The Letters of
Warren Hastings
to his Wife

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Transcribed in full from the Originals in the British Museum

INTRODUCED AND ANNOTATED BY

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MCMV

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(*Arranged chronologically.*)

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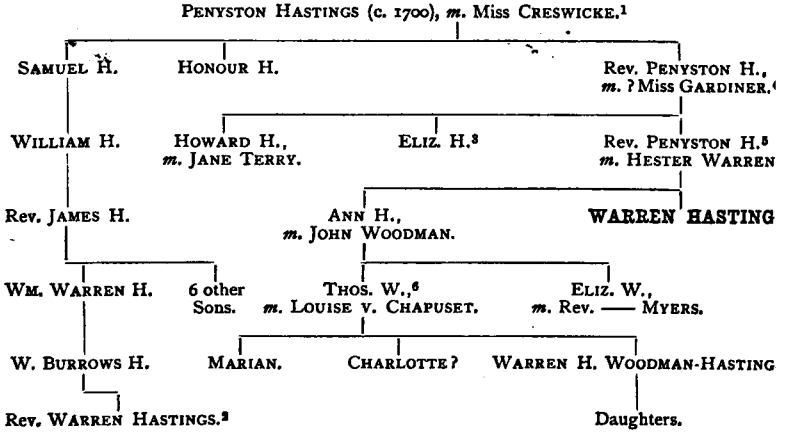
THE RELATIVES OF WARREN HASTINGS.

TABLE A.—RELATIVES ON THE FATHER'S SIDE.



1. Gleig mentions, with his usual vagueness, that the connection of Hastings' family with that of his guardian, Mr Creswicke, sprang from the marriage of his great-grandfather with a lady of that name (I. 12). He spells it persistently Chiswick, in which he has been followed by all subsequent biographers, though there is no ambiguity whatever in the MSS. Colonel Malleson notes that a letter written by Hastings from Murshidabad is addressed "Creswick," but thinks this was done by mistake!

2. The Rev. Warren Hastings, Rector of Maidwell, Northants, the descendant of the elder brother of Hastings' grandfather, is the present male representative of the family.

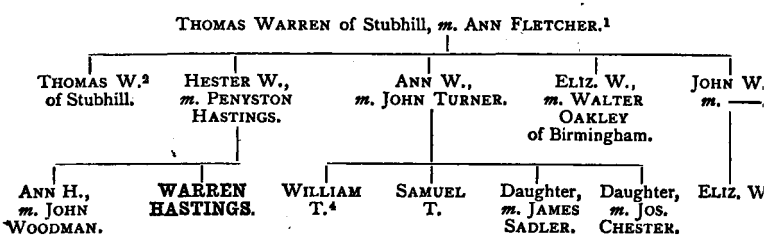
3. Mrs Elizabeth Hastings died in 1798. She is frequently mentioned in the Woodmans' letters as "Aunt Hastings," and Hastings sends her presents of snuff. He allowed her an annuity of £200 a year.

4. If Penyston Hastings the second married a Miss Gardiner, it would be her brother, described as "his uncle, Harry Gardner," with whom (and others) Penyston the third conspired to assign his children's money for the payment of his own debts. See Note 1 on Table B. The William Gardiner killed at Lahar would probably be a grandson of this Harry, and so also would be the Christopher Gardiner who writes as a kinsman to congratulate Hastings on his acquittal.

5. Penyston Hastings the third appears to have been a *mauvais sujet*. Sir C. Lawson has cleared him from the charge of having married at fifteen, but shows that after his wife's death he left his children to starve. Gleig says (I. 6) that within a short time he is found married again to a Gloucester butcher's daughter, and there is a letter to Hastings in 1813 from a woman named Julia Ancwright, of Chester, who says that her mother, Ellen Hastings, who married "a person of the name of Dennis of Sproxton," was his sister, and asks help to establish herself in business. If the story was genuine, Ellen Hastings must have been a daughter of Penyston by his second marriage.

6. For Thomas Woodman and his marriage, see Appendix III.

TABLE B.—RELATIVES ON THE MOTHER'S SIDE.



1. The names of the Warren family and descendants have been ascertained chiefly from the wills of Mrs Warren and her son Thomas, and from the petition presented to the Lord Chancellor in 1734 by John Warren, on behalf of his niece and nephew, Ann and Warren Hastings, in order to recover for them the money fraudulently alienated by their father. Mrs Warren appears to have been something of an heiress, since she possessed a farm called Hill End, which she leaves in trust for her son John, then for her surviving daughters, and finally for her grandchildren. She possessed also a considerable sum of money capable of being lent at interest to members of her family. Her brother, Robert Fletcher of Change Alley, left to his niece Hester the money which was the subject of John Warren's petition, and which Mrs Warren, her husband and elder son, appear to have conspired with Penyston Hastings, his father and his uncle Harry Gardner, to steal from the orphans. Hester's legacy, which was settled on herself and her children, was invested in house property at Cheltenham, on the security of which her mother made her a loan. This was duly repaid, so the petition sets forth, but the conspirators asserted the contrary, intending to seize the property and divide the proceeds. The fate of the petition does not appear, but it seems to have been successful, since Hastings mentions in 1799 that he received on the death of his uncle Howard Hastings (who had presumably been made his trustee) two houses at Cheltenham, which at the time of writing had been turned into the Plough Inn, and which he made over to his sister before starting for India.

2. Thomas Warren was the uncle mentioned in the Introduction (*supra*, p. 18), whose small estate passed at his death to

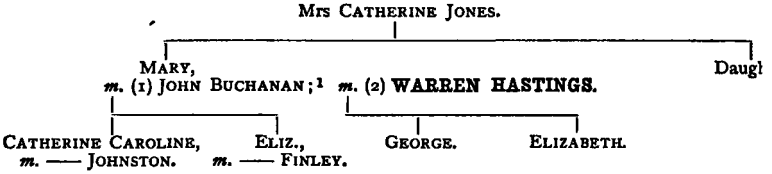
Thomas Woodman, though willed to Hastings. In the preamble to his will he writes himself "Gentleman." He sends word to Hastings in one of his letters that his mother, Ann Warren, had always desired to see him, and had left him a share of her estate equal to that of her other grandchildren.

3. By Mrs Warren's will, John Warren's daughter Elizabeth was to be provided for out of her grandmother's estate until she came of age.

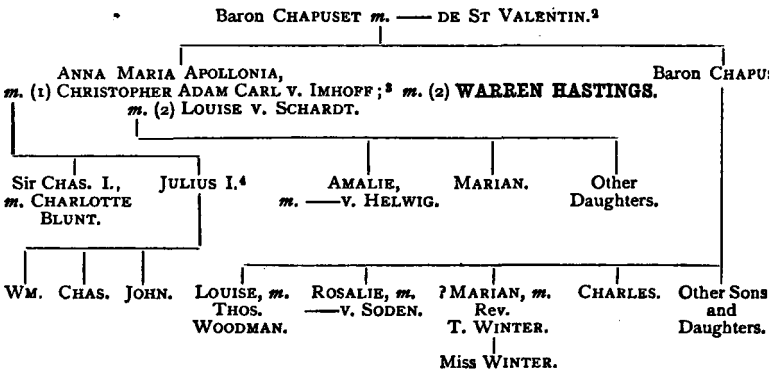
4. William Turner, who was a tallow-chandler at Gloucester, was the executor of his uncle Thomas Warren's will. The Christian names of the Turner sisters do not appear, but their husbands send letters of congratulation on Hastings' acquittal.

TABLE C.—RELATIVES BY MARRIAGE.

(1)



(2)



1. For Hastings' first marriage, see Appendix II.
2. For the relatives of Mrs Hastings, see Appendix III.
3. So in the Madras Records.
4. Julius Imhoff, who was educated, like his brother, at Westminster, went out to India in 1788, travelling with Peter Touchet and his sister. On November 8th of that year, Thompson writes that he has arrived, and is living with him. Hay, the Secretary, has offered to take him into his office and keep him under his own eye, but Thompson thinks it better that he should spend some months quietly at Alipur, grounding himself in Persian and being introduced into proper society. When Thompson goes home, Colonel Pearse will take charge of him. Hastings had

given Julius his nomination as a writer, but it was not confirmed by the Court of Directors for over a year, the ratification arriving in Bengal by the ships of August 1st, 1790. In January, 1792, he was appointed second assistant to the Collector at Murshidabad, and in August of the next year returned to Calcutta as registrar to the Court of Appeal. "He has as good an appointment as his Standing will permit," writes Turner in 1794, "and Brooke his principal in Office is very kind and friendly to him." It must have been at this time that he built on his portion of the Belvidere estate the house afterwards occupied by Charles D'Oyly (see *supra*, p. 199). In 1797 he was made Collector of Midnapore, and in 1799 his death is announced by Chapman, who "loved him as a brother." He had remained at his post, quelling insurrections and quieting a long-neglected district, when in bad health. From his will, and from the letters of Chapman and John Palmer, it is clear that he left three natural children, William, Charles, and John, the eldest about seven years old in 1801. Charles died in 1802, at the age of five. John, who is described by John Palmer as very dark in complexion, was to be educated in Calcutta, but Mr and Mrs Hastings express their willingness to receive William, who "has a fine countenance, mild, open, intelligent, and bears a strong resemblance to his poor Father," at Daylesford in the holidays, and to choose a school for him. He became a great favourite among their friends, but developed unsatisfactory traits of character as he grew older. When the clergyman to whose care he was entrusted had given him up in something like despair, it was determined to send him back to India, but his descent excluded him from the Company's Service, even at St Helena or Bencoolen, his nomination to which had been actually passed by the Directors. John Palmer was therefore asked to settle him in business, but he proved idle and fickle, and was frequently out of employment. His letters (signed at first William Fitz-Julius, and afterwards William Fitz-Julius Imhoff) become more rare, until all mention of him disappears. Just as this book goes to press, the present writer has received from a Calcutta correspondent some further information as to the family. The will left by Julius Imhoff was contested in 1817 by the Registrar of the Supreme Court on account of its glaring informalities, and William Fitz-Julius and his brother John petitioned the Prince Regent that their rights might be recognised. The Crown thereupon relinquished its claim, and the petitioners were legitimated by Royal Letter in 1824 or 1825. William died before the arrival of the Letter, but John lived for many years, marrying

Maria Chambers, but dying childless. He was murdered in his father's house at Alipur, in the grounds of which his brother Charles had been drowned in a well with his nurse in 1802. In these grounds also, between Hastings House and the Judges' Court, is to be found the vault in which Julius Imhoff and his three sons are buried.

APPENDIX II.[1]

THE FIRST MARRIAGE OF WARREN HASTINGS.

So much misconception has hitherto prevailed with respect to this union, and its details are still enveloped in such uncertainty, that it seems worth while to give all the known facts, in the hope that complete light may yet be thrown on them. Gleig, and following him, all the subsequent biographers, assert that in the winter of 1756, Hastings married Mrs Campbell, whom they usually identify as the widow of Captain Dougald Campbell, killed at the capture of Baj-baj.[2] In a novel called 'Like Another Helen,' published in 1899, in which Hastings appears as one of the subsidiary characters, the present writer pointed out that either the identification or the date must be wrong, since Baj-baj was not captured until December 30th or 31st, 1756. The inference was that the marriage took place in the spring of 1757, but a kind correspondent, writing from Calcutta, pointed out that the error lay in another direction altogether. He forwarded a copy of the 'Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' for July, 1899, containing a paper read at the Society's monthly meeting by the Rev. H. B. Hyde, M.A., who mentioned his accidental discovery, in a miscellaneous bundle of old Calcutta Mayor's Court records, of a "Petition of Warren Hastings of Cossimbazar, Gentleman, in behalf of his wife Mary Hastings, relict to John Buchanan, late of Calcutta," asking for letters of administration to the estate of the said "Captain John Buchanan, late of Calcutta, Gentleman," who had died intestate. We know from Holwell that Buchanan was the only one of the senior military officers who showed any capacity, or even per-

[1] Some of the facts here adduced have appeared in 'Notes and Queries' over the writer's signature.

[2] Captain Trotter (Rulers of India Series), confusing Campbell with another Captain Campbell who came with Kilpatrick from Madras, says that he died "of the prevalent disease."

sonal courage, in the disasters of June, 1756, and that he was one of the victims of the Black Hole. The date of his death is at once seen to accord much better with that of the marriage than the death of Captain Campbell.

The next step was obviously to seek evidence to support the new identification, and here it may be remarked that there are few things more curious than the almost complete absence of any mention of the first marriage in the vast mass of Hastings Papers at the British Museum. It can only be conjectured that the second Mrs Hastings discouraged so studiously any reference to her predecessor that even her name was lost, and that she removed all papers relating to her before entrusting her husband's MSS. to Gleig for the purposes of his biography. Thus thrown on his own resources, Gleig would appear to have followed some incorrect tradition, supported by the fact of Captain Campbell's death near the time of the marriage. But in a volume of copies of letters written from Murshidabad, and not included in the Miscellaneous Correspondence—probably because the majority are on questions of public business—a number of valuable facts appeared. Several of the notes concern the Letter of Administration, the petition for the grant of which Mr Hyde has found. In November, 1758, Hastings begs his friend Richard Becher to lose no time in getting the Letter, and complains of the delay, since he thought the documents he had already signed would have been sufficient. In the same month he says, "I will return an answer to Mr Smith concerning his Demand on Captain Buchanan's Estate as soon (as) the Letter of Administration which I expect daily is granted me. I have desired Mr Scrafton to act for me in the Administration of Captain Buchanan's Estate, which trust he has accepted of." For some reason or other, Scrafton, who had been Hastings' predecessor at Murshidabad, refused the request, and Hastings writes to Holwell to ask him to administer the estate, promising to send him a power of attorney. There are 1550 rupees due to Captain Grant, (Archibald Grant, who fought on the losing side at Culloden, and coming to Bengal, disgraced himself by escaping from the siege of Fort William with the Governor, Drake), and there is a claim for £200 on behalf of a Mr Macaully or Macouly in London, which Hastings believes has been already paid. On this subject he writes also to a Mr Macreddee or Macredie, who Mrs Hastings tells him transmitted money to London for Buchanan, asking him for information about Buchanan's concerns in Europe, since all papers and accounts were destroyed in the troubles, and the only hope lies in appealing to his former acquaintance.

Further evidence as to Hastings' having married Buchanan's widow is supplied by a group of letters dealing with another subject, the will of Colonel Caroline Frederick Scot or Scott, whom the Company appointed in 1752 Engineer-General of all their settlements in the East Indies, Major of Fort William and third member of the Bengal Council.[1] The will, which is dated March 20th, 1754, appoints Captain John Buchanan and Ensign William Scott as executors, and leaves the whole of the estate to the testator's "dearly beloved friend Mrs Martha Bowdler, of the parish of St George's, Hanover Square," and in the event of her predeceasing him, to "these four children," Caroline, Francis, Martha, and Frederick Scott. Scott died on May 12th of the same year, and Hastings says that Buchanan handed in the accounts of his executorship to the Mayor's Court shortly before the Siege, depositing in Fort William, when the Nabob came against Calcutta, all the moneys he had received. These were, of course, lost, and Colonel Scott's legatees seem to have uttered some aspersion against Buchanan's memory, which Hastings resents warmly. "He was known to have no concerns in trade, had a handsome Income coming in, and bore besides too fair a Character in the World to suffer it to be suspected that he would have made away with any part of the money entrusted to his Charge as Administrator to the late Colonel Scott's estate." Mary Hastings adds "in writing all the particulars that she can charge her memory with relating to Colonel Scott's deposit." She saw Buchanan put Colonel Scott's money, with about 4000 rupees of his own, into a deal chest—bearing Scott's name on a lead or tin plate—which was so full that the lid would hardly shut. The servants can bear witness that this chest was carried into the Fort. After the capture, it was seen lying empty, as can be testified by several of the survivors, notably Messrs Rider and Cartier.

A further proof, if any be wanting, that Hastings' first wife was Mrs Buchanan, is found in the responsibility he acknowleged for Buchanan's daughters. The baptism of one of these, Catherine Caroline, is entered in the Calcutta registers for May 1st, 1754; of the other, Elizabeth, there is no trace in the records. One of them—the Christian name is not mentioned—was being brought up by her grandmother at Arklow in February, 1759. When Hastings returned to India in 1769, he seems to have left both girls under the guardianship of Mrs Forde, whose husband,

[1] For the details of Colonel Scott's appointment, his will, and other subjects relating to the Bengal records, the present writer is indebted to Mr William Foster, of the India Office, whose keenness of research and great patience are limited only by the limitations of his material.

Colonel Forde, was one of the Supervisors appointed with Vansittart, and was lost with him in the *Aurora*, placing in the hands of this lady funds for their education, and allowing them £20 a year each. In 1773 Mrs Forde sends him a bad account of "Miss Buchannan." She had been apprenticed, but ran away from her place three months before her time was up. Mrs Forde took her home and engaged dancing-masters for her, intending to qualify her for India, as the best and genteelest provision possible, but the girl was soon tired of gentility, and at her own wish was sent back to her grandmother and aunt at Arklow, where she crowned her misdeeds by running off with a corporal. In 1784 Mrs Forde writes again about Catherine Buchanan, who is now Mrs Johnston. She is married a second time, but her husband is as bad as the former one. No one would marry her but for her assured income, and she is very thoughtless, and acts as if she had a great fortune at command. Her education, says Mrs Forde, was "among the very lowest sort of people." In spite of Hastings' care for their welfare, the two unhappy girls seem to have been much neglected by their mother's relatives, for Elizabeth Finley, "who was Miss Buckhannan," writes in 1797, in asking for help, "I must own that it is all my own fault. But Dear sir if you will But Consider that I had neither father Nor Mother to take Care of me in my Youthful Days Left me as I am." Apparently he gave her some additional assistance on this occasion, since for years afterwards she worries him and Woodman, through whom her allowance was paid, with perpetual importunity. An advance to enable her to open a shop—"half a year's money together"—is the burden of her song, and she always demands an answer "by the return of the post." She is turned out of her lodgings, her husband has been "ballited for to go in the Militia," she is in danger of being sold up. "She is a sturdy beggar," writes Woodman in disgust, and Hastings at last hardens his heart to refuse her any further advances.

If it may now be considered proved that the first husband of Mary Hastings was Captain Buchanan, the uncertainty as to her origin is as marked as ever. The only fact which remains to testify to her family is a letter to Holwell in the volume already mentioned. In it Hastings expresses his strong wish to send to Mr Creswicke two bills for £200 each. One is to be divided between his aunt and sister, the other is to be sent to Mrs Catherine Jones of Arklow:—"This Lady is the Mother of my Wife, who has sent this sum for her use, and a daughter of my Wife's by her former Husband." The discovery of this suggested, naturally, a search in the Arklow registers, but an application to the Rector elicited the fact that they had been

removed to Dublin. From Dublin came the disappointing intelligence that the earliest date was 1799, and it became clear that the older records had been destroyed in the Irish Rebellion!

From the affection displayed by Hastings for his friend Dr Hancock and his wife, *née* Philadelphia Austen, and the liberality with which, before his second marriage, he provided for Mrs Hancock and her daughter Elizabeth, the present writer was induced to think that Mary Hastings might have been a sister or cousin of that lady[1]—and the idea seemed to be corroborated by the fact that little George Hastings was entrusted to the care of Mrs Hancock's brother, the Rev. George Austen, and his wife. But diligent enquiry from many of the present-day representatives of the Austen family has failed to show any Mary who might have married Captain Buchanan, and it seems that the close friendship between Hastings and the Hancock and Austen families must be accounted for by the fact that "Mr Walter of Hampshire," a half-brother of George and Philadelphia Austen, was one of his school-fellows. "Distance of Time, or Place," says William Oliver, another of them, "never erases from the Mind of an old Westminster, that early Friendship, which always participates of the Success we meet with in Life," but the bond would be drawn closer by the close association of Hastings and the Hancocks in the simple life of Calcutta in the period from 1761 to 1765, when he was member of Council there, to which his Correspondence testifies.

The indefatigable researches of Mr Foster in the Records at the India Office have brought to light some facts which may eventually help towards a solution of the mystery. In November 1751, Philadelphia Austen and *Mary Elliott* petitioned the Court of Directors for leave to go out by the *Bombay Castle* to friends at Fort St David, and the petition was granted in December. The ship reached Madras in August 1752, and in February 1753 Philadelphia Austen was married at Cuddalore to "Tyso Saul Hancock, Surgeon," but there is no trace of Mary Elliott either in the "Lists of European Inhabitants at Fort St David," or in the Madras or Bengal registers. There is thus no proof that she ever took advantage of the permission she had received to embark for India. Her sureties were the same as Philadelphia's, so that they were probably friends.

In the meantime, the Company had decided to strengthen their military establishment in India; and a few weeks after the appointment of Colonel Scot or Scott to Bengal, a number of

[1] See "A Friend of Warren Hastings," in 'Blackwood's Magazine' for April, 1904. For Elizabeth Hancock, see 'Temple Bar' for May, 1905, "A God-Daughter of Warren Hastings."

officers were engaged from the royal service. Among them was Lieutenant John Buchanan of Craigievern, who was to succeed to the first company that fell vacant in Bengal.[1] On March 14, 1753, he obtained leave to take his wife with him. It was late in the season, and the voyage to Bengal was to be made *viâ* Bombay. Mr Foster suggests that they sailed on April 10th in the *Prince Edward*, which reached Bombay at the end of September. Her log shows that she carried officers and recruits, but no list of her passengers is extant. The dates suggest that instead of sailing with Philadelphia Austen in 1752, Mary Elliott married Buchanan, and went out with him the next year. This theory requires that her mother must have been left a widow and have married (secondly) a Mr Jones, but there is here no obvious improbability. The child Catherine Caroline would be named after Mrs Jones and Colonel (Caroline Frederick) Scott. Mr Hyde and the Director of the Calcutta Records, Mr Hill, think that this shows Mrs Buchanan to have been in all probability a daughter or niece of Colonel Scott. The Colonel's will appears to tell strongly against this, but the present writer would suggest that it is very probable Buchanan was his nephew. Ensign William Scott, the other executor, was undoubtedly a nephew, and his name is not mentioned in the will otherwise than as executor, so that it would seem most likely that the two nephews were not only passed over in favour of nearer, though unacknowledged, relatives, but also charged with watching over their interests. In view of the loss of the Arklow registers, it can only be hoped that from some repository of Scottish family papers a record of the marriage of John Buchanan of Craigievern may leap to light, and set the matter beyond discussion.

Mr Hyde suggests that the wedding of Hastings and Mrs Buchanan took place in the isle of refuge, Fulta, and that it was performed by Admiral Watson's chaplain, Richard Cobbe. It is known that marriages were so solemnized, but the Calcutta registers show a blank between February 1756 and January 1758. If the log of Admiral Watson's flagship, the *Kent*, is extant, it is extremely probable that these marriages would be found recorded in it. Hastings' letters from Murshidabad contain a few touches which throw light on his first brief period of wedded happiness. Writing to Becher, whose wife is ill, he sends her a cordial invitation to visit Kasimbazar. "The great Benefit which Mrs Hastings received from her coming up to Cossimbazar is my principal Inducement for recommending the same Remedy to Mrs Becher: I will candidly own that another

[1] When Scott died, the general promotion which followed gave Buchanan his company.

not inconsiderable Motive is the procuring Mrs Hastings an agreeable Companion, and hope I need not assure you that nothing will be wanting on her Part to render the Place agreeable to her, and to contribute as far as lies in her Power to Mrs Becher's Recovery." When writing to Mr Creswicke, who has just lost his wife, he thanks him for the kind way in which he received the news of his marriage, which he feared must appear to him very imprudent. "I told you when I first acquainted you with the News of my marriage (as every man would upon the same occasion), that I thought myself happy. I can now with much greater confidence repeat it, having besides a great similitude in our dispositions (which I think must principally contribute to the Happiness of the Marriage State), experienced every good Quality in my Wife which I always most wished for in a Woman. I acquainted you last year with the Birth of my Son, who is grown a very fine child." He then mentions the birth of his daughter, "whom I intended to have called by the name of my Benefactress Mrs Creswicke" ("You know how good and kind a Friend she has always been to me," he says elsewhere), "but she was carried off by sudden Fits of Sickness on the 23rd Day after her Birth." In other letters he reports on the health of his wife and son, asks Becher to buy for him the chaise and horses of a Captain Brohier, who had died, and send them to Kasimbazar, and requests that any letters from Mrs Jones to himself or his wife may be forwarded by the Company's packet. Then comes a gap of some months, and by July 15th the blow has fallen. His wife seems to have died when he was away from her, for he speaks of "that damned trip to Rajemall (which I shall curse whilst I live)." He apologises to Scrafton, who worries him perpetually with requests to sell jewels and other property for him, for not answering his letters, and Scrafton returns a somewhat perfunctory expression of sympathy: "I am extreamly concerned for your Domestick Misfortunes, and hope you have Philosophy enough to bear them with tranquility. I do not suppose you have been in a Condition to attend the Durbar, however I hope you have not totally neglected Diaram." To Clive also the young widower feels it necessary to apologize for his seclusion: "The Stroke I have received has proved too severe for me to recollect myself in an Instant, or to allow me such a Command of myself, as I would chuse to possess me in every Negociation that I undertake either on the Company's or your behalf." From Holwell he received more compassion, for he writes on August 2nd: "I am obliged to you for the kind Concern you express for my Misfortunes: Severe as they are, I

have, I thank God, strength of Mind sufficient to bear them, and to submit myself to the will of Providence, tho' it has fallen to the Lot of very few Men so early in Life to be forced to so cruel a Trial as this."

The uncertainty as to Mary Hastings' history extends also to her age. Mr Hyde says: "In the old Residency Burying-ground at Cossimbazar is an epitaph to the memory of Mrs Mary Hastings and her infant daughter Elizabeth. The date of the former's decease is given as July 11th, 1759, but her age was either not accurately known to her husband, Mr Warren Hastings, who, according to the epitaph, erected the monument, or else was half obliterated from the stone when the Bengal Government restored the whole some years ago; for it now reads merely '2 .' Anyhow she was under thirty." Malleson, who places the grave erroneously at Barhampur, endeavours to prove that Hastings was also mistaken as to the date of her death, on the ground that he mentions his loss in a letter to Clive dated July 4th. Had he consulted the British Museum copy in the letter-book, he would have seen that it is plainly dated July *14th.*

Two correspondents of 'Notes and Queries' record, one that he visited Kasimbazar in 1855 and 1856, and saw the tomb, with the memorial stone upright and the inscription clear and legible, the other that in 1881 a brick tomb, without any inscription or other means of identification, was shown him as that of the first Mrs Hastings by "an old sepoy officer who acted as my guide, who said that he was over ninety years of age, and that his father had fought at Plassey and had known 'Hasteen Sahib.'" It must have been after this visit that the tomb was restored.

APPENDIX III.

MRS HASTINGS AND HER GERMAN RELATIVES.

When Mrs Hastings returned to England, she resumed intercourse with her own family, which was settled at Stuttgart. The Chapusets had come originally from France, at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Mrs Hastings' father married a lady named St Valentin, who was apparently of similar descent. The venerable Baroness Chapusetin (the termination is the German feminine particle) was still living, making her

home with her son, Baron Chapuset, and his wife and family. She had a great desire to see her daughter again, but the prevalence of war throughout the Continent rendered this impossible until after the Peace of Amiens, when Charles Imhoff and his wife made an extended tour in Germany, with the special object of paying their respects to the Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont, in one of whose regiments Charles had served. It was soon suggested that they should bring Mme. Chapusetin back with them for a visit, and so anxious were mother and daughter to meet, that when the renewal of the war threatened to make it unsafe for the Imhoffs to return to Stuttgart, Hastings proposes going himself to fetch her. The old lady seems to have had the courage to travel alone to one of the ports to meet them, for news reached Daylesford suddenly that the party had arrived safely at Harwich. "Your dear and happy mother is now on her way to London. She was in her chariot in little more than half an hour," writes Hastings to Charles, in thanking him for his kindness to "the dear Lady that you have brought to us." Mme. Chapusetin's indomitable spirit appealed strongly to her son-in-law. "Her mother being asked, if she thought herself equal to the completion of the journey in one day, answered: 'Yes, undoubtedly.' What a woman!" he writes. This journey, from London to Daylesford, was actually accomplished by the two ladies in seventeen hours, the first stage, of twenty-three miles, occupying two hours and a half. They reached Daylesford at eleven o'clock at night, and Hastings writes, "Mrs Chapusettin is seventy-seven years of age, and does not look younger; but her strength and activity are astonishing, and her cheerfulness beyond all example, though it is put to a severe trial, not a soul but her daughter being able to exchange a word with her." As Hastings was a fair French scholar, this shows that the Baroness spoke no language but German. Returning to Stuttgart, she died in 1807, "preserving her senses to the last, and sending her blessing to her daughter."

Her son, Baron Chapuset, appears to have grudged Mrs Hastings a share in their mother's small possessions, and a mysterious emissary, who asserted himself to come from him, worried Charles Imhoff for some time, but was successfully warded off from Daylesford. The English relations were, however, much too profitable for the Baron and his wife to allow an estrangement to continue. Hastings had already provided for one of the sons, Charles Chapuset, by obtaining for him an Indian cadetship. The young man went out under the best auspices, welcomed by the Palmers and D'Oylys for his aunt's

sake, but John Palmer soon writes that he needs a vigilant guardian, since he has no idea of the value of money. He is already tired of military life, but it is now too late to exchange it for the writership which Hastings had advised him to choose at first. He goes on borrowing money and drawing bills on his aunt, loses the adjutancy of his regiment because he is 16,000 rupees in debt to Colonel Ochterlony, and finally absconds from his duty at Muttra for fear of his creditors. He is arrested by the Bhartpur Rajah in his territory, and ignominiously handed over to his Colonel, who sends him down to Calcutta under a guard. Already suspended, he is now cashiered and sent home. Charles Imhoff sees him in London, and succeeds in keeping him away from the neighbourhood of Daylesford. Mrs Hastings sends him fifty pounds, but warns him that she can only do so by reducing the allowance she makes to his married sister, and that she can do no more for him. Thereafter he disappears.

Charles Chapuset's sisters were more satisfactory recipients of their aunt's kindness, though her first acquaintance with them was unpromising. Baron Chapuset tormented his sister with reiterated letters to the effect that he had arranged an excellent marriage for his eldest daughter with a Baron Obernitz, which could not, however, take place unless she had a dowry of 10,000 gulden. Mrs Hastings failed to rise to the occasion, and her brother promptly despatched the poor girl to England, uninvited, to pay her relatives a visit. Mrs Hastings writes to her son in considerable irritation, asking him to escort to Daylesford the niece so unwarrantably thrown upon her hands. Her husband does not like permanent visitors, so she cannot keep her, but she will send her to finish her education in a seminary at "Strasburg" without troubling him in the matter. Happily, the forlorn Louise won her way into her aunt's heart, and Mrs Hastings writes apologetically that she cannot send her away so abruptly and with such an uncertain prospect. Her foreign servant, who is of no use either to her or himself, may go back to France, but Louise will remain at Daylesford as a visitor. "I am glad," writes Hastings. " . . . The girl is so accommodating, and of a temper so evenly good, that she will be of no manner of inconvenience or incumbrance, except to me, who cannot understand her German, nor hear her French." Presently David Anderson notes that his son Hastings is "much captivated with a German young Lady who is living with you at present," and Hastings says, "Louise . . . has somehow or other become a great favourite, in doors and out of doors, and talks English indefatigably, and almost intelligibly." A little later, "Louisa

. . . gains upon our affections, and is a great favourite with all our neighbors, and no wonder. She is courteous, discreet, possesses immutable good humor, and is already capable of conversing fluently in the English language; and she says good things, like Charles and the rest of her family." A grateful letter from her to "My excellent kind Unkel" during his temporary absence, shows that she was also learning to write English. Not long afterwards Hastings remarks that she has grown so dear to himself and his wife that only the fact that she is going to be married could have reconciled them to a separation from her. The bridegroom was his nephew, Thomas Woodman, whose long hesitation as to the choice of a profession had ended in his entering the Church. "I hear confirmation of our old friend Mr T. Woodman's having taken orders," writes the lively Comtesse de Feuillide,[1] who had been his playfellow, in 1797; "which surprises everyone, as his father can give him a very handsome fortune, and it is rather late in life to enter upon a profession. It is reported that he means to make a still further change in his situation by marrying a widow with six children." In this case rumour was wrong, however, and the tenor of Thomas Woodman's life continued undisturbed save by his efforts to secure advancement in the Church, in which he was indefatigably seconded by his father. The thoughts of Mr Woodman, Senior, ran largely on what he calls "connonneries." "If I might presume to request the favour of Mrs Hastings," he writes, in the very year of his son's ordination, "there is a great Channel of Interest through Madam Swiellingburg with the Bishop of London,[2] who has many great things in his Gift, I believe you know. He is called the Queens Bishop, certain it is that he was by Her Majesty exalted to that station. . . . If Mrs Hastings feels no Impropriety in this business with her friend, there is not a doubt but it would in some degree succeed." That Mrs Hastings had resumed her old acquaintance with "Mrs Schwellenberg" is clear not only from Fanny Burney's mention of their going together to Weymouth, but from a letter in which Hastings writes to his stepson, "The Chariot is waiting to convey us to Mrs Schw.'s, where we dine, and your dear Mother is calling impatiently for me." The death of the Keeper of the Robes in the same year deprived Thomas Woodman of the benefit of her influence, however, and it was not until some years later that he obtained the livimg of Brackley, with which

[1] *Née* Elizabeth Hancock, afterwards Mrs Henry Austen. From a letter in the possession of J. G. Nicholson, Esq.

[2] Beilby Porteus, appointed 1787.

he was eventually allowed to hold that of Daylesford. Hastings appears to have waived his right of succession to Mr Warren's little estate of Stubhill in his favour, but declined to accede to the wish of Mr Woodman, Senior, that Thomas should adopt the name and arms of Hastings. The intercourse between Daylesford and Brackley was frequent and very affectionate, when the marriage of Thomas and Louise had doubly united the Hastings and Chapuset families, and Mrs Hastings exercised a benevolent despotism over the affairs of the young couple. Their first child was named Marian Charlotte, after herself and Lady Imhoff, and two sons of theirs (the elder lived only a few hours), were named Warren Hastings. The second of these was the late Warren Hastings Woodman-Hastings, Esq., of Twining, Gloucs.

The vacant place left by Louise at Daylesford was filled by Rosalie von Chapuset, "our sister Rosalia," as Thomas Woodman calls her. Hastings speaks of her as "our good and gentle inmate Rosalie," but she returned to Stuttgart before long on her marriage with a German named Soden, "Councillor to the Catholic Consistory of Würtemberg"—doubtless a relative of the Count Julius von Soden who was Prior of the Order of St Joachim when Charles Imhoff was elected a member. She and her husband write to thank her "most beloved Uncle" for all his kindness. There were still two Miss Chapusets unmarried, and one of them became her aunt's companion after Hastings' death, and finally married the Rev. Thomas Winter, Rector of Daylesford, who has already been mentioned as the custodian of the family papers on the death of Sir Charles Imhoff.

Apologists for Baron Imhoff—one distinguished writer pictures him as casting off a guilty wife and retiring in noble rage to his German estate, there at last to find consolation in a second marriage—will be interested to know that not only did he buy back that estate, with money which he can hardly have amassed by portrait-painting,[1] and marry again two years before his first wife became Mrs Hastings (as the present writer has pointed out

[1] Mr Foster has discovered a curious note in the Fort St George Military Consultations for September 10th, 1770:—"Received a letter from Mr Imhoff dated 4th instant representing that he arrived here as a Cadet last season but finding his salary insufficient to support himself and family, he had with the approbation of the late Governor (Mr Dupré) and General Smith practised a liberal art for a livelyhood, requesting permission to resign the service and to proceed to Bengal." The request was granted, and it is worth noticing, therefore, that Imhoff and his wife left Madras for Bengal more than a year before there was any prospect of Hastings being transferred thither. He was not appointed Governor until the very end of 1771.

in the appendix to 'The Great Proconsul'), but that he made her godmother to one of the children of his second marriage. Mrs Hastings sends £500 in 1810 to "Marian de Imhoff," because she is continually applying to her half-brother Charles for money. Of Imhoff's other daughters, the best known is Amalie, the poetess and friend of Schiller, who married a Colonel Helwig.

APPENDIX IV.

THE CHARGES AT THE TRIAL.

There is so much uncertainty in the popular mind as to these, and their definite nature, with the equal definiteness of their refutation, is so little understood, that it appears desirable to exhibit briefly the scope of each charge, and the majority by which the innocence of Hastings was affirmed in each case. The charges as originally brought were comprised in twenty-two articles, upon the eleven first and gravest of which the public interest concentrated itself. On the meeting of the new Parliament after the Dissolution of 1790, the managers agreed to withdraw the articles relating to the Rohillas, Shah Alam, Farrukhabad, the condition of Oudh, Hastings' own resignation and his treatment of Musafir Jang, which they considered most easily dispensed with. The sixteen charges enumerated below, on which the Lords were actually asked to vote, comprise the first article of the revised series (the Benares charge), the second (that relating to the Begums of Oudh), six charges founded on the sixth article of the same (relating to presents), seven on the fourth (contracts and allowances), and one covering the remainder of the articles. The summary is taken from the very full report in the "Debates of the House of Lords, on the Evidence delivered in the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.," as reprinted from the official record, by permission, for Hastings himself.

A dramatic touch was added to the scene of the acquittal by the fact that the Lord Chancellor, to whom it fell to announce the result to the accused, was no longer the friendly Thurlow, but his successor Loughborough, who was an old enemy of Hastings', and had displayed a strong bias against him throughout the course of the proceedings. With his usual preference for the picturesque over the actual, Macaulay says that Thurlow "sat

scowling among the junior barons."[1] As a matter of fact, he was probably, next to Hastings himself, the man most gratified by the acquittal, since it had fallen to him to conduct his friend's case in its final stages, and his masterly handling of the House of Lords, apparent in every page of the Debates, fills the mind of the reader with astonished admiration.

CHARGE I. That to satisfy the preconceived malice of Mr Hastings, and in pursuance of a regular plan laid down to effect the ruin of Cheyt Sing, a war subsidy was demanded from that ruler by the Bengal Government in the years 1778, 1779, and 1780. That with a further view to harass, oppress and ruin Cheyt Sing, Mr Hastings moved a resolution in November, 1780, that he should furnish cavalry in aid of the military operations of the Bengal Government, and under colour of it demanded the aid of such cavalry. That in further prosecution of his malicious intentions, Mr Hastings accused Cheyt Sing falsely of being in arrears in the payment of his *kist* (tribute), and that the accusation was made in peremptory and insulting language, calculated to drive the Rajah to some act of desperation. That Mr Hastings delegated to himself illegally the powers of the Governor and Council when he went to Benares. That he preferred false and malicious charges against Cheyt Sing in order to justify his arrest. That he caused the castle of Bidjygur to be besieged, though the Rannee Pauna, whose residence it was, had no concern in the supposed rebellion, and that he stimulated the army to rapine and outrage by the wicked orders he issued.[2] There were ten other heads.

Not Guilty, 23. Guilty, 6.

CHARGE II. That Mr Hastings' conduct was highly criminal, first in assenting to the Nabob-Vizier's proposition for resuming the jaghires he had granted, and afterwards in using a degree of compulsion to induce him to carry it out. That he consented to the resumption by the Nabob-Vizier of the treasures of his mother and grandmother, valuable moveables of which the Begums were possessed in order to enable them to maintain

[1] Macaulay's bias is strongly shown in his censure of the Lords for deciding "to be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm," *i.e.*, to demand proof and reject hearsay. The man who had held the greatest position open to a British subject was to be denied the fair play extended to the meanest pickpocket!

[2] The patent absurdity of this portion of the charge, and the self-contradiction of the accusers, brought upon them general contempt.

CHARGE XII. That he granted the provision of bullocks to Sir Charles Blunt, by the mode of agency, though the Directors condemned agencies.

Not Guilty, 23. Guilty, 3.

CHARGE XIII. That in 1779, with a view to increase his own influence, and in disobedience of positive orders, he granted to Sir Eyre Coote extra allowances amounting to £18,000 a-year, and that in direct violation of the treaty subsisting between the Company and the Nabob-Vizier, he directed that when Sir Eyre Coote was in Oude, these extra allowances should be carried to the debit of the Nabob-Vizier's account. That when these allowances were struck off by a letter from the Directors, Mr Hastings of his own private authority continued to Sir Eyre Coote certain large sums, which were paid by the Nabob-Vizier.[1]

Not Guilty, 22. Guilty, 4.

CHARGE XIV. That in pursuance of the same prodigal and corrupt system of government, he appointed James Peter Auriol, Esq., to be agent for the purchase of supplies for the relief of the presidency of Madras, and all the other presidencies in India, with a commission of 15 per cent.

Not Guilty, 22. Guilty, 4.

CHARGE XV. That he appointed his private secretary, John Belli, Esq., to be agent for the supply of stores and provisions for the garrison of Fort William in Bengal, with a commission of 30 per cent.

Not Guilty, 23. Guilty, 3.

CHARGE XVI. That he was guilty of other high crimes and misdemeanours.

Not Guilty, 25. Guilty, 2.

[1] See *supra*, p. 167.

INDEX.

[*The figures in bold type indicate a note or other special reference, those in ordinary type a mere mention. No attempt has been made to index words appearing on almost every page, such as the names of Mr and Mrs Hastings, Bengal, Calcutta, Court of Directors, East India Company, Madras, &c.—S. C. G.*]

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