

painted design for a turban ornament, the Indian artist has used opaque watercolour in the restricted Mughal palette. Gold is applied to heighten the form of the individual stones. The regionalism of this art is fundamental as it was here that the Clive and Watson *sarpech* were produced.[526] It is clear that stylistically this method of creation bears striking similarities to Mabon's sketch of the *sarpech*.[527] His use of yellow watercolour represents the gold used by the Indian artist and a key delineates the colours of the jewels, whilst the pale blue wash suggests that Mabon was unable to contain his artistic impulse to use the less familiar restricted Mughal palette. It is known that when Wales arrived at Poona his portraits had an instant impact on the Maratha's concept of artistic and cultural engagement because of their introduction to European art and as a result Peshwa established a school for drawing in the palace. By January 1795 Wales had started negotiations with Bahairo Pundit for the Peshwa 'to build a proper building for exhibiting paintings.' [528] This development of an artistic community provided an environment in which artistic and design mutuality could proliferate and this generated art, which exhibited an embedded fusion of cultural features that challenged the stereotypical view of Said's Western ascendency in the Orient.

This chapter has established a series of complex relationships engendered by EIC servants' physical and pictorial relationship with the *sarpech*. These adapted over the eighteenth century due to the shifting perception of empire within British politics. The initial celebration over EIC gains during the early period, meant objects like the *sarpech* were portrayed in works such as the Watson portrait. However, concerns over 'the current of presents' meant Clive's relationship with the jewel became highly problematic under growing charges of corruption.[529] Nevertheless, Margaret Clive's custodianship of the jewel facilitated the successful familial transmission and

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[526] Stronge, et al., *A Golden Treasury,* p. 52.
[527] S. Stronge, *Bejewelled Treasures of the Al-Thani Collection* (London: V&A Publishing, 2015), p. 86. Jaipur produced the highest quality '*kundan'* setting.
[528] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 346.
[529] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* p. 10.

maintenance of the Clive family's position as the preeminent EIC family that formed an integral part of her collection. Conversely, towards the end of the century Indian dress began to reassume its cultural significations for some enlightened servants. Malet's adornment of a *sarpech* in his tricorn that had been worn alongside his EIC uniform, assisted in facilitating an important treaty against the French. Malet's residency brought artists to the court who worked with Indian artists to sketch and draw these jewels, thus demonstrating that this was a mutually inclusive artistic community that producing works that Malet would bring with him back to Britain. Consequently, through dissemination of this imagery society gained a deeper understanding of the aesthetic value and design processes necessitated in the creation of these jewelled objects.

The next chapter will continue the discussion of the familial relationship of senior EIC servants and their family members with the gemstones and jewellery sourced from the East Indies. It examines Warren and Marian Hastings to understand how diamonds were fundamentally vital to the sustainment of a family's financial and societal position on their return to Britain. Additionally, it demonstrates the powerful feminine voice of Marian Hastings in physically using jewellery to advance and sustain status within the context of queenly bodies of the period such as Queen Charlotte of England and the French Queen, Marie-Antoinette.

Chapter 5

Warren and Marian Hastings: Creating 'Brilliant' Disorder.

Marian Hastings (Fig 7) by Johan Zoffany presents the wife of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India. Marian does not engage with the gaze directly but her manner of dress proclaims magnificence, luxury and opulence. Outside the window palm trees sway in the East Indian breeze and confirm to the spectator that this is an East scene. Marian's hair is loosely styled in her preferred way causing Mrs Fay to observe whilst in Calcutta 'as a foreigner you know, she may be excused for not strictly conforming to our fashions.'[530] Yet, for a woman renowned for her overtly luxurious display of diamond jewellery in this work they are resoundingly absent.

Textual sources concerning Marian are substantial richer in their symbolism than the remaining portraits associated to her. Words are written and ascribed to her but her visual imagery is slippery and inconsistent. In what follows I will reassess Marian Hastings's body as a contested site by unpacking its complex thematic power through the remaining visual culture. This chapter will identify ways that Warren and Marian Hastings used gemstones to disrupt societal conventions of presentation as a means of securing their familial status. This will expedite a broader and more complex reading of their return to English society within a febrile and sensationalised climate of the returned EIC servant from the East. Seeking to continue the thematic conversation provided in the last chapter, concerning the immersive impact of jewels on the Clive family, it will examine the function jewels performed relating to female agency and the maintenance of EIC kinship structures.

[530] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife,* p. 29.

All Nabobs' wives wore 'more pearls and diamonds than would fill a pack measure' but according to Mrs Delany, Mrs Warren Hastings eclipsed them all.[531] Marian's fabled abundance of jewelled material culture within British society was evidenced by reports of her conspicuous ornamented form. Nonetheless, I shall argue that there are critical parallels with other renowned female figures associated with jewellery of the period such as Queen Charlotte of England and Marie-Antoinette, the French Queen. This is an argument endorsed by Wilson who states 'the 1770s sees the sudden figuration of women as barometers of the historical progress of nations.'[532] Within this framing, I will examine whether emulative practices were perceptible when 'First Ladies' were discoursed in society and whether the media was the essential agitator of public perception relating to these female figures and their jewellery.

The chapter will examine these diverse factors in three parts. Firstly, it will contextualise eighteenth-century society's relationship with jewellery and gemstones. For example, when diamond necklaces were worn on the body they were mobile and highly visible. Yet, by contrast this was not replicated in portraiture during this period. Here convention stipulated that jewels were to be confined to societal spaces or court. On the other hand, prints did capture – often at a heightened level – sitters with their jewels. As such, it will proclaim Marian's body as a multifarious site of cultural and political references in which her distinct and individual relationship with jewellery and gemstones will be explored.

Jewellery facilitated embodied presentation of the 'self' that was integrally linked to status. Operating as a financial commodity, gemstones and especially diamonds were a portable wealth that sustained familial legacy. This argument is expanded further in the second part of the chapter by stating that Marian's body did not reveal the

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[531] D. Scarisbrick*, Jewellery in Britain, 1066-1837* (London: Michael Russel Publishing Ltd, 1994), p. 225.
[532] Wilson, *The Island Race,* p. 93.

diminishing economic fortunes of the returned Nabob but in its place provided an additional physical response within society. The complex terrain of queenly bodies and their visual and textual depiction was set against the EIC indictment that reached its finale in the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings. This was within the turbulent political terrain of revolutionary threat from France and contextually this facilitated a growing hostility towards female agency and its emergent visibility. The third and final part of the chapter will examine the evidence of the financial legacy of Marian Hastings to fathom what it expresses about her agency in using jewels in this framework.

In returning to Zoffany's portrait of *Marian Hastings* (Fig 7) the allusion to Gainsborough's earlier work of 1760, *Ann Ford, later Mrs Philip Thicknesse* (Fig 90) is clearly evident. Compositional similarities are apparent and the upper part of the body and head of Mrs Hastings closely modelled on *Ann Ford.*[533] Whilst the *Ann Ford* portrait provided compositional parameters its depiction of a woman of rank dressed in the highest state of fashion for the period, exposes Marian's strong desire to project her status as the wife of the first Governor-General. As a form of image making it is strategic and considered. Whilst the portrait draws the gaze from her profile to the bottom left-hand corner of the work, it then journeys up the hemline of her skirt, to her shoulders and comes to rest at her décolletage. As it travels it absorbs the embellished silver and tasseled hemline, the light lilac sash made of fine silvery transparent gauze, the generous over-sized sleeves edged with lace and finally, the lace-edged but bare neckline.[534] As a woman notorious for her diamonds and love of display they are unquestionably lacking. The portrait is an act of deliberate self-presentation but Marian attempts to navigate the complex dress codes that English portraiture demanded to create an image that was societally acceptable. In 1778 Caroline Dawson wrote 'The

[533] S. Slowman, *Gainsborough in Bath* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 74.
[534] *The Lady's Magazine: or, Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated Solely to their Use and Amusement,* Jul-Dec 1781, p. 406. PP.8.Q, Vol. VIII. NAL. 'The party-coloured gown', as 'Full Dress for August' for 1781.

Duchess of Leinster appears in sack and hoop and diamonds in an afternoon, French horns playing at every meal, and such quantities of jewellery that one would imagine oneself in a palace.'[535] During this period English society was internationally renowned for its jewellery and display. But whilst it was described fulsomely in contemporary accounts of societal meetings and visits to court by contrast, the wearing of jewellery was habitually absent from visual culture. As Shirley Bury establishes:

> Convention dictating that fine jewels were appropriate only to grand occasions (interpreted by aristocrats as referring to the primacy of the London Season), whilst secondary jewellery was widely worn.'[536]

Acknowledging the dichotomy of when it was permissible to wear jewellery and in what form is a fundamental theme of the discussion as we move forward in this chapter.

Due to an extended residence in the East Indies Marian embodied an oriental exoticism and perceived excess in which diamonds were employed as a recurrent trope for dangerous eastern femininity. Baroness Anna Maria Apollonia Imhoff (nee Chapuset) had departed England with her first husband Baron Imhoff where they gained a passage to India through her association with Madame Schellenburg, a fellow German and First Mistress of the Wardrobe to Queen Charlotte.[537] During the voyage she encountered Hastings and her marital situation quickly became his close companion. This would ultimately lead to a costly divorce and Marian becoming his second wife.[538] Hastings's letters to Marian communicate a relationship that went beyond the conventional eighteenth-century marriage. Pictorially, this is made visual in the print *The Irresistible Mrs H-st-gs; The docile Paramour* (Fig 91).[539] Published the year after Marian's return to England it refers to 'Mrs Hastings of Lancashire.' Offered

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[535] Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain*, p. 231.
[536] S. Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910: The International Era* (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), p. 53.
[537] K. Murray, *Beloved Marian: The Social History of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Hastings* (Norwich: Jarrolds Publishers London Limited, 1938), p. 13.
[538] *The Caledonian Mercury,* Wednesday 28th September 1785.
[539] From 'Histories of the tête à tête, The *Town and Country Magazine* (1769-1796) see Matthew, Kinservik, *Sex, Scandal, and Celebrity in Late Eighteenth-century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 272.

in oval miniatures the female subject looks dreamily towards a smaller, pliant gentleman. Mrs Hastings's body fills the oval space with her voluminous hair touching the top of the area and whilst her bosom is covered it projects forward, attempting to escape and engage with the spectator. Given the title 'the docile paramour' the submissive lover, specifically the illicit lover of a married person, it functions as an explicit euphemism for Warren Hastings. On the Hastings' return to England a proposed visit to the Royal Court generated anxieties within the court as Fanny Burney, a member of Queen Charlotte's retinue observed:

> The Colonel [Fairly], very innocently, said he was very sorry that lady was ever mentioned in the same paragraph as her Majesty…. those accounts about Mrs Hastings, and her history of divorce.[540]

Her status as a divorcee characterised the lax morals in the East Indies and the disquieting slippage in gender roles that were identified in chapter one. It is evident that in this context Marian's dressed body operated as a site on which a multiplicity of cultural and political fears clustered. As such, her depiction in visual culture implicitly informs the discussion because of its various commissioning motivations, such as the use of self-presentation by her husband in contrast to her bodily appropriation by British print culture. On one level the jewels she wore operated as a means of embodied presentation. For example in 1784 before Hastings returned to England, it was it was reported that 'while sojourning at Tunbridge Wells Mrs Hastings had to deny a report that she wore 20,000 pounds worth of pearls and diamonds to a ball.'[541] On another level however, she bodily represented Hastings when out in society. Thus, as the wife to the first Governor-General of India her manner of dress and the jewellery she wore projected his status and as a result, left her exposed to attack and censure by his political opponents.

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[540] C. Barrett, *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, vol. II (Bickers and Son: London, 1890), pp. 121-122.
[541] Holzman, *The Nabobs in England,* p. 89.

As the discussion has demonstrated, the perception of inappropriate feminine dress provoked the harshest censure within society and the media. This was described by novelists of the day such as Fanny Burney and Charlotte Smith as the 'female vulgar', cavorting in the 'Vortex of Fashion.'[542] During the 1780s external appearance demonstrated rank, character and wealth. As such, attempts at fashion by the lower ranks were harshly criticised by contemporary Fleet Street publications. It was observed that ladies who followed etiquette were strongly censorious of those who did not. In 1794 on a visit to Norfolk to see the future Earl of Leicester, the wife of Tom Coke was '*shocked* at Mrs Coke's *vulgarity* wearing her diamonds in the country every evening at Holkham during the hunting season.'[543]

The Butcher's Wife dressing for the Pantheon (Fig 92) visually articulates that these fears of social pretension were well established by the 1790s.[544] In this print the décolletage of the Butcher's wife's is liberally festooned with gems and she wears substantive drop earrings.[545] It is probable that she wears costume jewellery or paste, as those struggling financial frequently sold or pawned their diamonds in London and returned home with paste or marquisate.[546] Her blatantly fashionable hair arrangement apes the feminised form of the Macaroni and as such the print works to subliminally position leitmotifs generated by Samuel Foote's play *The Nabob* that was performed for the first time that year. This was a play that functioned within the setting of the 'imperial economy' and as such was responsible for the mobilisation of sexual fantasies that were linked with the exoticism of the Orient and in which Nabobs and Nabobinas were seen to be destabilising the fabric of metropolitan life.[547]

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[542] Raven, *Judging New Wealth*, p. 142.
[543] Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910,* p. 34; also see Raven, *Judging New Wealth,* p. 142.
[544] D. Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satiricial Prints in the Reign of George III* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 82-83.
[545] Donald, *The Age of Caricature*, p. 83.
[546] Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910,* p. 47.
[547] O'Quinn, *Staging Governance*, p. 13.

Apart from display, Marian correspondingly used diamonds as a form of financial remittance. It was common knowledge that she demonstrated a far keener economic competence than her husband and that she subsidised Hastings financially, a fact he openly acknowledged 'you must be content to receive your Husband again without Expectations, poor in Cash, but rich in Credit (at least he hopes so).'[548] *Marian Hastings, wife of Warren Hastings; formerly Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin: Pass-book* (Fig 93) from 1788 shows an entry on the 26th August for a payment of £11,000 to her husband, one of the largest payments for that period and this reaffirms her financial support to him.[549] Hastings had been elected to oversee the reform of the Company's activities in India after the corruption charges levelled at Clive. On becoming the first Governor-General he immediately took control of the financial affairs of Bengal. Additionally, he established the Supreme Court in Calcutta and started a process of introducing new civil codes of law for Hindus and Muslims.[550] However, despite a substantial salary of £25,000 per annum Hastings frequently spent beyond his means.[551]

Questions arose surrounding the number of jewels his wife wore and more importantly, that she owned. As previously demonstrated, gifts were a consistent element of the Indian court's gift-culture and until The Regulating Act of 1773 provided a vital means of monetary payment. Marian was repeatedly attacked for her well-documented love of Indian jewels and the unsubstantiated but greatly speculated manner in which these were acquired.[552] She had arrived in England returning due to ill health, with an array of 'objects' from India that were recorded in the "Prohibited and other articles detained in

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[548] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife,* p. 210. Series III-Letter IV, Calcutta, 21st January 1784.
[549] Add MS 39902 WARREN HASTINGS PAPERS. Vol. XXXII (ff. 243) Estate Papers, etc. BL.
[550] Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, p. 18.
[551] P. Marshall, 'The Private Fortune of Marian Hastings', *Historical Research*, Vol. 37, Issue 96, 1964, pp. 245-253.
[552] T. Macaulay, *Essays, Critical and Miscellaneous* (Boston Philips: Sampson, 1856), p. 489.

the Baggage Warehouse, belonging to Mrs Hastings, chargeable with duty'.[553] Her muslin gowns were detained whilst everything made of silk was banned, including a velvet riding habit worked with pearls.[554] Determined to provide for her family, it was believed she kept details of her wealth and its means of acquisition private. Estimates suggest she possessed £40,000, whilst it has been stated it was closer to £107,725. [555] Hastings specified that he was unaware of how this fortune was obtained but Peter James Marshall argues given 'the amount of money involved makes it difficult to believe that the explanation was a creditable one.'[556] Until diamond mines were discovered in Brazil in 1725 the Golconda region in south India was the sole supplier of diamonds to the world. Seen as a tainted material artifact from India Nechtman states 'Indian diamonds made that empire real, and they translated the political rhetoric and economic debates that surrounded the Indian empire into something that was significant as a matter of family financing.'[557] As a consequence, Nabob wealth was responsible for the diminishing economic fortunes of Britons.

The discussion has demonstrated that whilst diamonds exerted the highest visibility in society this did not correspond to their depiction in portraiture. As such, interpretation of the available pictorial evidence concerning Marian Hastings is an encounter that requires caution, since the overt characterisation in satirical prints exhibited a strongly stereotypical gender bias against highly visible women in society. Yet in direct contrast portrait etiquette dictated only secondary jewellery, such as pearls should be worn. This created a layer of conventional presentation that concealed individual female agency, particularly when associated with the EIC. I will propose that Marian maintained discrete relationships with jewellery and gemstones as an active position

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[553] C. Lawson, *The Private Life of Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 2nd edn, 1905), p. 61.
[554] Grier, *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 394.
[555] Marshall, *The Private Fortune of Marian Hastings*, p. 252.
[556] Marshall, *The Private Fortune of Marian Hastings*, p. 253.
[557] Nechtman, 'A Jewel in the Crown?', p. 82.

with the 'self', through an embodied presentation that was concomitant to status and familial legacy.

The second part of this chapter will now strengthen the argument that the physical form of Marian was understood to have assimilated India's reputation for being the foci of diamonds during this period, which disturbed British economic fortunes. More significantly, this was situated with the complex terrain of Queenly bodies that dominated European politics during the second half of the eighteenth century. For Marian this applied specifically to the period of her final return from the East Indies to England in 1784 and the subsequent Impeachment Trial, from 1788 to 1795. The pictorial and textual culture from this vital period will now be examined to demonstrate how these mediums generated 'Marian' as a distinct persona in English society that was amalgamated to the ornamented royal bodies of Queen Charlotte of England and the French Queen, Marie Antoinette.

Published in 1785 *The Hastiniad; An Heroic Poem in Three Cantons* satirises Marian's entrance and reception on her return to England by assigning her as an 'Oriental Queen':

> As pressing through the titles crowd
> She flaunts, of new-blown honours proud.
>
> Behold bright subject for thy rhimes,
> A Heroine hastes from Indian climes;
> Like Dido, when her wealth she bore,
> To found a throne of Africk's shore.
>
> Tis Hastings! high in princely state;
> Hastings pre-eminently great;
> Who sweeps along the wat'ry plain,
> With half an empire in her train.[558]

The comparison with Dido, the African Queen of Carthage is significant. As a

[558] E. Ryves, *The Hastiniad; An Heroick Poem: In Three Cantons* [A Satire on Warren Hastings and Mrs. Hastings] (London, 1785), pp. 6-8.

representation of overt female agency the legend stated that Dido disrupted male action and power. But whilst fleeing to the coast of Africa from Rome, she killed herself after her rejection by Aeneas. Explicitly censorious of femininity the verse espouses English and Oriental royalty. Yet it is the physical concealment of jewels that provokes the highest censure:

> There high in favour see her blaze,
> 'Midst gems wou'd daunt an eagle's gaze;
> High tow'ring with Imperial mien,
> In Britain's court a sister Queen.[559]

Moreover, it makes manifest the figurative relationship between Queen Charlotte and Marian Hastings through the wearing of diamonds and this is evinced through the description of her as a 'sister Queen'. With a reunited collection of hereditary pieces at her disposal Queen Charlotte was the first English queen since the seventeenth century whose jewellery collection rivalled continental royalty. Diana Scarisbrick observes that 'these jewels were judicially employed by the royal couple to manifest courtly magnificence.'[560] As a means of corporeally rendering her husband's status Queen Charlotte adopted the deliberate approach of bodily ornamentation. But, as Pointon reasons:

> If commerce was necessary for the good of the nation but luxury was inevitably a dreaded consequence, a similarly precarious balance was maintained between the requirement that a Queen be bejewelled and the provocative associations that the relationship between female bodies and jewellery invoked.[561]

In 1767 the Nawab of Arcot (Fig 8) had sent two substantial diamonds to Queen Charlotte and she was gifted a further five large stones in 1777. Viewing these as private favors they formed part of her personal jewellery collection and this was in direct contrast to her court jewels that were to be divided between her daughters on

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[559] Ryves, *The Hastiniad*, p. 14.
[560] Scarisbrick, *Jewellery in Britain,* p. 227.
[561] Pointon*, Brilliant Effects*, p. 186.

her death.[562] This distinction of ownership in relation to her jewellery is relevant as it expresses female agency in the Queen claiming the high value East Indian diamonds as insurance for her daughters' future economic wellbeing. Gemstones offered a form of feminine empowerment that assured familial security. Hence in this respect the correlations between Queen Charlotte and Marian Hastings begin to coalesce.

Nonetheless, it was the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings that provided a framework for the queenly incorporation of diamonds to be applied metaphorically to mounting British nationhood over the EIC. As Dirks states 'the scandal of Hastings became, literally, the greatest spectacle of late-eighteenth century Britain.'[563] Within this narrative the first public images of Marian in England were launched and *Coaches* (Fig 94) by Gillray was the first print to include Marian in a satirical work concerning EIC's affairs.[564] Preceding this, Hastings had featured in a secession of prints alongside King George III and Queen Charlotte, which bodily connected them with diamonds.[565] In this work it is the Hanoverian couple that are the satirist's key emphasis of attack. We see 'Farmer' George riding at the back of the coach while Queen Charlotte, who is dressed for market, sits on top of the coach with a basket of golden eggs. Hastings sits inside the coach facing his wife and he is drawn wearing oriental dress that includes a turban and ermine lined jacket. Captured in profile Marian's décolletage is visibly pronounced and garlanded with three strings of diamonds, whilst on top of her head sits a golden crown. Appearing to be transfixed by each other – despite the galloping carriage – it apes the couple's scandalous and very

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[562] K. Prior and J. Adamson, *Maharajas' Jewels* (New York and London: Vendome Press, 1999), p. 65; also see Scarisbrick, *Ancestral Jewels*, p. 175.
[563] Dirks, *The Scandal of Empire*, p. 85.
[564] Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life*, pp. 196-203, In Chapter 6 'The Battle of the Pictures' Retford explores print as a medium whereby scandal was disseminated within eighteenth-century society. She examines the case study of Georgiana Devonshire and her engagement in politics at the perceived expense of conventional feminine domestic duties.
[565] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, pp. 179-203. In Chapter 6 'Charlotte of England, Warren Hastings and the Dangers of Diamonds' Pointon discusses the prints associated with Warren Hastings during the Impeachment trial and the connections to Hastings's body that are identified and expanded upon by the satirists.

public love affair. Pointedly however, it is the gemstones that designate Marian's embodied orientalism.

Written at the bottom of the print the rhyme states 'the very stones look up to see, Such very gorgeous Harlotry; Shaming an honest Nation.' The use of the word 'harlotry' refers to the claims of Marian's free acceptance of jewelled gifts as pilloried in the *Hastiniad*. Of paramount implication for this discussion was Burke's opinion that the East impacted bodily on both the male and female Company servants. Women by his argument were just as likely and able to acquire jewels through corruption and bribery. He argued:

> That if the wives of Governors-General, the wives of the presidents of the council, the wives of the principal officers of the India Company through all various departments can receive presents, there is an end of the act of parliament; there is an end to every power of restraint.[566]

The East itself, he asserted – its climate, food, and culture – was responsible.

The Installation-Supper, As Given at the Pantheon, By The Knights of The Bath on the 26th May (Fig 95) was published six days after *Coaches* and develops the theme of Marian and her adorned décolletage within the context of Burke's speeches. Gillray depicts Marian as one of the tallest individuals at the table who towers over the diminutive Hastings, thus acting as a metaphor of her influence over him sexually, financially and politically. On this occasion Hastings is dressed as a sober English gentleman, with powdered hair and plain grey jacket. By comparison, Marian's head is unfeasibly inflated and she wears four strings of jewels, three to the neck and one on the bust. Strung in her hair are four loops of jewels alongside two large hoops that hang down on either side of her hair next to her ears, consciously mimicking the Indian

[566] E. Burke, *The Speeches of Edmund Burke on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (London: Bell, 1917), p. 440.

taste for large hooped earrings.[567] In the *Roilliad* the jewels adorning the body of a woman – in this case, Marian – are constituted to the language of politics, earrings (pendants) were parliamentary questions and strung pearls represented votes.[568] Yet none of the other ladies wear any visible jewellery. In this print, the crown and ample décolletage provide a symbolic appropriation of Mrs Hastings's body as a metaphor for the aggressive sexuality inherent in the returned Nabobina.[569]

Both of the satirical prints discussed concentrate on the intimate proximity of Marian to Queen Charlotte. Principally, they critique the diamonds that Warren and Marian Hastings presented to the King and Queen, as a gift from the Nawab of Arcot (Fig 8). In *Brilliant Effects* Pointon explicitly establishes the correlation between the royal bodies of the King and Queen and the 'danger of diamonds'.[570] This was the political contextualisation of diamonds by the gifting of Indian diamonds from the subcontinent. Sara Maza observes 'female regents, royal mistresses, and other first ladies, seems especially likely to come under attack in times of political crisis.'[571] In understanding the real or imagined political influence of a Queen, I propose an additional and formerly unmapped connection in visual culture of the period between Marian and Marie-Antoinette, the French Queen. This will be established by an analysis of the visual culture that formerly creates visual markers between the two and reflects how both women were mythologised in visual culture during a period of maximum political danger and uncertainty.

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[567] BM 1851,0901.412, curator's notes indicate that Cornwallis is also depicted wearing earrings.
[568] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 192.
[569] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 179. This is a reference to the EIC being paid in diamonds to support the Nawab of Arcot's interests in parliament.
[570] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 179.
[571] S. Maza, 'Diamond Necklace Affair Revisited (1785-1786): The Case of the Missing Queen', in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a* Queen, ed by D. Goodman (NY and London: Routledge, 2003), p. 73.

In the context of the political appropriation of the queenly body the print *Marie Antoinette* (Fig 96) depicts the Queen and her husband Louis Philippe in composite independent miniature portraits. The couple faces each other directly in the fashionable style and seen in the tête à tête print of Warren and Marian Hastings. (Fig 91) But it is the juxtaposition between this print and the representation of Mr and Mrs Hastings in *Coaches* (Fig 94) - in particular the composition and style of Marian's dress and jewellery – that is most compelling in forming a dialogue between the two women. Marie-Antoinette is drawn with a large décolletage and although hers is not bejewelled, several ropes of sizeable pearls are festooned on and beneath her bust. Gillray is mimicking this style of matrimonial portraiture and this supports the concept that visually Marian is mimetically mirroring the French Queen.

As Elizabeth Colwill asserts 'No woman spelled disorder more flamboyantly than Marie-Antoinette'.[572] Like Marian, Marie-Antoinette's body was a set of 'sites' where crucial political and cultural contests were acted out.[573] (Fig 97) This coloured aquatint portrays Marie-Antoinette as an alluring young woman of twenty-one, the growing arbiter of fashionable dress. A substantial diamond aigrette is worn in her heavily coiffured hair and the viewer's gaze is led from the expansive décolletage to this jewel. The Queen's marriage represented the political alliance between France and Austria but by this period she was widely distrusted by French citizens for her reputed frivolity and profligacy. Clandestine publications with titles such as *The Scandalous Life of Marie-Antoinette and the Royal Bordello* referred to her as a sexual and at times pornographic symbol or courtesan.[574] Referencing the relationship between pornography and the demise of pre-existing political cultures, Lynn Hunt writes 'Marie-

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[572] E. Colwill, 'Pass a Woman, Act like a Man: Marie-Anotinette as Tribade in the Pornography of the French Revolution', in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a* Queen, ed by D. Goodman (NY and London: Routledge, 2003), p. 149,
[573] V. Arnuad, 'Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen ed. Dena Goodman (review), *Women in French Studies*: *Women* in French Association, Vol. 12, 2004, p. 145.
[574] W. Chadwick, *Women, Art, and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson World of Art, 2012), pp. 168-169.

Antoinette was emblematic of the larger problem of the relations between women and the public-space in the eighteenth century.'[575]

The political satire *French Flight, or, The grand monarque and the rights of kings supported in a sublime and beautiful manner* (Fig 98) contextualises the complex political terrain of the period in which French politics – via the female body of Marie-Antoinette – impacted on the Impeachment Trial and as a consequence, the public perception of Marian. Daniel O'Quinn states 'this restitution of the Hastings trial also allows for a reconsideration of the function of the French Revolution in this stabilisation of the British identity.'[576] With wings attached to his feet Burke or 'Mercury' supports the Queen on his shoulders who in turn bears the weight of her husband. In precarious linearity the design portrays the dangerous predicament of the French sovereign's position. The king states 'stop and consider – my great weight, I am afraid, will overset us.' In response the Queen states 'indeed my dear, you are of no weight at all.' Sandwiched between the two male figures the Queen's presence provides support to the king (who is unable to stop himself defecating) but uncertainty and concern for Burke, who argues for the divine right of kings by looking to the English throne.

Burke's statement of the 'othering' of the British femininity through connection with the East was directly linked to the diamonds set in necklaces worn by Marian and other wives of EIC servants. It specifically ties the conglomeration of gemstones set within a metal framework to their specific geography of the East Indies. This recurrent trope will now be explored to identify the motivations for Marian to use gemstones as a method of presentation. This was visual display that mirrored the political climate but it additionally proposes a bicultural reading of her engagement with Indian jewels. Her financial acumen in maintaining the couple's finances publically had pushed her into

[575] Arnuad, 'Marie-Antoinette', p. 146.
[576] O'Quinn, *Staging Governance*, p. 119.

the contested domain whereby her influence on her husband was considered an attack on masculine integrity and autonomy.[577] It is significant to note that Marian returned to Europe at the very moment when diamonds were considered by society as the most desirable gemstone. As a consequence, the décolletage operated as a specific site for diamond necklaces to be worn and in turn, it provoked specific bodily tensions surrounding female sexuality and the persistent societal fear of overt luxury.

In examining the Hastings's relationship with jewellery and gemstones the parallel anthropological approach of the object itinerary can be engaged. Critically, both methods incorporate the commodity as a cultural body. Joyce and Gillespie argue 'an itinerary approach does not assume that things are *constantly* travelling or are defined by their movement. They may experience long periods of stasis or persistence.'[578] They continue 'some are broken apart so that their fragments will strike out on their own paths of movement.'[579] In their basic materiality diamonds are a form of pure carbon that inhibits a geographical designation or processes of aging. As such they are inanimate.[580] It is only when diamonds are commoditised that their relationship with humans starts although, as the discussion has demonstrated, this is only part of their life cycle. By moving to a spailtialised and temporalised movement of objects their relationship strikes away from any human connection and a biographical designation. Furthermore, Stuart Crehan has observed that during the mercantilism and commodification of the eighteenth century, objects acquired a life of their own rather than belonging to individuals.[581]

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[577] Arnuad, 'Marie-Antoinette', p. 146.
[578] Joyce and Gillespie (eds), *Things in Motion*, p. 11.
[579] Joyce and Gillespie (eds), *Things in Motion,* p. 13.
[580] J. Benjamin, *Starting to Collect Antique Jewellery* (Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 2003), p. 12.
[581] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 167; Pointon's FN. 162 on p.371 S. Crehan, 'The Rape of the Lock" and the Economy of Trivial Things', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 31, 1997, pp. 50-51.

In reflecting on the theoretical value of object itineraries, space is created to expand the discussion relating to the diamond necklace – a particular trope associated with Marie-Antoinette. As an object of the highest desirability the diamond necklace was a recurrent leitmotif during the period 1775-1785.[582] As Pointon states 'a diamond necklace, as Carlyle points out, is merely an agglomeration of minerals each with their own global history to tell.'[583] The theorisation of a diamonds object itinerary enhances the parallels that can be drawn between Marian Hastings and Marie-Antoinette. *Représentation exacte du grand collier en brilliants* (Fig 99) is a hand-coloured life-size engraving of the diamond necklace by Messrs. Boëhmeret Bassange, the focus of the "affaire du collier" orchestrated by Jeanne de la Motte, to discredit of Marie-Antoinette.[584] The necklace was made in 1774 and it was stolen in 1786. However, whilst Marie-Antoinette never ordered the necklace by 1789 it had become anthropomorphised and was identified as the 'Queen's necklace'.[585] Symbolically, the loss of the stones mirrored the forfeiture of her jewels and more crucially for this argument, her status. Equally Marian's status and financial security were fully reliant on these objects. To Marian the primary function of diamonds was their material and economic value but following closely behind was their strongly provocative status when she wore them in English society.

This correlation between diamonds and necklaces as a form of suggestive feminine adornment was particularly apparent during the Impeachment Trial of Warren Hastings. In this environment it was observed that the established cultural norms for feminine adornment were abruptly disordered. Queen Charlotte, her daughters and other women at court who chose to attend the trial, displayed a spare amount of jewellery or

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[582] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 147.
[583] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 151. Pointon is referencing T. Carlyle, 'The Diamond Necklace', *Critical Miscellaneous Essays: Collected and Republished by Thomas Carlyle*, 7 vols (London: Chapmen and Hall, 1869), p. 13.
[584] *Representation Exacte du Grand Collier Brilliants*, description text, BM 1889,0806.53.
[585] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, pp. 148-151.

none at all. Diamonds were conspicuous by their absence as this report confirms 'many wore chains, and strings of pearls, or beads of various colours from their ears- there were a few cut steel-Bracelets adorned every arm.[586] However, in the highly performative space of the courtroom the Royal women's adoption of an unambiguous policy of minimalism displayed active feminine agency by disassociating themselves from a physical relationship with the diamonds from the East Indies. This was at a moment when diamonds were perceived as the ultimate symbols of luxury and avarice. Pointon writes that the Royal women's presence created a feminised space in the courtroom that employed a singular set of values for the trial that went against the conventional tradition for royal women to wear a substantial amount of jewellery on public occasions.[587]

By sharp contrast, the trial provided much-cited examples of Marian's over-ornamented style of dress and wearing of lavish quantities of jewellery witnessed in Horace Walpole's letter to Mary Barry, dated the 7th November 1793 'our weather remains unparagoned: Mrs Hastings is not more brilliant.'[588] Burney described Marian's appearance in court where she was physically ornamented in diamonds - like that of an 'Indian princess'.[589] *The Lady's Magazine* for August 1781 reveals the interest in a female journal of the forms of dress worn by other women globally under the title ''Description of Asia'. The women in some of the villages, and all the Arabs and Chinganas, wear a large silver or gold wire through the external cartilage of their nostrils.'[590] This report substantiates that it was highly plausible that Burney, a key figure in the fictional world of late eighteenth-century female literature would have been accustomed to the typology of jewellery worn by Indian women. Furthermore, Tilly

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[586] O'Quinn, *Staging Governance* p. 169.
[587] Pointon, *Brilliant Effects*, p. 189.
[588] H. Walpole, *Horace Walpole Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1983), p. 55.
[589] Busteed, *Echoes From Old Calcutta,* p. 146.
[590] *The Lady's Magazine: or, Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated Solely to Their Use and Amusement,* Jul-Dec 1781 [August], Vol XIII, p. 467.

Kettle's portrait *Dancing Girl* (Fig 100) from 1772, gave English society an authentic depiction of an Indian girl wearing culturally appropriate jewellery. However, Nirad Chaudhuri in *Culture in the Vanity Bag* suggests 'that clothing and adornment in India are much deeper waters than what they are elsewhere, especially in the West.'[591] In the case of women he argues, there is a strong psychological basis of dressing and personal ornamentation that provides a method for Indian women to assert the worldly positions of themselves, their husbands and their families. Jewellery offered the only visual reflection of their material worth and status. He clarifies 'why the West will now understand why our women do not feel the slightest embarrassment in being grossly overdressed. With them it is an essential mode of self-assertion and ever self-protection.'[592] Ultimately, jewellery was an economic resource for Hindu and Muslim women who could not inherit property.[593] As Lady Henrietta Clive noted in her journal on the 7th of August 1800 'Tipu had made his father's wives give up all their jewels and fine clothes when Haidar died.'[594] This she reflected had led to violent quarrels between the women when they went to divide the effects and it powerfully reinforced the value of jewels to an Indian wife.

This evidence demonstrates that Marian was operating outside of British convention by adopting the dictates of Indian women's dress that she had garnered from her residence in Calcutta. This was perceived by English society as an inappropriate form of oriental ostentation but it was one she knowingly employed. Additionally, her espousal of ornamentation through jewellery at the trial operated as a form of psychological warfare within the political arena that faced the Hastings family. Debatably Marian may have measured her own prestige as questionable without her diamonds, which whilst in India had symbolised her position as the Governor-General's

[591] N. Chaudhuri, *Culture in the Vanity Bag* (Kolkata: Jaico Publishing House, 2009), p. xiii.
[592] Chaudhuri, *Culture in the Vanity Bag*, p. 32.
[593] Chaudhuri, *Culture in the Vanity Bag*, p. 38.
[594] Charlotte Clive's India Journal 1798-1801 in Shields (eds), *Birds of Passage*, p. 183.

wife. Conversely, she was now operating in a wholly dissimilar set of cultural parameters. This is evidenced by her wearing her jewels to the trial when the Royal women chose not to. It can be reasoned that Marian had made a conscious decision to subvert this temporary modification in the cultural norms of jewellery etiquette. Her motivation was to challenge the accusers of her husband, to question what he had received by the state for his service in India. This included his lack of a title, the Impeachment trial and ensuing financial difficulties and finally, their loss of status. However, her payment – the means with which as a wife of the Governor-General she acquired financial remuneration and compensation despite the 1773 Regulation Act – was in the form of diamonds. These were her particular form of currency that acted as compensation for her husband's period of service and progressive societal advancements that were now under attack.

There is abundant evidence that Marian's body acted as a site of numerous cultural and political positions. In the context of diminishing economic fortunes of the Nabob, Marian's body additionally delivered a supplementary outlet for a physical response via textual material that generated visual engagement for society through prints. The turbulence of the political terrain connected to this overarching narrative of Queenly bodies provided an increasingly negative discourse surrounding emergent female agency and visibility. Burke amplified this blurring of gender boundaries in association with this 'othering' of the English form during his sensationalised speeches. This functioned alongside the necklace as a symbolic conceptualisation of the incorporation of the diamond within this erogenous zone. Taking the theoretical framework of object itineraries, it demonstrated that a gemstone's route of circulation assisted secrecy and concealment that amplified the mystique and power of the object.

In the third and final part of this chapter Marian's relationship with Indian gemstones and jewellery and their depiction in England, cannot be fully scrutinised unless the

social constructs surrounding an eighteenth-century marriage and its relationship to the circulation of property are examined. As discussed in chapter four marriages played a key role in regulating and maintaining resources for an EIC servant. This was within a family structure that relied heavily on the kinship networks of other EIC families. This approach is adopted by Finch and Mason who state 'the most important facet of English kinship… is not its formal features but the highly flexible way in which people operationalise their kin relationships within those broad parameters.[595] The majority of EIC servants viewed their career as a method of obtaining the necessary wealth to enable retirement with a country estate.[596] For Warren and Marian Hastings Daylesford, their country estate in Gloucestershire provided the platform to use their material and visual culture to decorate and emblemise their kinship networks in society.[597]

The portrait of *Mr. and Mrs Hastings with an Ayah at Alipore* (Fig 101) by Zoffany was simultaneously commissioned alongside the portrait of *Marian Hastings* (Fig 7). These were works explicitly envisioned for display at Daylesford and redirected their kinship networks. As Retford stresses:

> The most vital of the various concepts of the 'family' in circulation in the eighteenth-century for the conversation piece was that of the extended kinship group, notably that based on bilateral relationships formed through marital union.[598]

Marian's kinship network included her son Charles Imhoff who was one of two sons – the other Julius – of Marian's marriage to her first husband Baron Imhoff.[599] Charles's

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[595] Finch and Mason, *Passing On*, p. 11.
[596] P. Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 131.
[597] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 57. Hastings stated that Daylesford 'was an object I had long wished to possess…It had been the property of my family for many centuries.'
[598] K. Retford, *The Conversation Piece: Making Modern Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 247. Retford is referencing Johan Zoffany, *The Auriol and Dashwood Families.*
[599] When Marian journeyed to the East Indies Charles Imhoff had remained in England with his brother Julius. They were reunited with their mother on her return in 1784. Julius died in

wife Charlotte Blunt was the daughter of the EIC servant Sir Charles Blunt and the sister-in-law of Daylesford's architect, Charles Cockerell. In February 1785 Zoffany's bill for the work was presented by Hastings's secretary Larkin. It stated 'A Do. Of three small whole length figures of Mr & Mrs Hastings & servant Rs 3,000, A Do. Of Mrs Hastings whole length Rs 2,500.'[600] Labelled as both stylish and exotic it is understood to have demonstrated her taste and the prominent social position that she had enjoyed in India.[601] Marian wears a double string necklace of large pearls and a large emerald is pinned on her bodice. Mughal culture placed high value on Brazilian emeralds and this stone is likely to have been gifted to Marian. Similarly, her *Ayah* wears a two-string row of pearls – mirroring her mistress's English jewellery – single drop pearl earrings, alongside a muslin wrap and Indian pointed toe slippers and her hair is style mirrors her mistresses. The *Ayah's* dress presents a composite Indo-European hybridisation.

Jasanoff has read this portrait as confirmation of Hastings's aspiration to a county house lifestyle; a standardised conversation piece commemorating their time at Alipore and his desire to require the Hastings's family seat at Daylesford.[602] However, an analysis of the dress depicted in this work provides a deeper understanding of the cultural hybridity and complexities that were at play. This is most evident in the details of the *Ayah's* dress and jewellery as elements directly imitate her mistress's ensemble. Several important observations can be made. Firstly, it endorses Marian's agency in assisting with the compositional content of the work to visually memorialise her intimate relationship with her *Ayah.* Secondly, this was work with specific

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Calcutta in 1799. For further detail on the lives of Charles and Julius Imhoff see Brendon, Vyven, *Children of the Raj* (London: Pheonix, 2006), pp. 55-58.

[600] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 152; see Archer's FN 53 on p. 447. Archer is referencing BL Hastings papers (Private Accounts), Add. MS.29229, f.154, 21 February 1785; f.194) this bill of work also included 'an historical picture of a Cock Pitt composed of a great number of small figures' at Rs. 1500' alongside several other smaller works. Archer confirms the bill of payment was presented to Hastings's on the 11th January 1786 and it was paid on the 14th October 1786 – before the pictures had arrived in England.

[601] C.Bayley (ed), *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947* (London: NPG, 1990), p. 115. No reference is made to the jewellery Marian wears in this work.

[602] M. Postle, *Johan Zoffany: Society Observed* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 128.

commissioning motivations for it was to be hung in Daylesford on their return to England. Presenting an additional visual record of bio-culturalism, it works with the evidence from earlier in the chapter which demonstrated Marian's culturally hybridised motivations for her jewellery selection for the trial. Hence, this work and the jewellery within it operate as a physical expression of hybridised cultural dialogue within an extended kinship grouping.

The Hastings family's kinship networks conglomerate within one particular object *Warren Hastings* (Fig 102) a miniature by Richard Cosway, which is understood to have been completed during Impeachment Trial.[603] Surrounded by a border of what are now paste diamonds it portrays the resolute features of Hastings.[604] Once arranged with twenty-nine large diamonds the stones were set in a royal blue and white banded enamelled border with four pierced gold borders.[605] It has five further smaller diamonds on the loop attached to the top of the work and four small gold loops at the bottom of the work, which indicates that bows and tassels were once attached here. Bury confirms that 'tassels were a fashionable jewellery motif of the early nineteenth century, whilst bows in jewellery symbolised a betrothal or marriage gift.'[606] This suggests that the Hastings miniature was an object loaded with sentiment and that it was supremely valuable to his wife Marian.Conventionally miniatures had provided the EIC families' with a visual system of staying connected to their family members in England. Moreover, they were highly functional art objects because unlike oil paintings they were portable and were less likely to deteriorate on the voyage home.[607] Yet, reaching beyond the recognisable sentimental commissioning contexts the miniature rearticulated the EIC servant's relationship to art and jewellery. In this way *Warren*

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[603] S. Lloyd, *Richard Cosway* (London: Unicorn Press, 2005), p. 60.
[604] Murray, *Beloved Marian*, p. 6.
[605] J. Ingamells, *National Portrait Gallery: Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790* (London: NPG, 2004), p. 241.
[606] Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910,* pp. 66-69.
[607] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 389.

Hastings challenges our perception of the 'miniature' within its conventional framework by operating as a condensed financial device in which the diamonds worked to signify the familial legacy of the Hastings family and the financial acumen of Marian.

I will now revisit the agency demonstrated by Marian earlier in the chapter through an examination of the content of the will of Warren Hastings's. It states:

> I give devise and bequeath unto my dear Wife, Anna Maria Apollonia Hastings all my Estates both real and personal all the debts which are or shall be due to me and all my rights of property to hold to Her heirs Executors…And I appoint her sole Executrix of this Will.[608]

During this period married women played a central role in the probate in England, as Finn confirms 'a high proportion of husbands appointed their wives as the sole or joint executrixes of their estates.'[609] This document exposes several facts. Firstly, Hastings placed the inheritance through Marian's familial line, rather than his own. Secondly, he made no specific bequests of objects or items of any kind and that all of his possessions were bequeathed to his wife in their entirety. This reflected the confidence he placed in her in all matters but principally financial. Finally, Hastings did not refer to his wife as 'Marian' but referred to her by her given name 'Anna'. In England – and particularly in the press – Mrs Hastings had constantly been referred to as Marian but primary documents demonstrate she used Anna.[610] This indicates that the Marian witnessed in society was a construct that was debatably a product of Hastings's desire to protect his wife on her return to England.

Part of the Hastings's fortune was alleged to have been in the form of diamonds that had been bought back from the East Indies by Marian. Yet, the changing geographical locality of the diamond supply during this period may have impacted on the worth and salability of any diamonds that Marian had acquired in India. Between 1793-1794 there

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[608] PROB1-19, Warren Hastings, October 1818. NA.
[609] Finn, 'Colonial Gifts', p. 208.
[610] Documentary evidence demonstrates she used 'A' as her cipher.

was uncertainty on the European diamond market and the consequent glut of diamonds because of the French Revolution. This devalued diamond prices and resulted in fluctuations in the market that worked in tandem with increasing imports of diamonds from Brazil. As a result of this, modifications in gemological taste and supply occurred in England. The overall value of Indian diamonds imported in 1793 was £78,000 whilst by contrast in 1795 their value had fallen to £4,800. This was too substantial and rapid a fall to be attributed to the dwindling output of the Indian mines alone. Demand in England had itself diminished albeit temporarily and by 1796 the value of rough stones imported from India had risen to £22,000.'[611] As the discussion has demonstrated the degree of Marian's private fortune played a significant role in the Impeachment Trial charges. It was a view universally held that Mr and Mrs Hastings concealed the level of her wealth for Hastings to be granted an annuity by the EIC Court of Directors. This was granted on the 26th of February 1796 at £4000 a year dated from 1785, so that he received an immediate payment of £42,000 and an interest-free loan of £50,000.[612]

The correlation between the will and the miniature – as a visual representation of the financial legacy of the Hastings estate – is disclosed in an abstract of the bequests contained in the will of Mrs. Hastings. It states 'the Plate to be sold immediately on the decease of Mrs. Hastings and the money arriving there to form part of the residue of her personal Estate which is given to Sir Charles Imhoff absolutely.'[613] The first page of her will begins:

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[611] Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910,* p. 49.
[612] P. Marshall, 'The Private Fortune of Marian Hastings', *Historical Research*, Vol. 37, Issue 96, 1964, p. 250.
[613] D4084/Box52/3. Papers concerning the Administration of Mrs. Hastings' and Sir Chas. Imhoff's Estate by Rev.Thomas Winter, Executor and Trustee: inventories of household furnishings and library at Daylesford and aution catalogue, 1803-72; sketch of inscribed Arabic brass patterns [c.1830]; copy will of Mrs. Hastings, 1837 etc' D 4084 52/3 No. 5 'An Abstract of the bequests contained in the Will of Mrs Hastings in favour of her son Sir Charles Imhoff.' Copy of the Will of Anna Maria Apollonia Hastings. Gloucestershire Archives. [Underline as in the original text].

> This is the last Will and Testament of me Anna Maria Apollonia Hastings of Daylesford House in the County of Worcester widow…I have lately deposited in the hand of my Bankers the sum of six thousand pounds and upwards being the produce of certain monies lately sold for the purpose of enabling me to pay off and discharge the sum of Six thousand pounds secured by a certain mortgage of my late Husband on the Estate at Daylesford.[614]

The clearing of the mortgage as a top priority reflects her desire to secure the Daylesford Estate and her husband's legacy. Likewise, it is apparent that this legacy was to be protected through the sale of her personal jewels as she states **'I give all** my wearing apparel and Wardrobe with the exception of my jewels to be divided between my Daughter in law Lady Imhoff and my two nieces Mrs Woodman and Miss Marie Chapuset[615]. Notably, the miniature of Hastings was to be treated differently. It specified:

> **I give and bequeath** the miniature painting of my late beloved husband with the setting of Diamonds and the Bow and tassels annexed there to my Daughter in Law Lady Imhoff during her life and after her decease I bequeath the same to my friend Mrs Barton for her life and after her decease to her Daughter Miss Barton entirely…. I desire all my Plate together with my jewels may immediately on my decease be sold and the money arising therefrom I direct may sink into and form part of the residue of my personal estate.[616]

She continues:

> In my will I desired the few remaining jewels that I was possessed of to be sold. They are since I made my Will disposed of, excepting the picture of my beloved husband, which will go as it is mentioned in the will.[617]

In returning to the earlier discussion surrounding object itineraries linking with diamonds and jewellery, it has been demonstrated that the miniature designated the remaining diamonds kept by Marian to be placed in 'stasis' within this object. She

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[614] D 4084 52/3 No.5, Copy of the Will of Anna Maria Apollonia Hastings, p. 1. Gloucestershire Archives.

[615] Marian Chapuset was the daughter of Marian's brother. See Murrary, *Beloved Marian*, p. 240.

[616] D 4084 52/3 No. 5, Copy of the Will of Anna Maria Apollonia Hastings, p. 4. Gloucestershire Archives. [Bold as in the original text]. These are the only references to her jewels in the main document. A First Codicil (one of three Codicils) makes several bequests of various items that include a workbox and several Indian shawls to her daughter-in-law Lady Imhoff and several named female friends.

[617] D 4084 52/3 No.5, Copy of the Will of Anna Maria Apollonia Hastings, First Codicil. p. 15. Gloucestershire Archives.

stated that it was to be passed through her female familial line and this demonstrates a clear act of female agency. This period of persistence ensured the object and its constituent parts was removed from circulation that kept it within the family environ.

The valuation of Mrs Hastings's personal estate on her death in 1837 included her personal effects.[618] The estate totalled £25,934,183, which today equates to approximately £2,035,207.90.[619] The account specifically enumerates the various facets of her personal estate but for this research, it is the 'Wearing apparel' (£6,262.18, 0.35%) and 'Trinkets, Ornaments of the Person' (£13,698.51, 0.65%) that are of specific interest. This combined amounted to £19,960.18 or 1% of the total. In contrast 'Money in funds' totals £1,661,434.10 or 82%, leaving £353,812.72, 17%. The figure for 'Trinkets, Ornaments of the Person', only 0.35% of her personal estate is surprisingly low for someone famed for her diamond jewellery. It provides clear evidence that Marian had converted the majority of her remaining jewels into currency; all accept the Hastings miniature. This approach was highly considered and strategic. Revenue generated by selling her jewels enabled Daylesford to remain with her son Charles Imhoff. Eaton argues that heirlooms from the West cannot 'be freely exchanged: their authority makes them a key source of social and political prestige and hence of social hierarchy. This is why these are objects of intense competition.'[620] Within this framing, Marian placed the value of the estate of Daylesford above her jewellery.

In *Pride and Prejudice*, Jane Austen describes Darcy as 'having ten thousand a year.'[621] Written in 1813, twenty-four years before Marian's valuation, it supports the

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[618] Add MS 39873 WARREN HASTINCS PAPERS. Vol. III (ff. 145). Miscellaneous correspondence of Marian Hastings, wife of Warren Hastings 1817-1835. Appendix.
[619] 1837 to 2017 Conversion. UK Inflation Calculator, www.moneysorter.co.uk [accessed 3rd March 2017].
[620] Eaton 'Between Mimesis and Alterity', p. 817.
[621] J. Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (Wordsworth Classics, 1992 [1813]), p. 8.

position that she did not die with a fortune, that her means were reduced, and her material items of value had mainly been sold. This is reinforced by changes of description in her dress from reported court circulars. On Tuesday 20th of January 1801, the dress of the women present at the Queen's birthday celebration at Court:

> MRS WARREN HASTINGS
> …The cap decorated a beautiful diamond tiara; a panache of four white ostrich feathers; at the head of each was suspended a very large diamond of the same shape as the crystals, which hung from lustres. – If the diamonds alluded to were not worn by Mrs. W. Hastings, from their great size, no one would believe they were real.[622]

Notably, Marian's entry is one of the lengthiest in the report and utmost attention is placed on the accurate account of her attire, which is comparable with the entries for the Princesses and the Duchess of Gloucester. However, unexpectedly there are no Indian or oriental allusions aside from the unambiguous description of the size and scale of the diamonds she has chosen to wear on this occasion. The reporter's unrestrained language conjures the unequivocal association – once more - between Marian and the controversial figure of the Nawab of Arcot in the description of 'a very large diamond' within the report.

Nonetheless, thirteen years later it was reported:

> MRS WARREN HASTINGS
> A white satin robe and petticoat; drapery of net, elegantly
> Ornament'd with oak-leaves of white satin and beads; head-
> Dress, a plume of feathers, bandeau of emeralds and pearls;
> Necklace and earrings to correspond.

In this entry Marian does not wear any diamonds, although emeralds and pearls are worn. Nevertheless, in contrast to the entry for 1801 the absence of diamonds from her ensemble can be seen as significant. This variation in reported style correlates with a

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[622] London Courier and Evening Gazette, 20th January 1801. Reported under the headline of '*Her MAJESTY'S BIRTHDAY'.* Four pages are dedicated to describing the dress of the women attending court. On this occasion, Marian was not present. The list of female dress at court is in aristocratic order: her Majesty is the first entry, followed by other royalty, Duchess, Countesses, Ladies, Mrs, Ho. Miss, Miss. etc.

falling interest in the Nabob in contemporary literature. James Raven argues that a vogue for India had created a spike in literature focusing on the returning EIC servants and their family between 1785-1790.[623] This corresponds with a decline in popular literary interest in the Nabob at the end of Hastings's trial.[624] As he notes 'after 1800 the Nabob makes no more villainous appearances and very few complimentary or derisory ones.'[625] The evidence examined in this final part of the chapter has established that Warren and Marian Hastings used their marital resources to create a supportable legacy for their family in which the jewelled material culture of the East Indies was fundamental. Marian consciously abbreviated her jewelled familial art into one specific object – the Hastings miniature – demonstrating a consistent theme of powerful female agency that mirrored the earlier actions of Lady Clive. In this context, the strategic actions of the individualistic 'self' superseded EIC kinship networks, whereby filial bonds took precedence.

This chapter has provided a reflexive engagement connecting the challenging and complex terrain of the jewellery and gemstones associated with Marian and Warren Hastings. In returning to the central question of how they disrupted societal conventions of presentation through jewellery, the vitally integral role of female agency has been consistently rearticulated. Marital and familial codes and conventions were sublimated to allow a wife to determine and facilitate their financial security through the judicious use of gemstones as currency. Besides the wearing of diamonds on her body, particularly at the highly charged political juncture such as the Impeachment Trial and this demonstrated to society an internalisation of the sub-continental modes of overt display and presentation that were integral to Marian's individual status. Employed by Marian as a form of psychological warfare, diamonds represented self-

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[623] J. Raven, *Judging New Wealth: Popular Publishing and Responses to Commerce in England, 1750-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 232.
[624] Raven, *Judging New Wealth*, p. 232.
[625] Raven, *Judging New Wealth*, p. 234.

assertion and self-protection at a period when the ‘othering’ of the body was progressively seen as tantamount to a negation of British values.

The closing chapter will draw together the wider themes identified in the previous two chapters to unambiguously examine the familial transmission of jewels within the framework of EIC kinship. It will enrich the discussion surrounding the female agency of EIC servants by examining Mary Impey’s material and visual culture by an examination of her jewellery from the East Indies. This will create a direct juxtaposition in relation to Marian Hastings’s engagement with jewelled material culture that has been established so soundly within this chapter. The discussion will then shift in order to understand the specific circumstances of early EIC service and the use of gemstones and jewellery to secure a family’s financial status through the purchase of an estate. It will explore two Sussex Nabobs firstly, William Frankland and secondly, Richard Bourchier. As an individual case study the examination of the Bourchier family will engender a deeper understanding of the methodology by which jewels – working in tandem with portraiture - permeated familial transmission through subsequent generations.

Chapter 6

East India Company Kinship and the Framing of Familial Jewels.

> As relational selves we stand in intricate and intimate webs of connection with all those we come into contact - be they human, animal, animate or inanimate.[626]

In this concluding chapter the discussion shifts from object biographies and object itineraries, to the relationality of objects within the specific context of jewels and gemstones in the domestic setting of returned EIC families. Taken from a recent symposium on relationality in postcolonial studies this statement reflects the current approach to expanding this field of knowledge. It surveys objects acquired within an imperial context and our interaction with them through space and time, whether visual or material. Joyce and Gillespie stress that by adopting 'itineraries' rather than 'objects' they advocate the 'ongoing engagement of things with humans, which undermines the objectivity of objects and replaces it with the relationality of things.''[627] Kinship theory determines that any approach to familial history and gemstones in relation to the EIC is forced to probe this relationship with relationality because as minerals, diamonds are inanimate objects. As a consequence, they positioned within this broader history of materiality and material culture.

Gemstones functioned within the transactional dynamics of family provision and as such this chapter will reference David Green and Alastair Owens who 'rather than

[626] Relationality: A Symposium, hosted by the Postcolonial Studies Research Network, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 18-20 November 2015. www.relationality2015.com [accessed 20th June 2019].
[627] Joyce and Gillespie (eds), *Things in Motion.* p. 5.

seeing the family as a static demographic unit, our approach is to treat it as a more dynamic social entity, engaged with a set of welfare transactions.'[628] The evidence considered in chapters four and five has supported the premise that gemstones fit within this conceptual framework because as commoditised objects they continued to move through a spatialised and temporalised flow of things. In this final chapter - through a discussion of the material culture owend by Mary Impey, William Frankland and the Bourchier family - the intersections will be assessed to provide a reflexive interpretation of the multifarious and complex designations of jewelled objects within an EIC family. It will also explore the contextualisation for their subsequent sale or retention.

Firstly, I will assess Mary Impey and her long association with Marian Hastings as the wife of Hastings's EIC colleague and school friend Sir Elijah Impey. I will probe the function of Indian jewellery among women associated with the EIC to establish whether Marian's figurative prominence within media and society was unique. I will examine William Frankland's relationship with Indian jewels - as fashioning part of his collection of artifacts - to develop our knowledge of early EIC service and to cognise more deeply the extent of incorporation that Indian jewels enacted during this period. Finally, I will use the Bourchier family as a specific case study by examining Richard Bourchier and his estate Ades in Chailey, East Sussex. Implementing a reflexive approach to familial kinship networks, I will determine the generational impact his service had on his son's Charles and James through study of the family's surviving material and visual culture. By scrutinising the portrait of the *Nawab of Arcot* (Fig 8), which the family owned, it will unpack the methodology they applied in their participation with depicted Indian jewellery and question whether it was a modus of self- presentation and status formation.

[628] Green and Owens (eds), *Family Welfare,* p. 9.

Characteristic of EIC wives and further substantiated by the evidence on Marian Hastings, there are few surviving portraits of Mary Impey. *Portrait of Lady Impey* (Fig 103) by Thomas Gainsborough is a work that she latterly specified in her will thus establishing its sustained significance to the family. On their return from the East Indies the Impey's rented an estate in Sussex, *Newick Park - The Home of Lady Vernon* (Fig 104) and this provides an opening to fully examine how the material culture of the East Indies – specifically female jewellery – operated in the rural location of Sussex. Elijah Barwell Impey, Mary and Elijah's son reaffirmed the intimate friendship between the Hastings and Impey families 'when Mr Hastings became settled at Daylesford, our family paid him frequent visits there which he and Mrs Hastings, almost every year, returned to us at Newick.'[629] As such, it will demonstrate whether parallels in the retention of jewelled objects between the two women can be established. And whether in approaching these women in this way, it will advance their subsequent presence in EIC history. As women of the EIC who lived in Calcutta and returned to England during a comparable period, they provide a method of broadening our perception of the material and visual culture they retuned with and the jewellery that was latterly depicted in portraits. This cultivates the strain of argument that has been strongly evidenced in chapters four and five of an interrogation as jewellery in art through its duality: as a mode of presentation and as visually represented.

Marian and Warren Hastings did not have any children together and it is important to keep this oscillation in mind. The previous chapter demonstrated that extended and culturally hybridised kinship networks were formally depicted in the work *Mr. and Mrs Hastings with an Ayah at Alipore* (Fig 101). Pictorially and symbolically this

[629] E. B. Impey, *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., First Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, at Fort William, Bengal: With Anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq., and Other Contemporaries/compiled from Authentic Documents, in Refutation of the Calumnies of the Right Hon. Thomas Babington Macaulay*, *1780-1849* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1846), p. 364.

conversation piece represented Marian's regard for her *Ayah* with her functioning as a formal familial displacement to absent children. Additionally, the *Ayah's* adoption of European jewellery mirrors her mistresses and their physical proximity in the composition heightens this bond. By contrast *The Group Portrait with Sir Elijah and Lady Impey* (Fig 105) was one of several paintings that Zoffany worked on during the period 1783-1784 when the Impeys and Marian were due to return to England.[630] The Impeys had resided in India for many years and it is this relationship that is commemorated in this work as Retford acknowledges 'the relationship between the British and Indian in this conversation piece is notably proximate.'[631] However, scrutiny of their dress generates a reflexive engagement about the relationship between the EIC servants and their Indian household.

Within the family's Anglo-Indian household, the manner of dress adopted by the Impey's and their servants provides space for deeper ethnographic evaluation of the subjects' exchanges. Encircled by their Indian musicians and servants Elijah and Mary Impey are portrayed observing their daughter Marian, dressed in Indian costume, as she dances to the music. By contrast, paced on the left-hand side of the composition Mary Impey wears contemporary Western dress and her jewellery is comprised of matching bracelets and a pearl strand in her hair. Compared to the bold adornment of Indian jewellery worn by her *Ayahs* and that worn by her children, her jewellery denotations are subtle and muted. Yet, by having her children dressed in Indian clothing, Mary visually moves the Indian significations away from herself and the charge of 'going native'. Moreover, this replicates the visual presentation of Admiral Watson and his son in Indian dress that was discussed in chapter four.

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[630] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 135; see also Clephane, Irene (ed), *About the Impeys* (Worcester: Ebenezer Baylis, 1963), p. 28.
[631] Retford, *The Conversaiton Piece*, p. 104.

In expanding the meanings further, the personal material culture of Mary Impey – as the wife of a high profile EIC servant – compels a broader examination. Irene Clephane writes in relation to E. Adair Impey's memoirs 'Lady Impey flits somewhat faintly through the memoirs of her husband by her son.'[632] Today she is recognised as a 'enlightened patron and collector of several artists from Patna in Calcutta of studies of birds, mammals, and plants.[633] Yet, it has been stated that these studies from the natural world were commissioned more in the name of science than of art.[634] Yet, in chapter one it was shown that Mary Impey commissioned works that revealed her family's interactions with their Indian servants and household (Fig 20).[635] At Newick Park in 1795, the year of Hastings's acquittal, Mary ordered a silhouette conversation piece of the Impey family by Tiberius Cavallo *A silhouette conversation piece of the Impey family of Newick Park, Sussex* (Fig 106). Elijah Barwell Impey noted 'the Company then assembled at Newick Park, besides family residents, were Mr and Mrs. Hastings, the Halheds, my especial friend James Boswell, and Tiberius Cavallo.'[636] This work demonstrates Mary's appreciation of innovative forms of depiction that were accessible during the periods and when married to her interest in science it reflected an appreciation of artistic method. This evidence illustrates that Mary hung works of art from India alongside new forms of imagery created in England.

Furthermore, the family silhouette was potentially commissioned to celebrate the exoneration of Sir Elijah Impey, who had suffered political and public attacks through his friendship with Hastings at the Impeachment Trial.[637] *The struggle, for a Bengal butcher and an imp-pie* (Fig 107) illustrates Hastings attempting to hold onto a large pie from which imps emerge. Walpole writing to Lady Ossory on the 15th of January 1788

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[632] Clephane (ed), *About the Impeys,* p. 28.
[633] R. Skelton and M. Francis (eds), Skelton, *Arts of Bengal* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery 1979), p. 50.
[634] Welch, *India: Art and Culture,* p. 423.
[635] Welch, *India: Art and Culture,* p. 281.
[636] Impey, *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey,* p. 409.
[637] Marshall, *The Impeachment of Warren Hastings*, p. 612; see also p. 62.

summarised the political climate 'puppet-shows are coming on, the Birthday, the Parliament, and the trials of Hastings and his imp, Elijah. They will fill the town I suppose.'[638] We see that whilst Hastings is drawn in oriental costume, with rubies ornamenting his turban and jacket, by contrast Impey wears his lawyer's robe of office. Holding several moneybags and an allusion to 'my old friend and colleague' in the speech bubble, it is clear that Impey is deemed complicit in East Indian excess.

Elijah Impey died at Newick Park on the 1st October 1809 and in his will he specified 'I give and bequeath unto my dear wife Mary all the wearing apparel jewels various snuff boxes trinkets and ornaments whatsoever at any time worn or used by her.'[639] Mary died nine years later in 1818 and her will is surprisingly detailed and extensive both in pagination and in content. Aside from initial bequests and annuities to a servant, goddaughter and daughter Marian, she bequeathed 'unto my son Elijah Barwell Impey and my dear daughter Marian Impey all my prints… to be divided equally among them.'[640] This reference to her Asiatic prints at the beginning of her bequests actively reaffirms their primary status within her material culture. Nonetheless, it is the quantity and scope of jewellery that she bestows which is of paramount implication for this discussion:

> I give to my dear daughter Martha Lovibond… my diamond earrings with drops to them also two out of four my diamond hoop Rings, next in size to my largest diamond hoop Ring, also my ruby Ring... I give to my dear Daughter Maria Affert... the following picture of myself painted by Gainsborough, of half drops diamond earrings drops a diamond buckle for the waist my largest diamond hoop ring and two out of four of my diamond hoop rings also my cornelian hoop rings the palest of colour all my other hoop rings that are remaining I give to Martha.[641]

She continues:

> I also give to my dear daughter Marian my largest single stone diamond ring my other single stone diamond ring large in size… my two small diamond hoop

[638] Walpole, *Horace Walpole Correspondence*, Vol. 34, p. 3.
[639] PROB 11/1504/141 Will of Sir Elijah Impey 1809, NA, p. 1.
[640] PROB 11 1602241 Will of Dame Mary Impey 1818, NA, Part 1, p .2.
[641] PROB 11 1602241 Will of Dame Mary Impey 1818, NA, p. 4.

> rings my emerald ring my Cornelian hoop Ring of the deepest colour and a small ring set round with pearls holding her Brother Elijah's hair I also give to her my diamond handkerchief pin [brooch] of a single stone also my pearl necklace consisting of fifty pearls and the diamond clasps attached to them.[642]

In all, sixty-one jewelled items are recorded, with twenty-five items containing diamonds. Rings make up the largest share – over a third – followed by bracelets, earrings and then necklaces. Over half of the rings are diamond. However, there are no diamond necklaces present. This suggests that rings offered a more discrete way of wearing and managing jewels from India in English society. Without question, this is the manner of will you would anticipate Marian Hastings to leave, rather than Mary Impey. Mary Impey catalogues each piece of jewellery in great depth – denoting an appreciation of each item – both intrinsically and materially. The fact that she expends substantial energy in dividing out the items equally reveals an attempt at familial equality and concord; alongside the significant material and personal value she places on these pieces. Similarly, it can be argued these are the actions of an older lady, through the itemisation of every object of value, down to personal linens for the servants.

Furthermore, her will exhibits an artistic appreciation of jewellery. The vast array of diverse semi and precious stones corroborates her reputation as a collector with many of her rings having antiquarian associations. The jewels display a hybridisation of gemological types, which would have originated from a wide variety of geographical regions. Notably, of the twenty-three rings declared eleven were set with diamonds. The remaining rings were set with ruby, cornelian, amethyst, emerald, bloodstone and pearls, alongside her wedding ring and a mourning ring for Elijah's son Archibald. A Reference is made to Elijah's trip to Italy where some of the cornelian rings may have been purchased. No specific Asiatic or oriental terms are applied to the diamonds. We cannot ascertain for certain that these stones were from the East Indies. But, as the

[642] PROB 11 1602241 Will of Dame Mary Impey 1818, NA, p. 4.

traditional trade in the supply of stones from old Indian mines continued until their exhaustion and subsequent replacement by imported Brazilian diamonds by the 1800s it is therefore, strongly indicative that Mary Impey's diamonds were from India.[643]

Diamonds and pearls remained of primary importance in the 1790s, despite the growing desire for coloured stones, whether precious, semi-precious or pastes.[644] Mary refers to 'my best pearl bracelets with bracelet consisting of two rows of pearls and having twenty four pearls in a row and diamond clasps attached to them.'[645] (Fig 105) In Zoffany's group portrait she wears bracelets of this type, which correspond to current bracelet styles worn in England at this period. Without question, these may have been taken to India with her but equally they could have been made up in India using local gems 'diamond merchants travel with all their tempting treasures under their sole convoy without fire-arms.'[646] As she describes them as her 'best' bracelets, it is probable that these are the bracelets in the portrait and it exposes her yearning to be portrayed wearing her most treasured items of dress. In her will she only refers to a couple of Impey family pieces 'a small gold box with a painting on the top and a small diamond in the centre it belonged to her Grand mother Mrs Impey a string of beads with a pebble attached to them always worn by the said Grand mother.'[647] This implies that the other items were bought by her husband, herself or were given as gifts.

The examination of Mary Impey wearing her jewllery in visual culture alongside an examination of her jewelled material culture, has disclosed an alternate and unforeseen relationship with jewels – of which it is highly plausible that a large

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[643] Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910,* p. 49.
[644] Bury, *Jewellery 1789-1910*, p. 53; see also p.65 where Bury confirms 'Many women in the 1790s owned sets of no more than two to four matching pieces and expected to harmonise these ornaments with others [Primary jewellery]…Diversity in Secondary jewellery, was perfectly acceptable.'
[645] PROB 11 1602241 Will of Dame Mary Impey 1818, NA, p. 4.
[646] Clough (ed), *Hartly House,* p. 98.
[647] PROB 11 1602241 Will of Dame Mary Impey 1818, NA, p. 3.

proportion were from the East Indies. Furthermore, the vast range and variety of forms provide evidence of societies' interest in emergent forms of gemological awareness. Moreover, Mary Impey's collection provides a supplementary conduit of strong female agency by an EIC wife that expands the terrain beyond the discussion previously demonstrated by Lady Clive and Marian Hastings. As demonstrated, jewels enabled powerful familial transmission across space and time. The itemisation of Mary Impey's jewelled material culture in her will exposes the value and meaning she placed on these objects through their high intrinsic material worth but substantially, as when worn they physically communicated the family's prominence through their involvement with the EIC.

The evidence has established that there is an extended field of enquiry ready to be unpacked in relation to the EIC servants' relationship with a plentiful supply of jewels. There was an over-arching narrative in society that numerous EIC servants returned to England with diamonds and other jewelled objects from the Mughal courts such as a *sarpech.* Moreover, society broadly assumed that there was a correlation between the higher the number of jewels owned by an EIC family and the higher their status through a mirroring estate purchase. Yet the complexity of familial experience identified so far, challenges this simplistic reading. As such the next part of this chapter will establish whether the jewelled material and visual culture from the East Indies affected a family's standing and relationship in British society. Chapter four's discussion of Admiral Watson's *sarpech* demonstrated how a professional proximity to Clive materially enhanced an EIC servant's acquisition of jewelled objects. Conversely, this chapter will explore how a servant's dispute with Clive could potentially harm an EIC servant's material acquisition of jewelled objects because of restricted access to the Nawab's court where high value gifts were secured.

As discussed in chapter two, William Frankland retained a large collection of objects from his time spent in the service of the EIC in India and travelling in the Middle East. Importantly, his will refers to a 'jewelled and gold ornament for a turban.'[648] A letter from William Frankland to Clive dated the 11th of May 1759, offers an understanding of Frankland's position within the EIC and his proximity to the *Nawab* at this point 'the Nabob since his return to the city has turned off some of his *jamadars*, and talked with much more spirit than usual to his forces.'[649] What is clear, given the dress objects listed, is that this jewel formed part of the *kh'ilat* and Frankland had been of sufficient status to be presented with this gift.

Similarly, the Bourchier family's EIC service had begun at the end of the seventeenth century, during the earliest days of the Company's time in the East Indies and this service mirrored the longevity of service of the Frankland family.[650] Richard Bourchier was reputed to have died 'insolvent and penniless' on his return to England and the following examination of the visual and material evidence will facilitate a reconsideration of this statement.[651] This was a period when private mercantilism co-existed with Company service. It will pay particular attention to his purchase of an estate in Sussex to understand fully the systems in which his service in the East Indies and the wealth he acquired, affected the familial status of his son's Charles and James Bourchier. As Green and Owens state:

> Appreciating the impact of these life-course changes is crucial in understanding the transactional dynamics of family provision. Rather than seeing the family as a static demographic unit, our approach is to treat it as a more dynamic social entity, engaged with a set of welfare transactions.[652]

Taking this approach as a guide, I will now evaluate how paintings of the EIC determined the financial security of the family, how the acquisition of an estate

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[648] PROB 11-1436-213 Will of William Frankland of Muntham, NA, p. 270.
[649] MSS Eur, G37/26/5, ff.23-24, p. 3. BL.
[650] S. Hosten, 'Governor Richard Bourchier', *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. 7, 1911, pp. 1-4.
[651] M. Archer, *The India Office Collection of Paintings and Sculpture* (London: BL, 1986), p. 10.
[652] Green and Owens (eds), *Family Welfare*, p. 9.

facilitated the domestic environment in which the portraits were hung and finally, whether jewels circulated through the familial lineage, despite the early bankruptcy of Richard Bourchier.

Richard Bourchier, *Governor of Bombay* (Fig 108) was painted between 1760-1770 and this date corresponds with Bourchier's return to England.[653] Arranged in a feigned oval, the half-length portrait depicts Bourchier dressed in a brown velvet jacket and waistcoat. Under his left arm he holds his hat whilst his hand is tucked into the waistcoat.[654] This manner of labelling is significant because it commemorates Bourchier's service; he had been Second in Council at Bombay in 1749 and Governor of Bombay from 1750-1759. Furthermore, his depiction in contemporary dress additionally looks to his retirement from the EIC and the purchase of Ades, an estate in Sussex. With a hereditary tradition of Company service he had applied for permission to reside at Madras as a Free Merchant in 1718.[655] By 1732 he was removed from office in a dispute relating to the export of inferior quality goods to England but by 1743 he had been appointed as Chief of Anjengo - a settlement on the Malabar Coast - and in 1750 he became President and Governor of Bombay, which he held until 1760.[656] However, in 1756 during Bourchier's tenure Clive and Watson captured *Gheria* from the Angria pirates.[657] The implication of the capture is visually apparent in a print entitled *A View of the Attack made on the Fort of Geriah by Admiral Watson* (Fig 109). The image registers the fleet of ships led by the British and an Indo-Portuguese force of the EIC under the command of Watson. Here the Maratha pirate's island fortress

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[653] W. Foster, 'Governor Richard Bourchier', *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. 8, April-June 1914, p. 181. The article was written to announce the recent acquisition of the portrait by the India Library in 1914, which the author indicates 'revives the memory of a half-forgotten worthy.'
[654] Archer, *The India Office Collection*, p. 9.
[655] Foster, 'Governor Richard Bourchier', p. 181. Foster notes that he was able to take with him 2,000*l* in foreign bullion, engaging in 'Country trade' i.e trade from port to port in the East. In 1724 Richard Bourchier was on a Madras list, which indicated he was among 'seafaring people in Bengal.'
[656] Foster, 'Governor Richard Bourchier', p.182.
[657] Archer, *The India Office Collection*, p. 38.

dominates the composition, whilst on the left, fire barges construct dynamism. Expressing the demand for pictorial descriptions of such EIC encounters, the print bolsters the concept of risk relating directly to a jewelled material reward. This was evidenced in chapter four by Watson and Clive each being gifted a *sarpech* after the Battle of Plassey. (Fig 74, Fig 75)

However, Bourchier had offended Clive by refusing to pay a ransom after the seizure of an Englishman by Malabar pirates near *Cotarra.* Whilst this conformed to British Governmental policy it led directly to the man's death.[658] This image of *a letter* (Fig 110) confirms their fractious interaction before his dismissal in 1760.[659] The evidence is further reinforced by a report in the media 'Letters from Surat, by a Dutch Ship lately arrived in Holland, advising that Governor Bourchier had obtain'd from Court Mogul's Royal Phermaund for the English holding the Castle of Surat.' [660] This account strengthens the case that Bourchier was ideally positioned to accept presentational gifts from the Nawab. The scenario is represented in the print *Company officer receives noblemen on a terrace* (Fig 111). In this meticulously observed scene, the Mughal artist has rendered the type of ceremonial space in which Bourchier would have been presented with dress objects after his securing of the *Firman*.

Despite his success in obtaining this decree, the same report states 'that Governor Bourchier is returning for England.'[661] Bankruptcies were common during the 1730s and 1740s when Company servants pushed their credit limits to make up for the Calcutta ship's succession of poor trading seasons, and limited profit losses could not

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[658] J. Gerson Da Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay* (New Delhi Asian: Educational Services, 2004), pp. 346-347.
[659] Letter to Clive from Richards Bourchier 19th May 1759. MSS Eur, G37/26/5, ff.34-35; Archives and Manuscripts, BL.
[660] *Derby Mercury,* 19th September 1760; the report finishes 'and receiving the Revenues annex'd to it on behalf of the Company; and that our Flag was flying there, and the Right to the Castle achnowledg'd by all Nation.'
[661] *Derby Mercury,* 19th September 1760.

be mitigated due to an insufficiently established internal trade.[662] As early as 1728 William Frankland's father, Governor Henry Frankland had issued a warning about the inability of some servants to pay their debts.[663] Indeed his son Richard was explicitly warned that 'it is the opinion of your best friends that… you overtrade the markets.'[664]

Notwithstanding bankruptcy, Bourchier was able to purchase the estate of Ades in North Chailey in Sussex in 1760.[665] (Fig 112) The purchase of a Sussex estate by a Nabob at this early period conforms to the rapid rate of estate purchase between 1761-1770.[666] Richard Bourchier's will states:

> But the many losses which I have sustained since leaving India having greatly reduced the fortunes I thought myself prosperous I give and bequeath my said Dearly beloved wife Jane Bourchier the sum of One thousand pounds. Secondly I give and bequeath my estate called Ades or Eades to my Son Charles Bourchier and his sons for over. Thirdly having purchased an Estate called Buddington in the Country of Sussex before I knew how my India affairs would turn out I would that estate sold.[667]

Finally, in the Codicil he writes 'I give to my son Charles the gold watch and chain and seals my snuff box with my sister Arabella's picture in it.'[668] These items of an intimate, family connection are the only pieces of material culture referenced in the will.[669] This evidence suggests that his problematic relationship with Clive had limited the amount of jewelled material culture that was accessible to him.

The estate of Ades was situated a short drive from the main route south towards Lewes and north to the estate of Newick Park, which would be let to Sir Elijah Impey

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[662] Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 230.
[663] Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 232.
[664] Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes*, p. 232.
[665] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 256, Appendix 2.
[666] Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire*, p. 127.
[667] PROB 11/963/400 Will of Richard Bourchier of Chailey, Sussex, 21 February 1771, p. 3. He also makes reference to 'my small estate in Dublin, the yearly value of fifty thousand pounds to go to his sister Catherine Archer. In the Codicil he also recommends that Charles Bourchier sell the Buddington Estate that he says is 'unprofitable'.
[668] PROB 11/963/400 Will of Richard Bourchier of Chailey, Sussex, 21 February 1771, p. 3. Codicil.
[669] Gerson Da Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay*, p. 346.

from 1794-1809.[670] Bourchier was able to augment his estate through the purchase of additional land. An estate in Sussex offered rural appeal and crucially, was considerably more affordable than an estate closer to London. [671] Nevertheless, the report of his death in September 1770 omitted to mention Ades thus demonstrating the minor status of this estate in the county. [672] Nonetheless, Bourchier's memorial in the parish church of St. Peter's, Chailey (Fig 113) physically and textually reclaims his EIC service by stating 'he who resided above Forty years in the East Indies, Eight of which he Presided over the Company's Affairs as Governor of Bombay.'[673] Likely to have been erected by his sons Charles and James Bourchier, both of whom were EIC servants - it is overtly Neo Classical in form and any formal references to the East Indies are entirely absent.

The discussion will now explore the Bourchier family's association with Madras and the Nawab of Arcot's legendary supply of diamonds that were used as problematic political inducements in English politics. *The Madras Tyrant, or, the director of directors* (Fig 114) pictorially evokes the thematic conceptualisation of the oriental tyrant by depicting Robert Clive - who is drawn sporting a long pigtail or think stiffened queue - in the form of a Macaroni. Published during the parliamentary conduct into Clive's activities on the 16th March 1772, the print cultivates the correlation between the inquiry and Madras. This was a scandal of massive corruption and colluded bribery that occurred in Madras under the rulership of the Nawab of Arcot who had been bolstered militarily and politically by the EIC since the overthrow of the French and the capture of Pondicherry

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[670] Historic England: NEWICK PARK. List entry Number: 1000232. Park and Garden Grade II listed. www.historicengland.org.uk [accessed 6th March 2016].
[671] Bryr005371 – SAS-B 753. The Keep, Brighton.
[672] *The Scots Magazine*, 1st December 1770.
[673] 49B Mural Monument for Richard BOURCHIER, d. 1770, and his wife Jane, d. 1771, Vestry, South Wall, 140 (W) x 190 (H), white marble, (49) CHAILEY, St. Peter, East Sussex. East Sussex Church Monuments Archive of Photographs, Professor Nigel Llewellyn, (photo 2 of 3). The memorial inscription finishes 'and in the year 1760 returned to England. He ended his days at Ades, in this *Parish* on the 2nd December 1770 in the 79th Year of his Age.' www. sussexrecordsociety.org [accessed 2nd April 2016].

in 1761.[674] Strikingly, it was the Bourchier family who epitomised the Madras civil service at this period.[675] Charles had joined the EIC at the age of fifteen and became a Writer at Fort St George in 1741.[676] He then rose to become Governor of Madras from 1767-1770 whilst his brother James, became a Member of Council in Madras from 1765-1769.[677] However, during the 1760s the majority of Company servants in Madras were involved in the Nawabs debts in some form because by loaning the Nawab money at exorbitant rates of interest they were given diamonds in the place of monetary payments. [678]

Charles Bourchier was one of the Nawab's principal creditor's.[679] And whilst he was finally dismissed for corruption, the EIC party that was sent out to investigate his corruption was sunk off the Cape of Good Hope during a storm and as a consequence, Bourchier succeeded in retaining his wealth.[680] In 1770 within this context of systemic corruption the Nawab commissioned a large portrait for Charles Bourchier as a retirement gift.[681] The half-length portrait of *Muhammad Ali Khan, the Nawab of Arcot* (Fig 115) operates as an unconcealed visual icon of their relationship. The work fully advocates Pointon's premise that the politics of representation has a duality of function in portraiture, which is the link between seeing and telling:

> The historical human subject is not a separate entity from the portrait depiction of him or her, but part of a process through which knowledge is claimed and the social and physical environment is shaped.[682]

The debts of the Nawab had shaped the basis of Charles's political power and ultimately secured his economic survival and thus, the portrait discloses the

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[674] H. Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras* (London: Williams, 1926), p. 13.
[675] Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras*, p. 35.
[676] H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640–1800,* vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1913), p. 595.
[677]Archer, *The India Office Collection*, p. 10 and p. 183.
[678] Dirks*, The Scandal of Empire*, p. 62.
[679] Dirks*, The Scandal of Empire*, p. 66.
[680] Dirks*, The Scandal of Empire*, p. 66.
[681] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 70.
[682] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 1.

unparalleled opulence and abundance of the jewellery worn by the Nawab. Through Kettle's careful use of paint he depicts the multitude of pendants worn with precision accurately rendering the proliferation of pearl ornamentation on the body and turban, and the stones of vast size and quality.

Nonetheless, in its original form the work featured two of the Nawab's sons *Portrait of Umdat-ul-Umara and Amir-ul-Umara, The two sons of the Nawab of Arcot and The Carnatics.* (Fig 116) The portrait muscularly envisions the boys wearing embroidered costumes that are ornamented with jewels, which are appropriate for the highest-ranking individuals in court.[683] In 2000 it was identified as the missing fragment when it was sold at Sotheby's with the catalogue corroborating this rediscovery 'the picture appears to be a missing fragment of a majestic group portrait commissioned by the Nawab of Arcot and the Carnatic.'[684] As a frame of reference, the original composite work was the first oil painting of an East Indian Nawab to be exhibited at the Royal Society of Artists in 1771.[685] As Archer corroborates this was a work of paramount importance to the East Indian oeuvre of Kettle and its succeeding reception in British society.[686] Until 1869 the portrait had descended through the Bourchier family when Captain Claude described seeing it at 66 Wimpole Street in London before it was taken down for cleaning and cut down to remove the sons.[687]

The retention and movement of these portraits through the Bourchier hereditary line acts as an appropriation of art working in tandem with procured diamonds. *Muhammed*

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[683] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 70. Archer states that five sons were originally depicted.
[684] Exploration & Travel with Visions of India, 21 September 2000, Sotheby's, London, Sale 6409, Lot 215, Lot Notes. www.sothebys.com [accessed 4th May 2016].
[685] Exploration & Travel with Visions of India, 21 September 2000, Sotheby's, London, Sale 6409, Lot 215, Lot Notes. www.sothebys.com [accessed 4th May 2016]; see also Heinz Archive and Library NPG, Artists boxes, Tilly Kettle; Milner, 'Tilly Kettle', p. 66; and Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, p. 70 and p. 438.
[686] Archer, *India and British Portraiture*, pp. 70-71.
[687] Exploration & Travel with Visions of India, 21 September 2000, Sotheby's, London, Sale 6409, Lot 215, Lot Notes. www.sothebys.com [accessed 4th May 2016]; see also Heinz Archive and Library NPG, Artists boxes, Tilly Kettle.

Ali Khan, the Nawab of Arcot (Fig 115) and *Portrait of Umdat-ul-Umara and Amir-ul-Umara, The two sons of the Nawab of Arcot and The Carnatics* (Fig 116) hung in Hertfordshire rather than Richard Bourchier's Sussex Estate of Ades and on the death of Charles Bourchier the painting passed to his brother James Bourchier. Possession of this work – latterly separated into two works – acted as rehabilitation for the Bourchier sons after the loss of the fortune and status of their father. As such, the image delivers a pictorial continuum of the high-status jewelled material culture of the East Indian court returned to British society. It demonstrates how EIC familial networks interconnected to the jewelled culture of the East Indies that proliferated in London and its surrounding counties, but unexpectedly originated in Sussex.

EIC servants with the closest and as such most lucrative relationships with the Nawab created an embodied proximity through portraiture. Art facilitated this redistribution of status and networks. Most crucially, it was on the contested site of the Nawab's body that conflicting but collusive practices functioned. Through their brilliance, they signalled to high-ranking EIC servants their potentiality as heirlooms within the familial transmission. This manner of labeling is evident in the print of *Anwaruddin Khan 1st Nawab of Arcot* (Fig 117) taken from a portrait in the possession of George Lord Pigot. The Nawab's left arm is outstretched in a gesture that can be interpreted as offering the riches and wealth to the EIC. Set in an East Indian landscape with a temple form in the top left-hand corner, the Nawab appears relatively youthful and in contrast to later works he sports a luxuriant black beard; suggesting this is from Pigot's first tenure in Madras.[688] Pigot had acquired a vast fortune by representing the Nawab in Parliament on his return to England.[689] Yet, for a Nawab renowned for the scale of his diamonds, in this depiction the diamond he wears around his neck is small and mean, whilst his

[688] PIGOT, Sir George, 1st Bt. (1719-1777), of Patshull, Staffordshire. Pigot had journeyed to Madras as a writer in 1737, rose to the Governorship of Fort St George form 1755 to 1763 and returned to India for a second and less successful term of office in 1775. www.historyofparliament.org [accessed 10th May 2018].
[689] Dirks *The Scandal of Empire*, p. 62.

ropes of pearls mimic British rather than Indian pearls. His small turban is surmounted by a diminutive *sarpech* that weakly emulates the authenticity of such a high status object. Pictorially this symbolised response submits a diminished Nawab, under EIC control. It is an image that directly demonstrates Said's contention of Western supremacy over the culture of the 'Other' by offering an inauthentic and diminished representation.

Richard Bourchier died a year after Charles and James had returned to England and Charles rapidly found himself in financial difficulties 'I am much distressed for the money I still have in India, and that you can't render me a greater service than by remitting it as fast as you can.'[690] Charles wanted to hastily release resources from the sale of his father's Sussex estate but this was a process that took several years.[691] Gainsborough's *Charles Bourchier* (Fig 118) is likely to have been painted in the artist's studio in Bath shortly after this return. Travelling home together in 1769 the brothers initially settled in London.[692] Charles Bourchier exemplified the returned EIC servant who was determined to forcefully observe English societal and pictorial conventions by commissioning the most fashionable portrait artist of the period. [693] Gainsborough's patrons in Bath had money for the things they valued 'their estates, their horses and most of all, themselves and their families', which as Rosenthal and Myrone describe 'reflected the down-to-earth materialism of the populace and the narcissistic consequences of their ever-expanding wealth.'[694] Equally, the portrait *James Bourchier*

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[690] Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras*, p. 36. This is taken from a letter from 1776; see also p. 246, Appendix, Chapter III; Dodwell is referencing Foster, William, 'The Bourchiers', *Indian Antiquary*, October 1911.
[691] BRYR005371 – SAS-WG/22/496. The Keep, Brighton.
[692] Dodwell, *The Nabobs of Madras*, p. 36. Dowell notes that the brother's did not like London.
[693] Heniz Library and Archive, NPG. Sitters' box, Bourchier (Various). Thomas Gainsborough, *Charles Bourchier,* Christie's Sale, London, May 18, 1951, Lot 63. In April 1987 the portrait was with Richard L Feign & Co. in New York and featured in an advert for Richard L Feign & Co. in the *Burlington Magazine*, May 1987.
[694] M. Rosenthal and M. Myrone (eds), *Gainsborough* (London: Tate Publishing, 2002), p. 144.

(Fig 119) establishes that is was probable that the brothers shared a sitting with the Gainsborough because of stylistic and compositional similarities.[695]

The corresponding half-length works reveal pictorial commonality in numerous essential features. Unlike another returned Governor of Madras Thomas Rumbold, Charles did not order a full-length portrait. *Thomas Rumbold and Son* (Fig 120) is a substantial work that measures 234 x 153 cm but appreciably it provides compositional space for his son and heir. In contrast, both the Bourchier's portraits are kitklat size and measure approximately 75 x 76.2 cm. Set in feigned ovals the subjects' sit with their left shoulder tilted towards the viewer and a tricorn hat held under their arms. Their right hands are tucked inside their jackets, which are left open to reveal waistcoats and shirts. The brothers engage the gaze assertively denoting a projected and simultaneous confidence, whilst the backgrounds are darkly painted with no extraneous details. However, the more plausible commissioning motivation – given this scrutiny of their arrangement – was their aspiration to echo the format and structure of their father's portrait. Familial imagery and societal legacy are being forcefully proclaimed. Retford supports this desire for a graphic response within a family 'Family portraits were also aesthetic artifacts, frequently recalling valued pictorial precedents.'[696] Richard Bourchier had been painted facing slightly to the left, yet in all other compositional details, the three works speak of a carefully constructed familial synchronisation of visuality and ancestral mirroring that is outwardly absent of reference to the EIC. Most markedly, Richard's portrait measures a corresponding 75 x 76.2cm, which mirrors his son's portraits.[697]

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[695] Heniz Library and Archive, NPG. Sitters' Box, Bourchier (Various). Thomas Gainsborough, *James Bourchier* was sold by M. Knoedler & Co., in 1909.
[696] Retford, *The Art of Domestic*, p. 230.
[697] Archer, *The India Office Collection*, p. 38. Archer states 'over a door is (115) RICHARD BOURCHIER. *Purchased, July* 1911. A half-length figure (in an oval), wearing a grey wig and brown coat and a waistcoat. The face is seen almost in full. Size, 29 1/2" x 24 ½.'

Charles and James both chose to settle in Hertfordshire a county alongside Berkshire and Essex with a particular graphic pull to the returned EIC servant. These counties conformed to what Finn and Smith describe as 'specific locales became marked as Company spaces or domestic nodes.'[698] James Bourchier lived in Little Berkhampstead, which was in close proximity to his brother's sphere of influence. Charles had a succession of estate purchases in Hertfordshire and he was recorded as spending £53,000 on the construction of Colney House that was described as 'a superb and sumptuous mansion.'[699] In1792 he was appointed Sheriff of the County.[700] Inheriting the Sussex estate of Ades from his father, it is apparent that Charles's interests lay resolutely in Hertfordshire and the sale of Ades facilitated the purchase and preservation of his estates here.

As the material examined has established Charles and James Bourchier simultaneously employed estate purchase with the retention and display of portraits painted in the East Indies. However, a final dynamic in their material culture will now be considered. Crucially, a jewel referred to as the *Bourchier Maltese Cross* (Fig 121) was listed in the *Bentley & Skinner, 2017-2018 Fine Jewels Catalogue.* Its placement within a contemporary jewelled commercial environment establishes that a heritable jewelled material traversed privately through the Bourchier line until the twenty-first century. Arranged as a Maltese cross – in a setting from c.1820 – the jewel is composed throughout with old cut diamonds. The enclosed letter of ancestral attribution indicates that the substantial central diamond and four large encircling diamonds are from 1720-1730.[701] As the earlier discussion has established, it is plausible that Bourchier was

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[698] Finn and Smith (eds), *The East India Company at Home,* p. 18.
[699] A. Rowe, *Hertfordshire Garden History: A Miscellany* (Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire Publications, 2007), p. 50.
[700] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 71, p. 180.
[701] Meeting with Illias Kapsalis Skoufos at Bentley & Skinner, 55 Piccadilly, London, on the 14th March 2018; also see The Bentley & Skinner Collection, 2017-2018, item 62; also the jewel featured in the *Evening Standard*, 7th March under the headline 'Inspired by a flyer, Paul Smith's latest gems.' The designer Paul Smith had used the images from the Bentley & Skinner

gifted gemstones after he secured the *Firman* in Surat by successfully defending the Castle in 1759. This is earlier than the date indicated in the family provenance but a gift of this type would correspond with his success at this period.

The early reading of the evidence judged Bourchier as unsuccessful, as his will listed no jewels but he did possess a small, rural estate in Sussex. The survival of the stones demonstrates that using a will as the sole form of documentary evidence of jewelled retention is highly simplistic and critically flawed. Analysis of these documents indicates that whilst jewelled ornaments feature – such as the Clive and Frankland *sarpech* and Mary Impey's jewellery collection – gemstones rarely do. Contextually, gemstones operate as financial commodities that are part of household accounts, whilst jewelled objects are intrinsic material objects that are heirloom objects. Family jewels were frequently re-modelled, re-set or transformed with the stones frequently remounted in more contemporary styles and it was only in exceptional circumstances that the original settings were preserved.[702] These traditional strategies signify the importance of these objects to familial prestige firstly, in their intrinsic high material value and secondly, in the presentational value they translated when worn in society.

Inheritance can only be understood Green and Owens state through ''an investigation of the wider social and economic "grid" within which property transmission takes place.'[703] In chapters one, three, four and five, a wife was central to a family's strategy of retention and transmission of jewelled material culture in order to sustain the societal status of a familial network. The relationship of marriage was as such essential to the circulation of property.[704] Conversely, the evidence relating to the Bourchier family facilitates an alternate reading. It validates how fundamental patrimony was within

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Catalogue and the Bourchier jewel was one of the jewels that featured in a fabric made from the images. The jewel was referenced by name in the report.
[702] Scarisbrick*, Ancestral Jewels*, p. 172.
[703] Green and Owens (eds), *Family Welfare*, p. 21.
[704] Green and Owens (eds), *Family Welfare*, p. 15.

British society as a method of preserving family estates and the provision of material support for all family dependents.[705] Kin relationships, as demonstrated by the Bourchiers' relationship with material culture from the East Indies, can Finch and Mason argue be 'critical to a personal identity.'[706] Objects such as the Bourchier diamonds functioned concurrently with the portrait of the Nawab and his sons by building identity through jewellery as a mode of presentation and as visually represented. This conforms to their premise that these specific objects symbolised these critically lucrative relationships over time. They assert that the 'emphasis here is on the symbolic rather than the material importance of the inalienable possession.'[707] Whilst they adopt this concept concerning the persistence of memory and whilst these tenets apply to the Bourchier family, I would argue that for this family the value of heritable status and legacy concerning the EIC was the primary factor and that material possession was fundamental. The differentiation in gendered experiences of inheritance is thus expressed, supporting the premise that 'Gender played a key role in the functioning of these inheritance-based welfare systems.'[708]

Accordingly, the Bourchier jewel discloses the durability of transmission in which a family heirloom passed discretely through the Bourchier family.[709] Despite Richard Bourchier's bankruptcy these diamonds – whether loose stones or set in a jewelled form – were retained and these stones circulated through Charles and James and their descendants.[710] This illustration greatly expands our understanding of the transactional dynamics inherent in approaching gemstones as relational objects within the family

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[705] Green and Owens (eds), *Family Welfare*, p. 20.
[706] Finch and Mason, *Passing On*, p. 13.
[707] Finch and Mason, *Passing On*, p. 15.
[708] Green and Owens (eds), *Family Welfare*, p. 22.
[709] A hand-written note attached to the jewellery case states 'Richard Bourchier was resident at Surat - Governor of in 1710. He married about that time and brought this cross pendant from India about 1720 to 1730. After him came three generations of Charles and James Bourchier's.'
[710] For more on family transmission of jewels see Scarisbrick, *Ancestral Jewels,* p. 166. On the whole, Jewels remained in English family estates up until the nineteenth century, primarily due to primogeniture with the eldest son inheriting the entirety of the estate.

provision. Moreover, it is highly feasible that the Bourchier diamonds were from those routes of redistribution and entitlement that encircled the Nawab of Arcot and those Senior Company servants in intimate proximity to him. Bourchier family history ascribes the diamonds to Richard Bourchier, as the paterfamilias, this is not to contest this history but to suggest the possibility of a less direct and comfortable lineage of their jewelled material culture.

As this chapter has shown, the experience of jewelled familial transmission associated with service in the EIC was inherently linked to gender differences in inheritance-based welfare systems. This chapter has engaged with the complexity of EIC familial experience by examining Mary Impey, William Frankland and the Bourchier family's intersections with gemstones and jewellery from the East Indies. Following the construct of jewels operating as a mode of presentation and as visually represented it demonstrated that Mary Impey pictorially displaced her proximity to this material by allowing her children to wear Indian jewels. In contrast, evidence from her will reveals her meticulously itemised and extensive collection of jewellery and its value to her as a means of sustaining feminine agency through female transmission, a method of welfare transaction. This juxtaposed directly with the limited material – as identified in chapter five – purposefully left by Marian Hastings. Without his own family, Frankland nevertheless used his collected jewelled objects - a part of his 'Indian life' - to continue familial legacy and prestige by directly referencing his father's service in the EIC. As a method of identity construction this was again displayed in the Bourchier family's highly patrimonic relationship with both artworks featuring diamonds owned by the Nawab of Arcot and stones acquired by Richard Bourchier during his service. Subscribing to the maintenance of family prestige, these objects additionally reflected the circulation of property and relationships over time. Diamonds – as relational objects – projected bio-cultural kinship, even in rural Sussex.

Conclusion

Before providing a summary of the concluding outcomes of this thesis, it was made clear in the introduction that this thesis's approach to methodology would be innovative and inter-disciplinary in order to deliver a divergent approach to the visual material examined. Dress is a powerful tool in human expression and as the research has shown it impacts all members of a society and culture. Its visual depiction is a necessary product of this socialisation and it enables the voice of the other, in all contexts, to be heard and explored by the examination of the cultural significations communicated by dress. New ground has been broken through the use of primary materials as a method to support the visual imagery and this has resulted in an original form of analysis. This research has established that by scrutinising dress objects as historical evidence the field of art historical enquiry is expanded, widening our methodology to dress in works of art. It readdresses the limited recent study in this area and challenges our perception of what makes art history. It is a methodology that can be applied to all areas of the discipline and this creates an opportunity for rich and engaging scholarship in the future.

Taking Cohn's historical and anthropological stance to the construction of empire as an intellectual and cultural phenomenon, dress has proved the fundamental determinant of a new form of dualistic art historical engagement that looks at dress, firstly as a form of presentation and secondly in its presentation in visual culture. Dress encompasses a range of corporal significations in which textiles and jewelled adornments directly participate. Cited heavily within current art historical methodologies it strongly referenced social and cultural anthropology. By adopting this approach space has been created to assess the material and evidence under the lenses of object biography, itinerary and relationality, in line with an objects commoditised status. This approach

allows for a biographical enquiry related to a particular individual but recognises the circulatory nature of objects in time and space.

Nevertheless, this methodology has at times proved challenging and a demanding area to negotiate. In particular, researching jewellery as depicted in works of art was frequently problematic. Jewels were worn openly in the early eighteenth century but from the mid-eighteenth century onwards established conventions ensured it was only secondary that featured in portraiture. High status jewellery was rarely discussed openly, for reasons of security. However, in public they became the epitome of societal elevated display and were worn by EIC wives to validate their lately acquired wealth and status. These divergent conventions reflect a gap that this research has identified. Contemporary reportage within newspapers describes copious jewellery that was worn by Margaret Clive and Marian Hastings. But, the corresponding visual depiction of these jewels in portraiture does not exist. Furthermore, jewels could reflect contradictory paths of materiality. The gemstones set within a necklace might be broken-up with the stones set on a path of un-mappable circulation, as witnessed by the evidence relating to the financial records of Marian Hastings. By contrast, Marian's miniature of her husband – alongside the Clive *sarpech* and Bourchier diamonds – signified the collected history of an object that was fetishised and held tightly within the security of a family for several centuries.

Chapter one examined the conceptual construct of the turban as an unsettling dress accessory or adjunct. It identified how this object performed as a fluctuating symbolic metaphor for the shifting public perception of the EIC involvement in the sub-continent. Originating from the problematic and controversial figure of the Nabob it progressed from an initially celebrated depiction as seen in Reynolds's portrait of *Portrait of Captain John Foote* to its harshest assessment during the Impeachment trial of Warren

Hastings, before shifting to an increasingly patriot discourse surrounding a growing British nationhood against declining EIC power. The discussion has demonstrated that the turban's semiotics were relevant to all genders through a coalescing of Eastern themes that were generated in contemporary literature and given pictorial space through prints and latterly portraiture. Gender hybridity and fluidity was conjured by the young white female body in the sub-continent and the associated fears of 'going native' as demonstrated by her culturally hybridised dress. The cultural dominance of *turquerie* as a form of exotic dress was powerfully pervasive within feminine society and the longevity of *turquerie* related to its assumption of imperial connotations in America and the East Indies. Yet, decisions of dress afforded agency for women in this environ by designating authenticity through an experience of travel. This counters the established view of the erotised women of empire at the centre of feminist discourse. Portraits such as *Windswept Girl, Elizabeth Plowden* and *Susannah Wales, Lady Malet* have been traditionally read under these narrow perspectives. However, the discussion has demonstrated that these women were personally reacting to contemporary decisions pertaining to metropolitan influences on fashion through dress.

Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that a specific East Indian visual aesthetic did exist. Surviving portraits are atypical and they are frequently misinterpreted or erroneously attributed, with the painterly signals diluted by the post-colonial gaze. Yet, evidence from print culture connects William Jones's influence on this sub-category of the exotic. Said does not make any geographical distinctions in his oriental terrain and Ribeiro does not see a differentiation in oriental dress forms. As such, it is a more nuanced interpretation that is proposed but these works demand greater reflexivity and expansiveness in interpreting oriental portraits. Eighteenth-century society would have been immediately aware of the hierarchical diversity of Indian textiles, interpreting this taxonomy visually through portraiture. This societal comprehension would have been

lost as EIC power waned and textiles manufactured in Britain aped Indian designs and techniques.

Engagement with dress as an expansion of knowledge in a professional context was assessed in chapter two. Divided into two terrains, linguistic and cultural, both were represented by the symbolic form of the turban, a bodily adornment that denoted kingship and power of the 'other'. This broadens out the terrain as originally mapped out by Cohn. The importance of learning native languages was a central method of instigating cultural engagement by principally facilitating commercial and political activity, whilst additionally enabling cultural and artistic hybridity and display. Major Davy's oeuvre of portraiture has thrown open our understanding of what 'native' dress could mean to the tension surrounding societal integration and internalisation of Indian aspects by EIC servants. Identity and dress were related to professional and semi-professional status as a manner of claiming networks such as familial, kinship, artistic and national. Davy's imagery denotes a cultural translation whereby Tilly Kettle channelled Mughal motifs and etiquette to construct artistically coded images. This was an approach systematically adopted by the artist Charles Smith whose personal narrative of self-promotion to garner commissions interacted with travel to inform his professional representation through the wearing of a turban. Wales's depiction of Hugh Seton pictured an atypical image of a white man in native dress whilst William Frankland's Sussex estate offered space to commemorate the longevity of an EIC family through the visual signs of portraiture and architecture. Travel denoted knowledge acquisition and stimulated a conversation between the self surrounding the long-term value of cultural encounters on their return to Britain.

Employing the textile commodity of the Kashmir shawl, chapter three examined the gendered blurring present in this mercantile commodity of empire. It identified that whilst evidence is present within conversation pieces, it is a question of how the object

semiotics have been habitually assessed. Artist agency is exhibited strongly, thus providing an intercultural demonstration of cultural knowledge. Devis expressed this awareness of the value of Indian textiles through his portraiture, demonstrating a reverence for Mughal art but additionally visualising a corporate commodity in operation. Dress objects were incorporated for precise reasons. They took an active position of signalled engagement as a mercantile, imperial commodity that consistently functioned as feminine familial gifts, in which authenticity was allied to colonial hierarchical values that asserted social deference and family prestige. Ewan Law's written relationship to his brother Lord Ellenborough enabled an exploration of extended EIC familial connectivity that established how this specific moment of relationship with textiles, provided a sensory continuance of affection across the globe. Through Law, it demonstrated that such engagement with textiles did not necessarily endure once British societal codes and conventions of dress superseded any previous influence of the East Indies.

In moving the discussion onward through the EIC servant's relationship with gemstones and jewellery, chapter four examined early imperial commerce via material commodities and personal gain. Exemplified by Robert Clive's overt and rapacious acquisition of presents, his body was linked to the disruption of British masculinity via his perceived over-ornamentation. It has established what the Clive's owned in relation to the jewelled dress objects listed in their 'Indian Collection.' However, what they owned privately is open to conjecture but reasons for a more nuanced interpretation. Powerful evidence has demonstrated the personal agency of Margaret Clive in controlling her family's relationship with jewels through kinship linkages and transmission. The commercial value of these objects was of paramount importance. But there was space for an aesthetic engagement with an object like the Clive *sarpech* - a non-western biographical object - because it reflected the highest quality of regional sub-continental craftsmanship. These were transactional objects embedded in

reciprocity, gendered male but controlled by female agency because of sustained cultural proximity and participation. An intercultural reading of the object was further evidenced by sketches of the *sarpech* by Robert Mabon at the instruction of James Wales, whereby placement of the 'object' was at the core of this practice where artistic traditions from the East and the West momentarily aligned. Like the turban and shawl, the *sarpech* was a recurrent trope that signalled cultural knowledge. Through Charles Warre Malet a symbolic reincorporation of the turban's cultural significance was made visible, at a moment of national uncertainty due to the continual threat of Tipu Sultan.

The disruption of societal conventions of presentation through jewellery was examined in chapter five through close scrutiny of the visual and material culture relating to Marian Hastings. It was established that whilst diamonds had the highest visibility in society, this was not echoed in portraiture. A complex visual environment of codes and conventions of dress meant that by contrast, over characterisation proliferated in satirical prints, masking the reality of individual female responses. Yet, jewels functioned within the framework of potent female agency, despite being a tainted artifact of India with direct links to the Nawab of Arcot. Marian was visually amalgamated with other notorious women associated with jewellery, Queen Charlotte and Marie Antoinette and their Queenly bodies. Conforming to stereotypical gender bias, their cultural and political positions directly referenced the othering of the body and sexualised markers were generated relating to appropriate dress. An overt product of cultural hybridity, Marian Hastings's entrance into the Impeachment trial adorned with a multitude of diamonds – an act of performance in its-self – demands a reworking of our established understanding of the function of jewellery to returning EIC women and their husbands. Additionally, the English media internalised these Indian aspects through their reportage by using evocative language such as 'brilliant' and 'lustre'. Her personal approach channelled the self-assertion and self-protection of jewellery as worn by Indian women as a physical expression of divergent power relations.

Moreover, Marian used gemstones as portable currency to sustain familial kinship connections and status via the estate of Daylesford. Strategically condensing her jewelled assets, commoditised gemstones operated seamlessly alongside her household art to strengthen legacy via conversation pieces and the Hastings miniature. Her reduced outward visibility, reinforced by her declining interest in the media, corresponded with waning Nabob interest.

The final chapter measured familial transmission of jewels within EIC kinship via the pictorial dynamics of portraiture and jewels, which revealed the core relationship of representational mutuality. Evidence demonstrated that Mary Impey left a surprisingly rich and extensive collection of diamond jewellery. Her will is the type of will that society stereotypically would have expected Marian Hastings to leave. Their material culture is in direct contrast to public perceptions of their status and reputations. Mary's strong individuality was revealed in her method of cataloguing the large quantity of jewels she possessed. This reinforced once again the powerful female designation of objects that were used with their commissioned art to visually assert status and legacy. William Frankland embodied the most lived dress experience of the returned Sussex Nabob, wearing his collected objects from travel bodily around his estate and in portraiture sittings as a visual connection to his prized EIC inheritance. His early service enabled him to retain a jewelled *sarpech*. Yet, the survival of the Bourchier diamonds marked a turning point, as it made clear how strongly transmission of heirlooms - survivors constructed from the gemstones of an early servant of the EIC - could transmit these material objects discretely through successive generations into contemporary society. This was despite the early bankruptcy of Richard Bourchier. This confirmed that retaining and attributing a proportion of diamonds enhanced familial prestige. Nevertheless, jewels were only partially effectual and it was the art associated with the family – the portraits with their compositional connections to their

father and the dominant figure of the Nawab of Arcot – that truly proclaimed the prestige of the Bourchier family through Charles and James.

It has been demonstrated that the EIC engaged with Indian dress in England as part of a broader oriental aesthetic but as a distinct cultural movement. This was through specific dress tropes, such as the turban, shawl, *sarpech* and diamonds, that were texturally but most importantly visually disseminated throughout society, via portraiture brought back from India or commissioned on a periodic return from the sub-continent. Art performed a vital function in yielding visibility to East Indian textiles and jewellery on their homecoming. Society habitually views the EIC as a malign corporate body, but this research has taken the stance that a more layered approach engages a broader interpretation of their once highly prevalent landscape of material and visual culture. Exploration of the four Sussex Nabobs of Richard Bourchier, William Frankland, Elijah Impey and Ewan law revealed the globally rich and diverse ways by which Company servants interacted with textiles and jewels. The countryside delivered an alternate but equally valuable domain for both the display and familial transmission of dress objects; whereby, the micro proved as great a pull to the returned servant as the macro.

The emergence of these male personalities demonstrated how innately entwined any history of the EIC is with their female family members, especially their wives. This aspect enabled a deeper examination of the unchartered world of the EIC wife and her 'art'. Consequently, a greater level of female agency of EIC women in maintaining kinship networks by using their visual and material culture has been evidenced. It is highly suggestive that imagery from the East Indies proliferates in family or private collections. In particular the female voice of the EIC family member – wives or sisters - is an especially fertile terrain for future enquiry. An unpacking of the prints surrounding Marian Hastings – in association with her role as alternative 'Queen' - confirms that she was always in plain sight.

Each individual worked for the Company but significantly, operated within familial kinship networks that were dominant. An individual's sphere of influence was powerful and the mercantile practices of the early EIC servants filtrated throughout the service of the EIC servants, until the end of the century. The acquisition of East Indian material culture was marked by endemic mercantilism that persisted even after the Regulating Act of 1773. In this context, textiles and jewels signified family permanence and stability. By contrast, the observed lack of longevity in EIC family sustained transmission invokes an invisibility of EIC connections in Sussex today. Consequently, jewels and gemstones and their changing acquisition, display and retention are justifiably emblematic of the changing fortunes of the EIC over this period.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
DIA	Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit
EIC	The East India Company
MET	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY
MIA	The Museum of Islamic Art, Doha
NA	National Archives, London
NAL	National Art Library, London
NAM	National Army Museum, London
NGA	Tha National Gallery of Art, Washington
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
NG	National Gallery, London
NT	National Trust
RA	Royal Academy of Arts, London
RCT	Royal Collection Trust, London
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

APPENDIX

Add MS 41606 Warren Hastings Papers Second Supplement VOL. XXXV.

Miscellaneous Letters and Papers 1719-1927, presented by E.L. Francis, BM,

f.89 Valuation of Mrs Hastings's personal estate on her death, 1837. f. 89 BL

(Photography not allowed)

'An account of the personal Estate and Effects of the Late Mrs. Hastings of Daylesford –

Cash in the House	……./16/6*
Cash at the Bankers	273/13/5
Households & Furniture	1,702/3/6
Plate, Linen & China	807/4/0
Books, Prints & Pictures	1,115/15/0
Wearing apparel	80/0/0
Trinkets, Ornaments of the person	175/0/0
Wine & other liquors	37/10/1
Horses & carriages	59/10/0
Farm, stock & husbandry	97/0/5
Garden & outdoor affects	50/0/6
Rents due on her death	310/14/10
Money in funds	21,225/0/0
Total:	**£25,934/18/3**
Total: (2017)	£2,035,207.90**

*All quantities in pounds, shillings and pence.

** 1837 to 2017 Conversion. UK Inflation Calculator. www.moneysorter.co.uk

THESIS ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig 1: Anthony van Dyck, *William Fielding, 1st Earl of Denbigh,* about 1633-1634. Oil on canvas, 247.5 x 148.5 cm. NG, London

Fig 2: Anthony van Dyck, *Sir Robert Shirley*, 1622. Oil on canvas, 214 x 129 cm. NT, Petworth House and Park, West Sussex

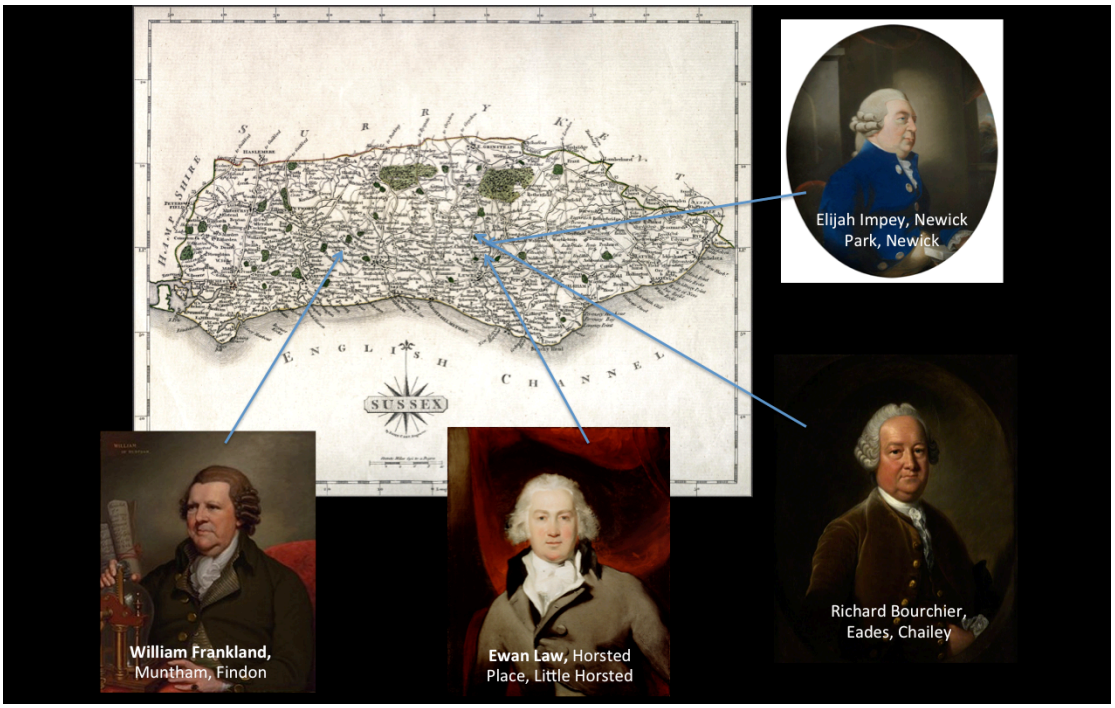


Fig 3: Map depicting the Sussex Estates of Richard Bourchier, William Frankland, Elijah Impey and Ewan Law. Image: Author's own

Fig 4: Gustave Caillebotte, *Paris Street; Rainy Day,* 1877. Oil on canvas, 212.2 x 276.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago

Fig 5: Joseph Wright of Derby, *Mrs Thomas Parke*, 1769. Oil on canvas, 76.8 x 64 cm. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool

Fig 6: Unknown artist, *The Queen of Hearts cover'd with Diamonds,* 1786. Paper, hand-coloured etching, 14.3 x 11.1 cm. BM, London

Fig 7: Johan Zoffany, *Marian Hastings,* 1783-1784. Oil on canvas, 205.7 x 152 cm.

Victoria Memorial, Kolkata

Fig 8: Tilly Kettle, *Muhammad Ali Khan, Nawab of Arcot*, 1772-1776. Painted on paper, 239 x 148 cm. V&A, London

Fig 9: Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Marie Antoinette in a Chemise Dress*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 89.8 x 72 cm. MET, New York

Fig 10: Sir Godfrey Kneller, *A Woman Called Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, 1715-1720.

Oil on canvas, 89.2 x 69.2 cm. YCBA, Boston

Fig 11: Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Portrait of Captain John Foote*, 1761-1765. Oil on canvas, 123 x 98 cm. York Museums Trust, York

Fig 12: *Gown, Shawl, Sash*, 1761-1765. Costume. York Museums Trust, York

Fig 13: Michael Angelo Rooker (after), *The Night Walker, or, Little Thief*, (Associated Title: The Dramatick works of Fletcher and Beaumont), 1770-1800. Print and book-illustration, 16 x 9.4 cm. BM, London

Fig 14: Thomas Hickey*, Prince Azim-ud-Daula, Nawab of the Carnatic*, 1795–1819. Oil on canvas, 75 x 62cm. NT, Powis Castle and Garden, Powys

Fig 15: Unknown artist, An *Emblem of Asia*, 1798. Mezzotint and etching, 35 x 24.8 cm. BM, London

Fig 16: *Habit of a Lady of Indostan (1),* A plate from Thomas Jeffreys 'A Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Ancient and Modern' (4 vols.), London. 1757-1772. Hand coloured copper-plate. Size unknown. Columbia.edu. [accessed 7th April 2018]

Fig 17: John Singleton Copley, *Portrait of Margaret Kemble Gage*, c.1771. Oil on canvas, 127 x 101.6 cm. Timken Museum of Art, California

Fig 18: James Gillray, *A Sale of English-beauties, in the East Indies*, 16 May 1786.

Hand-coloured etching and aquatint, 43.2 x 54.3 cm. NPG, London

Fig 19: Indian artist (after a presumed painting by Johann Zoffany), *Colonel Antoine Polier watching a nautch,* c.1786-1788. Watercolour on paper, 25 x 32 cm. Museum Rietberg, Zurich

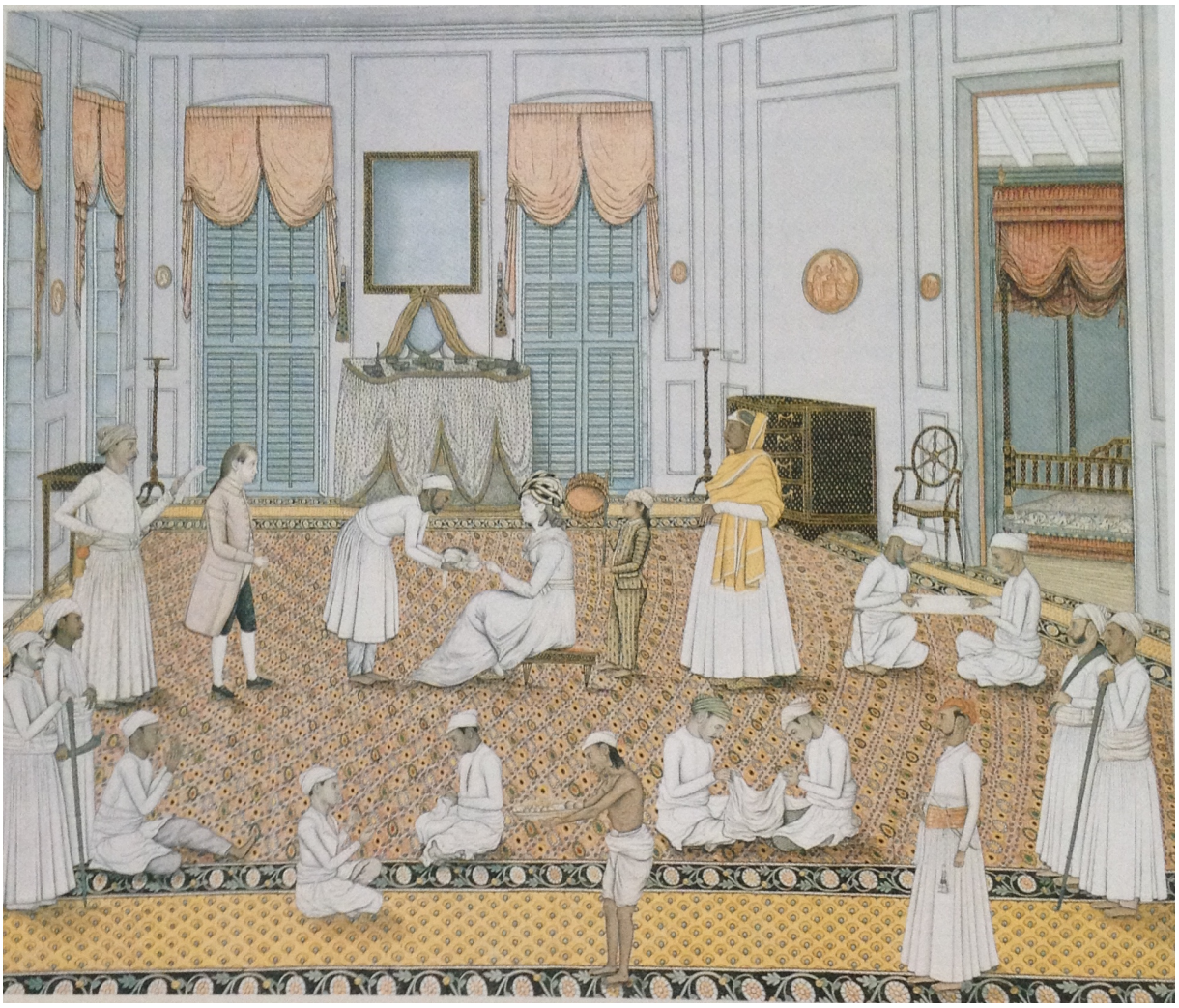


Fig 20: Shaik Zain Ud-Din (attributed to), *Lady Impey Supervising her Household at Calcutta*, c. 1780. Watercolour on paper, 45.5 x 53.3 cm. Private Collection

Fig 21: Matthew Darly*, The Shuffling Macaroni*, 1772. Paper, etching, 17.8 x 13 cm.

BM, London

Fig 22: Unknown artist, *Cheyt Sing in his Eastern Dress*, 1786. Hand-coloured etching, 13.9 x 11.4 cm. BM, London

Fig 23**:** James Gillray, *The Friendly Agent*, 1787. Hand-coloured etching, 22.3 x 17.5 cm. NPG, London

Fig 24: Arthur William Devis, *Sir William Jones*, c.1793. Oil on canvas, 74.3 x 55.8 cm.

BL, London

Fig 25: Henry William Bunbury (after), *The Songstress*, 1782. Print and etching, 25.3 x 23 cm. BM, London

Fig 26: Unknown artist, *Mrs Crouch*, *(Anna Maria Crouch),* c.1789 -1790. Print and mezzotint, 22 x 15.7 cm. BM, London

Fig 27: Artist unknown, *Four Illustrations*, 1785. Print, etching and engraving, 15.5 x 10 cm. BM, London

Fig 28: Henry Bunbury (after), *The Beautiful Stranger Poisoned by her Sister,* 1787.

Print 31.9 x 36.7cm. BM, London

Fig 29: Henry Bunbury (after), *Sheik Ibrahim Entertains Noureddin and the Fair Persian in the Palace of Pleasures*, 1790. Print and etching, 32 x 36.9 cm. BM, London

Fig 30: Arthur William Devis (attributed to), *A Windswept Girl in a Turban Walking with a Dog*, 1785-1795. Oil on canvas, 94 x 68.6 cm. NT, Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire

Fig 31: James Gillray, *Characters in High Life*, 1795. Hand-coloured etching, 35.3 x 25 cm. BM, London

Fig 32: Thomas Lawrence*, Elizabeth Farren, Later Countess of Derby*, 1790. Oil on canvas, 238.8 x 146.1 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig 33: Arthur William Devis (attributed to), *A Windswept Girl in a Turban Walking with a Dog*, 1785-1795. Oil on canvas, 94 x 68.6 cm. NT, Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire. Image: Author's own

Fig 34: James Wales (attributed to), *Susannah Wales, Lady Malet,* c.1795. Oil on canvas, 75 x 63 cm. Dillington House, Somerset

Fig 35: Thomas Daniell, *Sir Charles Warre Malet, Concluding a Treaty in 1790 in Burbar with the Peshwa of the Maratha Empire*, 1805. Oil on canvas, 182.3 x 278.5 cm. Tate Britain, London

Fig 36: John Russell, *Mrs Elizabeth Sophia Plowden and her children,* 1797. Oil on canvas, 236.8 x 142.2 cm. The Birla Museum, Rajasthan

Fig 37: Rudolph Ackermann, *FASHIONS FOR LADIES, Plate 46*. *The Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufactures, Fashions, and Politics, For January 1813*, Vol. IX. (JAN-JUN), p. 368. The Keep, Sussex. Image: Author's own

Fig 38: Unknown artist*, Nawab Mubarak al-Daula of Murshidabad enthroned in durbar, with British Resident, Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, and the Nawab's son, Babur 'Ali*, 1795. Watercolour, 41.3 x 56.5 cm. BL, London

Fig 39: Johan Zoffany, *Colonel Polier and his Friends*, 1786-1787. Oil on canvas, 137 x 183.5 cm. Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata

Fig 40: Tilly Kettle, *Major William Davy, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General, in Persian Dress*, c.1780. Oil on board, 35 x 30 cm. NAM, London

Fig 41: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of a gentleman in a red coat*, c.1746. Oil on canvas, 77.4 x 64.8 cm. Philip Mould, Historical Portaits Image Library, London

Fig 42: Tilly Kettle, *Major William Davy, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General, in Persian Dress*, c.1780. Oil on board, 35 x 30 cm. NAM, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 43: Tilly Kettle, *Major William Davy, Bengal Native Infantry,* c.1780. Oil on board, 34.8 x 29.4 cm. NAM, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 44: Thomas Hickey (attributed to), *Portrait of two Indian children wearing brocade coats and fur hats*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 59 cm. Christie's Paris, March 2001

Fig 45: Tilly Kettle, *Suja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Awadh, with Four Sons, General Barker and Military* Officers, 1772. Oil on canvas, 284 x 243 cm. Victoria Memorial, Kolkata

Fig 46: Tilly Kettle, *The Teshu Lama (d 1780) Giving Audience,* c.1775. Oil on canvas, 147.2 x 188.7 cm. RCT, London

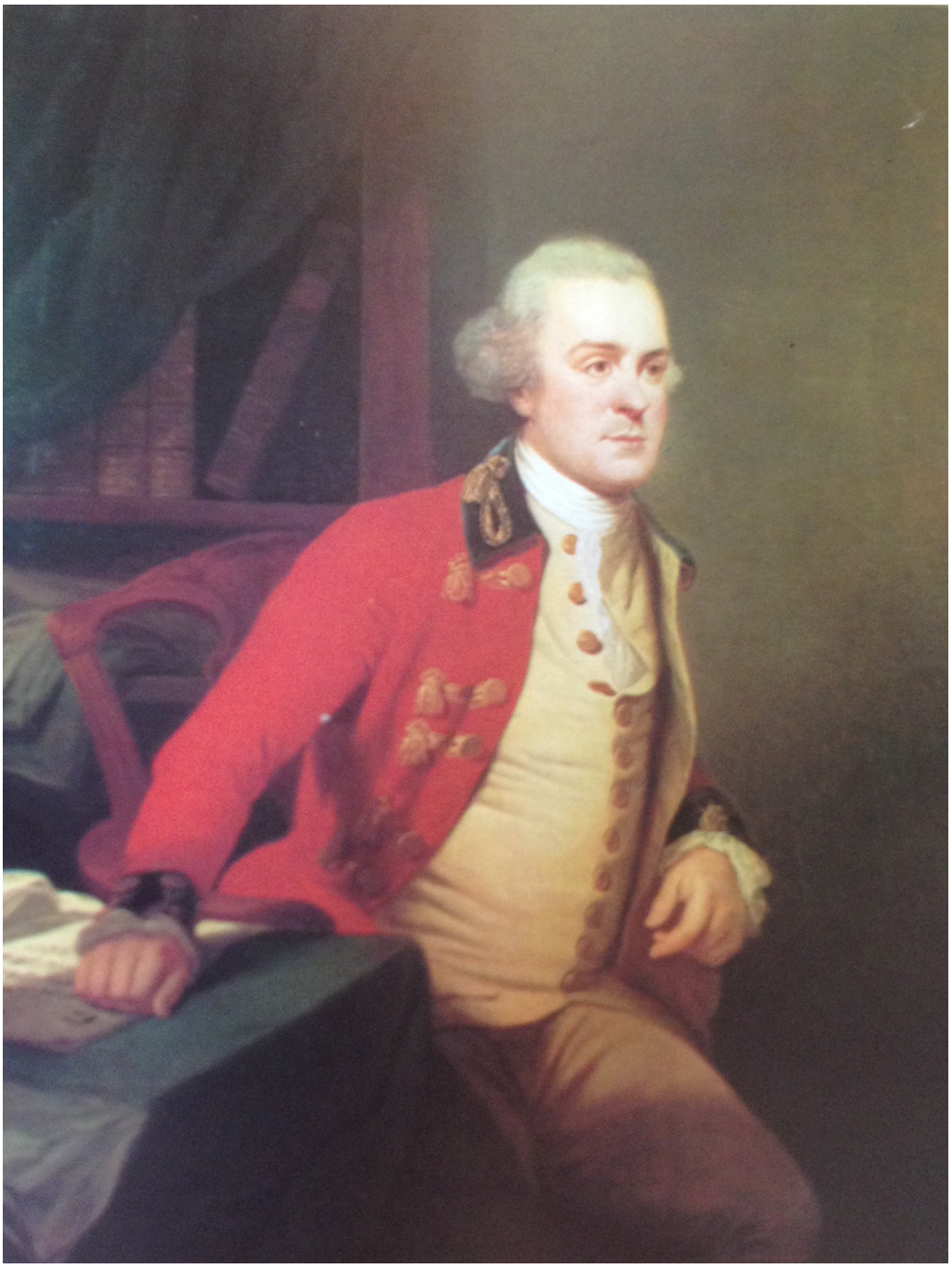


Fig 47: Tilly Kettle, *Major William Davy*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, 124 x 99.5 cm.

NPG Heinz Archive and Library, London. Image: Author's own

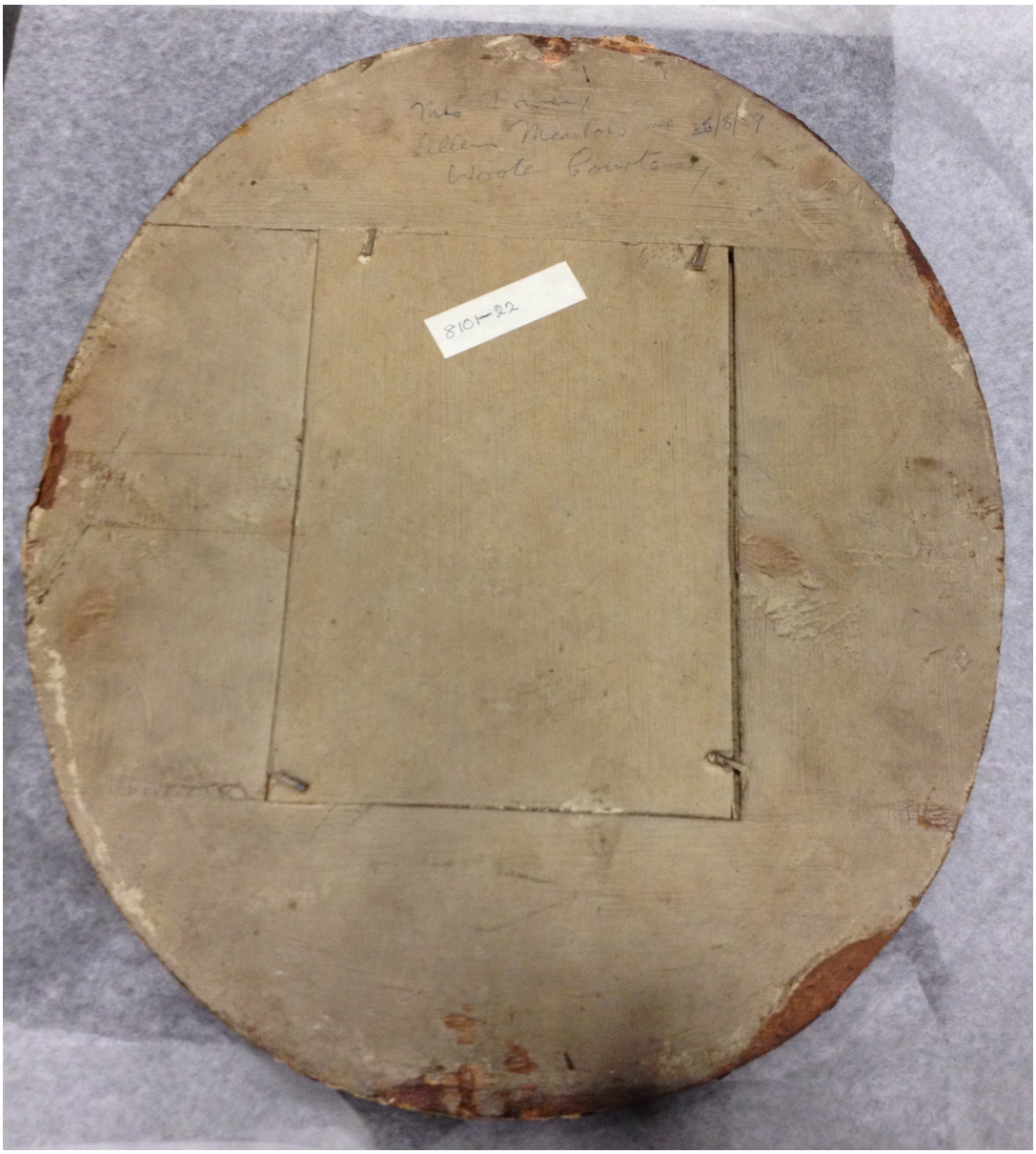


Fig 48: Tilly Kettle, *Major William Davy, Bengal Army, Persian Secretary to the Governor-General in Persian Dress,* c.1780. Oil on board, 35 x 30 cm. NAM, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 49: Tilly Kettle, *Major William Davy, Bengal Native Infantry,* c.1780. Oil on board, 34.8 x 29.4 cm. NAM, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 50: Lallji (attributed to), *Lieutenant John Malcolm, Madras Army*, c.1795. Miniature on ivory. NAM, London

Fig 51: Robert Home, *The Reception of the Mysorean Hostage Princes by Marquis Cornwallis, 26 February 1792,* c.1793. Oil on canvas, 149.2 x 202.5 cm. NAM, London

Fig 52: Mather Brown, *Portrait of Sir William Frankland of Muntham Court,* date unknown. Oil on canvas, 77.5 x 64.5 cm. Christie's NY, 14 October 2009

Fig 53: Thomas Walker Horsfield, *MUNTHAM*: *The Seat of Sir W. Frankland Esq,* 1835. Copper plate engraving, dimensions unknown. *The History, Antique, and Topography of the County of Sussex*, Vol. 2, (London, Messers. Nichols and Son, Parliament Street 1835), p. 203. Yale University, New Haven

Fig 54: Unknown artist, *Henry Frankland, Governor of Bengal,* 1738. Oil on canvas, 47 x 37 cm, NPG Heinz Library and Archive, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 55: Jean-Etienne Liotard, *Self-portrait in Turkish costume*, c.1746. Pastel, 60.5 x 46.5 cm. Staatliche Kuntsammlungen, Dresden

Fig 56: James Wales, *Hugh Seton*, c.1792-1794. Oil on canvas, 87 x 76 cm. BL, London

Fig 57: John Smart, *Hugh Seton*, 1770. Ivory, dimensions unknown. NPG Heinz Archive and Library. Image: Author's own

Fig 58: James Wales, *Bhairo Raghunath Mehendale, Diplomatic Agent to the Peshwa at Poona*, 1792. Oil on canvas, 82 x 63 cm, BL, London

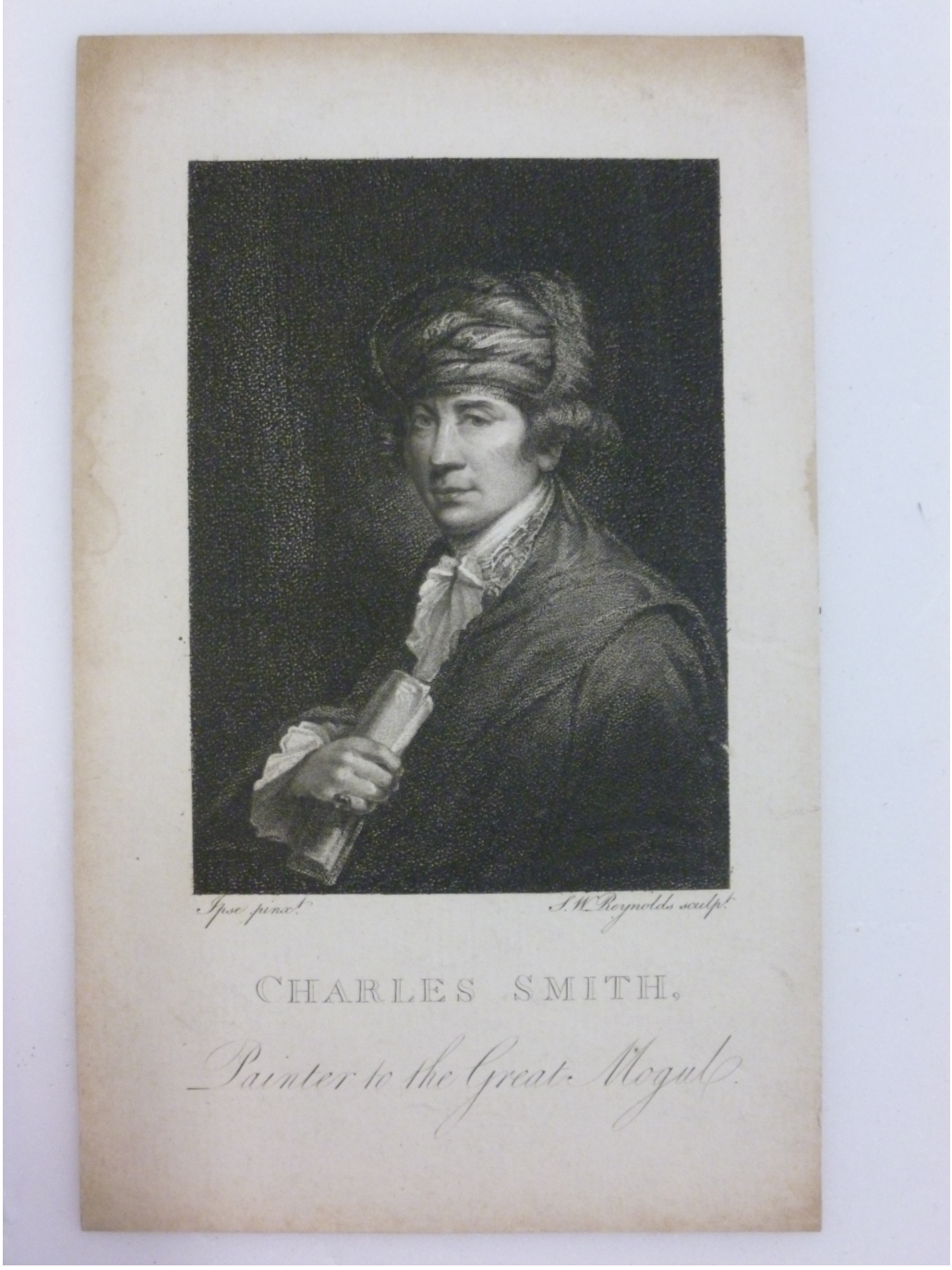


Fig 59: S.W. Reynolds, *CHARLES SMITH, Painter to the Great Moghul*, date unknown. Print, dimensions unknown. York Art Gallery, Yorkshire

Fig 60: James Gillray, *The Leadenhall volunteer, drest in his shawl,* 1797. Hand-coloured etching, 18.6 x 15.6 cm. BM, London

Fig 61: Arthur William Devis, *Mr and Mrs Fraser*, 1785-1790. Oil on canvas, 90.2 x 69.9 cm. YCBA, New Haven

Fig 62: *Nobleman's sash,* 1700. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Fig 63: Unknown artist, *Maharaja Ajit Singh*, c.1720. Gouache with gold on paper, 26.9 x 16.7 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Fig 64: Arthur William Devis, *Portrait of Judge Suetonius Grant Heatly and Temperance Heatly with their Indian servants in an interior in Calcutta,* c.1786. Oil on canvas, 100.3 x 114.3 cm. Christies London, 23rd September 2005

Fig 65: *Sash (patka)*, 18th century. Embroidered muslin with silk and silver-gilt threads, 243cm x 56 cm. V&A, London

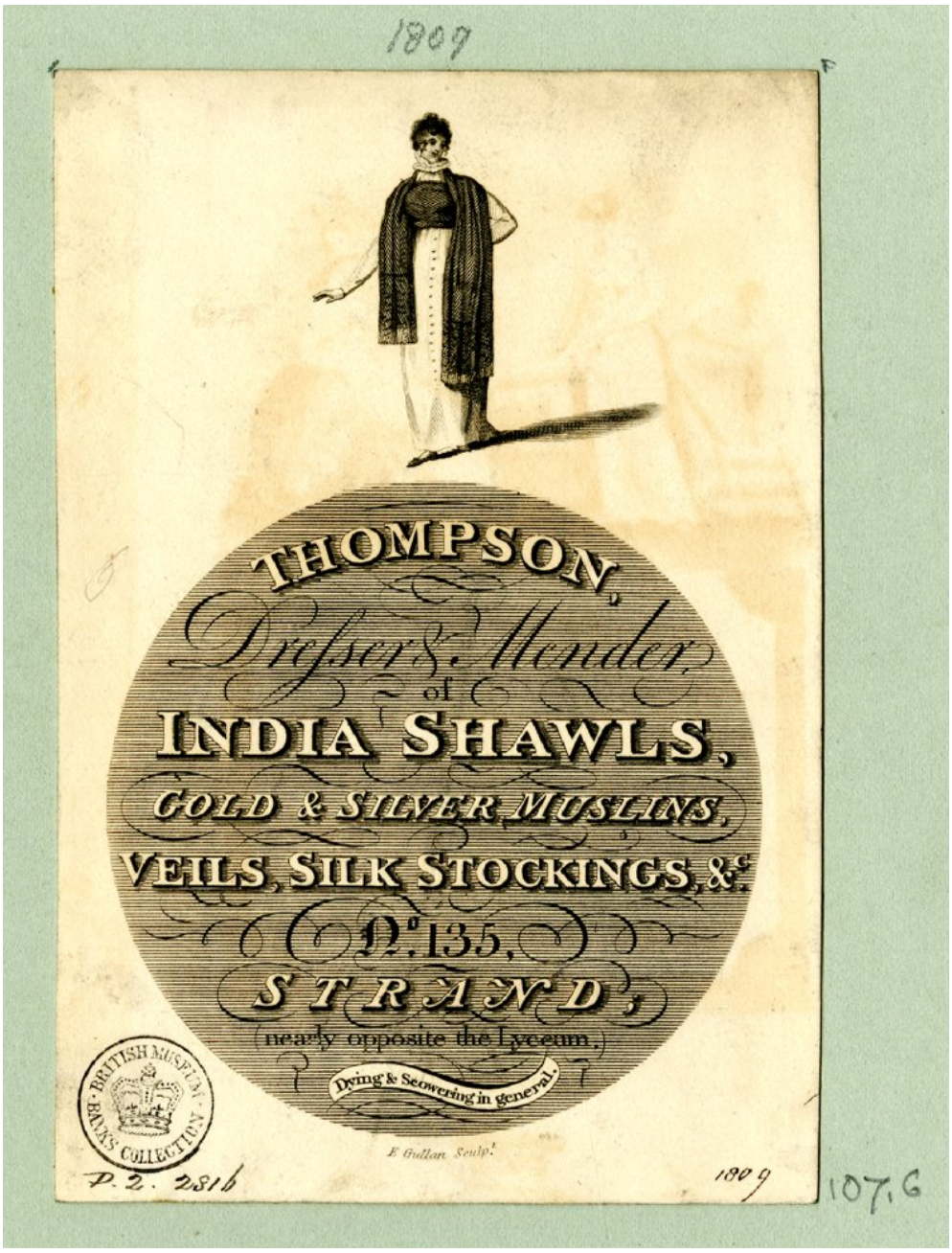


Fig 66: Unknown artist, *Trade-card/print*, 1760-1818. Paper, dimensions unknown. BM, London

Fig 67: Tilly Kettle, *Ewan* Law, c.1774. NPG Heinz Archive and Library, London.

Image: Author's own

Fig 68: *Horsted Place,* Little Horsted, Uckfield, East Sussex. Image: Author's own

Fig 69: *Warren Hastings's Kashmir stockings, socks and glove*, c.1780. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Image: Author's own

Fig 70: *Shawl,* c.1780. Pashmina. V&A, London

Fig 71: Thomas Lawrence, *Ewan Law, M.P*, 1788-1795.Oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.6 cm.

DIA, Detroit

Fig 72: *Law Family Monument*, St Michael and All Angels, Little Horsted, Uckfield, East Sussex. Image: Author's own

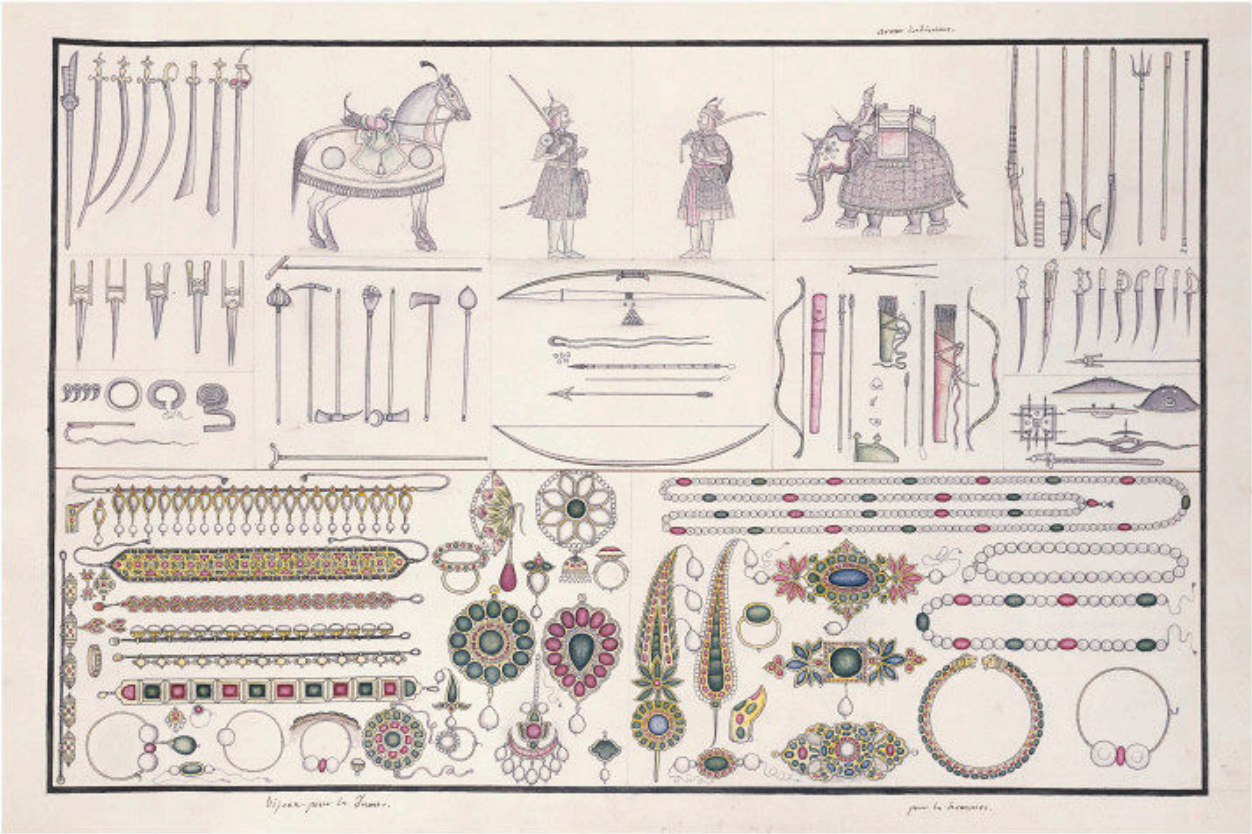


Fig 73: *Rites and Festivals of Muslims and the main Hindu Castes,* Faizabad, c.1774.

Watercolour, 37 x 53.5 cm. V&A, London

Fig 74: *Gem-Set Enamelled Gilded Silver Turban Ornament,* 18th century. MIA, Doha

Fig 75: *Turban Ornament*, c.1755. V&A, London

Fig 76: *Turban Ornament*, c.1755. Verso. V&A, London

Fig 77: Thomas Hudson, *Admiral Watson and his son*, c.1760. Oil on canvas, 236.2 x 144.8 cm. Victoria Memorial, Kolkata

Fig 78: *The Emperor Shah Jahan with his Son Dara Shikoh,* c. 1620. Watercolour and gold on paper, 38.9 x 26.2 cm. MET, NY

Fig 79: Unknown artist, *Bahadur Shah I with his sons handing a sarpech to a grandson,* c.1710. Watercolour and gold on paper, 38.9 x 26.2 cm. San Diego Museum of Art, Californina

Fig 80: Unknown artist, *Jahangir presents Prince Khurram with a turban ornament (12 October 1617)*, 1656-1657. Watercolour and gold on paper, 30.6 x 20.3 cm. RCT, London

Fig 81: Charles Clive, *Baron Robert Clive, 'Clive of India',* c.1760. Oil on canvas, 310 x 145 cm. NT, Powis Castle and Garden, Powys

Fig 82: Unknown artist, *The present times, or the nabobs Cl-ve and C-l-ke brought to account*, 1773. Etching, dimensions unknown. BM, London

Fig 83: George Engleheart (attributed to), *Margaret Maskelyne, Lady Clive,* 1750-1800.

Watercolour on ivory, 8.2 x 7 cm. NT, Powis Castle and Garden, Powys

Fig 84: W. Owen*, Margaret, Lady Clive,* undated. 26.67 x 21.54 cm. NPG Heinz Archive and Library, London. Image: Author's own

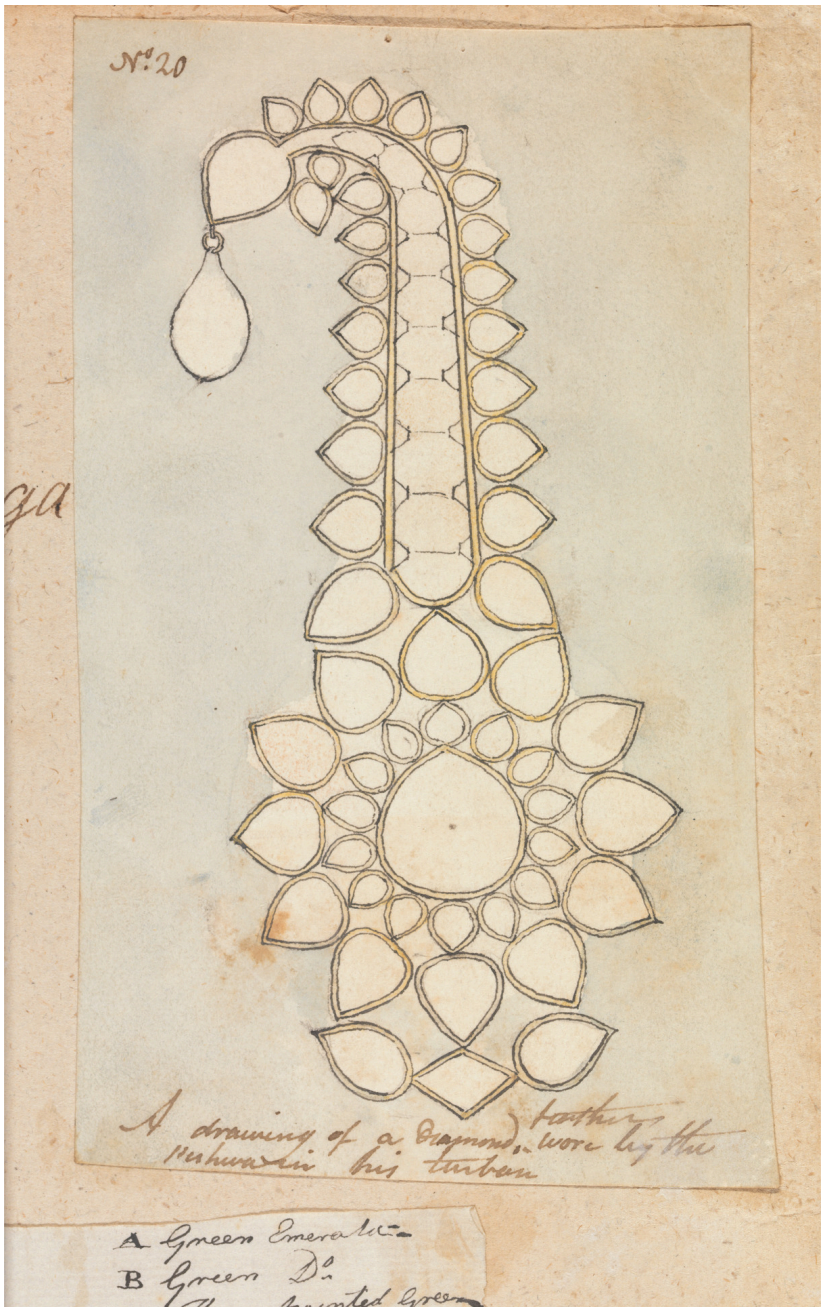


Fig 85: Robert Mabon, *Diamond Feather Worn by the Peshwa in his Turban,* undated. Watercolour and graphite with pen and black ink on paper, 34.9 x 30.2 cm. YCBA, New Haven

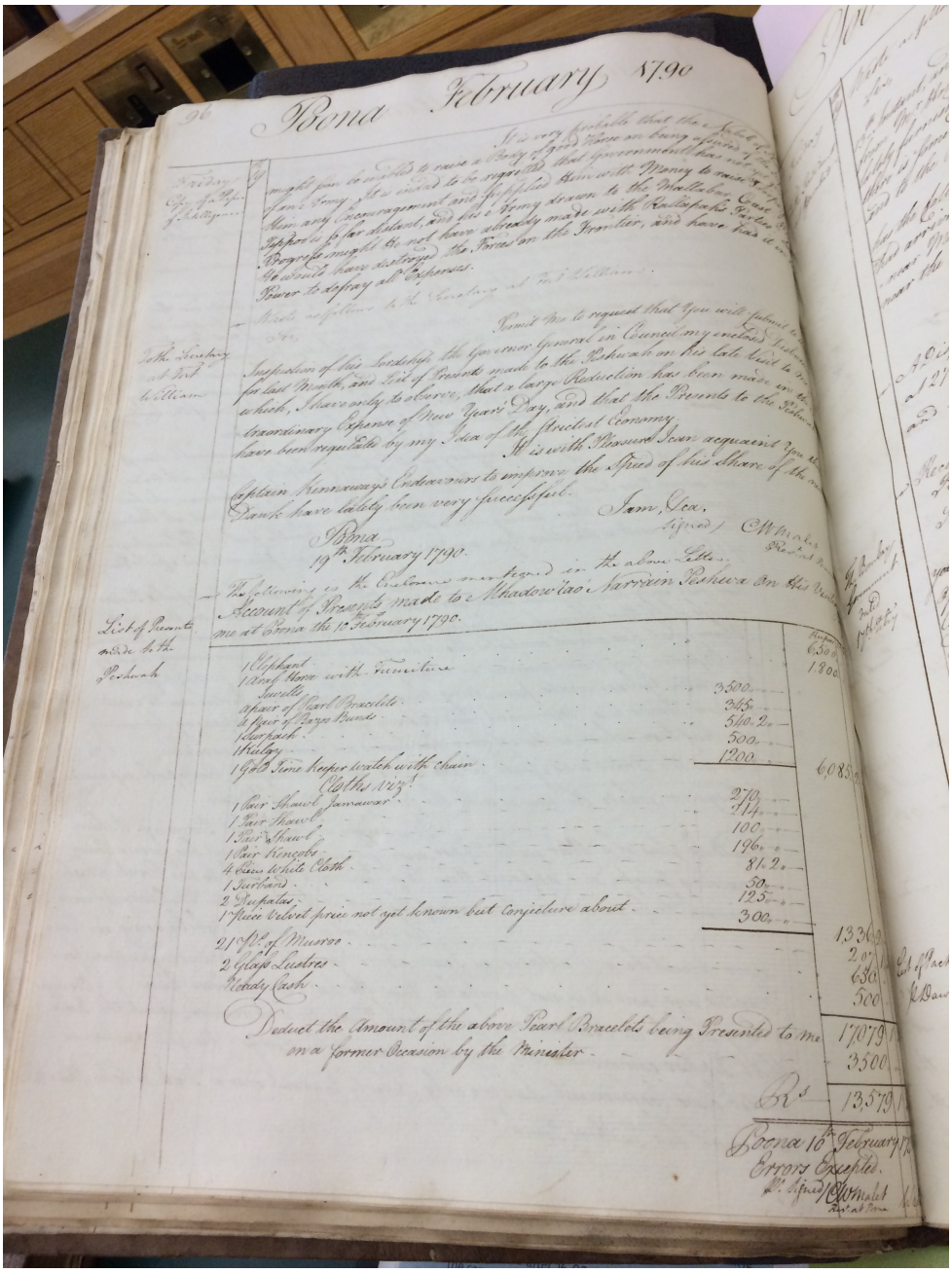


Fig 86: *Poona January 1790: Diary of the Proceedings of Charles Warre Malet Esq.re. Resident at Poona.* Mss Eur F149/7, p. 96. BL, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 87: James Wales*, Madhu Rao Narayan*, *the Maratha Peshwa with Nana Fadnavis and Attendants*, 1792. Oil on canvas, 228 x 186 cm. BL, London

Fig 88: Robert Mabon, *Narima Furnaveese*, undated. Watercolour and graphite with pen and black ink on paper, 11.4 x 8.9 cm. YCBA, New Haven

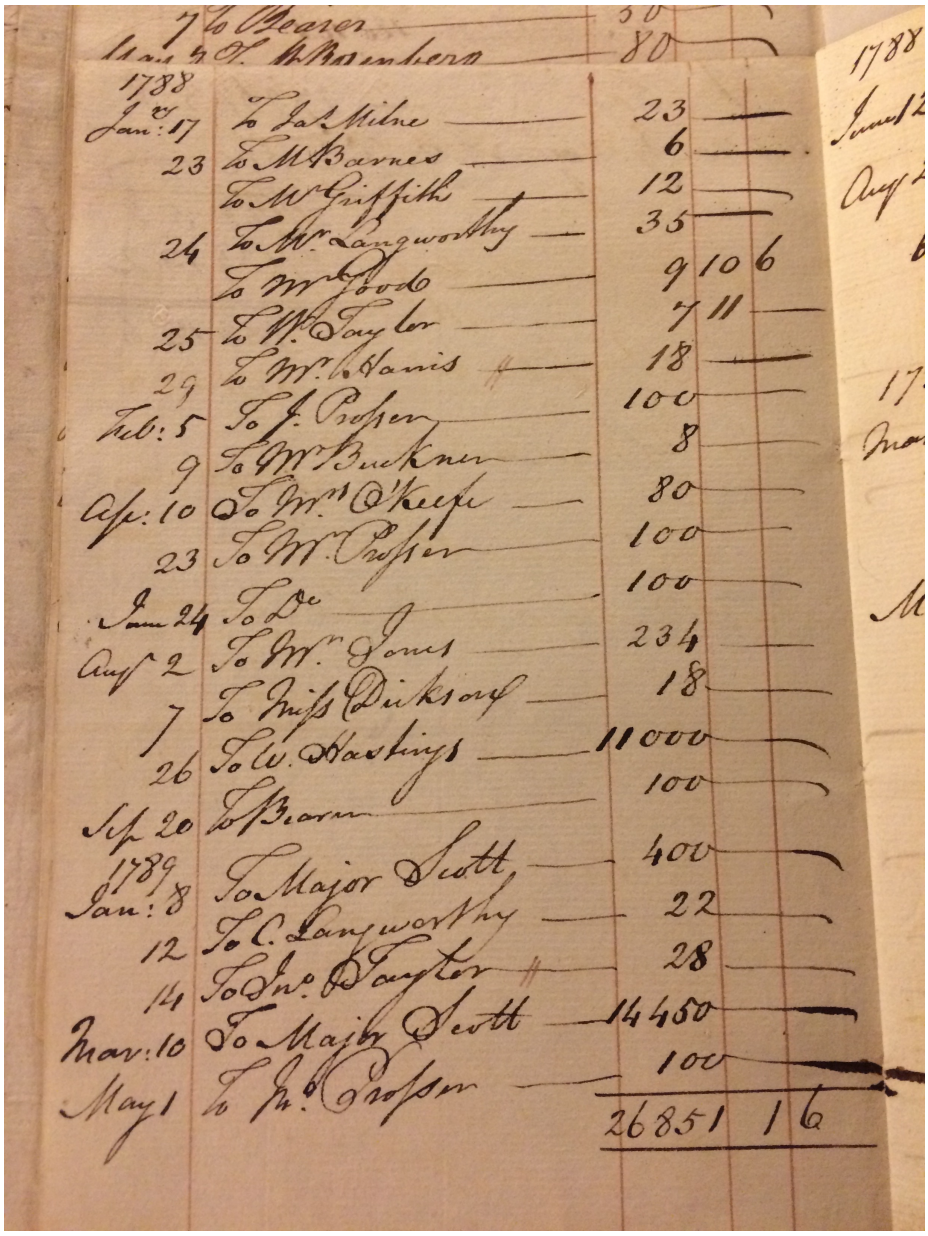
Fig 89: Unknown artist, *Painting*, 1797. Watercolour and gold on paper, dimensions unknown. V&A, London

Fig 90: Thomas Gainsborough, *Ann Ford (later Mrs. Philip Thicknesse)*, 1760. Oil on canvas, 197.2 x 134.9 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio

Fig 91: Unknown artist, *The Irresistible Mrs H-st-gs; The docile Paramour,* 1785.

Engraving on paper, 11 x 17.2 cm. Yale University Library, New Haven

Fig 92: Philip Dawe, *The Butcher's Wife dressing for the Pantheon*, 1772. Mezzotint, 35.4 x 25 cm. BM, London



7	To Bearer	30		
Mar 4	To Members	80		
1788				
Jan: 17	To Jas Milne	23	—	
23	To M. Barnes	6	—	
	To Mr Griffith	12	—	
24	To Mr Langworthy	35	—	
	To Mr Foote	9	10	6
25	To W. Taylor	7	11	—
29	To Mr Harris	18	—	
Feb: 5	To J. Prosser	100	—	
9	To Mr Buckner	8	—	
Apr: 10	To Mr O'Keefe	80	—	
23	To Mr Prosser	100	—	
Jun 24	To Do	100	—	
Aug 2	To Mr Jones	234	—	
7	To Miss Dickson	18	—	
26	To W. Hastings	11000	—	
Sep 20	To Bearer	100	—	
1789				
Jan: 8	To Major Scott	400	—	
12	To C. Langworthy	22	—	
14	To Jno Taylor	28	—	
Mar: 10	To Major Scott	14450	—	
May 1	To Mr Prosser	100	—	
		26851	16	

Fig 93: *Marian Hastings, wife of Warren Hastings; formerly Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin: Pass-book,* 1788. f. 3 1788. Add MS 39902. BL, London. Image: Author's own

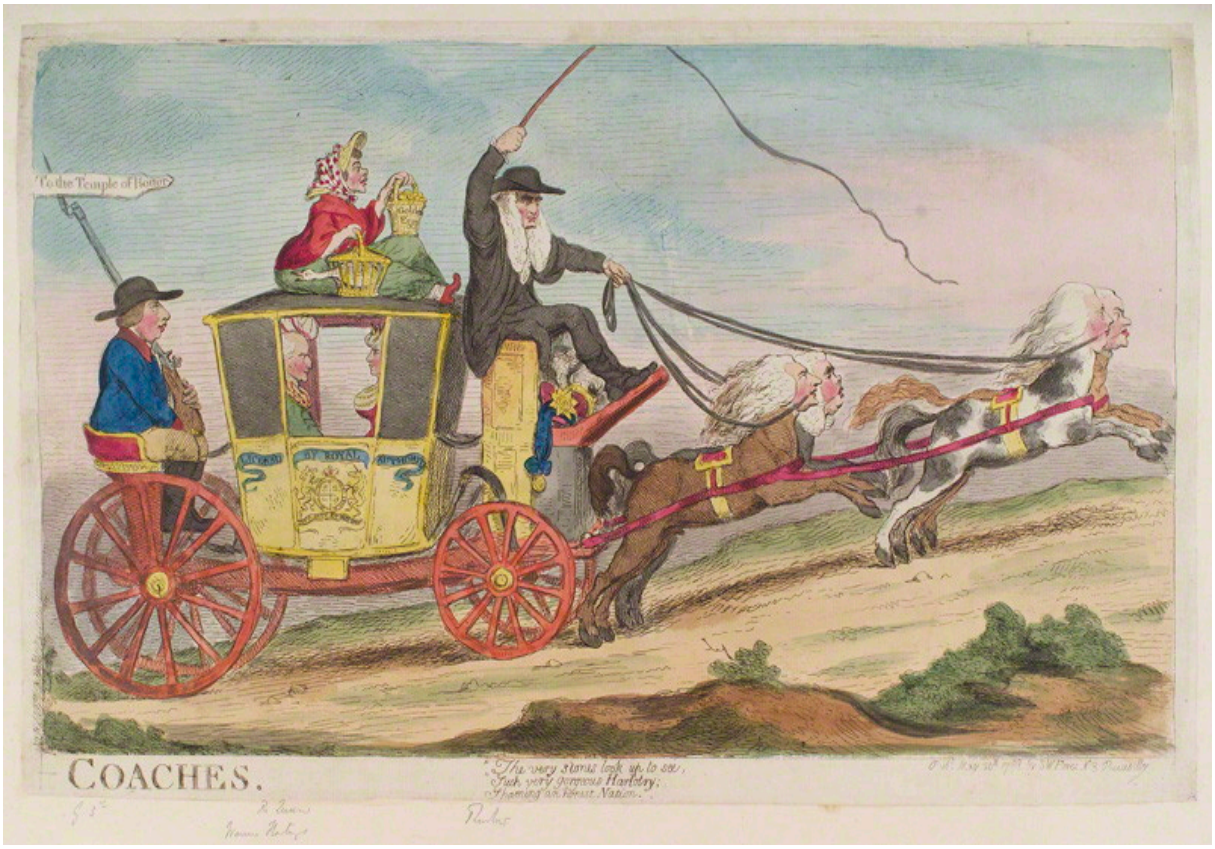


Fig 94: James Gillray, *Coaches*, 1788. Paper, hand-coloured etching, 26.5 x 44.3 cm.

NPG, London

Fig 95: James Gillray*, The Installation-Supper, As Given at the Pantheon, By The Knights of The Bath on the 26th May*, 1788. Paper, handcoloured etching, 135.6 x 26.5 cm. NPG, London

Fig 96: Jean Masser, *Louis-Auguste, Dauphin of France*, date unknown. Engraving, dimensions unknown. NGA, Washington

Fig 97: Jean-Francois Janinet, *Marie-Antoniette,* 1777. Colour aquatint on paper, 40.8 x 31.9 cm. V&A, London

Fig 98: William Dent, *French Flight, or, The grand monarque and the rights of the kings supported in a sublime and beautiful manner*, 1791. Paper, hand-coloured, etching, 39 x 12 cm. Yale University Library, New Haven

Fig 99: Unknown artist, *Representation exacte du grand collier en brilliants*, c. 1785. Paper, hand-coloured engraving, 47.6 x 36.5 cm. BM, London

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Fig 100: Tilly Kettle, *Dancing Girl*, 1772. Oil on canvas, 194.9 x 121.3 cm. YCBA, New Haven

Fig 101: Johan Zoffany, *Mr. and Mrs Hastings with an Ayah at Alipore*, 1783. Oil on canvas, 90.5 x 120.3 cm. Victoria Memorial, Kolkata

Fig 102: Richard Cosway, *Warren Hastings,* 1787. Watercolour and bodycolour on ivory, 5.7 x 4.8 cm. NPG, London

Fig 103: Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Lady Impey*, 1786. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Furman University, South Carolina

Fig 104: James Lambert, *Newick Park - The Home of Lady Vernon*, 1780. Watercolour over pencil, 63.5 x 35.1 cm. BL, London

Fig 105: Johan Zoffany, *The Impey Family*, c.1783-1784. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 122 cm.

Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid

Fig 106: Tiberius Cavallo, *A silhouette conversation piece of the Impey family of Newick Park, Sussex*, c. 1791. Painted on paper, 170 mm high. 5th September 2006, Bonhams, London

Fig 107: Joshua Kirby Baldrey *The struggle, for a Bengal butcher and an imp-pie,* 1788. Paper, etching, 22.3 x 30.8 cm. BM, London

Fig 108: Unknown artist, *Richard Bourchier, Governor of Bombay*, 1760-1770. Oil on canvas, 76 x 63.5 cm. BL, London

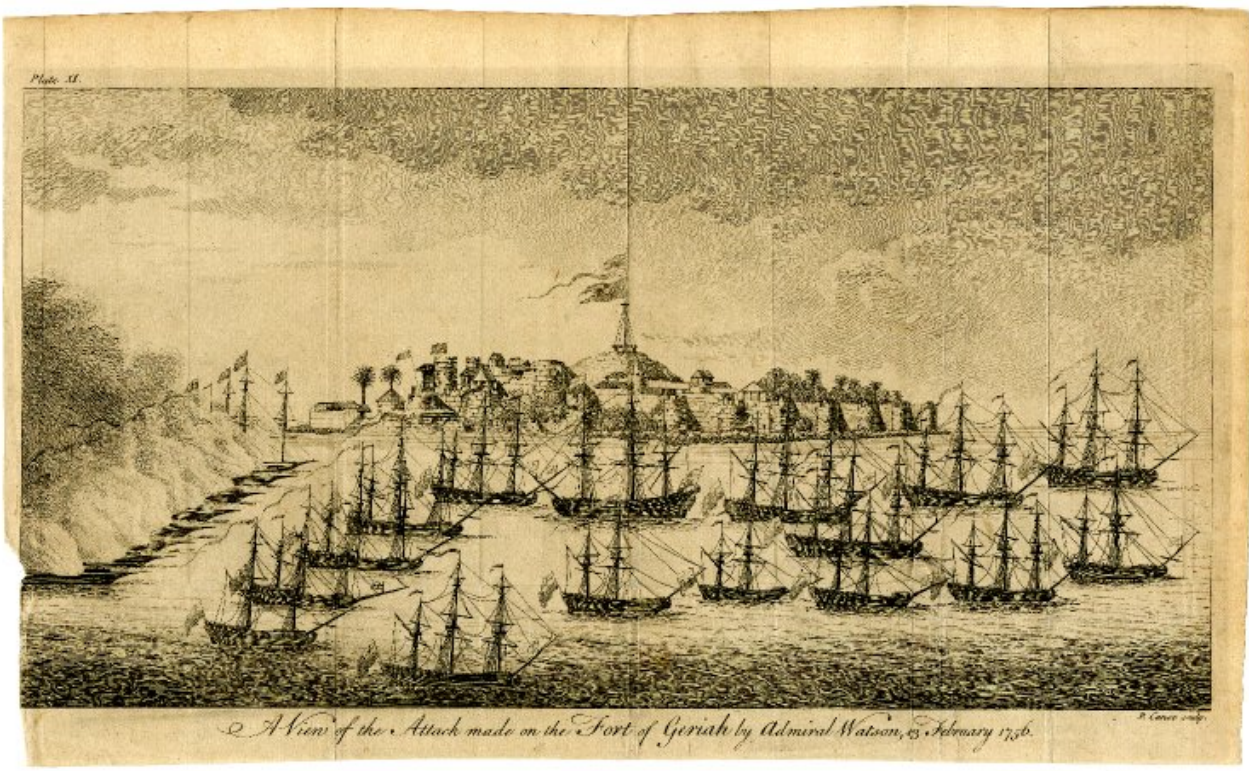

Fig 109: Pierre Charles Canot, *A View of the Attack made on the Fort of Geriah by Admiral Watson, 13 February 1756*, 1756-1777. Paper, etching, 21 x 37.3 cm. BL, London

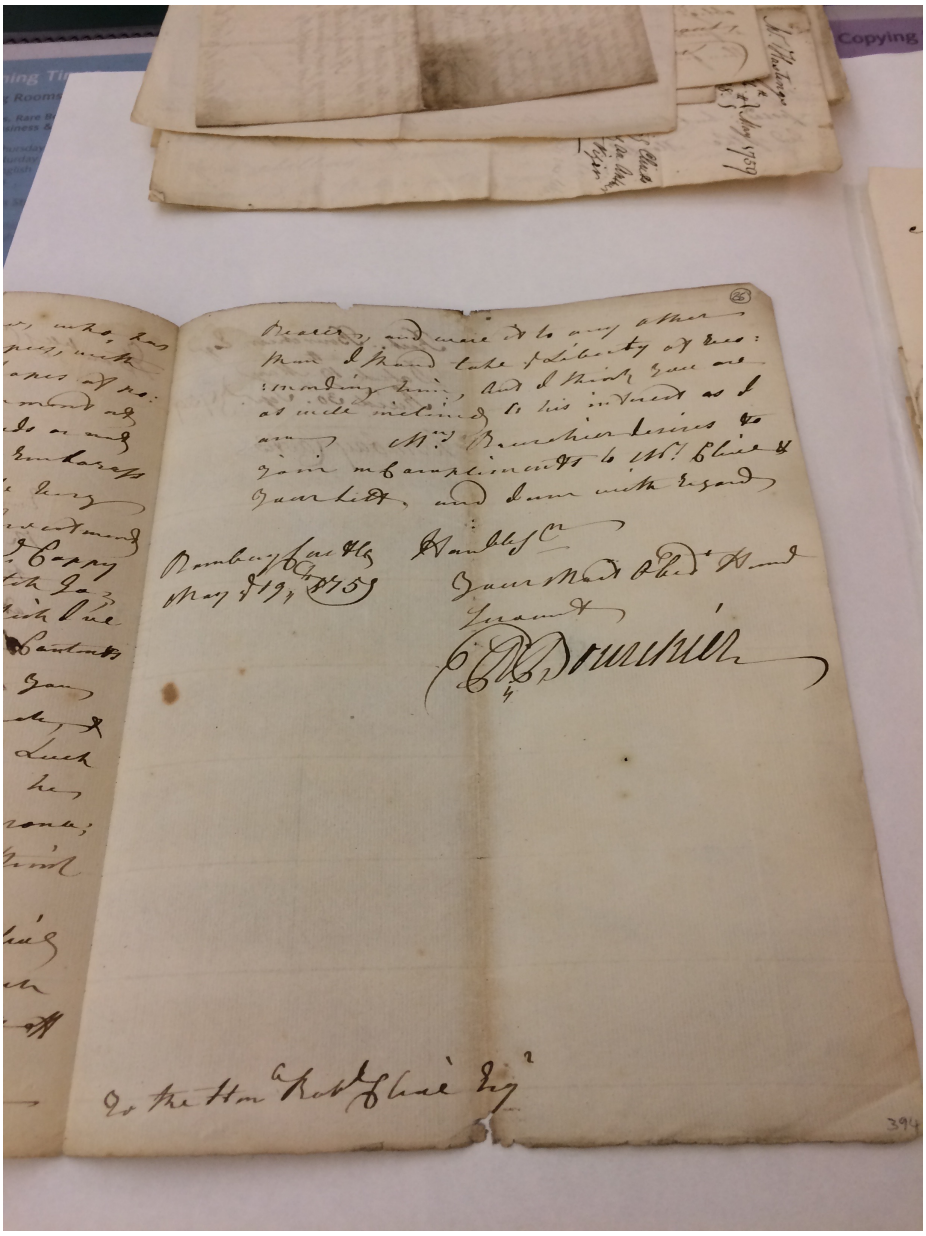

Fig 110: *Letter to Clive from Richard Bourchier*, 19th May 1759. ff.34-35. MSS Eur, G37/26/5. BL, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 111: Unknown artist, *Company officer receives noblemen on a terrace*, 1760 -1765.

Gouache with gold on paper, 50.8 x 37 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Fig 112: *Ades*, Cinder Hill, North Chailey, East Sussex. Image: Author's own

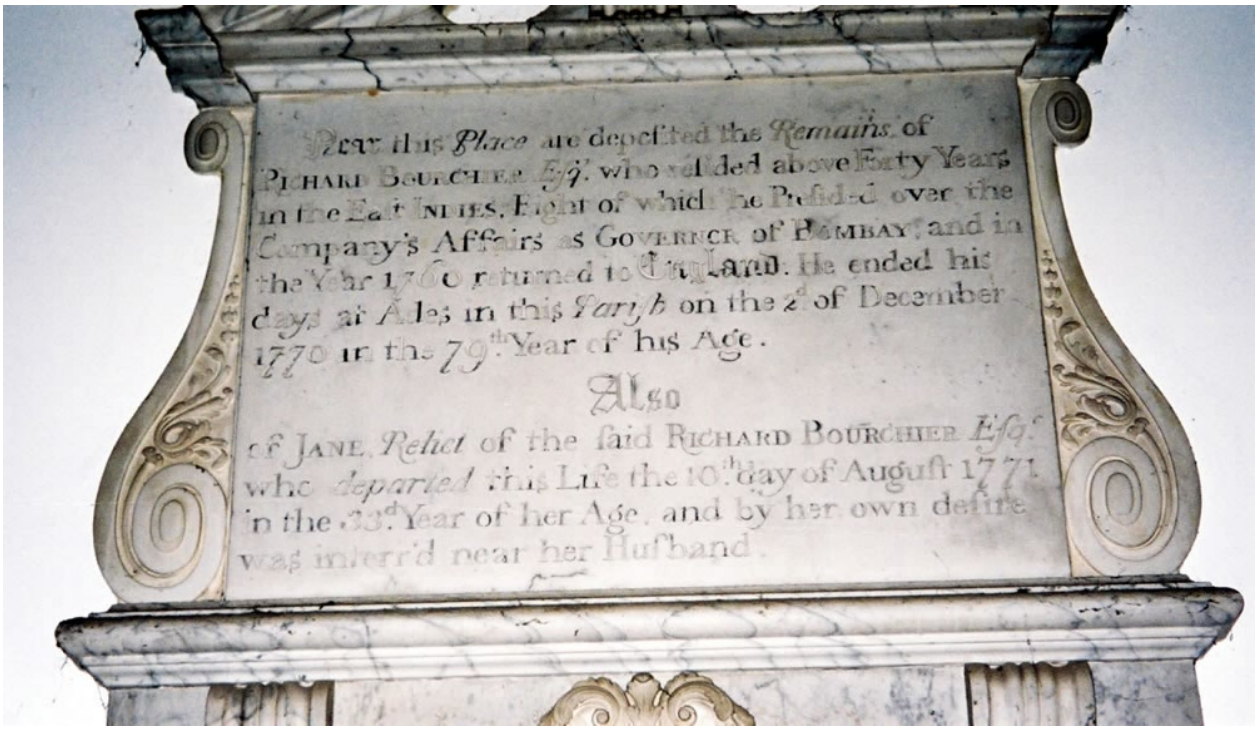

Fig 113: Professor Nigel Llewellyn, *49B Mural Monument for Richard BOURCHIER.*

White marble, 140 x 190 cm. St. Peter, Chailey, East Sussex. sussexrecordsociety.org

Fig 114: Matthew Darly, *The Madras Tyrant, or, The Directors director*, 1772. Etching on hand coloured paper, 17.8 x 12.6 cm. Yale University, New Haven

Fig 115: Tilly Kettle, *Muhammad Ali Khan, the Nawab of Arcot*, date unknown. Oil on canvas, 109.2 x 88.9 cm. Norfolk Museums Service, Norfolk

Fig 116: Tilly Kettle, *Portrait of Umdat-ul-Umara and Amir-ul-Umara, The two sons of the Nawab of Arcot and The Carnatics,* date unknown. Oil on canvas, 127 x 96.5 cm. 21st September 2000, Christie's London

Fig 117: After James Ward, *Anwaruddin Khan, 1st Nawab of Arcot*, c.1755-1777.

Paper, mezzotint, 60.8 x 37.7 cm. BM, London

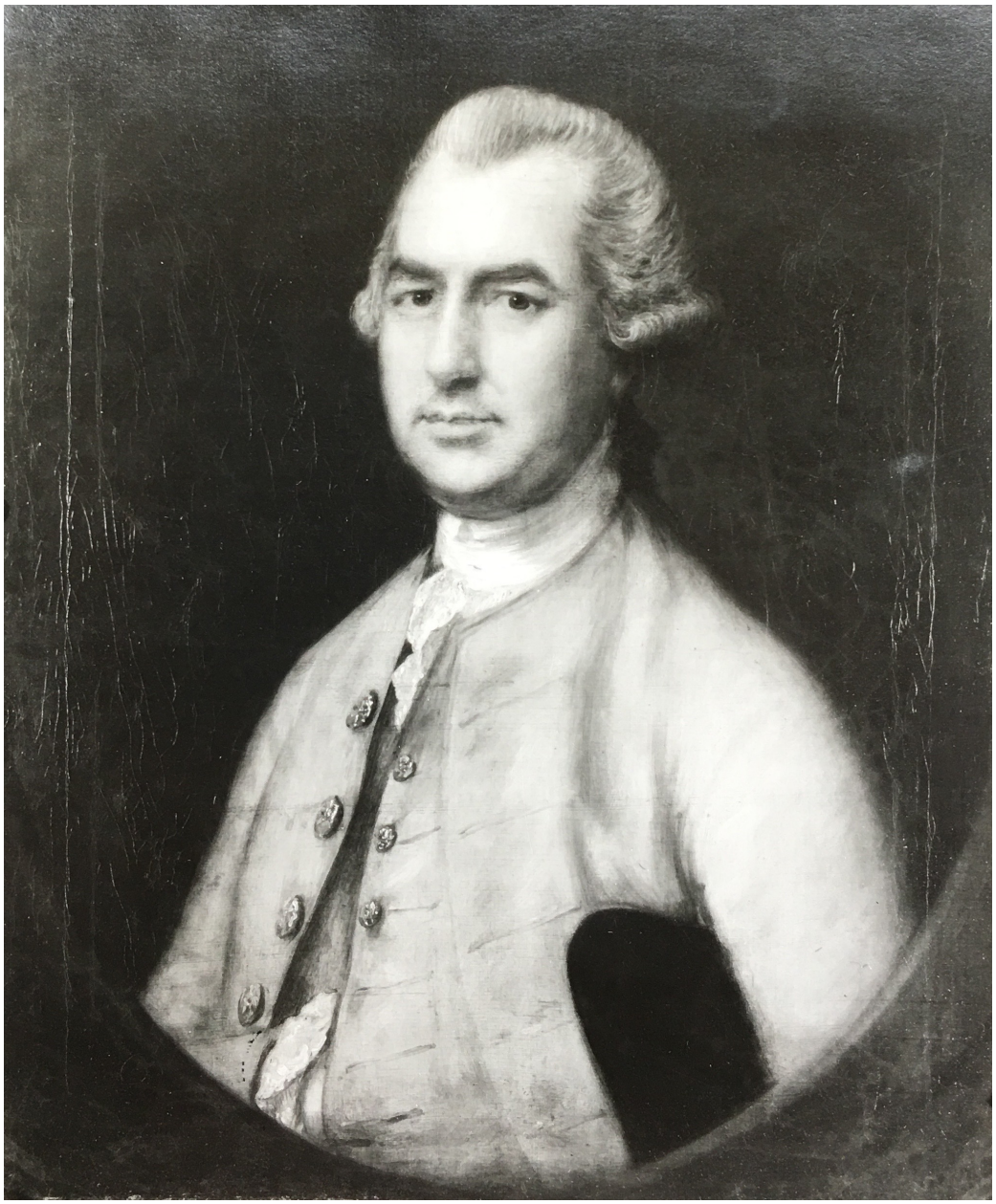

Fig 118: Thomas Gainsborough*, Charles Bourchier*, c.1769-1770. Oil on canvas, 75 x 76.2 cm. NPG Heinz Archive and Library, London. Image: Author's own

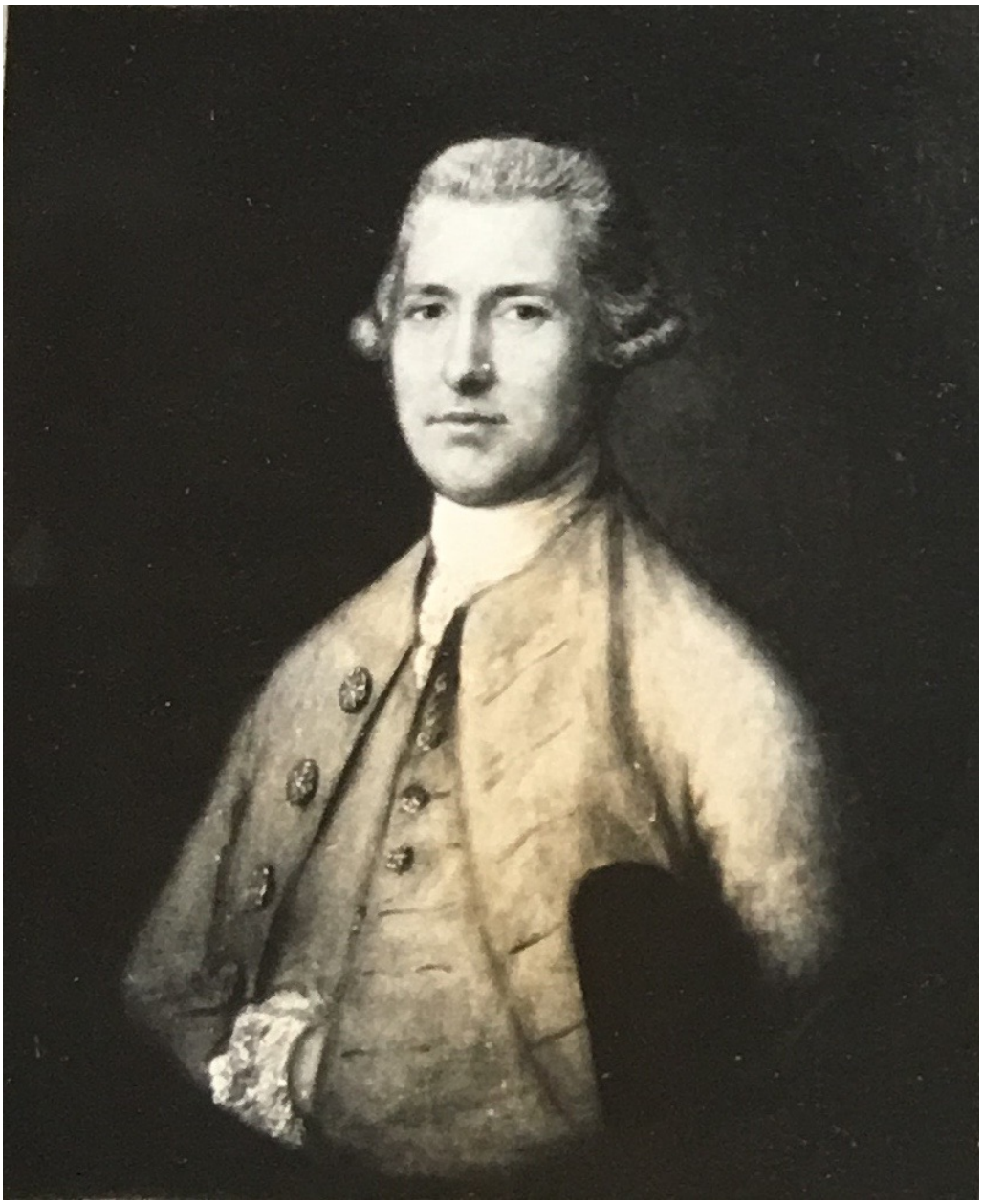

Fig 119: Thomas Gainsborough *James Bourchier*, c.1769-1770. Oil on canvas, 75 x 76.2 cm. NPG Heinz Archive and Library, London. Image: Author's own

Fig 120: Thomas Gainsborough, *Thomas Rumbold, and Son,* c.1770s. Oil on canvas, 2340 x 1530 cm. Victoria Art Gallery, Bath

Fig 121: *Bourchier Maltese Cross*, 2017-2018, Bentley & Skinner (Bond Street Jewellers) Ltd, 55 Piccadilly, London. Image: Bentley & Skinner Ltd