

PRESENTED BY

Dr. Dadaabhai Naoroji.

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C O N T A I N I N G  
A M O N G S T M A N Y O T H E R S,

T H E L E T T E R S O F

GOVERNOR HASTINGS,	JAMES FRASER, ESQ.
J. MACPHERSON, ESQ.	JOHN BRISTOW, ESQ.
J. STABLES, ESQ.	DAVID ANDERSON, ESQ.
E. WHEELER, ESQ.	GENERAL STIBBERT,
SIR JOHN CUMMING,	COL. MORGAN,
NATH. MIDDLETON, ESQ.	MAJOR PALMER,
FRANCIS FOWKE, ESQ.	MAJOR BROWN,
&c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c.	

I N S I X V O L U M E S.

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V O L. II.

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L O N D O N:

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# C O N T E N T S

T O

## V O L U M E THE S E C O N D.

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*Papers relative to Charges IV. and XVI\*.*

*Extract of General Letter to Bengal; dated 14th February 1783.*

Par. 5. **W**E do not see how the Governor General could consent to the resumption of such lands as the Company had engaged should remain in the hands of those who possessed them previous to the execution of the late treaty, without stronger proofs of the Begum's defection than have been laid before us; neither can we allow it to be good policy to reduce the several Jaghiredars, and thus uniting the territory, and the troops maintained for the protection of that territory, under one head, who may by that means, at some future period, become a very powerful enemy to the Company.

6. With respect to the resumption of the Jaghires possessed by the Begums in particular, and the subsequent seizure of the treasure deposited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor General, in his letter to the board, 23d January 1782, has declared he strenuously encouraged, and we hope and trust, for the honour of the British nation, that the measure *appeared to be fully justified* in the eyes of all Hindostan. The Governor General has informed us "that it can be well attested that the Begums " principally excited and supported the late commotions; " and that they carried their inveteracy to the English " nation so far as to aim at our utter extirpation."

7. It must have been publicly known, that in 1775 the resident at the Vizier's court not only obtained from the Begum, widow of the late Sujah Dowlah, on the Nabob's account, 30 lacks of rupees, half of which was to be paid to the Company, but also the forbearance of 26 lacks—for the repayment of which she had security in land, on the Nabob's agreeing to renounce *all further claims upon her*; and that to this agreement the Company were guarantees.

\* *These two Charges are thus joined together, on account of the close affinity between their subjects; it was impossible completely to separate the papers, tending to the respective illustration of each. Those however which seem principally to concern the Begums, have the precedence assigned them.*

8. We find, that on the 21st December 1775, the Begum complained of a breach of engagements on the part of the Nabob, soliciting your protection for herself, her mother, and for all the women belonging to the seraglio of the late Nabob, from the distresses to which they were reduced: In consequence whereof it was agreed, in conf. 3d January 1776, to remonstrate with the Vizier; the Governor-general remarking, "That as the representative  
 " of our government has become an agent in this busi-  
 " nefs, and has pledged the honour and faith of the  
 " Company for the punctual observance of the conditions  
 " under which the treaty was concluded, you had a right  
 " to interfere; and justice demanded it, if it should ap-  
 " pear that those engagements have been violated." And the Board at the same time resolved, "That as soon as  
 " the Begum's engagements with the Nabob, to which  
 " Mr. Bristow is a party, shall be fulfilled on her part,  
 " this government will think themselves bound to protect  
 " her against any further demand or molestation."

9. If, therefore, the disaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which these subsequent transactions must have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only consolation we feel upon this occasion is, that the amount of those Jaghires, for which the Company were guarantees, is to be paid through our Resident at the Court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the credit of your government, on no account to suffer such payments to be evaded.

10. If it shall hereafter be found that the Begums did not take that hostile part against the Company which has been represented (as well in the Governor-general's narrative, as in several documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears, from the papers at present in our possession, that they excited any commotion, previous to the imprisonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction; and as it is probable that such a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of self-defence, under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions) we direct that you use your influence with the Vizier that their Jaghires may be restored to them; but if they should be under apprehensions respecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wish our further protection, it is our pleasure that you afford those ladies an asylum within the Company's territories, and there be paid the amount of the net collection of their Jaghires, agreeably to the second article of the late treaty, through  
 the

the medium of our Resident, as may be ascertained upon an average estimate of some years back.

Minute of Mr. Hastings.

Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

I SHOULD gladly acquiesce in the motion made by Mr. Macpherson, if I thought it possible to frame a letter to the Begums in any terms which should at the same time convey the intimation proposed by it, and not defeat the purpose of it, or be productive of evils greater than any which exist in the consequences of the proceedings which have already taken place, and which time has almost obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional; they require nothing, but in the event of discoveries made subsequent to the advices which were before you on the 14th of February last. In alleviation of the former conduct of the Begums, nothing has since appeared in relation to them, but their refusal, or rather that of one, to fulfil her engagements for the payment of the remainder of the sum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier in the beginning of last year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear ascertained spirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points to which neither the letter nor evident spirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will: It would ill become this government to interpose its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animosities, and a very slight occasion would be sufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpose to tell them, that their conduct has, in our estimation of it, been wrong, and at the same time to announce to them the orders of our superiors, which more than vindicate the reverse; they will instantly take fire on such a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the Company in their favour; demand a reparation of the acts, which they will construe wrongs, with such a sentence warranting that construction; and either accept the invitation to the proclaimed scandal of the Nabob Vizier, which will not add to the credit of our government, or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the disorder of the country, by continual intrigues and seditions: Enough already exists to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people. If we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted. If the Begums think themselves aggrieved to such a degree as to justify them in an appeal to a foreign jurisdiction,

tion, to appeal to it against a man standing in the relation of son and grandson to them, to appeal to the justice of those who have been the abettors and instruments of their imputed wrongs—let us at least permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redress them; they will not need to be prompted. I hope I shall not depart from the simplicity of official language in saying, that the majesty of justice ought to be approached with solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much less to debase itself by the suggestion of wrongs, and the promise of redress, with the denunciation of punishment before trial, and even before accusation.

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### PRINCES OF OUDE AND MISDEMEANORS IN OUDE.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM THE BABOO BEGUM TO MR. HASTINGS, RECEIVED IN CALCUTTA 22 DEC. 1775; SHEWING THE NUMBER OF WOMEN THE BEGUMS OF OUDE ARE UNDER THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING.

*Extract of Letter from the Baboo Begum, Mother of the Nabob Afoph-ul-Dowlah, to Governor Hastings; received 22d December 1775.*

MURTEZZA KHAN is striving with all his might for the ruin of this ancient family, which he wishes utterly to destroy. If it is your pleasure that the mother of the late Nabob, myself, and his other women, and infant children, should be reduced to a state of dishonour and distress, we must submit; but if, on the contrary, you call to mind the friendship of the late blessed Nabob, you will exert yourself so effectually in favour of us, who are helpless, as to remove Murtezza Khân; he is the author of all the evil. I have no displeasure against the Nabob Afoph ul Dowlah; let him be master of his own affairs. If you do not approve of my remaining at Fyzabad, send a person here in your name, to remove the mother of the late Nabob, myself, and about 2,000 other women and children of the said blessed Nabob, together with the women of the Nabob, Burham ul Mulk, and those of Sufdar Jung, from this city, that we may reside with honour and reputation in some other place. We cannot even

even exist here. Whatever remedy occurs to your wisdom, let it be applied without delay, for we are now brought to the brink of dishonour. In the Nabob's lifetime he was possessed of no more than this single Soubah, and the dues to the English chiefs were paid out of the revenues of it, as also the expences of his army, and his own. At present, that the Soubah is increased to three times its former extent, what becomes of the revenues? No one thinks of making this enquiry, but sums are continually taken from us helpless women.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Nathaniel Middleton to Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Vizier's Court; dated Lucknow, 23 October 1782.*

I MUST beg leave to refer you to my correspondence with the honourable the Governor-general for a full account of the origin and nature of my transactions with the Begums at Fyzabad, and the letters which have passed between me and officers who have severally commanded; these will shew you the progress and present state of that business. The balance due from the Bow Begum, upon her agreement made in January last, after allowing her credit for the trifling articles lately sent here by Major Gilpin, will be about five lacks, which I apprehend may be realized, if you deem it expedient to continue the restraints which have been imposed for that purpose. She had indeed given Major Gilpin the most satisfactory assurances of an immediate liquidation of this long-depending account, in which I believe she was sincere; but, probably from an expectation of a change of measures upon my removal, she has lately retracted those assurances, and now declares her determination to make no further payment whatever, but upon the certainty of her Jaghyre being restored to her, which I could give her no hopes of, as the propriety of its resumption has been sanctified by the approbation of the honourable the Governor-general; who further expressly enjoins me, in his instructions of the 27th January, to exert my influence with the Nabob to prevent the conclusion of any final settlement between him and the Begums, until I should be furnished with instructions from him or the board on that head. Not having since the above date received any directions from the board or the Governor-general, relative to the Begums, I know not what may be their wishes in regard to them, but I thought it at all events my duty, conformable to the spirit of the orders I had received, to retain possession of the Kittu of Fyzabad, and the persons of the Bow Begum's two principal eunuchs, until the sum she had stipu-

lated to pay was fully liquidated, or the honourable Board should notify their further pleasure.

A true copy.

J. NEAVE,

Assistant to the Resident at  
the Vizier's court.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 28th August 1783.*

MR. WHEELER having left the following minute with the secretary, in consequence of reading the general letter of the 14th February, at the last meeting in the public department, it is now considered.

Mr. Wheeler.—It always has been, and always will be, my wish to conform implicitly to the orders of the Court of Directors; and I trust that the opinion which I shall give upon that part of the Court's letter which is now before us will not be taken up against its meaning, as going to a breach of them. The orders at present under the Board's consideration are entirely provisional

Nothing has passed, since the conclusion of the agreement made by the Governor-general with the Vizier at Chunar, which induces me to alter the opinion which I before held, as well from the Governor-general's reports to this Board, as the opinions which I have heard of many individuals totally unconcerned in the subject, that the Begums at Fyzabad did take a hostile part against the Company during the disturbances in Benares; and I am impressed with a conviction, that the conduct of the Begums did not proceed entirely from motives of self-defence. But as the Court of Directors appear to be of a different opinion, and conceive that there ought to be stronger proofs of the defection of the Begums than have been laid before them, I think that before we decide on their orders, the late and present Resident at the Vizier's court, and the commanding officers in the Vizier's country, ought to be required to collect and lay before the Board all the information they can obtain with respect to the defection of the Begums, during the troubles in Benares, and their present disposition to the Company.

The Governor-general desires to record the following minute.

The Governor-general.—I think that Mr. Wheeler has misconceived the intention of the Court of Directors. I have attentively read the fourth and subsequent paragraphs of the letter of the 14th February, but find no order expressed or implied in them, which can warrant the enquiry proposed by Mr. Wheeler. The Court of Directors is already

already in possession of complete and legal evidence of the hostile part taken by the Begums of Fyzabad against the Company. I cannot directly object to the proposal for collecting fresh evidence on the same charges, but I must be informed of the object of it before I can assent to it; I do therefore object to the question, in the present terms and state of it.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 22d September 1783.*

THE following minute having been received from Mr. Stables the 18th instant, is now recorded.

September 9th, 1783.

The Court of Directors, by their letter of the 14th February 1783, seem not to be satisfied that the disaffection of the Begums to this government is sufficiently proved by the evidence before them.

I therefore think that the late and present resident, and commanding officers in the Vizier's country at the time, should be called upon to collect what further information they can on this subject, in which the honour and dignity of this government is so materially concerned, that such information may be immediately transmitted to the Court of Directors.

In the enquiry proposed to be made, I wish it particularly to be attended to, whether any hostile intention, or mark of disaffection to this government, in the conduct of the Begums, appeared before the troubles at Benares.

I think the Resident at the Vizier's court should be called upon to give information to the Board, whether the amount of the Begums' Jaghire has been paid to them, and by what channel the payment has been made.

The Governor-general desires that the paragraph of the letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th February 1783, which Mr. Stables alludes to in his minute, may be entered in this place, because it does not appear to him that the Court of Directors had directed any enquiry to be made such as is now proposed; that it appears to him both too late and unnecessary at this time to renew it, as every strong and authenticated evidence of the disaffection of the Begums has been collected, and transmitted to the Court of Directors, and as the reasons assigned by the Court of Directors, if these shall be transmitted with the orders for the enquiry, will prove in their effect an order collecting evidence to the justification and acquittal of the Begums, not for the investigation of the truth of the charges which have been preferred against them.



The Governor-general thinks it unnecessary to make any other comment upon the motion, or to give either his assent or dissent to it, but as the latter may be applied in the preceding observations.

If evidence is to be collected, it should be collected from all persons capable of giving it, and not confined to official characters.

*Extract of a General Letter from the Honourable Court of Directors; dated 14th February 1783.*

Par. 6. With respect to the resumption of the Jaghires possessed by the Begums in particular, and the subsequent seizures of treasure deposited with the Vizier's mother, which the Governor-general in his letter to your Board 23d January 1782, has declared he strenuously encouraged and supported, we hope and trust, for the honour of the British nation, that the measure appeared to be fully justified in the eyes of all Hindostan. The Governor-general has informed us "that it can be well attested that the Begums principally excited and supported the late motions, and that they carried their inveteracy to the English so far as to aim at our utter extirpation."

Par. 9. If therefore the disaffection of the Begums was not a matter of public notoriety, we cannot but be alarmed for the effects which these subsequent transactions must have had on the minds of the natives of India. The only consolation we feel upon this occasion is, that the amount of those Jaghires, for which the Company were guarantees, is to be paid through our Resident at the court of the Vizier; and it very materially concerns the credit of your government on no account to suffer such payments to be evaded.

10. If it shall hereafter be found, that the Begums did not take that hostile part against the Company which has been represented (as well in the Governor-general's narrative as in several documents therein referred to; and as it no where appears from the papers at present in our possession, that they excited any commotion previous to the imprisonment of Rajah Cheyt Sing, but only armed themselves in consequence of that transaction; and as it is not probable that such a conduct proceeded entirely from motives of self-defence, under an apprehension that they themselves might likewise be laid under unwarrantable contributions) we direct that you use your influence with the Vizier, that their Jaghires may be restored to them; but if they should be under apprehensions respecting the future conduct of the Vizier, and wish our further protection, it is our pleasure that you afford those Ladies an asylum within the Company's territories, and there be paid

paid the amount of the net collection of their Jaghire, agreeably to the 2d article of the late treaty, through the medium of our Resident, as may be ascertained upon an average estimate of some years back.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 13th October 1783.*

MR. Macpherson having delivered the following opinion upon the Company's orders of the 14th of February, respecting the Begums at Fyzabad, it was sent in circulation, and is now entered.

Received 3 October.

25 Sept.

I have read the general letter from the Court of Directors of the 14th of February with attention. When it was first read in Council, I understood the paragraph about the Begums as directing an investigation of the grounds on which they were deprived of their Jaghires, and that we should use our influence with the Vizier to put them in possession of the Jaghires, if there was not sufficient evidence of their rebellious conduct during the troubles of Benares. On a close attention to the words and spirit of the different paragraphs upon this subject, I do not think that we are directed to commence any new investigation of evidence; indeed I do not well see how such an investigation could be regularly undertaken, or what salutary purpose it could produce: there has been no appeal from the Begums to this government; and there certainly was sufficient proof at the time, that those who had the management of their concerns during the troubles at Benares were no friends, but real enemies to the cause of the English. The points which the Court of Directors seem to have most at heart are, 1st. That the engagement of the 2d article of the Benares treaty should be faithfully fulfilled; and, 2dly, to guard against the future conduct of the Vizier, if he should be disposed to oppress the Begums. We should therefore ascertain whether the amount of the Jaghires of the Begums is regularly paid to them through the Company's Resident, and give them notice that no future demands shall be made upon them. This, I think, the Governor-general might do in a letter that would make the Begums sensible of their past misconduct, yet inform them of the lenity and gracious intentions of the Company, in ordering them an asylum in Bengal, in case of future distress.

In consequence of the foregoing opinion from Mr. Macpherson, the following minute was delivered by the Governor-general,

Gheretty,

Gheretty, 9th October 1783.

I should gladly acquiesce in the motion made by Mr. Macpherfon, if I thought it possible to frame a letter to the Begums, in any terms which should at the same time convey the intimation proposed by it, and not defeat the purpose of it; or be productive of evils greater than any which exist in the consequences of the proceedings which have already taken place, and which time has almost obliterated. The orders of the Court of Directors are conditional; they require nothing but in the event of discoveries made subsequent to the advices which were before you on the 14th of February last, in alleviation of the former conduct of the Begums. Nothing has since appeared in relation to them, but their refusal, or rather that of one, to fulfil her engagements for the payment of the remainder of the sum exacted from her by the Nabob Vizier, in the beginning of last year. Whatever obedience may be due to the clear ascertained spirit of the orders of the Court of Directors, this obligation cannot extend to points which neither the letter nor evident spirit of their orders apply. If I am rightly informed, the Nabob Vizier and the Begums are on terms of mutual good-will. It would ill become this government to interpose its influence by any act which might tend to revive their animosities, and a very slight occasion would be sufficient to effect it. It will be to little purpose to tell them that their conduct has, in our estimation of it, been wrong, and at the same time to announce to them the orders of our superiors, which more than vindicate the reverse; they will instantly take fire on such a declaration, proclaim the judgment of the company in their favour, demand a reparation of the acts which they will construe wrongs, with such a sentence warranting that construction, and either accept the invitation, to the proclaimed scandal of the Nabob Vizier (which will not add to the credit of our government) or remain in his dominions, but not under his authority, to add to his vexations, and the disorder of the country, by continual intrigues and seditions: enough already exists to affect his peace, and the quiet of his people—if we cannot heal, let us not inflame the wounds which have been inflicted. If the Begums think themselves aggrieved to such a degree as to justify them in an appeal to a foreign jurisdiction; to appeal to it against a man standing in the relation of son and grandson to them; to appeal to the justice of those who have been the abettors and instruments of their imputed wrongs; let us at least permit them to be the judges of their own feelings, and prefer their complaints before we offer to redress them—they will not need to be prompted.

prompted. I hope I shall not depart from the simplicity of official language in saying, that the majesty of justice ought to be approached with solicitation, not descend to provoke or invite it, much less to debase itself by the suggestion of wrongs, and the promise of redress, with the denunciation of punishment before trial, and even before accusation.

Mr. Macpherson.—I see, with the Governor-general, the difficulty of writing a letter to the Begums that would not in some degree extenuate their past conduct, yet convey to them a knowledge of the protection tendered to them, in the event of future distresses, by the Court of Directors. I wished to adopt an expedient to shew the Company that we were ready to meet any wishes they had on the subject: I only suggested the idea, but do not move it as a question; the majesty of justice ought certainly to be met with solicitation, and should not descend to provoke or invite it; but from some expressions in the letter of the Court of Directors, I am led to think they had some complaint before them, or a different representation from the evidence sent by this government about the rebellion of the Begums, when they wrote their directions of the 14th February last, otherwise they would either have approved or disapproved of the conduct of this administration, upon the facts stated to them, or have been silent till they received further advices. I agree with Mr. Stables, that the Resident at the court of Oude should be called upon to state to the Board, whether the Begums have received the amount of their Jaghires.

*Extract of General Letter from Bengal; dated 20th October 1783.*

THE directions which you have been pleased to give, in your commands of the 14th February last, concerning the Begums at Fyzabad, have also produced different opinions upon them at this Board; which being recorded, we must beg leave to refer you to our proceedings, noted in the margin \*, for a reply to that part of your letter,

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 21st October 1783.*

READ the following letter from Mr. Bristow.

\* *Conf. 28 Aug. Mr. Wheeler's Minute.—Governor-general's do.—22d Mr. Stables do.—Governor-general's do.—13 Oct. Mr. Macpherson's do.—Governor-general's do.—Mr. Macpherson do.*

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have received your commands of the 28 ultimo, and now transmit you a list of the Jaghires resumed since the agreement made by the honourable the Governor-general with his Excellency the Vizier, at Chunar, in September 1781, as furnished me by Hyder Beg Cawn. The list I had formerly the honour to forward to your honourable Board was the sum proposed to be allowed to the proprietors, in lieu of the income of their Jaghires, and not the actual amount; my ascertaining these particulars has occasioned the delay in my replying to your orders.

I have only to observe, in regard to the situation of the Jaghiredars, that very few of them have received any part of their allowances, and they are all in distress.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Lucknow,  
25 Sept. 1783.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,  
Resident at the Vizier's court.

*Account of the Resumed Jaghires in the Fuffullee Year 1189.*

The Nawaub Salar Jung, and his sons	-	6,71,304	11	—
The family and sons of the late Mirza Ally Cawn	-	3,26,315	—	—
The Bhow Beagum	-	8,00,001	—	—
The Nawaub Beagum	-	1,95,460	3	6
Sherof Ally Cawn, Lulf Ally Cawn, and the family of Bund Ally Cawn		34,801	7	—
Huffun Reza Cawn	-	13,000	—	—
Nawaub Modar Ul Dowlah	-	69,999	12	6
Imaum ul Dien Cawn	-	15,470	14	6
Khaim Cawnd Hingam Cawn	-	69,166	—	9
Rajah Tipper Chund	-	10,000	—	—
Holah Sing	-	57,566	—	—
Sobah Sing	-	54,298	9	—
Nuddee Sing	-	43,399	—	—
Mooly Sing	-	36,500	—	—
Newar Sing	-	35,000	—	—
Rowanny Sing	-	39,001	—	—
Mirza Rustum Ally	-	6,961	—	—
Bur Ear Sing	-	9,741	9	—
Mohim Sing	-	7,381	—	—
Behadre Sing	-	7,165	—	—
Mahommed Ghose	-	6,000	—	—
Gholaum Cawn	-	6,000	—	—
Umber Ally Cawn	-	34,817	—	—
Auffrein Ally Cawn	-	40,000	—	—
Khoth Nuzzer Ally Cawn	-	12,501	—	—

Eofuph

Eofuph Ally Cawn	-	-	12,533	14	6
Buffunt Ally Cawn	-	-	3,825	13	—
Almas Ally Cawn	-	-	30,000	—	—
Mahomed Wudgee	-	-	600	—	—
Meer Umjud	-	-	8,051	—	—
Mahomed Shuffy	-	-	670	14	—
Seyf Ulla	-	-	5,954	5	6
Ally Achbus Beg	-	-	10,273	—	—
Mahomed Fazil	-	-	301	—	—
Mahomed Ecar Cawn	-	-	4,376	—	—
Hubbee Beg	-	-	12,600	—	—
Bhamut Ulla	-	-	5,273	—	—
Salaim Ulla Cawn	-	-	7,173	1	—
Nader Hufsem Cawn	-	-	7,031	—	—
Meer Zeah ul Deen	-	-	5,758	8	6
Mungoo Beg	-	-	9,670	5	6
Buxhoor Nur	-	-	1,501	—	—
Mohim Gudgee	-	-	2,471	—	—
Meer Fazil Ally	-	-	11,037	—	—
Rajah Jao Loll	-	-	41,942	8	—
Meer Maooah	-	-	1,211	—	—
Hicmut Hufsum Cawn	-	-	4,906	1	—
Sufder Ally Cawn	-	-	2,400	—	—
Moda Buck	-	-	450	—	—
Meer Khys Ulla	-	-	13,000	—	—
Mirza Ruftee Soudah	-	-	2,370	—	—
Moonshy Baffet	-	-	425	—	—
Rajah Beshim Sing	-	-	16,500	—	—
Roy Wholafs Roy	-	-	11,500	—	—
Khaujah Neamut Ulla	-	-	4,031	—	—
Hufsem Ally, and Bauher Ally	-	-	2,263	—	—
Mahomed Suddeah	-	-	14,000	—	—
Mahomed Ally	-	-	2,134	—	—
Ruddre Mun Shoozul	-	-	13,202	—	—
Mahomed Nur	-	-	12,669	12	—
Turhaud Ally Cawn	-	-	7,082	4	—
Mirza Hufsein	-	-	14,130	11	—
Mahomed Saud Cawn	-	-	4,015	—	—
Jaghire Lutafut Ally Cawn	-	-	1,15,805	12	—
Jaghire Rajah Govend Ram	-	-	22,000	—	—

Rupees 30,53,590 1 3

Errors excepted.

(Signed)

JOHN BRISTOW,  
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Ordered,

Ordered, That Mr. Bristow be directed to furnish the Board with a particular account, specifying the amount actually paid to the Begums at Fyzabad, since the resumption of the Jaghires took effect in the year 1781, and the amount actually due to them; and to inform the Board whether the payments have been made to them through him.

*Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 25th November 1783.*

Par. 11. IN our address by the Nerbudda, we had the honour of acquainting you, that a question had arisen at our Board on your letter of the 14th of February, respecting the Begums at Fyzabad. We have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that your wishes in relation to their Jaghires have been supported by the Vizier himself, who has desired that their Jaghires may be restored to them. A copy of his letter to the Governor-general is transmitted for your perusal and information in this dispatch.

From the Nabob Vizier :

Usual Introduction.

Received 6th Nov. 1783.

THE authority and influence of the Jagierdas in the Jageers districts were formerly the causes of some disorders in those of government, and the Aumils of the latter were wont to make complaints. It had become an object with me also to reduce the Jageers to their original value. Moreover, during the disturbances at Benares, I had entertained suspicions of the fidelity of some of the Jageerdars; and for the preceding reasons, when at Chunargar, I proposed the sequestration of my grandmother's and mother's Jageers, and of those of the Nabob Saulaur Jung, and others of my relations and connections; and on my return to the Soubah of Oude, I carried the measure into execution. In the course of the two years that their Jageers have been sequestered (for the present is the third year of their sequestration) the motives to that measure have been answered, and my doubts fully satisfied. There are now none who will presume to disobey my will; and the distresses which they individually suffer are beyond description: And on this account it is now my wish to put my grandmother, my mother, the Nabob Saulaur Jung, and others of my relations, agreeably to the accompanying list, again in possession of their Jageers. I therefore request that you will write to Mr. Bristow not to oppose the measure, but to allow them to be delivered up.

Conclude as usual.

*Lij*

*List of Jageers accompanying the preceding Letter.*

Jageers, and Names of Jageerdars, as follows :

Jageer of my Grandmother.

Jageer of my Mother.

Jageer of the Nabob Saulaur Jung.

Jageer of the sons and family of the late Nabob Istikhaur  
a Dowla, Meerza Ally Khan.

Jageer of the Nabob Jummaumdeen.

Jageer of the sons of Bund Alli Yhhaun.

Jageer of the Nabob Muddaur U'Dowla.

A true Copy of the Translation.

(Signed) E. HAY,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 25th November  
1783.*

To Edward Hay, Esquire, Sub-Secretary.

I AM favoured with your letter of the 21st ultimo, conveying the orders of the honourable Governor-general and Council, directing me to furnish a particular account, specifying the amount actually paid to the Begums at Fyzabad since the resumption of their Jagheers took effect in 1781—the sum actually due to them—and whether the payments to them have been made through me.

As it will be some days before I shall be able to obtain the accounts required by the Board, you will oblige me in representing this circumstance, that the delay may not be imputed to neglect, or inattention to their commands.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,  
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 16th December 1783.*

READ the following letter from Mr. Bristow.

Edward Hay, Esquire, Sub-Secretary.

Sir,

As I have not yet been able to procure from the Minister of his Highness the documents and accounts necessary to enable me to furnish the honourable Board with the explanation required from me in our letter of the 21st ultimo, I must beg, if any mention of this matter should occur, that you will acquaint the gentlemen with the occasion



occasion of the delay; assuring them I shall obey their commands the moment the accounts are delivered to me.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
 (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW,  
 Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Lucknow,  
 17 Nov. 1783.

*Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Nabob Hyder Beg Cawn.*

WHEN I prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to commit the entire charge of his revenues and the administration of his finances to his ministers, of whom you are the acting and responsible person, with the concurrence of the Resident, Mr Middleton, I had so sure a reliance on your integrity, diligence, and abilities, which are universally known, and no less on the same qualities of Mr. Middleton, that I departed with a mind perfectly at ease, expecting that order would be restored to the Nabob's affairs, capable and trust-worthy Aumils appointed to the superintendance of the districts, the forces duly stationed for the security of peace and the confirmation of the authority of the Sircar, and that the past and growing debt of the Company would be completely discharged in the course of the year, and that I should receive the thanks of the Nabob, your master, for the effects of my solicitude for the support of his dignity and ease. The event has proved the reverse of these hopes;—an accumulation of distress, debasement, and dissatisfaction to the Nabob, and of disappointment and disgrace to me.—Every measure which he had himself proposed, and to which he had solicited my assistance, has been so conducted, as to give him cause of displeasure; there are no officers established, by which his affairs could be regularly conducted; mean, incapable, and indigent men have been appointed Aumils of the districts, without authority, and without the means of personal protection; some of them have been murdered by the Zemindars; and those Zemindars, instead of punishment, have been permitted to retain their Zemindaries with independent authority; all the other Zemindars suffered to rise up in rebellion, and to insult the authority of the Sircar, without any attempt made to suppress them; and the Company's debt, instead of being discharged by the assignments and extraordinary sources of money provided for that purpose, is likely to exceed even the amount at which it stood at the time in which

which the arrangement with his Excellency was concluded, The growth of these evils was early made known to me, and their effects foreboded in the same order and manner as they have since come to pass.—Added to these, I this instant learn, that Almas Ally Cawn, to whom you had entrusted the greatest portion of the collections, without any pledge or security for his fidelity, has thrown off his allegiance, and quitted the Nabob's dominions, taking with him an immense treasure, the fruit of his embezzlements and oppressions, and an army raised for its protection. This too was long since foretold, and ought to have been suspected.

In such a state of calamity and disgrace, I can no longer remain a passive spectator; nor would it be becoming to conceal my sentiments, or qualify the expression of them. I have hitherto forborne to interfere, that I might not weaken your influence, and thereby disable you from fulfilling the responsibility of the great trust which had been assigned to you. I now plainly tell you, that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nabob Vizier's government. You possess abilities, and the means of retrieving them; nor is it, yet too late, for the resources of the country still remain: I expect it, and immediately.—And as the first effect of your exertions, I require, that the balance, which is due to the Company, be fully cleared by the end of the year; so that not an anna shall remain in arrears. I have a right to exact this return to the confidence which the world has seen me place in you, and to the good offices which the friendship of the Nabob Vizier has enabled me to afford you. If I am disappointed, you will impose on me the painful and humiliating necessity of acknowledging to him, that I have been deceived, and of recommending the examination of your conduct to his justice, both for the redress of his own and Company's grievances, and for the injury sustained by both in their mutual connexion.

Do not reply to me, that what I have written is from the suggestion of your enemies, nor imagine, that I have induced myself to write in such plain and declaratory terms, without a clear insight into all the consequences of it, and a fixed determination upon them.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 7th September 1782.*

THE Governor General having received a private letter from Major Palmer at Lucknow, which he has sent to Mr. Wheeler, with a request that he will lay it before the Board for their consideration; it is now read, with the Governor General's sentiments upon it, as follows:

The papers now laid before the Board, contain information, whether true or false, of such an alarming nature, as to require some immediate and effectual measure to prevent the possible consequences of the circumstances therein contained. In the present instance, delicacy to Mr. Johnson cannot be regarded; a whole province may be thrown into convulsions by it, and those of the Company be involved in the general confusion. The Governor-general himself has no doubt of the truth of the information, and if such violent measures could be necessary to the interests of the Company, it was Mr. Johnson's duty to have communicated that necessity, and his motives for such conduct, together with the steps he had taken, to the Board;—but such information has never been given to us by him, and he must therefore thank himself for consequences arising out of his own remissness and inattention to his duty.

Sir,

I have received your orders to quit Lucknow, and am preparing to obey them.

Hyder Beg Cawn called upon me yesterday morning, to acquaint me that he had heard of my recall from Mr. Johnstone, and to declare, that as my presence was the only check upon that gentleman's violent designs against him, he would not remain in the Vizier's dominions a moment after my departure. I put in his hands a copy of your letter to him; he was amply affected by the refusal, that for a considerable time he was incapable of utterance, and at last was obliged to leave me abruptly, to defer the explanation of his conduct until his mind is more composed: Whatever may be his character and proceedings, the injuries and insults which he daily sustains at the hands of Mr. Johnstone, are impolitic as well as ungenerous, and are in their nature insupportable. Mr. Johnstone's motive for a conduct so diametrically opposite to that of his principal and friend, is either calculated to impress a belief of his having had no share or influence in measures which he sees universally condemned, or is more probably the result of a concerted plan between him and Mr. Middleton, to drive Hyder Beg Cawn out of the country, that they may fix the entire blame of mismanagement upon him, and suppress his evidence, which could not fail to criminate themselves: The delay of Mr. Middleton in returning to his station, strongly warrants this supposition.

I endeavoured to encourage Hyder Beg Cawn to a reliance on your justice, by assuring him that you would not hold him responsible for measures which had been  
dictated

dictated to him by an influence he could not oppose, and by explaining to him your intentions respecting the subjects contained in your letter to him. But before your protection can be extended to him, he may be ruined by the power and malice of Johnstone, and I am afraid that his natural timidity will impel him to some precipitate resolution of fatal consequence to the Vizier's affairs.

I have been with the Nabob since I begun my letter; he appears equally surprized and distressed that you have recalled me without giving him intimation of it, and considers it as a plain indication of measures to be adopted here, incompatible with the sentiments which you instructed me to impart to him: He has lost all expectations of deliverance from the usurpations of Mr. Johnstone, and regards his authority as annihilated for ever; a kind of sullen despair seems to have possessed his mind; he earnestly intreats me, as his last hope, to wait for your sentiments upon the representations which Mr. Davy will make to you, and declares that if these should not induce you to afford him relief, he will demand an asylum in Calcutta.

Lucknow,  
24th Aug. 1782.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) W. PALMER.

*Translation of a Letter from Hyder Beg Khawn to Major William Davy; received September 6th, 1782, at Calcutta.*

Usual Introduction.

I HAVE wrote you two letters previous to this, which I hope are arrived. The former language and carriage of the acting chief here have again been received, and in such manner, that in consequence thereof we can no longer know each other. His conduct has turned out extraordinary indeed, and is all the offspring of artifice. I repeatedly hinted to you when at Lucknow, that he was not unwatchful of his object, and that he was meditating my ruin, inasmuch as every mark of favour conferred upon me by the Governor has been displeasing to him; and the circumstance I apprehended has now come to pass, for he has caused letters of reprimand to be written to me by the Governor. I am on all occasions ready to fulfil the Governor's pleasure: This declaration I have repeatedly made to you, and I should doubt not but you will represent the same to him. With respect to the advantage he (Mr. Johnstone) has taken in accusing me, I am now silent; I will first pay off the balance due to the Company, and then, relying on the kindness of the justice of the Governor, I am ready to answer to every particular.

ticular. At the end of two days I will write you fully of the plan now in agitation for discharging the debt. It is well that he has taken the lead in accusing me; I shall now also do my duty in representing my situation; as soon as the money due to the Company is paid, I will inform the Governor in the fullest manner of his conduct with respect to me, and I will write particularly to you on the same subject from thence; the propriety or impropriety of my conduct will be made known. In fact he has, in order to render me contemptible, appointed the Aumils of his own choice, and in such a manner, that no one either attends the presence of the Nawaub, or comes to visit me. Sitting in his apartment, he sends for whatever Sunnuds or orders he thinks proper; without remedy I write and deliver them: He moreover directs the Sunnuds to be sent on his own part to the residence of the persons for whom they are made out, as if such matters had no connexion with the Sircar of the Navvaub. As soon as the debt is discharged every thing shall be related. His complaints also to the Governor, that by the continuance of Major Palmer the Company's affairs, such as the receipt of the balance, &c. are retarded, are all written for the purpose of securing and establishing himself, for no such obstructions to the Company's concerns have ever been produced by the presence of Major Palmer; on the contrary, in the confidence derived therefrom, several affairs have been brought to a conclusion. After payment of the balance, when the state of things here shall be communicated at large, it will be understood that, owing to the encouragement and confidence given by Major Palmer, affairs have been concluded, and that no impediments have ever arisen therefrom. All these are the contrivances of Mr. Johnstone, who is the all-powerful here. The Vizier has no power in this place, nor the Naib of the Vizier, nor Mr. Middleton; the sole master of affairs is Mr. Johnson: Whatever he writes to Mr. Middleton, that Mr. Middleton writes to Calcutta, otherwise it is not Mr. Middleton's disposition to traduce any one without cause. In a word, that which I foretold to you respecting him has come to pass; by the blessing of God the whole will be known in a few days. You may speak on these affairs with confidence; the Governor's pleasure shall be fulfilled; there shall be no neglect upon me; and some measure be taken, otherwise I will not continue in this society. As soon as the Company's money is paid I will wait upon the Governor. I have in such manner continued to devote myself, both in life and fortune, to the service of the Company, that all mankind here have become my enemies; but owing to

Mr. Johnson my endeavours have been converted into misdemeanors.

In consequence of the above advices, and various other informations relative to the distracted state of the Vizier's country, which evidently prove the neglect of the acting Resident; in not having made any communications whatsoever regarding them to this government, the Governor-general gave it as his opinion to the members of the Board respectively, that Mr. Richard Johnstone, who in the absence of Mr. Middleton the Resident was left in charge of that office, should be ordered immediately down to Calcutta; and that the commanding officer at Cawnpore should be directed, in case of the disobedience of Mr. Johnstone, to see the orders of the Board enforced: He further expressed his opinion, that a copy of the orders of the Board should be transmitted to Mr. Middleton, who it may be supposed will by that time be returned to his station, that he may likewise assist in enforcing his execution of them.

The Board, taking the purport of these advices and communications into their most serious consideration, and being fully satisfied of the necessity of recalling Mr. Johnstone immediately from Lucknow, both to quiet the Vizier's apprehensions, and to oblige him to answer for his past conduct.

Resolved, That the following letter be immediately dispatched to him.

Mr. Richard Johnstone

Sir,

You are hereby peremptorily ordered and commanded, within forty-eight hours of the receipt of this letter, to quit Lucknow, and repair without delay to the presidency of Fort William.

We have further to acquaint you, that the commanding officer at Cawnpore has been directed to enforce these orders in case of disobedience on your part

Previous to your departure, you will deliver over the charge of the Residency, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, and other documents, of which you are in possession, to the next senior assistant on the spot, if Mr. Middleton is not already returned to Lucknow.

We are, &c. &c.

Fort William,  
7th Sept. 1782.

To Mr. N. Middleton.

Sir,

Having thought it necessary to order Mr. Johnstone's immediate return to the presidency, we inclose a copy of the letter we have sent to him, to which you will require his faithful obedience.

Fort William,  
7th Sept. 1782.

We are, &c. &c.

To Colonel James Morgan, commanding the Troops at Cawnpore.

Sir,

Having thought it necessary to order Mr. Richard Johnston to quit Lucknow within forty-eight hours of the receipt of our letter to him of this date, and to repair immediately to the presidency, we hereby direct you to enforce this order, by means of a military guard, in case of Mr. Johnstone's disobedience; for which purpose you will write to the officer in command at Lucknow, or adopt such other effectual means as you shall think proper.

Fort William,  
7th Sept. 1782.

We are, &c.

*Extract of Bengal General Consultations, the 23d September 1782.*

RECEIVED the following letter from the Governor-general.

Gentlemen,

A few days before my present indisposition commenced, I informed you, that I was sorry to find that the Resident at the Vizier's court had evidently failed in his duty to this government, in not having carried into execution the conditions and spirit of the late treaty with the Vizier. I had farther the mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Resident, nor his deputy in his absence, had communicated to me the confusions which had arisen in the Vizier's dominions from a neglect or violation of the treaty.

The letters which I wrote, in consequence of such mismanagements, to the Resident and to the acting minister of the Vizier, were laid before you and approved.

Upon the same occasion I observed to you, that the obstacle which opposed itself to the nomination of Mr. Bristow to the residentship at Oude no longer existed; it was removed by my having vindicated what must ever be esteemed one of the necessary privileges of this government: I had the pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Bristow, during his

his former residence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

I have now great satisfaction in informing you, that my letter to the acting minister of the Vizier has had the happiest effect, in realizing the heavy balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is said, that the present Resident and his deputy are brought to a proper sense of their duty to the Company.

But as in every act of my administration of the affairs of the Company, I never had an object in view but their permanent interest, as far as my judgment could direct me, and as prejudice in favour of those in whom I have confided, or against those who opposed me, vanish in my mind when the good of the service requires it, I now wish you to recall Mr. Middleton from the court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Bristow in his room.

My weak state of health obliges me to dictate this letter from my bed; yet I cannot but add, that your instructions to Mr. Bristow should be strong and positive upon three points: first, that he should always shew every possible respect to the Vizier and his family. Secondly, that he should take the most effectual steps for securing all that may remain unpaid of the Company's balances. Thirdly, that the security and internal peace of the Vizier's dominions, and the happiness of the people, should be continually in his view, and that he should communicate fully and freely with this government upon those subjects.—The state of my health requires my proceeding farther up the river, and I shall communicate to Mr. Bristow, with your approbation, any more particular instructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to send him.

Upon the Ganges,  
near Sookfagore,  
22d September 1782.

I am, with esteem, &c.  
(Signed)  
WARREN HASTINGS.

The Board, in conformity to the Governor-general's recommendation, and sensible of the propriety of the measure,

Resolve to recall Mr. Middleton immediately from the Vizier's court.

The Board further resolve, That Mr. Bristow be appointed to succeed Mr. Middleton, and ordered to proceed with the utmost dispatch to Lucknow, to take charge of that office.



The following letters are accordingly written :

Sir,

Having thought fit to recall you to the presidency, and to appoint Mr. John Bristow to succeed to your station, we hereby direct, that on Mr. Bristow's arrival at Lucknow, you immediately deliver over charge to him of the office of Resident, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, documents, and dependencies thereunto belonging, and make the best of your way to Calcutta ; for which place you will then set out without further delay.

We are, &c.

Fort William, (Signed) Governor-general  
the 23d September 1782. and Council.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the Governor-general and Council to inform you, that they have been pleased to appoint you Resident at the court of the Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, in the room of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, removed. You will therefore proceed to Lucknow with all possible dispatch, and receive charge of that station, with all the treasure, accounts, papers, documents, and dependencies thereunto belonging, from Mr. Middleton. Instructions and credentials will be immediately prepared for you.

I am, &c.

Fort William, (Signed) J. P. AURIOL,  
the 23d September 1782. Secretary.

Mr. Macpherson.

I cannot but express great satisfaction at the Governor-general's recommendation of Mr. Bristow to succeed to the residency at the Vizier's court ; an office to which he was named by the Company, and to which his abilities and experience are understood to render him very equal.

The conduct of Mr. Middleton in various instances appears to me highly reprehensible. His negligence in not informing this government of the confusions, if not general rebellion, in the Vizier's country ; and his dilatoriness in realizing the heavy debt due by the Vizier to the Company, appear to me, in the present crisis of public affairs, as crimes against the state, and as such they should be rigidly investigated. Mr. Johnson's conduct as acting Resident appears to me to be subject to a similar impeachment ; but as I should be equally sorry to condemn the conduct of any servant of this government, before he has every fair power for vindication given him—as I would

would be rigid in enforcing a just punishment after condemnation, so I shall move, upon the return of Messieurs Middleton and Johnson to the presidency, that they may be called upon to account for their mismanagement at Oude, and that the complaints made of their conduct, both by the Vizier and his acting minister, be taken into consideration. If ever there was a period in the distress of any government; when neglect of duty or corruption in servants in high station is superiorly criminal, it is the present crisis of the Company's distresses; critical situation, with their few allies and numerous enemies!

(Signed)

JOHN MACPHERSON.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 18th November 1782.*

READ the following letter from Mr. Richard Johnson.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

I am honoured with your commands through your secretary of this date, requiring information upon the nature of bills received from Mr. Middleton to the amount of L. K. Sa. 21,50,000.

These bills are a part remittance of the balance of his accounts for the year 1190; the remainder of which he will bring with him, or will send down, upon receiving an answer to his letter of 4th September, mentioning his having closed the balances, and advising that the Nabob had deposited the difference of balance claimed by the Board.

This remittance was negotiated in the following manner:

\*The last collections of the balances of the assignments, annually granted to the honourable Company at Lucknow, usually run two months into the new year, which time elapses before the Aumils can adjust their old accounts at the capital, and be ready to depart with their new agreement; in order therefore to prevent the Nabob from appearing to have failed in his part of the execution of the treaty of Chunar, by which he was to liquidate his debt to the Company within that year, and to the performance of what this customary delay would have given a false appearance, this argument joining in its issue with an advantage to the honourable Company by a more speedy payment, it was mutually agreed to raise the amount of the outstanding balances from the Shrofts; they to grant bills or pauts, as wanted, for payments at Lucknow, or remittances to the presidency, in exchange for,

for, or in advance upon, the balances which thenceforward became payable to them; the Nabob allowing the Shrofts interest for their money, while they might be out of their money by the advance. The Shrofts, upon the faith of the English agency, accepted the proposal, and accordingly issued the bills, and completed the whole balance, as brought to account in Mr. Middleton's account, to the last day of August, now before the Board. The deed for the security of the Shrofts was sealed by the Nabob, Ministers, and Resident.

The balances thus realized by this advance, it was again proposed by the Shrofts, whether they would also make a farther advance in like manner for 25 lacks, which was the sum claimed by the Board as a difference of balances in their accounts with the Nabob at your presidency; the advance to be upon similar terms with the negotiation for the balances of the assignments. To this also they agreed pointedly, repeating that they were stimulated by their faith upon the English. The Nabob, Ministers, and Resident, signed this also, each party satisfied with the respective benefit arising from it. The security and funds for repayment of this latter was the resumed Jaghires or alienated estates from the government lands, now resumed; consequently they were funds, the assignment of which in no shape curtailed the Nabob's former or usual resources, or interfered with those lands upon which the assignments for the Company were granted; which is proved by the separate grant of the honourable Company's assignments for the new year 1190, made at the same time, and issued with the orders for the payment to the Shrofts.

But lest the present change of the presidency should alarm the Shrofts as any way connected with a disapprobation of this loan, or advance upon the Nabob's resources, it would be very useful, if the honourable Board approve of it, to express their approbation to the Shrofts, through the usual channel, the Governor-general, as an encouragement for so bold and uncommon a stretch of credit, unattempted and unexecuted before; and being the first, it well deserves the most pointed and particular attention and encouragement from government. If they are well treated for this, they will always again be ready, when their funds may be wanted. Near fifty lacks was no small exertion, and chiefly from one man, Gopal Dus; and if they are neglected, nothing can ever again be expected from them, or others, who may become informed of the circumstances. From the nature of this business, I must hope the Board will pardon the intrusion of this recommendation to them. The support of public credit  
must

must ever be a prime object; every effort towards establishing it encouraged, and every agent in it supported.

I have the honour to be,

Fort William,  
22d October 1782.

&c. &c. &c.

R. JOHNSON.

*Extract of Bengal General Consultations, 25th November 1782.*

READ two letters, as follows, from Mr. Richard Johnson :

To James Peter Auriol, Esq. Secretary.

Sir,

I request you will, with the permission of the honourable the Governor-general and Council, be pleased to furnish me with a copy of the proceedings of the 7th of September last, together with such other record as may be connected with or inductive to the orders of that day respecting me.

Calcutta,  
20th Nov. 1782.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

In consequence of your orders of the 7th September, I arrived at the presidency on the 20th of October, and have, until now, waited in anxious hope of being honoured with your further commands; but the delay that has arisen unavoidably rendering my situation daily more irksome, I am now impelled to solicit a communication of the grounds and information upon which the honourable Board proceeded in their orders to Colonel Morgan, and the late president at Lucknow, respecting me, in September last, confidently trusting that I shall be well able to prove that the evident intentions of such parts of my conduct as may have brought upon me the disapprobation and displeasure of the Board, too severely expressed and heavily stamped upon me at that period, have been misrepresented.

If the early dispatch of the Lively should not admit of my reply being submitted to you in time to accompany the packet, and I hope you will be pleased to withhold the transmission of that part of your record which now stands alone against me, until it may be completed for the next dispatch, with what I may be able to offer in my defence; or should I have requested that which would be irregular to grant, permit me then to ask that this letter may be joined to the proceedings under dispatch, with an additional paragraph to induce the Court of Directors to suspend any judgment to my detriment, until they

they shall become furnished with my answer to the evidence upon which the Board have ordered me to the presidency.

Calcutta;  
20th Nov. 1782.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) R. JOHNSON.

Agreed, that the secretary be permitted to give a copy of the proceedings of the 7th September to Mr. Johnson.

Ordered, that the secretary do inform Mr. Johnson that the papers contained in the proceedings of the 7th September do not specify every ground of accusation which has appeared against him; that, as soon as the leisure of the Board will permit, he will be made acquainted with the charges against him, and allowed time to prepare his defence.

Agreed, that the Court of Directors be requested to suspend their judgment on the case of Mr. R. Johnson, until the proceedings shall be completely before them.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 12th June 1783.*

THE secretary having, in consequence of the resolution of the Board of the 21st April last, received from the Governor-general the letters from Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson to him, in order to draw up the charges against those gentlemen, and having accordingly prepared the charges in conformity to the Board's orders, and circulated them, with the letters above mentioned, they are now recorded as follows, and ordered to be immediately sent to Messrs. Middleton and Johnson respectively, that they may reply to them.

#### Charges against Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

1st. For leaving unexecuted the several articles of the Governor-general's peremptory orders and instructions to you, dated at Chunar, the 20th September 1781, notwithstanding those instructions enjoined and commanded your strictest obedience, and were, both by the Vizier's formal agreement, on which they were founded, and by the tenor of them, intended to be carried into immediate effect, the object of them being the reduction of the Vizier's debt to the Company, which was in a constant state of accumulation, and a consciousness of it seemed implied in your first letter from Lucknow, dated 4th October 1781, which contained the following words: "We have not yet been able to enter on any business of moment, but you may rest assured no time shall be unnecessarily consumed;" and in your letter of the 12th October, where you write in the most pressing terms for the

the recall of the late temporary brigade, as being a part of the reform. Notwithstanding the Governor-general, on the 26th December following, finding that you had not to that time taken any steps towards accomplishing the treaty, in the points in which the Vizier had engaged the interference of our government, wrote to you, "that the reformation of the Vizier's army, and the new settlement of his revenues, were points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded;" and added, "I now demand and require you most solemnly to answer me, Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and assured mind to the presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely on your power, and the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge: I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them." To which you returned for answer, "I confidently reply, that I am fully competent to undertake and effect the completion of the reform, upon the grounds stated in my answer to the 4th paragraph, and therefore again repeat that your coming here is unnecessary." Your answer to the 4th paragraph admits, that you have erred in supposing that the reform was not meant to take place that year; and adds, that "the instant the Fyzabad business is finished, which cannot take more than one fortnight from the day of marching there, I shall take such steps, as the means in my power will admit of, towards procuring from the Nabob orders to each Aumil to pay his gross revenues to the Ministers, and to receive the pay of their troops, being reduced into regular mustered establishments, from the general treasury; and should he refuse, I will issue my own, together with those of the Ministers, to that purpose."—And further, that "these three points complete the heads of your (the Governor-general's) recommendation to the Nabob." Upon the strength of these assurances, the Governor-general desisted from his intention to visit Lucknow, as he hoped it would be unnecessary, and returned immediately to the presidency, leaving upon you the responsibility he had denounced.

2dly. For giving not only precipitate and unwarranted assurances as above quoted, but contradictory information of facts; for by your letters of the 11th February 1782 to the Governor-general, you say you inclose one from the Vizier, "informing him of his compliance with the  
" only

“ only points that remained unfinished of his part of the  
 “ late agreements,” &c. and add, “ I have, in confir-  
 “ mation of the above-mentioned letter, received one  
 “ from the Minister, informing me of the accomplish-  
 “ ment of this reform, from which, with the total re-  
 “ sumption of all Jagheers which is now perfectly com-  
 “ pleted, I have every reason to hope for the most bene-  
 “ ficial result, and that every part of this government  
 “ will now be in a state of regularity and tranquility  
 “ scarcely ever before experienced.”

“ I also trust, that you will now deem every wish,  
 “ expressed in your instructions to me, fully performed.”  
 —Again, in your letter to the Governor of the 10th  
 March following, you say, “ Having succeeded in the  
 “ impression which I wished to make on the Ministers,  
 “ and the *reduction which has been made in the Nabob's*  
 “ *Mooteyana troops* strengthening the ground I had argued  
 “ on, I availed myself of this opportunity to propose an  
 “ establishment of the Company's troops.”—In your  
 letter to him of the 20th of that month, you say, “ in  
 “ order to complete the check you have directed over the  
 “ Mooteyana and their payment, I have been necessitated  
 “ to appoint an Aumeen to receive and remit to me the  
 “ collections of Litaput, Ally Cawn's Jaidads, &c.”—  
 And in your letter of the 25th March 1782, addressed to  
 the Governor-general, you defined the particular manner  
 in which the several parts of your instructions had been  
 carried into execution; but by your letter of the 17th  
 September 1782, addressed to the Board, you only then  
 declare, that you had stationed an agent of your own in  
 each Aumildarry throughout those provinces, as muster-  
 master of the Mooteyana troops, and say, that you “ could  
 “ not with propriety have taken so decisive a line in this  
 “ business at an earlier period, as the Nabob and the  
 “ Ministers returning to the capitol so late as the month  
 “ of October found themselves obliged to continue the  
 “ Aumils already in employ in their respective trusts, or  
 “ risk by the new appointments at that advanced season  
 “ the loss of the whole collections on the Kierreeff or  
 “ first crop, amounting to two-fifths of the annual re-  
 “ venue, and the same circumstances involved the ne-  
 “ cessity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form  
 “ in which they stood in the preceding year. Hence it  
 “ became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate  
 “ steps for the introduction of the Governor-general's  
 “ arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a fu-  
 “ ture reform, which was duly attended to; and these  
 “ I can now securely build upon, as, by availing myself  
 “ of this *early period*, every Aumil is apprized of the  
 “ terms

“ terms on which he embarks, and left without excuse  
 “ for any failure in his engagements.”—And thus de-  
 deferring till September 1782, what you thought it too late  
 in the season to carry into execution in October 1781,  
 although you had urgent and positive orders for doing it  
 immediately, and although you had reported the actual  
 performance thereof to have passed in your letters above  
 quoted.

3dly. For these and other contradictions and incon-  
 sistencies, particularly pointed out to you in the Governor-  
 general’s letters, dated 1st and 3d of January 1782.

4th. For not reporting to the Governor general, or  
 to the Board, the progress which you had made from time  
 to time in your endeavours to comply with his instruc-  
 tions; and if you met with any impediments in the exe-  
 cution of them, for omitting to state those impediments,  
 and to apply for fresh orders upon them.

5th. For disobedience to the Governor-general’s pe-  
 remptory orders of the 26th December 1781, contained  
 in the following words:—“ I approve the Nabob’s reso-  
 lution to deprive the ‘Begums of the ill-employed  
 “ treasures. In both services it must be *your care* to  
 “ prevent an abuse of the power given to those that are  
 “ employed in them. *You yourself* ought to be personally  
 “ present—*You must not allow any negotiations or for-  
 “ bearingance*, but must prosecute both services until the  
 “ Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob,” &c.—  
 Whereas, by a letter from Major Naylor to the Governor-  
 general, dated at camp Killa Fyzabad, 14th January 1782,  
 it is declared as follows:—“ *After my arrival, a couple of  
 “ days passed in negotiation, but without effect*, and the  
 “ party in the town collecting and hourly gaining strength;  
 “ at length, after mature deliberation, it was resolved  
 “ that I should, with my regiment and four guns, storm  
 “ the town; which I effected the 12th in the morning.”  
 —And by this disobedience of the order which forbid  
 any negotiation or forbearance, you allowed time for  
 opposition, which evidently had been meditated, to take  
 its full effect, and for the concealment of the wealth  
 which was in the Begums’ possession, as is acknowledged  
 by your letter of the 18th January to the Governor-  
 general. Your letter of the 5th February is not a suffi-  
 cient exculpation from this charge, as the forbearance  
 alluded to was before the attack of the Killa, and not  
 “ after the Begums were to be considered as entirely at  
 “ the mercy of the Nabob,” which is the time it alludes  
 to.—It might be good policy, after they were so reduced,  
 to observe a temporizing conduct, because the treasures  
 was then concealed, and none but the necessaries to its



concealment were acquainted with the places where it was deposited.

6th. For neglecting to realize the whole of the Vizier's debt to the Company at the end of the year 1189, Fussulle, notwithstanding your repeated assurances that it should be completely liquidated by that time, and in particular the assurances contained in your letter to the Governor-general, dated 6th December 1781, "that from the Begums alone you had no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Company's balance."

7th. For neglecting to secure the means of liquidating this debt, by only taking Tunkaws or assignments upon the country for the sum of rupees 76,37,458, when you must have known that the demand on the Vizier for that year (1189) would amount to more than double that sum.

8th. For omitting, according to annual custom, and the positive orders of the Board, to send down to them a regular account of the demands upon the Vizier for the year 1189, and of the assignments taken to satisfy those demands; and for accepting the Assignments without the authority of the Board.

9th. For omitting to take any notice of the additional balance of rupees 26,48,571. 3. 8. stated by the Accountant-general to be due from the Vizier to the Company on the 30th April 1780, and not charged to him by the Resident, although such a formal intimation of it from the Accountant-general, as you received, was at least a sufficient authority to have induced you to apply for the Board's orders concerning it, had you been otherwise dubious about admitting it; and although it arose from positive charges and demands upon the Vizier, which ought to have been carried immediately to his account, and could not be in the least affected by any counter claims of the Vizier; which if allowed to be just, he might equally receive credit for, in account, at any future time after they had been so allowed.

10th. For anticipating the revenues of the Vizier's country, and burthening them with an enormous load of interest, by mortgaging assignments upon them to the Shroffs, at the usury of 2 per cent. per mensem, in order to accomplish a remittance of the above additional balance to the presidency, by the means of their bills, within the year 1189, after having omitted to include the said balance in the regular assignments.

11th. For loading the Vizier's revenues in like manner with the further usurious charge of 2 per cent. per mensem, in order to anticipate the liquidation of the excess of disbursements beyond the amount which you had received

received assignments for at the beginning of the year 1189, by mortgaging to the Shroffs the balances of the assignments uncollected at the end of the said year 1189.

12th. For endeavouring to conceal from us the knowledge of the rebellion of Almas Ally Cawn, the Vizier's principal renter, by studiously avoiding the mention of his disobedience and flight, which from the treasures and forces he carried with him, threatened to involve the Vizier's country in a state of warfare.

13th. For afterwards pursuing measures to encrease the power of Almas Ally Cawn (already too formidable for a subject) by procuring for him, on his return to Lucknow, a grant of additional districts, on the condition of his becoming bound to the Shroffs for the payment of their Tunkaws or assignments in their favour, and thereby releasing your own security to them, for the liquidation of those Tunkaws.

14. For neglecting to advise us of the disturbance at Daranagur, when two of the Vizier's battalions were attacked and dispersed by a body of Fyzoola Cawn's horse; and the consequences might have been more serious from this effect, although it appears to have proceeded from a private fray, and was unauthorized and unknown by Fyzoola Cawn.

15th. For neglecting on every other occasion of disaffection or disturbance in the Vizier's Aumils, to report them to the Board, although considerable detachments were made from the Brigade to quell such disturbances, by your own requisition, or that of your assistant, Mr. Richard Johnson.

16th. For concealing from us a knowledge of the state of the Vizier's dominions, and when you knew them to be, under such precarious dependance as to require the constant awe of a military force to prevent a civil war, from the machinations of rebellious Zemindars; when you knew likewise that we were surrounded by enemies (the peace with the Marattas not having then been ratified at Pooná); for endeavouring at such a crisis to increase the number of our enemies, and consequently our difficulties; by recommending an expedition, in concert with the Vizier, to deprive Fyzoola Cawn of his Zemindary; although you acknowledge, in the same letter, "that the possessions of Fyzoola Cawn are so situated, "that there is no possibility of cutting off his retreat, "whenever he might choose to attempt it"—And again, that "there can be no doubt but Zabít-a-Cawn, with "whom he is closely connected, and keeps up a constant intercourse, would seize any opening which might

“ yield him the faintest hopes of recovering his hereditary possessions in Rohilcund.”

### Charges against Mr. Richard Johnson.

1st. For assuming an unlicensed authority in prejudice of the Vizier's government; and interfering in the management of his country, in opposition to his will, and to the endeavours and remonstrances of his minister. The particular instances alledged are, “ by appointing  
“ Aumils of your own choice, and in such a manner  
“ that no one either attended the presence of the Nabob,  
“ or visited his minister.”

2dly. “ By exacting Sunnuds, and orders from the  
“ presence, at your own pleasure, and issuing the Sun-  
“ nuds on your own part, as if his duty had been held  
“ independent of the Vizier's authority.”

3dly. For sending repeatedly to the Vizier, and to his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, to advise them against transferring the ten lacks of rupees, intended as a present to the Governor-general, to the Company's account, as it would be a precedent for further demands, which, if the Vizier did not resist in the first instance, this government would never cease to harrass him for money.

4thly. For neglect of duty, in not having communicated to this government any measures which the state of affairs in the Vizier's country might render it necessary for you to adopt, if such necessity prevailed.

5thly. For further neglect of duty, in not having written a single letter to this government during the absence of Mr. Middleton from his station at Lucknow, to report the state of the upper provinces, or of the Vizier's dominions, or to mention any one occurrence of those parts, notwithstanding the important events which took place during that interval from the contentions which ensued upon the decease of Nudziff Cawn, and the disturbances in the Vizier's country from the defection and flight of Almas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars, with a considerable treasure and force; from the refractoriness and disobedience of other Zemindars, and from other causes, which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the disaster which happened to two battalions of the Vizier's troops at Daranagur; all which the Board obtained no knowledge of but from private information.

6thly. For applying on different occasions to Colonel Morgan, commanding the brigade at Cawnpore, for military aid to enforce the orders of government, and quell disturbances in different parts of the Vizier's dominions,  
without

without any reference, or even information, given to the Board of such applications, or the occasion for them.

7th. But particularly for detaching, by the means of your application to the commanding officer at Cawnpore, one regiment from that brigade, to enforce the Vizier's demands upon the Nabob of Furruckabad, notwithstanding the positive prohibition of any interference from the Resident in the Vizier's claims upon that Nabob, and notwithstanding the further positive prohibition of detachments being required from the brigade, except in cases of extreme necessity; and on all these important occasions, for neglecting to make any communications to this Board.

To Mr. Middleton.

Chunar, 21st November 1781.

I know how to account for the little attention which you shew to my orders, especially on a point which you know to be the most important to my reputation. Before you left this place, I gave you a list of papers which I should want both to explain and justify the engagements which I had concluded with the Nabob Vizier, and you promised to send them on your arrival at Lucknow. You obliged me to write pressing, and I believe repeatedly for them. You then sent me accounts, which had you but looked at their titles, you would have known could be of no use, being the accounts of establishments, not of actual expenditures, and of establishments of the year 1778, which are either obsolete or much changed; and the account which I most wanted you have not sent, which was the account of the Nabob's present debt to the Company. I have been prevented by your neglect of me from sending to the Board the report of this transaction, which of course will go home only in private, and of course not the most favourable accounts of it.

I now once more desire that you will instantly send me the following accounts:

1. An account of the sums due to the end of the last month of the Fussulee computation from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, on account of each separate charge.
2. An account of the disbursements made and due for the last Fussulee year for every different department paid by Mr. Wombwell, viz. The temporary brigade, Major Martin's arsenal, Colonel Hannay's corps, body guard, pensions and salaries, and the actual expence of Captain Osborne's corps for the last year of his command.

To these I must add another equally necessary with the foregoing, which I desire you to give me, as you can, but not to delay the foregoing for it; viz. An account of the nominal value of each Jagheer; and opposed to it, its real produce or its estimated value.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir,

IT is with the greatest concern that I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st, as you appear to be much hurt at the neglect you accuse me with towards you.

I really thought that I had sent you every account which you had asked me for at Chunar. The establishments of the troops under British officers which I transmitted, although made, as you observe, in the year 1778, are the same by which the payments are at this moment made, excepting any extra disbursement and contingency which cannot be provided for, and which but rarely occur in the service.

And the revenue accounts were of the very last year that had then been drawn out. The accounts of the new year are not yet settled or delivered in; and what have been transcribed has been since my sending the accounts to you.

However, the accounts, as you now desire them, are transcribing, and shall be sent you without a moment's loss of time. The receipts and disbursements of the last year will not be quite complete, as the accounts of Gurruchpore and Furruckabad have not yet been closed.

Sir Elijah Impey leaves us on Wednesday morning, after which, I dare venture to assure you, you will have much less cause to tax me with want of punctuality. I have and must necessarily continue to be constant in my personal attendance upon him, which I trust you will admit as some excuse for me.

I am, &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

Lucknow,  
25th Nov. 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, the 2d Dec. 1781.

I had yesterday the honour of informing you of the message I sent to the Nabob through the minister, respecting the Jagheers, to which his excellency this morning

ing returned me a reply, purporting that if the measure proposed was intended to procure the payment of his balance due to the Company, he could better and more expeditiously effect that object, by taking from his mother what she is very able to spare, and what he has an undoubted right, as he conceives, to exact from her. The present debt to the Company, as he with truth observes, is a great part handed down from his father; and the funds from which he might have been enabled to liquidate it, it is notorious, were withheld from him by the Begum, on the late Nabob's death. That according to the laws of the Koran, and the invariable custom of the country, he is justly entitled to the whole estate and treasures of his father, and could legally demand their being put in his possession; but that the sum he desires to take from his mother (about 60 lacks) bears no sort of proportion to the immense wealth which fell into her hands on the death of his father, nor would it bear at all hard upon her, as he knows how much her treasures exceed that sum. All therefore that he asks, is not to be interrupted in recovering a part of his hereditary right, by which he will be enabled to discharge immediately the whole of his debt to the Company.

This, my dear Sir, is a flattering proposition; and as to the point of right, admitting it to be less clear and defined than the Nabob chuses to consider it, you may possibly be of opinion that the conduct of the Begums, on the late disturbances at Benares, as set forth in the several testimonies laid before you, has forfeited any claim they might originally have had to the protection and mediation of the Company; and further, that it may not be political or yet perfectly safe to trust them any longer with such powerful means of promoting an opposition to our interests.

For my own part I am so well persuaded of the disaffection of the Begums, particularly the present Nabob's mother, to our cause, and of their promptitude to unite in any measure to distress us, that I could very easily reconcile it to my conscience to assist the Nabob, instead of obstructing him, in wresting from them every benefit they enjoy beyond a decent maintenance; however, this is only my own opinion, and by no means meant to influence yours. The Nabob writes you himself on this subject, and you have his letter inclosed. Neither he nor I expect that you should give a formal sanction to the measure proposed: It will be sufficient that you but hint your opinion upon it, and enable me to inform his Excellency whether you would or would not oppose his design. Let me therefore entreat you, my dear Sir, to favour me

with a line by the return of the *Dauk*; and if your sentiments should happen to accord with my own, I doubt not but I should be able to congratulate you, in a very short space of time, upon the remittance of a handsome sum to the presidency.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

P. S. Whatever may be your resolution upon the subject of this letter, it will be expedient to keep it secret. The resumption of the *Jagheers* it is necessary to suspend, until I have your sentiments on this letter.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir, Lucknow, 6th Dec. 1781.

I UNDERSTAND, from a letter I have received from Sir *Elijah Impey*, that you are not yet satisfied with the statement transmitted to you of the *Nabob's* debt to the Company, which induces me to trouble you with a few further remarks.

In the *Nabob's* account current, dated and forwarded to you the 30th ultimo, I purposely particularized, as far as my judgment could point out, any division or detail in it. The sum of rupees, 32,78,613. 11. after deducting 10,000 rupees for an error, was the balance of the year 1187, agreeably to *Mr. Purling's* account, arising from short payments of the claims made upon the *Nabob* for that year, and occasioned by the total collections of the country not having proved adequate to the *Nabob's* own wants and our annual claims; and upon these considerations I found myself obliged, upon my adjustment with his Excellency for the year 1188, to take a bond for that amount, of which I duly informed the honourable Board. The army donation, rupees 10,50,000, was under the same circumstances, as the unavoidable claims for the immediate pay of the established troops, and other indispensable disbursements, fully engrossed all the funds that could be set apart from the *Nabob's* absolute wants, after deducting the usual charges of collection. For this, therefore, I was obliged to accept a bond, the honourable Board being informed of it, and sanctifying it by their concurrence. Both these bonds I separately particularized at the foot of the *Nabob's* account for 1188, and added the actual balance of rupees 12,09,876. 9. 8. for which new assignments were receiving.

Believe me, my dear Sir, if this explanation does not answer your purpose, it is not owing to the want of inclination to take any pains to afford you complete satisfaction,

faction, but to my ignorance of any clearer mode of stating it, or any other elucidation of which the account is susceptible; I must therefore entreat you will do me the favour to inform me, what question, unanswered by my explanation, can be asked upon it, and I will instantly do my utmost to make it more clear and explicit.

I understand also from Sir Elijah's letter, "that you approve of a subsidy from Fayzula Cawn, and the troops to be raised upon it to be stationed at Cawnpore or Allahabad, but not higher."

The troops Fayzula Cawn offered through Mr. Johnson to hold in readiness upon his interpretation of the treaty, were 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 infantry. If money instead of these be required, he will probably propose his own rates of paying them, which are from 14 to 17 rupees per month for each horseman, with his arms, accoutrements, and horse, and 4 rupees each for the infantry; which would only amount together to little above 4 lacks per annum—say 5 lacks, including Oadadars or officers; a sum which I imagine you would consider scarcely worth the Company's acceptance, and at the rates of our own service, the same number of troops would exceed twelve lacks, which I suppose is considerably beyond what he will voluntarily pay. However, if it is your wish that the claim should be made, I am ready to take it up, and you may be assured nothing within my power shall be left undone to carry it through. The tofer of excess of Fayzula Cawn's collections above the valuation of his grant, is said to be equal to the last-mentioned sum. I wait only your orders to proceed in this business.

Finding the Nabob wavering in his determination about the resumption of the Jagheers, I this day, in presence of, and with the minister's concurrence, ordered the necessary Perwannahs to be written to the several Aumils for that purpose, and it was my firm resolution to have dispatched them this evening, with proper people to see them punctually and implicitly carried into execution; but before they were all transcribed, I received a message from the Nabob, who had been informed by the minister of the resolution I had taken, intreating that I would withhold the Perwannahs until to-morrow morning, when he would attend me, and afford me satisfaction on this point. As the loss of a few hours in the dispatch of the Perwannahs appeared of little moment, and as it is possible the Nabob, seeing that the business will at all events be done, may make it an act of his own, I have consented to indulge him in his request; but, be the result of our interview whatever it may, nothing shall prevent the orders being issued to-morrow, either by him or myself, with the concurrence



currence of the ministers. Your pleasure respecting the Begums I have learnt from Sir Elijah; and the measure heretofore proposed will soon follow the resumption of the Jagheers. From both, or indeed from the former alone, I have no doubt of the complete liquidation of the Company's balance.

I am, &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, 7th Dec. 1781.

I HAD the honour to address you yesterday, informing you of the steps I had taken in regard to the resumption of the Jagheers. This morning the Vizier came to me according to his agreement, but seemingly without any intention or desire to yield me satisfaction on the subject under discussion; for after a great deal of conversation, consisting on his part of trifling evasion and puerile excuses for withholding his assent to the measure, though at the same time professing the most implicit submission to your wishes, I found myself without any other resource than the one of employing that exclusive authority with which I consider your instructions to vest me: I therefore declared to the Nabob, in presence of the minister and Mr. Johnson, who I desired might bear witness of the conversation, that I construed his rejection of the measure proposed as a breach of his solemn promise to you, and an unwillingness to yield that assistance which was evidently in his power towards liquidating his heavy accumulating debt to the Company, and that I must in consequence determine, in my own justification, to issue immediately the Perwannahs, which had only been withheld in the sanguine hope that he would be prevailed upon to make that his own act, which nothing but the most urgent necessity could force me to make mine. He left me without any reply, but afterwards sent for his minister, and authorized him to give me hopes that my requisition would be complied with; on which I expressed my satisfaction, but declared that I could admit of no further delays, and unless I received his Excellency's formal acquiescence before the evening, I should then most assuredly issue my Perwannahs; which I have accordingly done, not having had any assurances from his Excellency that could justify a further suspension. I shall, as soon as possible, inform you of the effect of the Perwannahs, which, in many parts, I am apprehensive it will be found necessary to enforce with military aid; I am not, however, entirely without hopes that the Nabob, when he

he sees the inefficacy of further opposition, may alter his conduct, and prevent the confusion and disagreeable consequences which would be too likely to result from the prosecution of a measure of such importance, without his concurrence. His Excellency talks of going to Fayzabad, for the purpose heretofore mentioned, in three or four days: I wish he may be serious in this intention; and you may rest assured I shall spare no pains to keep him to it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, 9th Dec. 1781.

I HAD the honour to address you on the 7th instant, informing you of the conversation which had passed between the Nabob and me on the subject of resuming the Jaghiers, and the step I had taken in consequence.—His Excellency appeared to be very much hurt and incensed at the measure, and loudly complains of the treachery of his ministers; first, in giving you any hopes that such a measure would be adopted; and, secondly, in their promising me their whole support in carrying it through: But, as I apprehend, rather than suffer it to appear that the point had been carried in opposition to his will, he at length yielded a nominal acquiescence, and has this day issued his own Perwannahs to that effect; declaring however, at the same time, both to me and his ministers, that it is an act of compulsion.—I hope to be able, in a few days, in consequence of this measure, to transmit you an account of the actual value and produce of the Jaghiers, opposed to the nominal amount at which they stand rated on the books of the Sircar.

I have the pleasure to inform you, the Nabob still adheres to his resolution of proceeding immediately to Fyzabad, for the purposes already mentioned to you, and will, I believe, depart in three days from this date. I entertain the most flattering and sanguine expectations from his journey; and we shall not be kept long in suspense concerning the result, as he is convinced of the danger and impropriety of delay.

Sir Elijah Impey has signified to me your final commands respecting the Nabob of Furruckabad, and Ishmael Beg; in both which instances rest assured they shall be implicitly obeyed. I wait only the arrival of Sustulla Cawn, whom Sir Elijah informed me you had dispatched to me, to withdraw every shadow of interference in the government of Furruckabad. Ismael Beg's accounts with  
the

the Nabob shall be investigated in the manner you direct, and full information transmitted you the moment I can spare time from the two important objects to which you have directed my first attention.

Under this date I have dispatched to you, at the Nabob's desire, two Elephants, with an Ambarry and Howdah, four Horses, a Palenquin, a Maulah Seerpeach, and Caulgah, appertaining to the dress, &c. you did him the honour to accept at Chunar.

I am, &c.

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To Mr. Middleton.

Sir, Benares, 26th December 1781.

MY mind has been for some days suspended between two opposite impulses; one arising from the necessity of my return to Calcutta; the other from the apprehension of my presence being more necessary and more urgently wanted at Lucknow. Your answer to this shall decide my choice.

I have waited thus long in the hopes of hearing that some progress had been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September last. I do not find that any step towards it has been yet taken, though three months are elapsed, and little more than that period did appear to me requisite to have accomplished the most essential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardiness, and the opposition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance. I approve the Nabob's resolutions to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treasures. In both services it must be your care to prevent an abuse of the powers given to those that are employed in them. You yourself ought to be personally present. You must not allow any negotiations or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their Jaghires in the quiet possession of his Aumils, and their wealth in such charge as may secure it against private embezzlement. You will have a force more than sufficient to effect both these purposes.

The reformation of his army, and the new settlement of his revenues, are also points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

I now demand and require you most solemnly to answer me. Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with

with a quiet and assured mind to the presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me. If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your \* power, and

the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge; I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them; and in that case I desire that you will immediately order bearers to be stationed, for myself and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Allahabad, and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letter.

I am sorry that I am under the necessity of writing in this pressing manner; I trust implicitly to your integrity: I am certain of your attachment to myself, and I know that your capacity is equal to any service; but I must express my doubts of your firmness and activity, and above all, of your recollection of my instructions, and of their importance. My conduct in the late arrangements will be arraigned with all the rancor of disappointed rapacity, and my reputation and influence will suffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree, since no part of them has yet taken place, but the removal of our forces from the Douab and Rohilcund, and of the British officers and pensioners from the service of the Nabob; and the expences of the former thrown, without any compensation, on the Company.

I expect a supply of money equal to the discharge of all the Nabob's arrears, and am much disappointed and mortified that I am not now able to return with it.

Give me an immediate answer to the question which I have herein proposed, that I may lose no more time in fruitless inaction.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

*From the Nabob Vizier to the Resident.*

I HAVE received the Governor's letter, directing me to withdraw my Naib from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, leaving the Bundebuff to be settled by him; I have accordingly been waiting for a responsible person on that part of Mozuffer Jung, to attend and account with you for the Company's assignments, that I might then recall my servant from thence, and after that address the Governor respecting my humiliation. Hitherto no one from Mozuffer Jung has appeared for that purpose. Mozuffer Jung, on receipt of the Governor's letter, sent a copy of it to Almas Ally Khan, which I now enclose you. It being my wish to give satisfaction in all respects to the Governor, I relinquish all interference with Mozuffer

\* A blank is left here in the original.

Jung's dominions. The particulars respecting Mozuffer Jung, from the beginning, are these:—On the death of Ahmud Khan, the brothers and family of Mozuffer Jung attempted to deprive him of the Musnud, when my father sent his troops to support him, who engaged with the Patans of Mhow, &c. who were in opposition, and established Mozuffer Jung in his accession. Since this, I have protected him against his brothers, Meerbhaun Khan, &c. Household slaves, allotting, at my own charge, one thousand troops and artillery for his guard; the truth of which enquire of others: you will know in what manner he has made good, during these five years, the tribute promised for these services. From the beginning, when every thing was in his own power, by his indolence, and the knavery of his servants, nothing was received; I therefore was reduced to the necessity of appointing a responsible man; and in the same manner as I settled the collections of my own country, causing engagements or bonds to be written by my Aumils for the Company's assignments, and payment of the same, to you, so Mozuffer Jung took engagements on bonds from his Aumils, to secure the payment of the Company's assignments, to him; but from the ignorance of Mozuffer Jung, and knavery of his servants, the assignments have not been paid, which will appear from the ballance accumulated during the collectorship of Mr. Shee. Thus circumstanced, I appointed Almas Ally Khan, that having adjusted every matter respecting Mozuffer Jung to his satisfaction, he might affectually settle the Bundebust of the country.—Now the Governor writes me, not to have any one there—His pleasure is the line of my conduct—There is due to me from Nabob Mozuffer Jung, to the end of the year rupees 1,58,456;—this I will assign to the Company towards the payment of my debt to them, which, if satisfactory to be received from Mozuffer Jung, you will give me credit for the same in part of payment of the Company's claim on me, and I shall recall my servant from thence, not meaning to offer any excuse. This being settled, I shall address to the Governor on the subject of my present and future humiliation. If I hesitate, the Governor may deem it an opposition to his will: if I recall my Aumil, it will be considered by Mozuffer Jung as a relinquishment of my claim. Do you therefore, my friend, take immediate satisfactory steps for the recovery of the debt, that I may withdraw my Aumil in obedience to the Governor's orders. It is notorious that his friendship and connexion with me exceeds that of any other prince of Hindostan; and in return for which, my life and fortune are devoted to him. The particular and declared object of my application for the removal of

Mr. Shee; was to obtain the uncontrouled management of Furruckabad, which was granted me accordingly, and made an article of my last agreement. What has led the Governor to alter his sentiments on this point, I am at a loss to conceive. My humiliation will reach Dehly. When you shall have taken the necessary steps for securing payment of the claims from thence, let me know, and I will recall the Aumil, and then I will write the Governor. — My elevation or disgrace remain in his breast.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, 28th Dec. 1781.

I do myself the honour to inclose you letters from Koman and Gosman Sing, brought to me by one of my servants, who was in those quarters. They conceive, or affect to conceive, that you have some designs upon Bundeelund, and volunteer themselves to act in conjunction, offering to join with a large body of cavalry, in hopes of benefiting by any such expedition, or at least saving their own shares of that country: I do not know whether you will think them deserving of any answer.

Your letter of the 24th is just arrived, ordering the temporary brigade to be again put on the Vizier's list, which the late treaty had just eased him of. Nothing less than blows can effect this; for he is not even able to pay off the arrears still due to it for the last year, which, with the 2½ months stipulated by the treaty, amount to nine lacks, by Mr. Day's statement. Upwards of twelve lacks have been paid to Mr. Wombwell, besides remittances made to the second brigade and Colonel Muir, and scarce six lacks have yet been collected: a hard strain of private credit alone has made these large extra payments, and total ruin must inevitably be the consequence of any interruption in the recovery of the money advanced. However, this is merely a private consideration, and therefore cannot weigh in public measures; but in a public light, the troops being all in arrears, and no possibility of present payment, so large a body assembled here, without any means in hand to check or controul them, nothing but disorder could follow. As one proof that the Nabob is as badly off for funds as we are, I may inform you that his cavalry rose this day upon him, and went all armed to the palace, to demand from 13 to 18 months arrears due to them; and with great difficulty persuaded to retire, which was probable more effected by a body of troops getting under arms to go against them, than any other consideration. Without troubling you with detail of arguments, I may venture to pledge myself to you, that the additional demand you propose making cannot

*this*

*this year* be obtained without a total reform of his government, which, if brought about by a campaign against him (by which alone it can be done) would, at the same time, stop at once all resources of collections; so that, admitting success, our situation, in point of finance, would be worse than before. As I feel confident of your full credit to this assertion, I shall add nothing further upon the subject, excepting, that the troops hitherto called for by the Vizier have been solicited under that article of the late treaty which authorizes him to remove the subsidiary brigade where he pleases, with the concurrence of the Resident; which power is still more fully explained in the letter of instructions:—Both papers can only allude to the troops which they stipulate to remain within the Vizier's dominions. Whenever you no longer may chuse to permit his detaching the brigade, he must then of course conduct his measures by his own Sebundy, or be driven to make new proposals from himself for the aid and pay of our regiments.

As I have made use of the name of the temporary brigade in the first part of my letter, it may be necessary to remind you that one additional regiment is already paid by the Nabob, to which add 4 regiments, and a train of artillery, now proposed, makes ten battalions of 500 men each, which is equal to seven battalions of 780 men, which formed the temporary brigade, as stipulated to be paid by the Nabob.

I sincerely hope, though I scarcely expect, to avoid displeasing you by the freedom of this representation. But, as it is impossible that you should possess facts without their being plainly stated, and as you cannot act upon any other grounds while aiming, as I know you do, to do that which is best, I must run the risque, or serve you unfaithfully, which would contradict what I shall ever endeavour to prove, that I am, upon all occasions, your truly devoted,

&c. &c.

R. JOHNSON.

To the honourable Warren  
Hastings, Governor-general,  
&c. &c.  
Benaras.

30th December 1781.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-general,  
&c. &c.

Sir,

THE solemn call you have made upon me, in your commands of the 26th instant, with which I was honoured yesterday, demands from me the most unreserved and decided

eided reply; and that I might not advance any thing hastily, I took all-yesterday to deliberate upon my reply: for the sake of perspicuity, I have thought it best to recapitulate the several paragraphs of your letter, and arrange my answers to them respectively in the same order.

1st. My mind has been for some days suspended between two opposite impulses; one arising from the necessity of my return to Calcutta, the other from the apprehension of my presence being more immediately and more urgently wanted at Lucknow; your answer to this shall decide my choice.

2d. I have waited thus long, in hopes of hearing that some progress has been made in the execution of the plan which I concluded with the Nabob in September last; I do not find that any step towards it has yet been

To this paragraph I freely answer, that your presence is in no shape necessary here, but, on the contrary, could not fail of being of considerable retardment to the collections; because in these countries the motions of governors are looked upon to imply at intended exertions, and with them great changes; consequently all agents in public stations, from the highest to the meanest, put an immediate stop to all their avocations, and gaze motionless for the result. This is the height of the Khereiff collection, and any impediments now thrown in the way loses the produce of the crop. The enclosed statement shews what I have received, and what I have disbursed; it will at first sight evince the importance of realizing every immediate resource. The current disbursements of the 2d brigade have not been made good, and the arrears due from the Nabob to the late temporary brigade and cavalry, agreeably to stipulation, have not yet been liquidated.

In reply to the second paragraph, I beg leave to refer you to my former letters, stating the turbulent state of the country. Three months is a period in which the changes you allude to probably might have been effected



taken, though three months are elapsed, and little more than that period did appear to me requisite to have accomplished the most essential parts of it, and to have brought the whole into train. This tardiness, and the opposition prepared to the only decided act yet undertaken, have a bad appearance.

sected in times of perfect tranquility; but when all the districts across the Gogra were in arms, and all the Jagheerdars (a very numerous and powerful body) were very little short of the same state in every district, and for the regulating and reduction of whom the Aumils were principally to be applied to—could a general change or attack upon those Aumils with ease have been undertaken? I think not; but I put this argument of the practicability or impracticability out of the question, as it was not that consideration which prevented me from enforcing the measures recommended by you to the Nabob in the treaty;—the fact is this: I did not understand, at the period of executing the agreement between you and the Vizier, that your intention was, that the whole of the reform proposed was in its fullest extent to take place *this* year, nor indeed at all, if the Companys debt became liquidated; I conceive your interference in the Nabob's government tended solely to establish the means of the most speedy payment possible of the Company's debt; and that whenever this should be accomplished, every shadow of interference was to be desisted from, which I stated to the Nabob and the ministers—and I believe upon the faith of that assurance principally was his Excellency's acquiescence obtained. For the prosecution of these

these measures, I looked to the occasional assistance of the regiments of the subsidiary brigade, as permitted in the treaty, and your subsequent instructions, and intended employing the Aumils and their Sebundy in the first instance for the reduction of the Jagheerdars, that I might not have the whole country to attack at once. This mode of proceeding threatened no interruption to the collections, but an immediate increase of means in hand to defray the charges of the troops, and without which previous point even our own army must be useless. The measure of resuming the Jagheers involved many and some very powerful interests, subject to such odium, from the disappointment of the parties, deprived of their means of subsistence, and in such extensive dominions, under a government so irregular in its constitution, and so shaken as this is, it could not be effectually accomplished in a day.—However, it is now effected nearly throughout with the Nabob's sanction (which at the point of execution there was the most alarming difficulty to obtain) and in a very few days I trust it will be completely enforced; and, bad as the appearance of opposition may be, I trust to be able to execute the whole reform, without delay, upon the grounds I shall state in my answer to your paragraphs successively.

3d. I approve the Nabob's resolution to deprive the Begums of their ill-employed treasures. In both services it must be your care to prevent an abuse of the powers given to those that are employed in them. You yourself ought to be personally present.—You must not allow any negociation or forbearance, but must prosecute both services until the Begums are at the entire mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers in the quiet possession of his Aumils, and their wealth in such charge as may secure it against private embezzlement.—You will have a force more than sufficient to effect both these purposes.

4th. The reformation of his army, and the new settlement of his revenues, are also points of immediate concern, and ought to be immediately concluded. Has any thing been done in either?

To the 3d paragraph I shall only say, that I march to-morrow with the Nabob to enforce both the services you exact in it; and if I succeed, as I have the strongest reasons to hope, in obtaining large ready money resources towards liquidating the arrears to the troops, which form a large proportion of the debt to the Company, I have not a doubt of accomplishing every end you have now declared you look to the instant performance of; but as troops alone can do it, their assistance cannot be depended upon without previous pay, or the possession of certain means in hand for that purpose; as it follows, that an immediate stop to all collections must ensue from any general military exertion.

To the 4th I answer, that nothing has been done, for the reasons assigned in my answer to the second paragraph. If I erred in the judgment I had formed of your intentions, I can say no more, as it is passed, than that the instant the Fyzabad business is finished successfully, which cannot take more than one fortnight from the day of marching there, I shall take such steps as the means in my power will admit of towards procuring from the Nabob the orders to each Aumil to pay his gross revenues to the Ministers, and to receive the pay of their troops, being reduced into regular mustered establishments, from

from the general treasury; and should he refuse, I will issue my own, together with those of the ministers to that purpose, as I did in a former instance when the Nabob refused his Perwanahs for the resumption of the Jagheers; and shall further enforce the execution against each disobeying Amil, by marching against him, and displacing him. These three points complete the heads of your recommendations to the Nabob, the Fourth Article, which was the separation and limitation of his own disbursements to the medium of his receipts for the last three years, having already taken place; and then no assignments will remain upon the country, but those of the Company, as expressed in the treaty.

5th. I now demand, and require you most solemnly to answer me: Are you confident in your own ability to accomplish all these purposes, and the other points of my instructions? If you reply that you are, I will depart with a quiet and assured mind to the presidency, but leave you a dreadful responsibility if you disappoint me. — If you tell me that you cannot rely upon your power, and the other means which you possess, for performing these services, I will free you from the charge, I will proceed myself to Lucknow, and I will myself undertake them; and in that

To the 5th I confidently reply, That I am fully competent to undertake and effect the completion of the reform, upon the grounds stated in my answer to the 4th paragraph; and therefore again repeat, that your coming here is unnecessary; and that, as far as regards the duties of my station towards the execution of your orders, you may depart, in conviction that neither activity or firmness shall be wanting in the exertion of every means within my power: And those means I can foresee no deficiency in, upon the permission I have of calling upon Colonel Morgan for aid,

case, I desire that you will immediately order Bénares to be stationed for myself and two other gentlemen, between Lucknow and Allahabad, and I will set out from hence in three days after the receipt of your letters.

6th. I am sorry that I am under the necessity of writing in this pressing manner. I trust implicitly to your integrity, I am certain of your attachment to myself, and I know that your capacity is equal to any service; but I must express my doubts of your firmness and activity, and above all of your recollection of my instructions, and of their importance.

7th. My conduct in the late arrangements will be arraigned with all the tancor of disappointment, rapacity, and my reputation and influence will suffer a mortal wound from the failure of them. They have already failed in a degree, since no part of them has yet taken place, but the removal of our forces from the Douab, and Rohilchund, and of British officers and pensioners from the service of the Nabob; and the expence of the former thrown without any compensation on the Com-

pany, and the receipt of assets at Fyzabad.—For these reasons, therefore, I have not thought it necessary to lay the bearers that you conditionally ordered.

In reply to the 6th paragraph, nothing need be offered by me but my acknowledgments for the justice you do to my sentiments towards your person and government.

To the 7th. If your conduct should be arraigned, as you suspect, I can at all times testify that, upon the plan of the foregoing years, the receipts from the Nabob were only a deception, and not an advantage, but even an injury to the Company; for by the accumulating encrease of the demands upon him, and the proportionate decrease of his means, only his debt to the Company encreased, with a diminution of prospect of its liquidation; while the Company's actual money or assets went to the payment of the troops supposed to be maintained solely at the Vizier's expence. In proof of this, it will suffice to remark that the annual net remittances to the presidency should have been the difference

ference of the subsidy, and the real expences of the bri- gade; say,	12,00,000
The money paid from the trea- sury at Calcut- ta, to Abdul- rahman Khan	3,30,000
And the payment made in like manner to Mir- za Sadit Ally	3,00,000
Besides the full payment of such stores as the Company occa- sionally issued to the Nabob	_____
Sun. Rup.	18,30,000

or about 20,00,000 of cur-  
rent, which never yet has  
been the case from the an-  
nual Jaidads, or current  
collections — consequently  
the plan was a fallacy; for  
the difference between this  
amount and the remittances  
to the presidency was an  
actual loss that the Com-  
pany annually sustained, in-  
stead of a supposed advan-  
tage of a brigade of infant-  
ry and cavalry being total-  
ly defrayed by the Nabob;  
from this therefore I may  
safely conclude, that the re-  
mission to the Nabob of this  
insufferable burthen was a  
profit to the Company  
whenever the extra troops  
paid by the Nabob shall be  
disbanded or quartered upon  
other neighbours, who are  
protected by our power, and  
the debt put into a proba-  
ble state of speedy liquida-  
tion.

8th. I expect a supply of money equal to the discharge of all the Nabob's arrears; and am much disappointed and mortified, that I am not now able to return with it.

9th. Give me an immediate answer to the question which I have herein proposed, that I may lose no more time in fruitless inaction.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

Lucknow,  
30th Dec. 1781.

To the 8th paragraph. If the supply expected at Fyzabad shall prove adequate to the discharge of all arrears due to the troops, and afford an adequate fund for a liquidation of the Company's debt, it will remain at your option to employ it as a remittance to the presidency, or the future payment of the troops you may still think necessary to keep up, to regulate the Nabob's internal government, in regard to which I shall hope for your determination, when I can inform you of what means I possess.

To the last paragraph. I trust you will find all my answers as explicit and decisive as you could wish them, and that they will enable you to determine upon yielding with confidence to the impulse arising from the necessity of your presence at the presidency.

NATH. MIDDLETON.  
Resident at the Vizier's Court.

My dear Sir,

Lucknow, 30th Dec. 1781.

I HAVE this day answered your public letter, in the form you seemed to expect. I hope there is nothing in it that may to you appear too pointed. If you wish the matter to be otherwise understood than I have taken up and stated it, I need not say I shall be ready to conform to whatever you may prescribe, and to take upon myself any share of the blame of the (hitherto) non-performance of the stipulations made on behalf of the Nabob; though I do assure you, I myself represented to his Excellency and the ministers, conceiving it to be your desire, that the apparent assumption of the reins of his government (for in that light he undoubtedly considered it at the first view) as specified in the agreement executed

cuted by him, was not meant to be *fully* and *literally* enforced, but that it was necessary you should have something to shew on your side, as the Company were deprived of a benefit without a requital; and upon the faith of this assurance alone, I believe I may safely affirm his Excellency's objections to signing the treaty were given up. If I have understood the matter wrong, or misconceived your design, I am truly sorry for it; however it is not too late to correct the error; and I am ready to undertake, and, God willing, to carry through, whatever you may, on receipt of my public letter, tell me is your final resolve.

If you determine at all events, that the measure of reducing the Nabob's army, &c. shall be immediately undertaken, I shall take it as a particular favour if you will indulge me with a line at Fyzabad, that I may make the necessary previous arrangements with respect to the disposal of my family, which I would not wish to retain here in the event either of a rupture with the Nabob, or the necessity of employing our forces in the reduction of his Aumils and troops; this done, I can begin the work in three days after my return from Fyzabad.

I am, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON.

The Honourable Warren Hastings.

Camp, Kella, Fyzabad, Jan. 14th 1782.

Honourable Sir,

SOME business of importance, which the Resident had to settle at Fyzabad, occasioned my suddenly joining him there. After my arrival, a couple of days passed in negotiation, but without effect; and the party in the town collecting, and hourly gaining strength, at length, after mature deliberation, it was resolved that I should, with my regiment, and four guns, storm the town, which I effected the 12th in the morning. I very soon got possession of the Kella, in which is the palace and Zenanah, and as there was not only several gates but openings in the walls, as I entered on one side they escaped at the other; but shortly after the party returned again, headed by the two principal Eunuchs, Bahr Ally Cawn and Jewar Ally Cawn, and drew up opposite and within sixty yards of one of my posts, with three guns, and added the most aggravated behaviour; however, as they did not fire, or offer any other acts of hostility, and when I reflected on the consequence that would attend a contested dispute in the streets of the town; of the Zenanah, &c. being subject to be plundered even by themselves, which



would have been attributed to me; and being so situated for the safety of the female part of the family on one hand, who were under the most dreadful apprehension, and for the support of his Excellency's authority on the other, who was waiting the result on the outside of the town, I was for a short time doubtful how to decide; however, as I had Mahomed Affrein Cawn along with me, a person in high favour with the Nabob, and well acquainted with both parties, I desired to circulate lenient advice, pointing out how fatal an attack would be to them, and inevitable ruin to those they appeared so zealous to support. It had the effect; the two Eunuchs immediately surrendered, their people instantly left the town, and I ordered their guns to be dragged away.

As soon as the tumultuous noise was over, and I had posted guards for the safety of the palace, &c. I directly sent a Chubdat to the Begum, and offered every assistance she might want, and at the same time consistent with my instructions, which she accepted; and now I have the satisfaction to inform you the shops are all open, and peace and tranquillity prevail through the town.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Z. NAYLOR.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, &c.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor General, &c.

Sir,

I HAVE had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo, and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fayzabad business, as set forth in my address of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to assure you, Sir, it is with the greatest reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the express letter of your instructions; and I cannot accuse myself of having done it on any occasion, where it did not appear to my judgment that the object and spirit of them rendered it adviseable, and that the apparent necessity would justify such latitude.

In the present instance, it was more in appearance and expression, than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was constrained, from my strict regard to the accomplishment of what I considered the first object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reasons assigned in my address of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be considered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob, their Jagheers were in the possession of his Aumils, their troops dispersed, and the

Kella

Kella of Fayzabad, which included also the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get possession of her wealth; and, to effect this, it was then, and is still, my firm and unalterable opinion, that it was indispensably necessary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herself, and more especially upon those of her principal agents, through whose means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting access to the hidden treasures of the late Vizier; and when I acquaint you that by far the greatest part of the treasure which has been delivered to the Nabob, was taken from the most secret recesses in the houses of the two Eunuchs, whence of course it could not have been extracted without the adoption of those means which could induce the discovery, I shall hope for your approbation of what I did. I must also observe, that no further rigour than that which I exerted could have been used against females in this country, to whom there can be no access. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the Zenanah: The first was a son, who was to address a parent, and of course could use no language or action but that of earnest and reiterated solicitation; and the other was in all appearance a traitor to our cause: Where force could be employed, it was not spared. The troops of the Begum were driven away and dispersed, their guns taken, her fort, and the outward walls of her house, seized, and occupied by our troops, at the Nabob's requisition, and her chief agents imprisoned and put in irons.—No further step was left.—And in this situation they still remain, and are to continue (excepting only a remission of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment; and if then you deem it proper, no possible means of offence being left in her hands or those of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean, with your sanction, to restore her house and servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early reply, as I expect that a few days will complete the final surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

NATH. MIDDLETON,  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

Lucknow,  
15th February 1782.

To

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at the Court of the Nabob Vizier, Lucknow.

Sir,

WHEN his highness the Vizier did me the honour of a visit at Chunar, he made me a request, that we might have an interview once in every year, for the purposes of discussing and adjusting the mutual concerns of the Company and himself, and of improving the harmony and confidence which subsisted between the two governments. To this requisition I readily assented, and greatly lament that the situation of affairs makes it impossible for me to effect a meeting at this time. The present important conjuncture demands the united and vigorous exertions of both governments for their common safety and success; and in this situation, whilst the greatest cordiality is requisite, you inform me that his highness is much dissatisfied on many points contained in our late agreement, and which he made his own request.—To remove his uneasiness on these subjects, and to give him entire satisfaction on others which may be the objects of his fears and suspicions, and to give a lasting cement and increase of strength and reciprocal advantage to our alliance, would be impracticable by any other mode than verbal communication, explanations, and assurances; and as, for the reason above assigned, I cannot make these in person, I think it indispensable to delegate the trust to another.—For these purposes I have deputed Major Palmer to attend his Highness and his ministers at Lucknow, Major Palmer, as you know, has been my confidential secretary for several years; I have disclosed to him, without reserve, my sentiments on every point of the relative connection between the Company and the court of Oude, and I can rely upon him for a faithful explanation of them.

I have also instructed Major Palmer to give the most express assurances to the Ministers, of my approbation of their conduct, and determination to protect and support them, so long as they preserve their attachment to this government, and pursue the real interest of the Vizier.

Major Palmer has other public objects in charge, which he will personally communicate to you; and I most earnestly require of you the strongest co-operation of your authority and influence towards his attaining them. I think his success almost certain, if he meets with your cordial support and assistance: whatever may be the event, a considerable share in producing it will be attributed to you, and affect you accordingly.

Such explanations as are intended solely for the satisfaction of the Nabob, and coming from myself, I have directed

rected Major Palmer to communicate separately to him, but in doing this, to use every precaution to avoid any diminution of your authority or influence.

I have sent Major Davy as a confidential Assistant to Major Palmer, and in case any accident should happen, the latter to execute his commission.

Fort William,  
May 7th, 1782.

I am, Sir,  
Your obedient, &c. &c.  
(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton, Resident at Lucknow.

Sir, Fort William, 10th Aug. 1782.

I HAVE had the mortification to hear that Almas's Ally Cawn has at length, as was long since foreboded, fled from the Vizier's dominions, taking with him an immense treasure, the fruits of his embezzlements and known oppressions. Though this intelligence has not come through its authentic channel, I have no doubt of its truth; I am compelled to credit the reports which assure me that every point of the Vizier's administration is in the same disorder. For this, and every other failure in the instructions which I gave to you in writing on the 20th September, at Chunar, you are solely responsible to this government, as Hyder Beg Cawn is to the Nabob; for to your conjoint hands has the administration of his affairs been from that time committed.

I have received your repeated assurances, addressed to myself and to the Board, that the Nabob's debt to the Company should be completely discharged by the close of the year. In my fears for a disappointment in this expectation, and in the contrary belief, that in its actual train the debt is more likely to exceed the amount at which it stood the last year, than to be paid, I hereby apprise you, that if at the end of the Fustellee year any part of it shall remain in arrears, I shall move the Board to call upon you publicly to account for it; and, that you may know that this declaration is not made on light grounds, I shall enter a copy of this letter upon the Company's records. It will do you no injury, if you disprove the justice of my suspicions by the effects of your exertions.

I have written to Hyder Beg upon the same subject, and intended to refer you to his letter for my fuller sentiments, but I shall not have it ready for dispatch for this post.

I am, Sir, &c.

Patna, the 17th Aug. 1782.

*Extracts of Mr. Middleton's Defence, to the Governor-general and Council.*

THE current annual claims varied from 70 to 130 lacks of rupees, which the revenues of the country, as will appear by reference to former accounts, never answered to, seldom yielding to the Resident's treasury beyond from 60 to 80 lacks, the consequence of which was, that the balance was annually accumulating instead of decreasing by the annual receipts. When I took charge of the office of Collector of the Vizier's assignments to the Company, this balance upon the Resident's book, closed to the end of the Fushulee year 1187, was 32 lacks, exclusive of 10½ lacks army donation. In the year 1188 it increased 12 lacks, making 44 lacks, when the Governor-general arrived at Benares the beginning of 1189. To discharge so much of this balance as was due to the Company, therefore, was the object of the treaty; and to ensure the accomplishment of it in the shortest time possible, a plan was laid down, one part of which was the suspension of sundry current claims upon the Nabob; such as Mr. Wombwell's office, and the temporary and cavalry brigades, which together amounted to so heavy an expence, that, with the continuance of them, even the current annual claim could not be answered, much less the above-mentioned balance liquidated. But the year 1180, from unforeseen events, was already began ere the treaty was signed; and these large bodies could not be removed without some previous notice. Between two and three months were assigned them for preparation, in which time it was supposed sufficient funds would have been forthcoming for their discharge. The paying them off involved *another balance* of arrears to them respectively, not included in the balance of 1187 and 1188 to the Company. These arrears further swelled in their amount, because the monthly collections to the period of their discharge were not equal to their pay and arrears, and a provision for the other indispensable disbursements of my office, which obliged me to devise other means of liquidating them; accordingly, after a long negociation, attended with much difficulty, I accomplished a loan at the beginning of the year, on my own credit, of 10 lacks; without which exertion, the resources of the whole year would have been clogged with the increasing amount of these arrears. While the effect of my negociation was yet in suspense, *another balance*, before we heard of, amounting to upwards of 26 lacks, was sent up from the presidency. Why this balance was unknown to the Resident, to the Governor-general, and consequently not included at the signing of

of the treaty, will be shewn in its proper place. I had pledged myself to the Governor-general for realizing the *Company's* balance, which of course meant the balance in agitation before us at the signing of the treaty which had *this* for its declared object.

Notwithstanding which I realized both, as well as the *arrears*, then also unknown, and further replaced the failure of the assignment on Furruckabad, &c. amounting altogether to 138 lacks of Fyzabad siccas, near a crore and a half of current rupees, instead of 60, 70, or 80 lacks, which has been the utmost exertions of the management of former years.

The following short sketch of the gross amount realized by me, will more clearly explain the foregoing.

Amount assignments for current claims, the first installments of which I was forced to anticipate by an advance of 10 lacks	- - 76,00,000
Amount balance agitated at the signing of the treaty, deducting army donation	- - 44,00,000
Amount further balance from the presidency	26,00,000
Rupees of Sorts	1,46,00,000

\* \* \* \* \*

I shall now state the circumstances of the balances which I am charged for not realizing. I have said that the balance, as it stood on the Resident's books at the signing of the treaty, was the balance I stood pledged to the Governor-general to realize. It afterwards appeared, that upon adjusting the general books at the presidency, a separate balance, accumulated in a course of *seven years*, was due from the Nabob for military stores, &c. supplied from the *Company's* magazines, difference of coinage, and other heads therein particularized, amounting to 26 lacks to the 30th April 1779. But from circumstances unknown to me, no intimation of any such claims had ever before been given to me or my predecessors.

Notwithstanding this, and its coming to me unaccompanied by any order of the Board, I proposed, in my letter of the 21st February 1782, No. 8, to recover it, and did actually bring the amount to credit in my accounts for 1189, as stated in my address to the honourable Board of the 7th September 1782, No. 9.

But after this, when the general books at the presidency were brought up another year, a further similar claim appeared for 14 lacks for the military stores, &c. supplied the Nabob to that period, the 30th April 1780. This came too late to be included within the year 1189. I had already exceeded my pledge, and accepted responsibility

bility from 44 to 70 lacks, above half as much again. I could not venture, at so advanced a period, or more properly the *close* of the collections, to extend it to 84 lacks. The new resources, formed on new savings, could not operate without end, nor in such great proportions within the first year. Moreover, had I been possessed of resources to enable me to include it, I met a greater opposition from the Nabob and his ministers on the second claim, than I had experienced on the first. Upon explaining the first account to them, when I came to the charge for military stores, they demand to have their deliveries of military stores, and the charge of the Candahar horse, with the Bombay detachment set against it; when, after much difficulty, I prevailed so far as to induce them to suspend this claim; assuring them that it would be duly and equitably considered in future account which the Governor-general's assurances afterwards to the Nabob confirmed. This served once, but would not a second time, when the demand of 14 lacks became repeated on the same grounds. So far from acquiescing, they called upon me then to perform the assurances I had given them on the former occasion, by setting against the account, the amount of their deliveries of stores, &c. which they would be satisfied to have estimated by any mode of valuation the Board would prescribe. They argued that if I would not agree to this, they must conclude, that their claims were not meant to be considered, in which case "I might at once take the country, since justice was out of the question." This was their passionate language. I for the present yielded to it, and referred the claim to the consideration of the Board, who alone could decide upon it.

Let me here be permitted to observe, that had the whole claims and expectations of the year been persisted in, they would have amounted to near double the Nabob's net revenue, viz.

Current claims	—	—	—	76,00,000
Chunar balance, including donation	—	—	—	55,00,000
Further balance to April 1779	—	—	—	26,00,000
Do. — — April 1780	—	—	—	14,00,000
Major Palmer's claims	—	—	—	82,00,000
				<hr/>
				2,53,00,000
				<hr/>

Upwards of two crores and a half; besides arrears to troops recalled, and failures above explained, for which the Minister raised 25 or 26 lacks more.

*Gross*

Gross settlement 2,25,00,000  
 Deduct charges 80,00,000  


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 Net revenue - 1,45,00,000  
 of nominal revenue, never  
 completely realized.

The Nabob's net revenue, to my knowledge, never exceeded a crore and a half, but generally fell very short of that sum.

\* \* \* \* \*

I had given the strongest hopes of liquidating the Company's balance, for which I stood pledged, from the fruits of this negotiation, and that I should be able to conclude it in fourteen days.—I performed it within ten days after my arrival at Fyzabad; and I trust, when the nature of this business becomes duly considered, my conduct in the execution of it will not appear any more a criminal disobedience of orders, than it was a breach of promise on those orders. As I understood the case, the Nabob had a claim of inheritance of his father's treasures upon the Begums. The public treasury was unquestionably his right, with the dominions and government that devolved upon him at his father's death; however, from consideration of respect and attention to the Begums, the Company (upon their yielding up a part of the treasures of the deceased, declaring it to be the whole) agreed to stand between them and any attack from the Nabob, and further guaranteed Jagheers for their subsistence.—The influence of the Company's Resident at the court of the Vizier became the pledge and security of his Excellency's agreement with his family, and would probably have continued so to the present hour, had it not appeared that these Begums and their agents have used the property and power, thus increased and preserved by our mediation, as instruments against us. They fomented and joined in the plan of a general extirpation of the English. In return for which, the Company's guarantee was withdrawn. I was no longer to yield to them the protection of my office, but leave the Nabob to the recovery of his rights; my part being to take effectual care, that such recovery should be converted to the liquidation of the Company's balance, and generally to assist the Nabob in effecting the object. All this I did. I arrived at Fyzabad the 10th January, in three days.—On the 13th, at day-break, I put the Nabob in full and quiet possession of the Kella and palace of the Begums, who were consequently at his entire mercy and devotion. In seven days more, on the 20th, the business was concluded. Under that date, I informed the Governor-general of my success; to which he replied, in terms that encouraged me to hope my conduct and complete success in that very delicate business had



had met his approbation, and that the justification of my first proceedings, offered in my address of the 5th February, would be admitted. The whole business took up but 10 days. I had promised 14 from the . . . day of March.—I set out the 4th from Lucknow, which carries me two days beyond my promise; but had it taken twenty days, or even a month, it could not, I flatter myself, be termed a long or unwarrantable delay, when the importance of the business, and the peculiar embarrassments attending the prosecution of it to its desired end, are considered. The Nabob was son to the Begum we were to proceed against;—a son against a mother must at least save appearances in his mode of proceeding. The produce of his negotiation was to be received by the Company: receiving a benefit—accompanying the Nabob—withdrawing their protection—were circumstances sufficient to mark the English as the principal movers in this business. At a court where no opportunity is lost to throw odium upon us, so favourable an occasion was not missed to persuade the Nabob that we instigated him to dishonour his family for our benefit. The impressions made by such suggestions constantly retarded the progress, and more than once actually broke off the business, which rendered the utmost caution on my part necessary, especially as I had no assistance to expect from the ministers, who could not openly move in the business. In the East it is well known, that no man, either by himself or his troops, can enter the walls of a Zenana, scarcely in the case of acting against an open enemy, much less of an Ally—an Ally against his own mother. The outward walls, and the Begum's agents, were all that were liable to immediate attack; they were dealt with, and successfully, as the event proved. I therefore confidently trust, if it shall appear to the honourable Board, as it does to me, that the spirit and main object of my orders were strictly adhered to and fulfilled, that they will not longer hold me criminal for a deviation from the precise letter of them.

The 3d and last division of my charge relates to the current business of my office, unconnected with the immediate objects of the treaty. This includes want of political information, exemplified in the flight of Almas Ally Cawn—Employment of troops—Disorders in the Nabob's country, &c.

In answer to this charge, I must be permitted to observe, that besides the general information contained in my list of my public correspondence, hereto subjoined, immediately after my arrival at Lucknow, on the 2d October 1781, I gave a complete and particular detail of the spreading

spreading of the rebellion (influenced by Rajah Cheyt Sing) throughout the country, with the testimony of Colonel Hannay, and other officers, which was afterwards confirmed in fuller detail, by the depositions taken on the spot by Sir Elijah Impey. After this, nothing new in that line occurred, the rebellion every day, and in every quarter, subsiding, not increasing. Those who rose in support of the Begums, my letter from Fayzabad stated; but they rose and fell with the business, excepting one of the aids fought by the Begums in Bulbudder Sing, who, in spite of all our efforts to crush him, continued his resistance, and fell only two months ago.

\* \* \* \* \*

P. S. I have thought it unnecessary to mention, that I have made no distinction, in quoting my public correspondence, between letters addressed to the Board, and to the Governor-general; the orders of the honourable Board of the third July 1781 (never since revoked) precluding the necessity of such distinction.

*Extracts of Letter from Mr. Middleton to Mr. Hastings; dated Lucknow, 25th March, 1782.*

THE third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fizulla Cawn, among the rest hitherto been deferred by the postscript to your general instructions, which forbids it, until circumstances may render it more expedient and easy to be attempted than the present more material pursuits of government make it appear: However, I beg leave to repeat, that a stipend or allowance, in ready money, to that chief, in lieu of his Jaguire lands, situated and peopled as they are by his own tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the same cast, would be far more conducive to the interests and security of this government, and as such permit me to recommend it to your consideration.

\* \* \* \* \*

These complet your instructions, since which you have directed, as an additional article, that the Nabcb should be supported in his claim upon the Dow Begum, for the inheritance of the late Vizier's public treasure — This has also been done; 45 lacks have been recovered, and the Begum's chief agents are now under severe restraint for the remainder of what they engaged to produce.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-general,  
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

THE Begum having finally agreed to surrender to the Nabob the treasures of his late father, the Nabob Shujah ul Dowlah, which she had hitherto retained in her possession, his Excellency desired me to withdraw the troops from the Killa, that the Begum might return into it, in order to deliver the treasure. To this I consented, as also to the re-delivery to the Nabob of the two Eunuchs, Bahar and Jowar Ally Cawn, without whose presence and assistance nothing could be effected, as they were the only agents employed by the Begum in the secreting and depositing it; they previously pledging themselves to be present when called upon, to answer to the accusation which I have informed them was laid against them. In the meanwhile, the Begum has delivered over her Chelah Shumsheer Cawn, who was Phousdar of Tanda when Captain Gordon arrived there; so that I now hope the whole business, upon which I came here, is in the most favourable train.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Sir,

Fayzabad, Your most obedient and  
20th January 1782. Most humble servant,  
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

True Copy,  
Nath. Middleton.

Sir,

Baugulpoor, 27th Jan. 1782.

I have received your letter of the 20th instant. I thank you for the good news which it contains, and for the prospect which it has afforded me of a complete and prosperous termination of the measures impending.

I desire that you will endeavour to dissuade the Nabob from concluding any settlement with the Begums, until the Board, or myself, have been advised of the amount of the treasure recovered from them, and of the balance due at the latest period from the Nabob to the Company.

I hope to receive from you a report of the final issue of this business, and of a sum realized, and in your possession, for our relief, in time to send advice of both by the packet now under dispatch; and I shall keep it open until the 7th of next month, but no longer, for that purpose.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

True Copy, (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.  
Nath. Middleton,

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-general,  
&c. &c. &c.

Sir,

I have had this day the honour to receive your commands of the 25th ultimo; and am extremely concerned that the mode of conducting the Fayzabad business, as set forth in my address of the 18th January, did not meet your entire approbation. Permit me to assure you, Sir, it is with the greatest reluctance I ever venture to deviate from the express letter of your instructions; and I cannot accuse myself of having done it on any occasion where it did not appear to my judgment, that the object and spirit of them rendered it advisable, and that the apparent necessity would justify such latitude.

In the present instance, it was more in appearance and expression than in fact, that any deviation was made from your orders of the 26th December; for although I was constrained, from strict regard to the accomplishment of what I considered the first object of this undertaking, to admit of a temporary forbearance, for the reasons assigned in my address of the 18th ultimo, the Begums were at that time to be considered as entirely at the mercy of the Nabob; their Jagheers were in possession of his Aumils; their troops dispersed at the Kella of Fayzabad, which included also the Bhow Begum's own habitation, under the guard of his Excellency's and our troops.

It remained only to get possession of her wealth; and to effect this it was then, and is still, my unalterable opinion, that it was indispensably necessary to employ temporizing expedients, and to work upon the hopes and fears of the Begum herself, and more especially upon those of her principal agents, through whose means alone there appeared any probable chance of our getting access to the hidden treasures of the late Vizier: and when I acquaint you, that by far the greatest part of the treasure which has been delivered to the Nabob was taken from the most secret recesses in the houses of the two Eunuchs, whence, of course, it could not have been extracted, without the adoption of those means which could induce the discovery, I shall hope for your approbation of what I did: I must also observe, that no further rigour than that which I exerted, could have been used against females in this country, to whom there can be no access. The Nabob and Salar Jung were the only two who could enter the Zanana. The first was a son, who was to address a parent, and of course could use no language or action but that of earnest and reiterated solicitation; and the other was in all appearance a traitor to our cause. Where force could be employed, it was not spared. Th

troops of the Begum were driven away and dispersed; their guns taken; her fort, and the outward walls of her house, seized and occupied by our troops, at the Nabob's requisition, and her chief agents imprisoned and put in irons. No further step was left; and in this situation they still remain, and are to continue (excepting only the remission of the irons) until the final liquidation of the payment; and if then you deem it proper, no possible means of offence being left in her hands, or those of her agents, all her lands and property having been taken, I mean, with your sanction, to restore her house and servants to her; and hope to be favoured with your early reply, as I expect that a few days will complete the final surrender of all that is further expected from the Begum.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

Ltacknow,  
5th Feb. 1782.

NATH. MIDDLETON.  
Resident at the Court of the Vizier.

*List of Mr. Middleton's Public Correspondence with the Honourable Board, from the Period of signing the Treaty of Chunar to the 23d of October 1782, when he delivered over the Residency to Mr. Bristow.*

Of date			
17th Oct.	1781.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.	
20	Do.	To Do.	Do.
20	Do.	To the Honourable Board.	
23	Do.	Do.	Do.
28	Do.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.	
29	Do.	To the Honourable Board.	
30	Do.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.	
2	Nov.	Do.	Do.
14	Do.	Do.	Do.
4	Dec.	Do.	Do.
12	Do.	Do.	Do.
17	Do.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.	
19	Do.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.	
22	Do.	Do.	Do.
24	Do.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.	
27	Do.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.	
30	Do.	Do.	Do.
30	Do.	Do.	Do.

Of date			
3	Jan.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
13	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
15	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
18	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
25	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
27	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Feb.	1782.	Do. Do.
5	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
5	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
6	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
21	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
21	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
24	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
6	Mar.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
10	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
11	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
14	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
16	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
20	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
21	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
22	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
25	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
27	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
3	Apr.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
7	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
8	Do.	1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
9	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
10	Do.	1782.	Do. Do.
10	Do.	1782.	To the Honourable Board.
12	Do.	1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.

Of date		
12	Apr. 1782.	To the private Persian Interpreter to the Honourable Governor-general.
15	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.
26	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
9	May 1782.	Do. Do.
9	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
10	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
10	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
12	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Do. 1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices.
21	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
21	Do. 1782.	Do. &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
24	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
27	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.
4	June 1782.	Do. Do.
18	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council.
18	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.
15	July 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Aug. 1782.	Do. Do.
2	Sept. 1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.
7	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
7	Do. 1782.	Do. &c. the Members of the Supreme Council.
9	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
12	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.
14	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
15	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do. 1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Governor-general and Council.
16	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
16	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.
16	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
16	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.
17	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.
17	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.

Of date			
18	Sept. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.	
19	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.	
20	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.	
20	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.	
3	Oct. 1782.	To the Secretary to the Honourable the Board of Inspection.	
8	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable the Governor-general.	
15	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Board.	
22	Do. 1782.	Do. Do.	
22	Do. 1782.	To the Comptroller of the Offices, &c.	
23	Do. 1782.	To the Honourable Governor-general, &c. the Members of the Supreme Council.	

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Board. C.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have this day received confirmed information of the death of the Nabob Nudjiff Cawn. My opinion upon this subject I had the honour to submit to the Governor-general under date 24th February last, upon a premature information of the decease of that Nabob, which hitherto I find no reason to alter; I therefore beg leave to refer your honourable Board to that, as containing every sentiment or information that I can at present offer upon the subject.

The Nabob Vizier seems to think it probable, or possible, that Mahadajee Scindia may be induced, either at the instigation of his own ambition, or at the king's solicitation, to proceed to Delhi upon this conjecture; his alarms and apprehensions upon this head, he states in his letter of this day's date to the Governor-general; and in order to prevent the only one of the two afore-mentioned inducements which lays within his reach to attempt, he has written an Arzee to the King, assuring him of his attachment to his interest, declaring himself ready to march with his forces to support his views, and mentioning your government as equally well disposed to his majesty, and finally recommending to him to call in no other foreign aid. He has also written letters of condolence to the late Nabob's family, and others of encouragement to the principal commanders of his armies, advising them to continue firm in their duty and allegiance to the king, whom he tells them he is marching to Delhi to support. Most of these chiefs were formerly the ser-



vants of this court, and many of them connected by blood with the Vizier's family. His Excellency has also made an application to Colonel Morgan to move the subsidiary brigade towards Etawa, to be in readiness to act in case any emergency should require it. I have sent his Excellency's application to the Colonel, but have only recommended his holding the brigade in readiness to march to that central station, either upon the receipt of your orders to this effect, or some intermediate urgent necessity occurring, which may preclude the propriety of making any delay whatever. This will, I hope, meet your approbation.

I have the honour to be,  
With the greatest respect,  
Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Lucknow, Your most obedient,  
10th April 1782. Humble servant,  
(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

To the Honourable Board. E.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

The contentions and party disputes which have prevailed at the court of Delhi since the death of the late Nabob Nudjiff Cawn, seem now to be taking a decided turn in favour of Mirza Shuffer Cawn, whose pretensions to the chief rule in the administration, although acknowledged and secretly espoused by the King, have hitherto met with violent and successful opposition from Afrasiab Cawn; but the latter having a few days ago found it expedient to move with the main body of his army across the Jumna, for the defence of his own possessions against the threatened attacks of Mahomed Beg Cawn Amdany, who is joined with the opposite party; Mirza Shuffer availed himself of this conjuncture, to attempt by force the effectual establishment of his authority at the capital; accordingly, on the 11th instant, he marched his whole army into the town, seized upon the principal gates and avenues, surrounded the houses of Mudjud al Dowla, the Dewan Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, and Luttaust Ally Cawn, all of whom were united in the combination against him, and secured the person of the former, as he has also, probably, by this time that of Nudjiff Cooly Cawn, who had, when my last intelligence was dispatched, lost all his artillery, several of his principal Sirdars, and was reduced, as a last resource, to the necessity of defending himself with musquetry only, within the walls of his private habitation. The capture of his person will leave Mirza Shuffer Cawn without any competitor  
upon

upon the spot capable of opposing him, and enable him immediately to turn his whole force, in conjunction with Mahomed Beg Cawn, against Affrasaib and his party, with the fairest prospect of success.

There can, I apprehend, be no doubt but his Majesty, upon this turn of affairs, will cheerfully and openly acquiesce in the demands of Mirza Shuffer Cawn, which it appears have never extended beyond the investiture of such offices as he is universally allowed to have had an indisputable claim to, upon the death of Nudjiff Cawn; and he is a person attached, both from ties of consanguinity and inclination, of the Vizier's government, as well as the first in rank and credit among the remaining chiefs of the empire. I presume the honourable Board will consider his rising influence as a favourable incident to the political interests of the Company; being well assured that the smallest encouragement given to this chief, were it to consist only in an acknowledgment of his title to the ascendancy he has acquired, with the bare name of our support, would secure his attachment to the mutual interests of our own and the Vizier's government; and render him not only a powerful barrier to these provinces, but a most useful partizan, should motives of necessity or expedience at any future period induce your honourable Board to extend your views beyond the limits to which they are at present confined.

I have the honour to be,

With the greatest respect,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Lucknow,  
14th Sept. 1782.

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON.

*Extract of Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Honourable Board; dated Lucknow, the 17th September 1782.*

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Conformably to the spirit of the instructions given to me for my guidance by the Honourable the Governor-general, upon the conclusion of his agreement with the Nabob Vizier at Chunar, I have the honour to inform you with his Excellency's concurrence. I have stationed in each Aumildary throughout these provinces an agent of my own nomination, in the capacity of Daroga Taf-suah, or Muster-master to the Mooteyna troops, whose duty it is to muster and transmit to my office, regular monthly returns of those establishments; and upon whose report and signature alone their pay is to be issued. This measure will establish a necessary check upon the conduct  
of

of the Aumils, and effectually obviate those abuses and misapplications consequent to the former irregular mode of conducting this branch of expence. I could not with propriety have taken so decisive a line in this business at an earlier period, as the Nabob and ministers, returning to the capital so late as the month of October, found themselves obliged to continue the Aumils already in employ in their respective trusts, or risk, by new appointments at that advanced season, the loss of the whole collections on the Khereif or first crop, which amount to two fifths of the annual revenue, and the same circumstance involved the necessity of leaving their agreements nearly in the form in which they stood the preceding year. Hence it became difficult and dangerous to take any immediate steps for the introduction of the Governor-general's arrangements, beyond laying the foundations of a future reform, which was duly attended to; and these I can now securely build upon, as by availing myself of this early period, every Aumil is previously apprised of the terms on which he embarks, and stands without excuse for any failure in his engagements. I shall have the satisfaction of laying before you very shortly as correct a return of the troops actually employed, as it may be possible to make, after curtailing numbers every where, as far as it can be done consistently with the security of the collections; and out of the savings, which I am confident of immediately producing, I have stipulated with the minister for the maintenance of four complete regiments of the honourable Company's troops, at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month each, as established by the Chunar treaty. Should this measure meet your approbation, and it be suitable to your views to enlarge the plan, I have no doubt of being able, by degrees, to introduce as many more regiments as you may wish to have employed in lieu of the government troops now maintained for the service.

I have the further satisfaction to inform your honourable Board, that I have at length prevailed on the Nabob Vizier to carry into effectual execution the measure recommended by the honourable the Governor-general, for the institution of courts of Adawlut, under proper regulations, throughout his dominions. Molovy Mowbean, a very respectable, learned, and distinguished man of the law, has been appointed Sudder ul Huck, and a deputy on his behalf is going out with each Aumil, accompanied with a proper and competent establishment for the due administration of justice, independently of the Phousdars and collectors. This measure will also, I flatter myself, meet with your approbation.

It is incumbent upon me to inform you of the improper conduct of Fyzulee Cawn, who for some time past has been carrying on a constant correspondence with the Rohilla chiefs, and maintains discourses in his public Durbar of a very contrary tendency to the line of his duty, and professed allegiance to the Vizier.

It is not very likely he would be able to effect any thing that could materially endanger these provinces, yet it must be observed, that any attempt, however unsuccessful to himself, would to a certainty occasion a very heavy loss in the Vizier's collections. An advantage gained by his troops in a late unfortunate dispute with two of the Vizier's battalions at Darrangur, has had the natural effect of exciting insolence and temerity, and make it now not very easy for that chief, were he so reclined, to repress the turbulent spirit of his followers.

By the 3d article of the treaty concluded between the honourable the Governor-general and the Vizier at Chunar, his Excellency is impowered to place Fyzula Cawn upon the same footing with the other Jaghardars, giving him his allowances in money instead of lands. But the honourable the Governor-general, though acceding to the Nabob's proposal, deeming it unadvisable that the measure should be attempted in the then situation of this government, and during the active scene which occupied the Company's troops, I in consequence prevailed on the Nabob to suspend it until a more convenient opportunity might offer. These objections to the measure being now, I conceive, removed, and this being the only Jagheer existing under the Vizier's government, I would, if the honourable board are pleased to approve, venture to advise the resumption of it, as soon as the cessation of the rains will permit. For this it will be necessary the Nabob should obtain not only your previous sanction, but assurance of your support, in case, which I think very probable, his own strength should be found unequal to the undertaking.

The possessions of Fayzula Cawn are so situated, that there is no possibility of cutting off his retreat, whenever he might chuse to attempt it; and should ever it so happen, the great extra collections he has for some years past made beyond the amount for which the Jagheer was originally granted, now supposed to be accumulated to one crore and an half of rupees, must prove a total and imparable loss to this country: it seems therefore worthy the intention of your honourable Board, to co-operate with the Vizier in such measures as may be most effectual in obviating the mischiefs which his Excellency justly apprehends from leaving Fayzula Cawn in his present unre-

unrestricted situation, especially as the proposed change cannot, in my conception, be considered as any actual innovation on the rights of that chief's treaty with the late Vizier, which secure to him an annual income of fifteen lacks, and this the Nâbob by no means designs to deprive him of, but wishes to pay it in money, instead of allowing him to collect above thrice that sum from lands, by means which drain the other parts of Rohilchund of their Recates and revenues, and enable him to maintain a large force ready upon all occasions to join any internal or foreign enemy, which might in opposition to his Excellency's government; and there can be no doubt but Zabilly Cawn, with whom he is closely connected, and keeps up a constant intercourse, would seize any opening which might yield him the faintest hopes of recovering his hereditary possession in Rohilcund.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM THE RESIDENT AT  
OUDE TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL,  
RESPECTING THE CONDUCT OF FAYZULA  
CAWN.

*Extract, dated 27th December 1781.*

“ I MUST also take the liberty to add my opinion, that  
“ unless Fazula Cawn, remotely situated as he is, out of  
“ reach of interruption, in the center of his own tribe  
“ and country, connected uninterruptedly with the other  
“ two remaining Patan powers, becomes included in this  
“ general reform of the Jagheers, or some effectual check  
“ imposed upon him, the whole may prove abortive;  
“ while, if truly enforced, may save this country, and  
“ with it possibly much of our own blood and treasure.”

*Extract of Ditto, dated the 24th February 1782.*

“ In such an event, I should think it very probable he  
“ would be joined by Fyzoola Cawn, who, there is strong  
“ reason to believe, is by no means well affected to the  
“ Vizier's government, and who has of late made such  
“ preparations, and such a disposition of his family and  
“ wealth, as evidently manifest either an intended or ex-  
“ pected rupture.”

*Extract of Ditto, dated the 25th March 1782.*

“ The third Article, which includes the Jaguire of Fy-  
“ zulla Cawn among the rest, has hitherto been deferred  
“ by the postscript to your general instructions, which  
“ forbids.

“ forbids it until circumstances may render it more expedient and easy to be attempted than the present more material pursuits of government make it appear. However, I beg leave to repeat, that a stipend or allowance in ready money to that chief, in lieu of his Jaguire lands, situated and peopled, as they are, by his own tribe, in vicinity to three capital territories of the same cast, would be far more conducive to the interests and security of this government; and as such, permit me to recommend to your consideration.”

*Extract of Ditto, dated the 15th April 1782.*

“ Zabitta Khan, at Ghous Gheer, is arming and entering into alliances with the Secks. The Nabob Fyzala Cawn, from the best intelligence I am able to procure, carries on a close and secret correspondence with him; he is gone so far as to throw out some very inflammatory discourses in his Durbar; and by this day’s intelligence it appears, that some usual restraints have been imposed on my agent, who hitherto had free access at his Durbar, to send intelligence of what passed there. I shall be very watchful of his conduct and motions, and not fail to give your honourable Board regular information of every thing that I may think worth your notice. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect.”

True extracts

(Signed) NATH. MIDDLETON

*Extracts of Mr. Johnson’s Defence.*

3d Charge, Conf. 7th September 1782.

Major Palmer’s Letter.

A N S W E R.

FOR sending repeatedly to the Vizier and to his Minister Hyder Beg Khân, to advise them against transferring the 10 lacks of rupees, intended as a present to the Governor-general, to the Company’s account, as it would be a precedent for further demands, which if the Vizier did not resist in the first instance, this government would never cease to harass him for money.

This extract, and the matter of the remaining charges, are not in the copy of the proceedings of the 7th September, sent to me in December last; I am not the less ready to meet them here.

The act of intention, as far as I should limit them, in admitting myself the cause of preventing the 10 lacks mentioned from being at that time paid to the Company are true. The reasons assigned

60	A loan
12	for four additional regiments
10	the sum in this — charge.
<b>Total</b>	<b>82</b>
—	—

assigned for such prevention  
 “ lest the Nabob should be  
 “ again harrassed, &c.” are  
 the Minister’s own words  
 and objections made to me,  
 transferred into my mouth.  
 The mode also by message  
 is likewise misrepresented,  
 but that is immaterial; suf-  
 fice it for me to explain the  
 act: I acknowledge 50 lacks  
 were due in balance: all the  
 Nabob’s resources not prom-  
 ising to prove equal to  
 discharge this balance, a  
 new claim was at this same  
 instant made of 82 lacks:  
 the resources in my hands  
 the sole funds existing to  
 answer both; the means un-  
 equal to this end—the ques-  
 tion remained, which of the  
 two claims, the new or the  
 old, should be first paid? I  
 did not hesitate one instant  
 to declare, that if any of the  
 Assets placed in my hands  
 should be attempted to be  
 estranged from the pur-  
 poses for which they were  
 assigned, I should declare it  
 a breach of treaty. They  
 were to discharge the ba-  
 lances of years. The sole  
 object of the late treaty, and  
 all the measures connected  
 with it, had this single point  
 for their end:—could I,  
 deeply pledged for the ful-  
 filment of this treaty, sub-  
 scribe to the total subversion  
 of these measures, at the  
 very moment of their com-  
 pletion in the termination  
 of the year prescribed and  
 allotted for their operation?  
 I could not; I ought not.  
 Therefore I thus obstructed  
 the whole, of course the  
 parts

parts of that whole, for the reasons above assigned, and no other whatever. Whether such preference, so given to a previous claim, was criminal or meritorious, rests with the honourable Board to declare, when they recollect that retarding neither expunges or diminishes a claim. Permit me here to subjoin, had the 10 lacks been uninvolved with the 72, or had the aggregate sum not been required within the period left for liquidating the balances intrusted to me, or had not the Affets lodged in my hands for this purpose been the sole funds from which such payment could be attempted, so far from impeding even for a moment such a claim, I should have been the first to support and urge it to its completion.

\* \* \* \* \*

5th CHARGE.

For further neglect of duty, in not having written a single letter to this government, during the absence of Mr. Middleton from his station at Lucknow, to report the state of the provinces, or of the Vizier's dominions, or to mention any one occurrence of those parts notwithstanding the important events which took place during that interval, from the contentions which ensued upon the decease of Nudjiff Cawn, and the disturbances in the Vizier's country; from the defection and flight of Al-

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A N S W E R.

Mr. Middleton left Lucknow the 18th June, and returned the last of August. The duty he intrusted to me was limited and restricted to closing the balances. In which he requested Major Palmer, to whom he made over the political department, to assist me with his support, if I called for it. The line was specially drawn. The political information of course rested with the political agent. He attended the Durbar, where my business never called me. In my line nothing new or remarkable occurred during the



mas Ally Cawn, one of his principal Zemindars with a considerable treasure and force; from the refractoriness and disobedience of other Zemindars; and from other causes, which the Board have since been informed of; and for not mentioning the disaster which happened to two battalions of the Vizier's troops at Daranagar, all which the Board obtained no knowledge of, but from private information.

the period above mentioned. The death of Nudjiff Cawn, with all its consequences actual and probable, had been fully laid before the Board; and the Governor-general, in the Resident's letters of the 9th 10th April to the Governor, the same date and 15th to the Council, and again in several letters immediately after his return upon resuming the respective charges intrusted to Major Palmer and me. With respect to the Vizier's dominions, nothing new happened in the constantly turbulent state of the Zemindars of a country where the rents are collected at the point of the sword. Many rumours were spread of the intended disaffection and flight of Almas Ali Khân. The Resident immediately after his return, informed the Governor-general (date 7th September) that he had ascertained them to be groundless reports. While I was acting, during which time the rumour first began, I had always an agent with him. His chief manager and most confidential agent was always with me, and with the Minister; who likewise had an agent constantly with Almas. The Minister's intelligence uniformly agreed with mine. I never lost an opportunity to compare them; and neither of us, I will confirm by oath, ever believed him beyond the Nabob's limits. What I offer to confirm and attest,

is my own belief, with the Minister's consonant declarations made to me; and I trust, that the united testimony of Mr. Middleton, the Minister, and myself, will be received by the Board, as equal, if not superior in weight, to that of others, who cannot have had channels of information so much to be depended upon as those I have stated. However, my belief, well or ill grounded, being what I have stated, I could not have informed the honourable Board of an act I discredited.

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But ere I can call for their decision, I must proceed to explain a point with which I am not charged, but with which I must now charge myself, as I find it solely laid to Mr. Middleton. He is accused with anticipating the revenues, and loading them with an usurious interest upon an advance made to him, and brought to credit in his account. This crime originated with me. He only sanctified it by his authority. The greater share, if not the whole of the blame it may incur, must therefore rest on me. The total sum consisted of two parts; nearly halves, 25 lacks each; one was a negociation of the balances due from the different Aumils, agitated and settled by the Minister himself; the other, an anticipation of rents assigned to pay a banker for the advance he made of the amount required and negotiated. The charge is or should be therefore confined to this last. The whole transaction will of course be fully stated by Mr. Middleton, as it stands included in his charges. All that I here mean to explain is, that the rents anticipated by assignment to the banker, in other words, the funds upon which the advance was made, were not the rents of lands upon which the Company had ever received their assignments, or which had ever supplied the Nabob's treasury and wants, but the resumed rents of rebellious and other Jaguerdars (chiefly Letafuts, Begums, and Salar Jung) forming an entire new fund, now, and never before, brought into the Nabob's and Company's coffers by this plan; it became therefore in so much a net gain to the Nabob. The plan, in other respects, had it met with encouragement,

opened a new channel of resource upon emergent occasions to the Nabob and the Company. The Bankers, properly noticed and rewarded for an advance of 50 lacks (an instance I believe never before equalled) would have been ready upon a repetition of the call. The interest termed Usury by the Board was the usual interest of the country where the loan was made. The established interest of a country is no usury in that country, whatever it may be deemed in others. But had the interest been usurious or high, the Nabob paid it, not from his own resources, deficiencies in which could afterwards be felt by his allies, but from new funds. He would gladly have paid it from his own, to answer the great purposes effected by it. It enabled him to fulfil a treaty, a treaty of the highest concern to him; a treaty for the performance of which himself, his Minister, and the Resident, stood pledged—the completion of which comprised a great benefit to the Company. They were in want of money—the treaty was calculated to answer this want, and this plan to fulfil the treaty; therefore, had even the Nabob's own usual resources, or even those usually assigned to the Company, been in reality anticipated, such anticipation would have been an advantage to the Company, by an advanced payment, and not a *detriment* or injury, upon which alone the disapprobation of the Board can be grounded. I therefore now hope that this explanation will induce the approbation instead of censure of the Board upon this measure.

(Signed) R. JOHNSON.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 21st October 1783.*

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute on Mr. Middleton's defence.

I have not time to examine Mr. Middleton's defence on the charges against him. My letters, which were written to him on the different occasions which drew on him the declarations of my dissatisfaction with his conduct, and his in reply, ought to be read with his defence, and will afford both equally the strongest evidence against him. His defence appears to me rather an elusion of the charges than an answer to them. This observation will particularly apply to the 5th Article, and his reply. I was pointed in my orders to Mr. Middleton, that he should not allow any negotiation or forbearance, when he had once employed the Company's influence or power in asserting the Nabob's claims on the Begums for the recovery of his father's treasures. My principal, if not sole inducement for this order, which, with the instructions

tions following it, was as absolute as it could be expressed, was to prevent the imputation, which is too frequently, with whatever colour of reason, cast on transactions of this nature, begun with demands of sums of money to an enormous amount, supported with a great military parade, and denunciations of vengeance for a refusal, and all relenting into the acceptance of personal submission and promise of amendment: In plainer words, I did not choose to be made the instrument of private rapacity, if any such design existed; nor to expose myself to the obloquy of it, if such a design did not exist. My order was absolute, and allowed of no reasoning upon it. It required a rigid and scrupulous obedience; and Mr. Middleton, without scruple or hesitation, and even without a reason assigned, disobeyed it.—I perceive that Mr. Middleton has alluded, as Mr. Johnson has also done, to certain unexplained claims made on the Nabob Vizier by Mr. Palmer, amounting to 82 lacks of rupees: as neither explain them, but speak of them as points of undoubted credit, I think it proper to declare my doubt and disbelief of them, and to assign my reasons, as far as I I can in remote recollection of the little which I have ever known concerning them. Ten lacks of this sum have been explained by me to relate to a provision to that amount actually made, and, as I have ever understood, delivered to the Resident for its destined appropriation.

Fifty lacks are stated by Mr. Johnson as a loan proposed to be received from the Nabob. Major Palmer had no orders from me to exact such a contribution from the Nabob. It was the general belief that Hyder Beg Cawn and Almas Ally Cawn possessed much private wealth: and as the means of securing private wealth in India consist only in two very hazardous expedients—First, by depositing it with shroffs or bankers, who may fail, or refuse to return the trust; and secondly, by burying it in the bowels of the earth, from whence it never returns to its proprietors—I desired Major Palmer to explain to both the nature and currency of the Company's interest notes, and persuade them to invest their money in those better securities. I have a very faint recollection of something like a proposal to unite the Nabob's name in the transaction; but it ended without effect, nor could it at any time have been considered as a specific demand. The remaining twenty or twenty-two lacks was, as I believe, the estimated expence of an establishment of Sepoys, proposed to be raised for the purpose of defending the Nabob's internal dominions, but neither was this, or could it, be a specific demand, for I discouraged it as

soon as it was made known to me, and it went no further than mere speculation.

As Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson have swelled the amount of the current demands, by an excess of 82,00,000 rupees, so has Mr. Middleton added to his receipts 26 lacks which do not belong to them, being an anticipation of the revenue of the succeeding year. I am unable to proceed further in my remarks: but I must formally declare, that Mr. Middleton is, in my judgment, guilty of all the charges which have been preferred against him.

The Governor-general delivers in the following observations on Mr. Johnson's defence.

Mr. Johnson had no authority to recommend the persons for appointments to the office of Aumils; my instructions, which he quotes, allow him only a negative power, and was well understood by Mr. Johnson to apply to the Nabob's orderlies, a mean and wretched crew, whom his disgraceful partiality had admitted to such trusts. Mr. Johnson, by acknowledging that he did recommend persons for such appointments, and that he supported his recommendations by urgent and reiterated importunity, proves the substantial part of these charges against himself.

3d.—I am morally certain that Zaidads or Assets for 10 lacks, either in assignments of land or in bills, had been prepared, and were in the charge or possession of Mr. Middleton before Major Palmer's arrival, and left with Mr. Johnson on Mr. Middleton's departure. This sum was declaredly given for my use, but never accepted by me; the only advantage I made of the offer was to request the Nabob to transfer it, with the obligation still resting with equal weight upon my gratitude for the original destination of it, to the Company, for the relief of their pressing necessities. The rectitude of this transaction depends essentially upon principles which every man feels and acknowledges in his own breast, but can hardly be judged by the test of any official rule; it might indeed have added to the Company's claims on the Nabob; but I am not sorry that Mr. Johnson chose to defeat my intentions, since it would have added to the Nabob's distresses, but with no immediate relief to the Company. If in his own breast he can view the secret motives of this transaction, and on their testimony approve, I also acquit him, as I do acquit him of the charge on public ground.

Mr.

Mr. Johnson having involved this subject with other pretended claims, which I believe to be misrepresented, I cannot reply to them with a certain knowledge. This can only be obtained from Major Palmer, but their object is not worth the trouble or delay of such a reference.

4th.—The fourth charge is proved by the known state of the country, the dissensions that prevailed between Mr. Johnson and the Nabob Vizier, and by the total neglect of all communication from Mr. Johnson with this government during the period of his charge.

5th.—The defeat and dispersion of two of the Nabob Vizier's battalions, which Mr. Johnson acknowledges, but calls a fray; the notoriety of Almas's defection; the insolence of the treaty concluded by him with his master; the fears expressed by Mr. Anderson for the issue of his negotiations, lest they should be impeded by the distracted state of the Nabob Vizier's dominions, and the lengthened hostilities with the rebel Bulbudder, which have but recently subsided with his death, are all proofs of the truth of this charge. Of the instructions left by Mr. Middleton to Major Palmer, investing him with the political agency, I never knew, nor do I believe Major Palmer accepted such a trust, if such a trust was ever offered.

6th.—I cannot examine this charge in its full extent by the military returns. He says, he obtained two battalions from the station of Cawnpore to oppose the rebellion of Bulbudder: but he never apprized the Board of this, and my orders were most peremptory and explicit upon this subject. It matters not that the terms of the charge restrict it to the brigade of Cawnpore. His disobedience is equal, from whatever command the detachment was withdrawn.

7th.—Of this charge Mr. Johnson is clearly acquitted upon the whole:—Though I have strictly delivered my opinion on Mr. Johnson's defence, I must add, that I think he has been sufficiently punished by the deprivation of his office, and by the severity with which it was immediately effected.—“Not to be worst stands in some rank of praise.”—His faults sink to mere errors and inadvertencies, when compared with those of his principal, and are wholly lost in the contrast with those of the present Resident.

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To Mr. Nathaniel Middleton.

Sir,

I am directed, by the honourable the Governor-general and Council to acquaint you, that they have attentively read your answer to the charges prepared against you, and that they are of opinion you have by no means acquitted yourself of the facts alledged therein; but as the whole will be in reference before the honourable the Court of Directors, they leave it to them to decide finally upon your conduct.

Fort William,  
21st October.

I am, &c.

Approved,      The Governor General.  
Approved,      M.P.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Extract of General Letter from Bengal; dated 30th December 1783.*

Par. 6. Mr. Nathaniel Middleton has requested to be mentioned to you respecting his conduct and services previous to his removal from Oude; and the Governor-general having given in a minute conveying his approbation of both to that period, we beg leave to refer you to it, and to add our favourable opinion of his abilities and temper.

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## TWO LETTERS FROM THE NABOB VIZIER.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 15th of February 1781.*

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter from the Nabob Vizier.

From the Nabob Afoph ul Dowlah; Received 1st Feb. 1781.

All the officers stationed with the brigade at Cawnpore, Futty Ghurr, Darunghur, and Furruckabad, and other places, write Perwannahs, and give positive orders to the Aumils of all these places respecting the grain, and from which conduct the whole country will become depopulated. I am hopeful from your friendship that you will write to all these gentlemen not to issue orders, &c. to the Aumils, and not to send troops into the Mahals of the Sirkar; and for whatever quantity of grain, &c. they may

may want, they will inform me and the Resident, and we will write it to the Aumils, who shall cause it to be sent them every month, and I will deduct the price of them from the Tuncahs; this will be agreeable both to me and the Ryotts.

From the Nabob Vizier to Rajah Gobind Ram.

I some time ago wrote you the particulars of the conduct of the officers, and now write them again. The officers and gentlemen who are at Cawnpore, Futtu Ghurr, and Daranghur, and other places, by different means act very tyrannically and oppressively towards the Aumils and Ryotts, and inhabitants; and to those who require a Duffuck, they give it with their own seals affixed, and send for the Aumils, and punish them, if they say any thing; the gentlemen make use of but two words—One that is for the brigade; and the second that is to administer justice. The particulars of it are these, that the Bepparies will bring their grain from all quarters, and sell for their livelihood. There is at present no war to occasion a necessity for sending for it. If none comes, whatever quantity will be necessary every month, I will mention to the Aumils, that they may bring it for sale; but there is no deficiency of grain. The gentlemen have established Gunges for their own advantage, called Colonel Gunge, at Daranghur, Fut Ghurr, &c. The collections of the customs from all quarters they have stopped, and collect them at their own Gunges; each Gunge is rented out at 30,000 or 40,000 rupees, and the collections paid to the gentlemen; they have established Gunges where there never were any, and where there were, those they have abolished, 30,000 or 40,000 rupees is the sum they are rented at; the collections, to the amount of a lack of rupees, are stopped. Major Briscoe, who is at Daranghur, has established a Gunge, which is rented out for 45,000 rupees, and has stopped the Gauts round about the Bipparies; and merchants coming from Cashmere, from Sehanabad, and bringing Shawls, and other goods and spices, &c. from all quarters, he orders to his Gunge, and collects the duties from the Aumils, gives them a chit and a guard, who conducts these about 500 cofs. The former duties are not collected. From this conduct at Cawnpore, Futtu Ghur, Furrakabad, &c. the duties from the Zilla of Gora and Itchawa are destroyed, and occasions a loss of three lacks of rupees; and the losses which are sustained in Furrakabad may be ascertained by the Nabob Mozutter Jung, to whom complaints are every day made: exclusive of the Aumils and



collectors, others lodge complaints. Whatever I do, I desire no benefit from it. I am remediless, and silent from what happens to me. I know that worse will happen in other places. The second word I know is from their mouth only: this is the case. In this country formerly, and even now, whatever is to be received or paid among the Zemindars, Ryotts, and inhabitants of the cities, and poor people, neither those who can pay, or those who cannot, ever make any excuse to the Shroffs; but when they would pay, they did. In old debts of fifty years, whoever complain to the gentlemen, they agree that they shall pay  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and send Duffucks and Sepoys to all the Aumils, the Chowdries, and Canoonges, and inhabitants of all the towns; they send for every body to do them justice, confine them, and say they will settle the business. So many and numerous are these casualties, that I know not how much room it will take up to mention them. Mr. Briscoe is at Darunghur, and the complaints of the Aumils arrive daily. I am silent now Mr. Middleton is coming here; let the Nabob appoint him for the settling all those affairs, that whatever he shall order those gentlemen, they will do. From this every thing will be settled, and the particulars of this quarter will be made known to the Nabob. I have written this, which you will deliver to the Governor, that every thing may be settled; and when he has understood it, whatever is his inclination, he will favour me with it. The Nabob is master in this country, and is my friend—there is no distinction.

Written the 12th Zekaida.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 4th June 1781.*

Extract of Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Middleton.

I HAVE received your letter requesting leave for a battalion to be raised by Captain Clarke, on the same footing as Major Osborne's was, agreeable to the requests and complaints of Ismael Beg, the Aumil of Allahabad, and in compliance with the directors of the council. You are well acquainted with the particulars and negotiation of Ismael Beg's, and the nature of Mr. Osborne's battalions. At the beginning of the year 1186 (1779) the affairs of Allahabad were given on a lease of 3 years to Ismael Beg, together with the Purgunnahs Arreel and Parra; and I gave orders for troops to be stationed and raised conformable to his request. Ismael Beg accordingly collected 1200 Peons, which were not allowed

allowed to the Aumil of that place in the year 1185. The reason why I gave permission for the additional expence of 1200 Peons was, that he might be enabled to manage the country with ease, and pay the money to government regularly. I besides sent Mr. Osborne there to command in the Mahals belonging to Illahabad, which were in the possession of Rajah Ajeet Sing, and he accordingly took charge of      Afterwards, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, Jelladut Jung, he was recalled, and the Mahals placed, as before, under Rajah Ajeet Sing. I never sent Mr. Osborne to settle the concerns of Illahabad, for there was no occasion for him; but Mr. Osborne of himself committed depredations and rapines within Ishmael's Beg jurisdiction. Last year the battalion which, by the permission of General Sir Eyre Coote, was sent, received orders to secure and defend Ishmael Beg against the encroachments of Mr. Osborne; for the complaints of Ishmael Beg against the violences of Mr. Osborne had reached the General and Mr. Purling, and the Governor and gentlemen of Council, at my request, recalled Mr. Osborne. This year, as before, the collections of Areeel and Parra remain under Ishmael Beg. In those places some of the Talookdars and Zemindars, who had been oppressed and ill-treated by Mr. Osborne, had conceived ideas of rebellion. I therefore spoke to you, and wrote to Colonel Morgan, requesting that a battalion might be sent for a short time; but on account of the actual state of affairs, and in obedience to the orders of the Governor-general and Council, Colonel Morgan had collected his army in one station, and could not detach a battalion.

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CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. ANDERSON AND  
MR. BRISTOW, RELATIVE TO MIRZA JUNGLEE,  
BROTHER TO THE NABOB OF OUDE.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. David Anderson to Mr. John Bristow; dated Camp, near Gualcar, 9th February 1783.*

YESTERDAY Myrzee Junglee, a brother of the Nabob's, arrived in this Camp; it is said that he left Myrza Shuffy in disgust—whatever objects he may have in view they will not long be concealed, and I imagine, I shall be able in my next letter to give you an account of them.

. . . . Myrza

. . . . Myrza Junglee, after standing for some time on punctilio with Scindia, regarding the compliments of the first visit, has at length had an interview; he was received with some marks of attention, and had a private conference of some length. As far as I have been able to learn, he left Myrza Shuffe on a sudden, in disgust, with a few followers connected with him by the similarity of their fortunes and dispositions, and came to this camp without having concerted any plan, or taken any previous measures to insure a favourable reception; the only object he seems to have at present, is to obtain some establishment for his maintenance from Scindia. I believe as yet he has received very little encouragement; and his followers already begin to speak of advising him, according to their different opinions, either to have recourse to the English government, or to fly to Nizar Ally, or some of the princes of the Deccan; with whom it is supposed that the name of his father will still have sufficient weight to procure him a provision for his subsistence; at all events it seems to be the opinion of his followers, that nothing will ever induce him to have recourse to the Vizier, or to trust himself within his power.

*Extract of a Letter Mr. A. to Mr. B.; dated Camp, near Bhet, 6th March 1783.*

Myrza Junglee sent yesterday for one of my people, and told him, that when he left Myrza Shuffe he intended to go directly to Calcutta, and throw himself on the generosity of the English; but that some of his followers suggested, that he would certainly be stopped by the officers commanding the troops, and delivered up to his brother the Vizier; that he therefore resolved to come here with a view of interesting Scindia and me to intercede with the Governor in his favour, or at least getting such letters from me, as would serve to protect him on the way to Calcutta; that accordingly, with these views, when he first came here he pitched his encampment close to mine, although it was then a mile and an half separate from Scindia's; but that soon after finding, that any intercourse with me would not be very agreeable to Scindia, he had removed the main encampment, and his necessities being extremely pressing, he had thrown himself on Scindia, who had for the present given him a scanty relief, and had promised to confer a considerable Jagheer on him hereafter, if he would engage in his service, and raise a body of troops. Myrza Junglee added, that all his followers were averse to his going to Calcutta, as such a measure would infallibly cut off all their prospects; but

but that for his part he was determined on it at all events, rather than trust to the promises of the Marattas; and he declared, that if I would give him the smallest encouragement, he would quit all his followers, and come alone, and take up his residence under my protection.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Bristow to Mr. David Anderson; dated Lucknow, the 26th March 1783.*

I have in consequence of your letters of the 9th and 20th ultimo, and of the 6th instant, solicited permission for Myrza Junglee to return, representing the disgrace attending his seeking for subsistence at foreign courts, and the numberless indignities he must expose himself and the Vizier to from such a conduct. I hope I shall be able to succeed, but the utmost allowance he can expect at present will be two thousand rupees a month, being the sum allowed his Excellency's other brothers and sisters, of whom there are now living at least thirty-three. I have endeavoured to persuade his Excellency to place them upon a respectable footing, and pay their allowances regularly: some payments have lately been made at my intercession; and if Myrza Junglee returns, I think he may depend upon regularly receiving the allowance I propose. You will do me the favour to sound him, and inform me if he approves the proposal.

..... I had the pleasure of informing you on the 26th, of the terms upon which I proposed that Myrza Junglee should return: I now enclose you the Vizier's and my Duffreechs, granting him permission: if he should want any moderate sum to bear his expences on the road, oblige me by granting it, and I will answer your bill.

The Nabob refused his assent to my applications at first, upon the plea that Myrza Junglee had not addressed him; he expected this mark of respect, and expressed a desire that Myrza Junglee should be considered as dependant upon himself, and not return upon the footing of Saadut Ally: this matter may be easily settled to his Excellency's satisfaction, by asking Myrza Junglee for an Arzee to his brother before you deliver him the Duffreechs—his conduct before he left Lucknow was that of a wild young man, but I never heard any thing to his prejudice in other respects. He went to try his fortune at other courts, in preference to starving at home, which might have been his fate by all accounts at this place.

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. David Anderson to Mr John Bristow; dated Camp, near Gualier, 6th April 1783.*

I am favoured with your letters of the 26th and 28th March, and have communicated the contents of them to Myrza Junglee, intimating at the same time, that as I had understood he had formed some connections here, so nothing of what you proposed could take place through my interference, unless Scindia acquiesced in his leaving him.

I have now the pleasure to inclose a letter from Myrza Junglee to you, and an Arzee to the Nabob, which I hope will obviate all his Excellency's scruples in point of respect. Alla Reza Cawn, who has now the chief direction of Myrza Junglee's affairs, came to me this morning, and informed me, that Scindia had offered to settle on him a Jagheer of the districts of Punchemohal, amounting to 40,000 rupees per annum, to be held in the name of his son Bourhan ul Dien Hyder, as a provision for the subsistence of his Begum and family, to give him personally an allowance for 60,000 rupees per annum, for keeping up a Resallah of horse three hundred horse, and to put

under his command a battalion of infantry, to be paid directly from Scindia's treasury. Alla Reza said, that his master had hitherto declined to accept of these offers, being desirous of rather availing himself of the friendship you have indicated towards him; he seemed however to be under some apprehension lest his brother should have some treacherous intentions of either confining or killing him. I observed, that if you had not been very well assured of the fairness of his Excellency's intentions, you would never have joined in inviting him to Lucknow, and that this consideration ought to make him perfectly satisfied. Alla Reza said, that this was very just—he then objected to the smallness of the sum proposed for him, it was not only inadequate to his expences, but infinitely less than what his Excellency had settled on many persons of very inferior rank, who have not so good a claim to his support. I answered, that from what you had written there was not the least reason to expect at present that the allowance would be increased. He then said, that what was proposed would not be sufficient to enable him to live at Lucknow, where all his friends and relations were, and where so many of his inferiors lived in a greater degree of affluence; in case therefore it could not be increased, he requested that you would procure him permission to live at Etayah, Allahabad, or Patna, or to go down to Calcutta, or to continue here with me;

in any of these situations, he said, he could with less difficulty regulate his expences, so as to be able to live on his Excellency's allowance. I promised to write to you on this subject, and Ally Reza said, that on receiving your answer and his Excellency's, if this request was granted, he would immediately embrace the offer which you have made to him, and quit all his prospects here of Scindia's concurrence. Myrza Junglee seems to have no doubt. I am, however, apt to think, that Scindia will use every effort to detain him here; but I must make his concurrence a necessary condition, as it otherwise he will said I had seduced away a person, if not actually engaged in his service, remained in his camp with that intention.

If I may offer my advice, I would recommend that his Excellency should allow Myrza Junglee to reside at Ellahabad, and direct the Aumil to pay him attention. I have seen him only once, but as far I can learn, he conducts himself with great propriety. He has lately dismissed the greater part of his followers.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Brislow to Mr. David Anderson; dated Lucknow, 22d April 1783.*

I HAVE been favoured with your letters of the 6th instant.

The proposition relative to Myrza Junglee was not very well received; the Vizier is disinclined to the granting his permission for him to reside at Ellahabad, or any frontier station. It is earnestly wished, that he should return to Lucknow, as he would then be considered entirely dependent on the Nabob;—his residence at any place than the capital is considered as subject to many objections, from the influence a man of his birth must unavoidably have in such a situation. I yesterday had a final conversation with the Minister on the subject; and he at last assured me, that I should be certain of the Vizier's approbation for Myrza Junglee to retire to any part of the Company's provinces, particularly Patna; which agrees with one of the alternatives you have proposed: the Minister was particularly anxious, that you should be informed of the impossibility of the increase of the proposed allowance of two thousand rupees per month; and requested that I would repeat what I had before advised you of, in my letters on the subject; that previous to his departure from Scindia's camp, you would be particular in impressing on his mind, that if at any future period the Vizier's finances would admit of any further consideration, it should be considered only as a mark of his bounty, and not of right. I have addressed the Board for their permission

permission for Myrza Junglee to retire within the Company's provinces, provided you should, in consequence of his letter, obtain Scindia's consent, and settle the matter in other respects to the satisfaction of all parties.

True copies.

(Signed) J. NEAVE, Assistant.

*To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-general,  
and the Members of the Supreme Council, Fort William.*

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I HAVE now the honour to inclose you bills of exchange, agreeable to the accompanying list, of fifteen lacs of Calcutta Sicca rupees (Ca. Sa. Rs. 1,500,000) borrowed upon the plan proposed in my address of the 3d instant. Every exertion shall be made to supply you with the most ample resources, but the certain and only mode of securing them, is to regulate the abuses of the Vizier's government, render the Nabob's situation really affluent and dignified, and not suffer a designing minister to usurp his authority, and perpetuate a system which is founded upon anarchy and a total want of œconomy. I cannot now in any one instance act with confidence; and I despair, as I have already represented to you, of accomplishing the great objects of my appointment, except by the immediate interposition of your authority, and your fullest support. The present critical season of the year, when every arrangement ought to take place, makes me anxious for your speedy decision, as a certain loss will attend delay. I have great satisfaction in informing you, that supposing I had the hearty assistance of the Minister, the situation of affairs is such, as would flatter me with every prospect of success in reducing the Vizier's powerful Aumils, and restoring the peace of the country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow,

7th June 1783.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Resident at the Vizier's Court.

*To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-general,  
&c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.*

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I am honoured with your commands of the 29th ultimo, containing violent complaints preferred against me by the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn; and shall transmit as speedily as possible my defence against each separate allegation.

I think it my duty, Gentlemen, to repeat the substance of my former representations, that such general distress  
and

and oppression prevail throughout the country, and such ruin attends upon every rank and class of men, owing to Hyder Beg Cawn's mal-administration, that unless a reform be vigorously enforced, the most serious consequences are to be apprehended, both to the Vizier's affairs and the honourable Company's resources. This, Gentlemen, is the season of the year for regulating every abuse, and Hyder Beg Cawn's view, in thus urgently soliciting my recall at so critical a period, needs no comment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Lucknow,  
13th June 1783.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.  
Resident at the Vizier's court.

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INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO  
MR. JOHN BRISTOW.

Conf. 21st April.

To Mr. John Bristow.

Sir,

CONFORMABLY to the reference of the Board, I commend and enjoin your strictest attention to the following instructions :

1st. The balance due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, partly from the negligence and inaccuracy with which the monthly accounts were drawn out, and partly from the inattention of the late Resident, had been suffered to accumulate to an amount exceeding that at which it stood at the close of the last year, notwithstanding the special care which I myself had taken in my agreement with the Nabob Vizier, concluded on the 19th of September 1781, at Chunar, and my instructions delivered at the same time to the Resident, since enforced with very peremptory and repeated orders. This obliged me lately to write, in very strong and unusual terms, both to the Resident and to the Minister, and produced the effect of an immediate exertion and consequent discharge of a part of the balance, and assurances of the speedy payment of the remainder. I do not implicitly rely on these assurances, but conclude that on your arrival you will find either a large balance still outstanding of the last year's account, or that the whole has been paid off by encroachment on the current year's revenue. In either case, your attention will be equally required to the settlement of this year's assignment, unless it shall have been already accomplished. You will be careful to guard against fictitious estimates;



estimates; and if any such shall appear in the assignments already formed, you will of course insist upon their being exchanged for others, or their Jumma reduced to their real value, and others added, to complete the sum of the year's demands; that is to say, the last year's arrears, the two subsidies of the current year, and the other sums for the payment of which our government has or shall have made itself responsible; so that at the close of the year the whole shall be entirely and completely discharged.

2d. You will observe a very considerable difference between Mr. Middleton's account and the corrected account delivered to him by the Accountant-general, and now in the possession of your accountant Mr. Wombwell; a difference nearly equal to thirty lacks of rupees. To the former, though made up with false calculations, gross omissions, and even balances falsely transferred from one month's account to the other, Mr. Middleton has pertinaciously adhered, affecting to call the difference a new claim upon the Nabob. I fear this may render it an unpleasant office to you to rectify his error, as I have no doubt that the same declaration which he has made to this government will have been made as a concession to the Nabob and his minister, and of course your demand for the difference treated as unjust, and formed on false pretences; but the real account is so clear, and the difference so self-apparent, that it will be impossible for the Minister to controvert or misunderstand them, however he may affect the latter.

3d. Endeavour to obtain an early and minute information of the state of the provinces of Owde especially, and the rest of the Nabob Vizier's dominions; and report the result of your inquiries to me, under the following heads, viz.

- 1st. Their government.
- 2d. Their military defence, and distribution of the Nabob's forces.
- 3d. Revenue.
- 4th. Disposition and actual conduct of the Zemindars, and the means taken for restoring and preserving the quiet of the country.
- 5th. The character and credit of the principal Aumils.
- 6th. Under this general head, I must also refer to your inquiry, and desire you will inform me, whether the sums lately levied, or affirmed to have been levied and brought to the Company's credit by Mr. Johnson, have been drawn from the revenue of last year, or borrowed,

rowed, and assignments given for the repayment of the revenue of that year, or exacted by anticipations of the current revenue: one of which cases I very much suspect, because they must have been received at a season in which the regular collections are always at a stand.

7th. Also by what mode, and through what agents, these collections were made:

4th. Immediately on your arrival found the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn: his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable. Till within these three months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared to use both the Nabob's name, and even his seal, affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to procure Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations; such as the resumption of the Jagheers, and the seizure of his father's treasures, which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagements exacted from me at Chunar. On every occasion of this kind, the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the Minister's pretensions; I must therefore have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that government; nor can I omit, while I express my reliance upon you for this purpose, to repeat the sentiments which I expressed in the verbal instructions which I gave you at your departure, "that there can be no medium in the relation between the Resident and the Minister, but either the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the Minister, or the Minister at the absolute devotion of the Resident." Much as I am displeas'd at the conduct of the Minister, I impute it more to the sufferance of Mr. Middleton than to himself; and if he will submit to hold his office on such conditions as I require, I would certainly prefer him to any other man who could be nominated to his office,

because he possesses abilities, and a knowledge of business. He exists by his dependance on the influence of our government; and above all, because a change of administration in a government so loose as that of Owde, where all the parts of it are held together by the exertion of actual power, and not by the springs of an established constitution, would be unavoidably productive of confusion, and loss of revenue: therefore it must be adviseable to try him by the mode of conciliation, in your final conversation with him, at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him, in the plainest terms, the footing and condition on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismissal, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses it. In the first place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his letters dictated by the spirit of opposition; but shall consider every such attempt as the Minister's, and as an insult on our government: in the second place, I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character but with your knowledge and participation; at the same time, the first share of the responsibility will rest with you. The other conditions will follow distinctly in their places, because I consider you as responsible for them.

5th. No administration can be properly conducted without regular offices. In that of Owde there is not one, the whole being engrossed by Mr. Minister. Two are indispensably necessary; first, an office of collections; secondly, an office of treasury. I insist upon these establishments being formed immediately; and it must be your care to appoint such checks to each, that whatever sums are paid from the revenue shall be duly entered, and credit given for their exact amount in the office of collections; and in like manner, that no sums shall pass the treasury, without a similar controul. The heads of these offices must of course be under the general directions of the Minister in all points, excepting their accounts; for the fidelity of which they must be solely responsible, and made liable to the several punishments, if they falsify them. What other officers may have been in use in the time of the Nabob Suja ul Dowlah, and at this time necessary, you will enquire, and either cause them to be re-established, or not, as it shall appear to be proper.

In this last description I include the Adawlets. You will find them recommended but conditionally in my instructions to Mr. Middleton. It is certain that the want of them, and the universal and extreme licentiousness occasioned thereby, is one of the most disreputable defects in the Nabob's government; yet I much doubt whether introduced into such a state at once and abruptly, they  
would

would not add to the mischiefs which they were intended to redress; for perhaps there is scarce an individual who would not become immediately obnoxious to their authority, and I fear scarce an individual capable of discharging even a small portion of their decrees. While they do not exist, every man knows the hazard which he incurs in lending his money. Their establishment might tend to deceive, by holding out the appearance of false assurances, and with respect to oppressions of every species, unless each court was armed with a strong military force, it would not be in their power to prevent or punish them; neither in that case is it certain they would not themselves prove the greatest instruments of oppression. The Aumils in the first instance, and the Munduls or chiefs of the villages ultimately, must supply this defect, as proper for your enquiry and consideration, but cannot give you any instructions concerning it.

6th. Great care must be taken in the choice of Aumils. I shall not descend to particulars, but enjoin one caution only, as indispensably necessary, that no Aumil be appointed to a frontier station, without such pledge, or other security, for compelling his personal appearance whenever required, as may insure, beyond a doubt, his obedience and fidelity; and both these and others, wherever stationed, ought to have the means of self-protection, and to be trusted and supported.

7th. The means by which Almas Ally Cawn has been permitted to acquire independency have been long seen, and the effects of it foretold by every person acquainted with the state of that government, except those immediately interested in it. The late Resident has been his constant advocate, and I lately understand that, however truly, the Minister disclaims all concern in this imprudent measure. It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the subsequent negotiations which passed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which resemble more a treaty between equal states than a transaction between a sovereign and his vassal, have all passed without the least communication or report of them made to me by the Resident, or his assistant, or the Minister; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the Minister has had the presumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be false, and without foundation, and to affirm that every part of his dominion enjoyed the most perfect peace and tranquillity. Upon this subject, the behaviour of the Minister is so reprehensible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my sentiments of it: it will at least shew him how thin the veil is by which

he covers his own acts, and that such artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the falsehood and duplicity with which they are associated. As for Almas Ally Cawn himself, the policy which has been observed towards him has been scandalously derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and interest, and hurtful to the reputation of our government, as far as it is connected with it. If any engagement shall actually subsist between them at the time you have charge of the residency, it must, however exceptional, be faithfully observed; but if he has been guilty of any criminal offence to the Nabob his master, for which no immunity is provided in the engagement, or he shall break any one of the conditions of it, I do most strictly enjoin you, and it must be your special care to endeavour, either by force or surprize, to secure his person, and bring him to justice: by bringing him to justice, I mean that you urge the Nabob, on due conviction, to punish him with death, as a necessary example to deter others from the commission of the like crimes; nor must you desist till this is effected.—I cannot prescribe the means: but to guard myself against that obloquy to which I may be exposed by a forced misconstruction of this order, by those who may hereafter be employed in searching our records for cavils and informations against me, I think it proper to forbid, and protest against, the use of any fraudulent artifice or treachery to accomplish the end which I have prescribed; and as you alone are privy to the order, you will of course observe the greatest secrecy that it may not transpire: but I repeat my recommendation of it as one of the first and most essential duties of your office.

8th. From the practice which the late Resident and his deputy, and the minister, seemed to have prescribed to themselves of withholding all official information from me, I have been under the necessity of forming my opinion of the state of the Nabob's government upon private intelligence; but this, from its variety, from its concurrence, notwithstanding the various channels through which it has passed, and above all from its notoriety, comes to me with all the weight which the highest authority could give it. For some facts I have the testimony of sworn evidence; such are the transactions of the rebel Zemindars of Goo-ruckpore and Bareach in the insurrections of the last year, which had for their immediate object the destruction of Colonel Hannay, and the officers of his command; and, ultimately, the extirpation of the English influence and power throughout the whole of the Nabob Vizier's dominions. The Zemindars who distinguished themselves on this occasion were Zalem Sing, Genoo Roy, and Perly  
Pall

Pall Sing. I am well informed that these men have persevered in their rebellious conduct, without deviation, to the present time, though the Nabob's, and not our government, is the object of it.—Represent to the Nabob, and effectually, the bad policy of suffering such examples to pass with impunity. Obtain his order for employing some sure means for apprehending these Zemindars; and if it shall appear, on a fair and regular inquiry, that their conduct towards the Nabob (I pass over that which regards ourselves alone) has been such as it has been reported to be, he ought, and you must insist upon it, to punish them with death, and to treat with the same rigour every Zemindar, and every subject who shall be the leader in a rebellion against his authority. Severe as this injunction may appear at first sight, it will be mercy in its effects, if the Nabob will adopt the policy, by insuring the tranquility of his country, and saving the blood of his people; for the resolution, once published, and enforced in a single instance, will make it unnecessary to prosecute it to a second example.

9th. I have been informed by the late Colonel Han-  
nay, that some time before his recall was determined, he had agreed to a settlement of 23 lacks complete, and without deductions, for the revenue of Goorookpore and Barchach for the present year, and that on his recall a new arrangement had taken place, in which a selection had been made of the most valuable Talooks or portions of this district, and that they had been distributed among the domestics and other favourites of the minister, and that the rest had been farmed to one Aumil Abdool Beg, as I recollect, and the whole reduced to a Jumma of 18 lacks, from which a provision of future remissions was made for Seebundy anticipations, and Pymauly, or ravages committed during the late insurrections. These are facts of such a kind as will confirm themselves by their own evidence; and if you find them to be such, it must be your care to correct the abuse if you can, for the present, or at least to apply the best remedy in your power to it, and restore their future Jumma to its real value. I shall not enter further or more minutely into the subject of the general collections, but I am particularly solicitous to ascertain the real value of this district, for a reason which I will proceed to explain.

From the nature of our connection with the government of Owde, from the Nabob's incapacity, and the necessity which will for ever exist while we have the claim of a subsidy upon the resources of this country, of exercising an influence, and frequently substituting it entirely in the place of an avowed and constitutional authority in

the administration of his government, and from the consequences inevitable in such a connected system, directed as it must be under all the various changes and resolutions incident to our government by men of various character, and degrees of capacity and integrity, the time will come when that claim shall accumulate to a sum exceeding the Nabob's ability to discharge it, but by some ancient measures of accommodation, which may at the same time release him from an intolerable burden, and yield to us a more rational and substantial, though less ostensible income. Such a resource, and indeed in no other, would be afforded by assignment in property, and in perpetuity, of the district of Goorookpore and Bareach, in lieu of all demands whatsoever for subsidy, even though the additional charge of extraordinary detachments furnished for the defence of his dominions were added to it. Such an accommodation, if even it should take place, must be produced by a strong necessity compelling it; for neither would the Nabob, weak as he is, submit to yield to it now, nor would I, firmly convinced as I am of its expediency, recommend the acceptance of it at this time, while so strong an apparent difference between the produce of the assignment, taken at its highest probable estimate, and the amount of the subsidy, exists as an objection to it. The annual claim of the subsidy being 34,020,000 rupees, and Colonel Hannay's Jumma of Goorookpore and Bareach, which must be taken at its highest rate, but at 23 lacks; but as an argument for the measure, if ever it should become a subject of immediate consideration, I will briefly add the advantages which will certainly accrue from it.

1. Its situation, bounded by a great and impassable river, the Dava, connecting with the Ganges, the boundary line of the most defensible part of our dominions.

2. The means which it would afford us of putting a total stop to the continual inroads and ravages by which our own district of Sircar Sarum has been, and will be continually infested, from its open communication with the rude territory of the lawless Zemindars of Goorookpore immediately adjoining to it.

3d. A certain and improveable revenue, instead of a precarious demand on account, payable from a fund which I have said must at some period prove insolvent.

Having thus exposed to you my views, I now leave them a charge on your recollection, recommending it to you to obtain all the insight which you can into the subject, both with respect to its present revenue, to the improvement of which it would be capable in our hands,

and

and to the means by which the assignment itself could at a proper season be obtained.

10th. On the information of the defection of Almass Ally Cawn, of symptoms apparent of the like disposition in the Aumil of Rohileund, and of the general anarchy which prevailed in every other part of the Nabob's dominions; the Board, though officially unapprized of these, as of every other subject requiring their knowledge of them, resolved and ordered that a strong detachment, under Colonel Sir John Cummings, should march into the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, both for its internal defence, and for the relief of the numerous detachments which we understood (and this also from private information only) have been made by the sole authority of Mr. Johnson, covered by the Nabob's formal requisition, from the army stationed at Cawnpore: you will receive an order from the Board to notify to the commanding officer of every detachment, that its services are no longer required; which notification it will rest with your discretion to make on the instant in which you shall see that it can be done with safety; and a correspondent order will be sent to Colonel Morgan, to command the instant return of every detachment within four-and-twenty hours after the receipt of every such notification upon this subject. I desire you to bear in mind, that the army at Cawnpore, or in whatsoever part of the frontier it may be stationed, is appointed for the internal defence of the Nabob's dominions, and for that only; that this was its original destination intended by the treaty of 1773, commonly known by the treaty of Benares; and that every deviation from this object, and every diminution of its force, are impolitic and highly dangerous to our own existence, by the encouragement which it will afford to foreign invasion. I understand that at this time there are only two regiments of Sepoys left to support the small body of Europeans to which the strength of that station is now reduced.

Events may hereafter arise of so sudden and urgent an emergency, as to require a temporary deviation from this maxim; but it will be with the greatest reluctance and dissatisfaction that the Board will ever hear of such a disposition, and therefore you must be careful that the exigency be such from its urgency and necessity, as will clearly justify you in deviating from it, though but by the call of a single regiment of that station to any part of the Nabob's internal dominions; and on every such occasion you must be careful to comply with every formality enjoined by my instructions to Mr. Middleton, dated the 23<sup>d</sup> of September, and to transmit instant advice of



it to the Board, not waiting for the detail of your reasons, which, to prevent delays, may follow as you shall have more leisure to form them.

I must make it my particular injunction, that such a notification as I have mentioned above may be at all events instantly transmitted to the officer commanding the detachment sent to Furruckabad, if my information be true, that such a measure has been assumed by Mr. Johnson, for which no pretext can justify him.

11th. What I have to say under this head is immediately connected with the concluding part of the preceding. From a solicitude to guard against any imputations to which the reputation of our government might be exposed by its interference in the Nabob Vizier's claims upon the Nabob Mozaffer Jung, I made use of my influence with the minister, enforced by strong injunction to the Resident, that no force should be exercised on that Nabob, nor any person sent to usurp the charge of his government and collections, while he continued to pay his stipulated annual tribute to the Vizier as it became due: the consequence of this recommendation was, if I may credit the reports of the Resident and the minister, that from the instant that the Nabob withdrew his interference, the Nabob Mozaffer Jung desisted from making his payment: you will know with certainty whether this report was true; if it was, you must leave the Nabob and the minister to act in this business in what manner soever they please, and entirely forbear from all interference in it.

12th. Mr. Middleton has written to the Board that Fyzoola Cawn has been making preparations for entering on open hostilities with the Nabob Vizier, and combining other persons against him; I suspect the information, but prudence requires to be prepared against the possibility of such an event. It is possible that the apparent weakness may have excited Fyzoola Cawn to form such a design; it is more probable that he has been driven to it by the public declarations and menaces both of the Resident and the minister. I have written a letter to him, such as I think best calculated to divert him from any such undertaking, by assurances of the favourable disposition of this government towards him, while he shall not have forfeited it by any improper conduct, and by stating to him the fatal consequences which must attend his defection. That letter you will perhaps receive earlier than I shall be able to put you in possession of these instructions; I shall only add, upon this head, that you must be guided by your own discretion in whatsoever relates to it; but be careful to prevent the Nabob's affairs from

from being involved with new difficulties, while he has already so many to oppress him.

13th. The severities which have been exercised towards the Begums were most justly merited by the advantage which they took of the troubles in which I was personally involved the last year, to excite a rebellion in the Nabob's government, and to compleat the ruin which they thought was impending on ours. If it is the Nabob's desire to forget and to forgive their past offences, I have no objection to his allowing them in pension the nominal amount of their Jaghires; but if he shall ever offer to restore their Jaghires to them, or to give them any property in land after the warning which they have given him, by the dangerous abuse which they formerly made of his indulgence, you must remonstrate in the strongest terms against it—you must not permit such an act to take place, until this government shall have received information of it, and shall have had time to interpose its influence for the prevention of it.

14th. Study on every occasion to conciliate the goodwill of the Nabob, and shew him every ostensible and external mark of respect. I should hope that with due attention you would not find it difficult to make him himself the mover of every act necessary, whether for the advancement of his own interests, or the discharge of his debts to the Company. But this can never be effected while the minister maintains that ascendancy over him which he at present holds by the means of a nearer and more private intercourse, and by affecting to be the vindicator of his rights against the claims of our government. In my late engagement with the Nabob it was stipulated that a certain sum should be set apart monthly for his private expences, and this made a part of my instructions to Mr. Middleton. The sum was afterwards fixed, as I recollect, of 30 lacks. It was my intention and direction, that this appropriation should be made before any other, and this I make my present injunction to you; requiring also that you do make it a part of immediate and strict inquiry, whether the Nabob has hitherto received the whole and punctual payment of the sum assigned to this account, or any part of it has been withheld from him, whether with or without his concurrence. I mention this, because, from some private information which I have lately received, I have reason to suspect that this is actually the case. Whatever foundation there may be for this report, let justice be done to the Nabob; and if he has been deceived, undeceive him.

15th. The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he suffers in his authority,

rity, by the usurpations of the Company's Residents; and has repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance shall be completely discharged, he may be freed from this vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the subsidy in ready money; and that the assignments which have been granted to satisfy that demand may be restored him. I confess that I did myself give encouragement to this proposition, knowing at the same time the quarter from which it came, I mean from Hyder Hyder Beg; and willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and responsibility, and the Company from the disgrace of whatever might attend the administration of the Nabob's government. I thought too that it presented a sure prospect of the regular payment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the resumption of the former system of assignments, and in the personal claims which it would lay on the minister. But his misconduct has since manifested itself in so many particular instances, besides the universal disorder of the country, and this is so alarming in its effects to our government, that I shall hesitate, until I have the surest and most satisfactory grounds, to recommend an acquiescence in such a measure. At present the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at some distance; for while I am writing these instructions fresh circumstances occur to my knowledge, which make me much suspect the real payment of the sums brought to the Nabob's credit for the last year's balance. It may not, however, be amiss to talk with the minister on this subject, to let him know that it is well understood to be a demand for substituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to invest him with the sovereignty of the Nabob Vizier's dominions;—to ask him, whether in such case he shall expect the Company's protection? and if he does, by what claim of right? And whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new scene of hostilities, by those which his mal-administration may produce, whether internally, or by invasion in that country, he shall think himself in justice exempt from the personal vengeance which we may be disposed to exact from him?—At all events the proposition must be discouraged till a safer season for its acceptance; but the absolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he shall himself renew it.

16th. For the rest I refer you to my instructions to Mr. Middleton, to which, in every point not revoked or qualified by these instructions, I must require your most attentive and literal obedience.

17th. I do justice to my sense of your character, in declaring my entire reliance on your prudence and integrity, and to these I trust for your deviation from any part of these instructions at your discretion, in any instance which shall appear to you necessarily to require it; and instantly inform me, or the Board, according to the degree of its importance, that you have acted in such manner, with your reasons for it.

Fort William,  
23d October 1782.

I am,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient,

A true Copy. (Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

E. Hay,  
Acting Sec. to the Secret Department.

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*Consultation, 29th September 1783.*

THE Governor-general delivers in the following minute, containing his observations on Mr. Bristow's letter and defence :

It is with great regret that he offers a composition of such unusual length for a place in the consultations. It was written with a stronger regret, operating as a discouragement on his mind, and no less mortification, from the reflection of the incongruity of such a drudgery with the cares and functions which ought to be the occupation of the person filling up a station so important as that which he holds, had he the power of attending to the first, or discharging the latter. He solemnly declares, that the powers of this government are not in his hands, nor exercised by the principles which he professes. Disarmed of the means of averting, by an instant and decided act of authority, the evils which he has long since seen impending on the British character and interests, he has devoted himself to the labour of displaying them for the view of higher authorities, on whose wisdom and justice he securely depends for their due retribution, if this representation shall arrive too late to produce the remedy which he hopes to derive from it—The ruin of a great dominion, the open violation of justice and public faith, the contempt reflected on this government from its representation, and reproach from the acts done under its authority, merited at least the labour of a few days for the production of the only resource which remained for their

their removal, even from the first and executive member of the constitution, if they have not interfered with more urgent calls of his duty.—To him it has been the sacrifice of a length of time which he reviews with pain.—He foresees the consequences to which it may lead, in the long interval which must precede its effects, but is prepared to meet them; and whatever may happen of the events which he dreads in the train of affairs now subsisting, he shall at least receive this consolation under them, that he used his utmost exertions to prevent them, and that in the annals of the nations of India which have been subjected to the British dominion, he shall not be numbered among their oppressors.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Governor General.

It would have been unjust to have prescribed to Mr. Bristow, either the mode or bounds of his defence. I shall assume the same privilege in my examination of it, and by throwing aside all the extraneous subjects, reasonings of difficult or unimportant application, professions of integrity, and sounding declamation, which make up the bulk of the composition, endeavour to comprize all that is essential of the general subject in the following remarks.

On the 21st of April I laid before the Board two letters from the Nabob Vizier, and three from his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, all filled with various complaints of the conduct of Mr. Bristow, the Resident of this government at the court of the Nabob Vizier; as the constitutional channel of all political correspondence I had no option, had I been so inclined, to suppress them.—They were as much the concern of the other members of the Board as my own; but as they personally regarded an individual highly patronized, and then recently withdrawn from that dependance on my own authority, with which I had endeavoured to accommodate my submission to the orders of the court of Directors in his appointment to the station which he held, I foresaw at once all the difficulties of the part which I had to act, both with respect to my immediate colleagues in office, and my superiors at home.—Under this impression I imparted the subject with much delicacy to the other members of the Board, but thought I saw in its reception a temper that boded little ease to my feelings in the prosecution of the charges, or justice in the termination of it.—The gentlemen of the Board must not be offended at this declaration; I mean not to allude to what passed when we were in private at the first communication of the complaints, but

but to the first minutes which were delivered upon them on the 19th and 22d of the month following.—I had suffered all the intermediate delay, from a fear of irritation; and on the 19th of May I simply moved that the charges should be transmitted to Mr. Bristow, with orders to revoke all appointments made by him under the government of Nabob Vizier, and not appertaining to the duties and rights of his office.

On this question the members of the Board entered their separate opinions, agreeing to transmit the charges for Mr. Bristow's defence; but objecting to any other consequent act until he should have replied to them, as it appeared that he had not exceeded his instructions, and that the complaints were founded on interested motives.—Mr. Macpherson added to his opinion a proposal, that the similar charges should be drawn against Messrs. Middleton and Johnson, on which the Board had been partly induced to remove those gentlemen from the trust since committed to Mr. Bristow; and Mr. Stables, with a decision which seemed to preclude the necessity of any enquiry whatever, delivered it as his opinion, that, “in justice and candour to the Nabob Vizier and his minister, the Board ought explicitly to declare, that they could not on any account comply with the Vizier's request, to grant him discretionary powers over his country, whilst such heavy debts remained due to the Company.”—I was silent, and the debate briefly closed without any resolution following it.

On the 22d of May I laid before the Board another letter from Hyder Beg Cawn, with narratives of conversations held between him and Mr. Bristow. I recapitulated what had passed with relation to the former papers, remarked on the minutes of the preceding council, and renewed the same question, which had been left undetermined. The other members entered their opinions, which amounted to a resolution, formally passed, to send to Mr. Bristow the charges, but not to revoke the appointments which he had made.—I protested; declared the instructions to be annulled which I had given to Mr. Bristow, and which had been pronounced a valid authority for his acts; requiring the other members to form other rules for his conduct more consonant to their own principles.

In the mean time Mr. Bristow having intimation of the first complaints against him, which had been laid before the Board on the 21st of April, addressed a letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, and filled with general complaints against Hyder Beg Cawn, and a specific charge of having impeded his endeavours to establish a

new plan, which he had formed for the administration of justice for the city of Lucknow and the dominions of Oude. This letter was received on the 29th of May, but the Board properly agreed to suspend the consideration of it till the receipt of his reply to the charges which had been preferred against him, and these were accordingly transmitted to him in a letter of that date, which was more than five weeks after their first delivery.

I shall detain the narrative in this place but to make one brief observation of the difference of Mr. Macpherson's behaviour on this, from that which he shewed on a former occasion, not very dissimilar:—When Mr. Johnson, acting in the place of Mr. Middleton, was accused of having appointed Aumils or collectors over the lands assigned by the Nabob Vizier for the payment of the Company's balance and growing debt, and of having assumed other acts of authority which appertained solely to the regular administration of the Nabob Vizier, I moved the Board to order his immediate recall, deeming it improper to expose a whole province to disorder, and the credit of the English name to imputation, through a principle of delicacy to an individual, who might have time and freedom allowed for his defence, and, if innocent, might be both effectually acquitted by an act passed at any remote period of time, and receive full compensation by appointment to an equal or higher post of credit. I well remember with what promptness these sentiments were adopted by Mr. Macpherson. My motion was delivered on the 7th of September, in a written message to the Board, dictated from my bed, to which I was confined by a severe indisposition. It passed unanimously on the same day, with orders corresponding, to Mr. Middleton the Resident, announcing Mr. Johnson's recall; to Mr. Johnson, requiring his departure within 48 hours, on pain of arrest; and to Colonel Morgan, the commanding officer at Cawnpoor, commanding him to send Mr. Johnson a prisoner to Calcutta, if he exceeded the time prescribed. Little more ceremony was observed towards Mr. Middleton, whose imputed misconduct was the cause of his removal, though a scrupulous attention to the orders of the court of Directors was the ground of Mr. Bristow's appointment to succeed him. These were officers of my own nomination, and how favoured and supported by me, while their conduct appeared to merit it, the world well knows. When I saw cause to change my opinion of them, and thought their continuance in office of a pernicious tendency to the Company's interests, I moved, and Mr. Macpherson gave his most hearty and unqualified

unqualified voice, for their dismissal, without allowing them an hour of grace for defence, or even for a reply. But when Mr. Bristow stood charged with the same acts, and other accumulated offences, Mr. Macpherson, the patron of Mr. Bristow, recommended that, on a principle of common justice, he should be heard on his defence; discredited the authority of the minister, which had divulged them; and intimated, I am sure not on a principle of common justice, that, during the process of the enquiry, Mr. Bristow's authority should be rendered effectual, that is absolute, and the minister's of course annihilated; yet the minister's was the same authority, and the chief, if not only authority, on which Mr. Johnson was removed, though that of the Nabob Vizier is added to the accusation of Mr. Bristow, and both his oath and his minister's tendered in support of them.

That I may not be charged with a misconstruction of Mr. Macpherson's words, I will subjoin them, in the following extract of his minute:

"It is my opinion, upon a principle of common justice, as well as from a regard to the Company's regulations, that copies of the Vizier's letters, and of those of Hyder Beg Cawn, containing complaints against Mr. Bristow, should be immediately sent to him for his information, and to prepare his defence against the complaints."—"And as the Resident is now under heavy accusations, probably for a necessary exercise of that power (the power of checking the influence of the minister) so it is evident, that our government will stand in suspense, if it is not rendered \* effectual at the court of Qwde, during these contentions between the acting minister and our Resident."

On the 23d of June the Board received a letter from Mr. Bristow, dated the 13th, and acknowledged the receipt of the Board's orders of the 29th, with a promise of a speedy reply, and a declamatory recrimination of Hyder Beg Cawn.

\* I find, on comparing this extract with the original minute, that the word effectual has been erroneously written for ineffectual, which is the term used in the latter. As my observation applied immediately to the word effectual, I cannot now change it, and this note will suffice to do justice to the text; nor will it affect the fidelity of my observation, the meaning of both words being constructively the same; for Mr. Bristow had required the removal of Hyder Beg Cawn, on the plea that he should be unable to discharge the duties of his station effectually without it, and Mr. Macpherson's repetition of the plea is an implication of the same conclusion, or it stands for nothing.

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The promise contained in this letter remaining unperformed on the 24th of July, I complained to the Board of this disrespect shewn to their authority; and, on the next council-day following, which was the 28th, I moved, "That Mr. Bristow, for disrespect to the Board, and  
 " disobedience of the orders written to him by the Board,  
 " on the 29th of May, and acknowledged by him on the  
 " 13th of June, in having to that time avoided or neglected to reply to the same, should be removed and  
 " recalled from his station and office at Lucknow."

I also moved, "That as the Nabob of Owd, in his  
 " letter received on the 7th of April last, and laid before  
 " the Board on the 21st of the same month, had desired  
 " that Messrs. Bristow and Cowper, the actual Resident  
 " and deputy appointed for the transaction of the Com-  
 " pany's affairs at his court, might be recalled from  
 " thence, and that he might be allowed the exercise of  
 " discretionary power for the management of his country,  
 " and the payment of the Company's money or debt;  
 " and had engaged, that on these conditions he should  
 " pay the full amount of whatever should be due to the  
 " Company, both of the past and growing debt, in such  
 " manner as the Board should prescribe; that the office of  
 " Resident at the court of the Nabob of Owd, with that  
 " of the deputy and other subordinate parts of the same  
 " establishment, excepting the office of Accomptant,  
 " should be dissolved, and the Nabob of Owd, and his  
 " minister Hyder Beg Cawn, made jointly responsible,  
 " according to the terms of their letters, as set forth in  
 " the extracts subjoined to my minute, for the payment  
 " of the sums due to the Company for the present and  
 " ensuing year Fuffulee, ending in September 1784."

Mr. Macpherson being prevented by sickness from attending at the Board, it was proposed, and I yielded, to defer the decision of my question to the next meeting.

It must be remarked that, on the 7th of July, the Board received a letter from Mr. Bristow, dated the 23d June, mentioning that he had been sick, and confined to his bed since the 20th of the same month; and this was pleaded as an excuse for his not having yet replied to the Board's commands of the 29th of May: and on the 28th of July the Secretary informed the Board that he had received another letter from him, dated the 16th, repeating the same excuse, with a promise that his reply should follow on the morrow, or next day at furthest.

On the 31st July the Board being fully assembled, passed a decided negative on my question, in both the terms of it. I was a little surpris'd to find something like an accusation brought against myself by Mr. Wheler,

In an observation made by him in a minute produced at the Board, stating, "that it was improper to shift the ground of the original charges to disrespect;" adding, that "this was of all others the most improper time to leave the Nabob and the Company to the mercy of his ministers."

I think the remark uncandid. Nine weeks had now passed since the Board had transmitted to Mr. Bristow a series of accusations amounting to the general charge of his having usurped the sovereign authority of the Subahship of Owd, and required his answer to them.—Under a pretext of a few days of sickness he had evaded the reply, and it yet remained a doubt whether he meant to make one. From the rumours which had arisen in the intermediate time, of approaching changes in this government, and the advantage which Mr. Bristow was said in his imputed conversations with Hyder Beg Cawn to have made of them, I did believe, and do believe, that his object in the delay was principally to allow time for the rumours, if true, to be verified by their effect, and the enquiry, or the severity of it at least, precluded by my removal from the government; though it might serve for another purpose, which I shall speak of hereafter. It is certain that a sufficient time had passed for Mr. Bristow to have made his defence, and for the Board to have received it, had his sickness been such as he represented it. In the mean time he retained the powers which he had usurped; the credit of his influence was established, to the discouragement both of opposition, and of any evidence which might have been produced against him; he was in possession of the privilege which forbids that a man accused shall be convicted unheard, with powerful advocates to maintain it; for even in the debates of this day, it was asserted in his favour, and on the strength of it he might maintain his ground unmolested to any indefinite period. I have understood it to be in many cases a maxim of law, that if a man accused before a tribunal competent for his trial shall refuse to plead to the accusation; his refusal shall be assumed to be equivalent to conviction: it is certainly contumacy, and as such, applied to the occasion and consequences of it, it merited both the punishment of the offender, and that remedy for the public disorders attendant on it which the Board could apply; and these were the united principles and objects of my question. Was this a shifting of the original charges? or when these were evaded, and the only alternative which remained was, either to let a criminal escape with impunity, and deride the authority which had called on him for his

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defence; or to proceed to judgment against him—was it not strictly regular in me to propose the latter, and thus, by a decided act of government, to remove at once both the evil and its author?

Mr. Macpherson's objections to the question were, that he could not condemn Mr. Bristow unconvicted; that Mr. Bristow had been sick, and might have had other reasons for the delay; that he could not consent to the abolition of the residency, and "leaving to the Vizier and his minister the powers which they required,"—without full security for the Company's interests, and the peace "of our frontiers;" adding a suggestion, which I do not well comprehend, relating to the re-establishment of the French in India.

I shall only take notice of that part of his minute which relates to Mr. Bristow's plea of sickness.—I am impelled by a sense of duty, superior to the consideration of personal tenderness, to declare, that the plea, even in the terms of it, is inadmissible, and that I believe it to be almost wholly without foundation. Mr. Bristow acknowledged the receipt of the charges in a letter dated the 13th of June.—On the 23d of June he wrote to the Board, that he had been sick, and confined to his bed since the 20th, that is little more than two days; and on the 16th of July he wrote to the secretary, that his indisposition had prevented him.—Surely his indisposition was not so violent in all that long period, but that, with the acknowledged benefit of one entire week of health, he might have found intervals of ease to finish that part of his defence which required his personal labour; for, abstracted from the copies of the original papers with which he has connected it, and which were the work of his official assistants, his defence alone might, in the judgment of any unbiassed reader, be rated as the composition of a very few days.—The expression of Mr. Bristow's letter to the secretary does not convey the idea of severe sickness; and I am glad of it, because I am morally certain that his sickness, whatever it was, was not of such a kind as to serve for the excuse to which he has applied it. I will give my reason for this conclusion:—when Mr. Bristow's last plea arrived, I asked Rajah Gobind Ram, the Vakeel of the Nabob Vizier, whether he had heard that Mr. Bristow was very ill? He answered me with such an air and tone of voice as usually accompany the expression of common information, that he had not; and that if Mr. Bristow had been very ill, he should surely have known it.—As my reply seemed to mark a doubt of his being truly informed, he brought me, I believe the next day, an extract of a letter from his correspondent at Lucknow, which advised him

him of a slight disorder with which Mr. Bristow appeared to have been affected in February or March last; inferring from thence, that if Mr. Bristow had been seriously ill at a later period, his correspondent could not have failed to inform him of it, which he had not done.—Let not Rajah Gobind Ram be the object of displeasure to any one for the use which I have made of his evidence; for to this hour he knows not the purpose for which it was exacted, nor has, I am certain, a suspicion, that in a plain answer to an unimportant question, he was furnishing an argument of personal consequence to the gentleman to whom it related.

On the 11th of August Mr. Bristow's long-expected defence arrived, with a letter, dated the 30th of July.

It may not be unuseful, in this place, to recur to the documents which contain the charges against him: these will be found at large in the Nabob Vizier's letters, and in the letters and other papers of his minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, which were entered in the consultations of the 21st of April, and 22d of May. Those of the Nabob Vizier I shall here enter at large, referring for the others to the places in which they regularly stand, and to Mr. Bristow's transcript of them, annexed to his defence.

*From the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general, Letter the 1st: received the 28th March 1783.*

Usual introduction.

From the commencement of the friendship between the late Nuvvaub and you, and the gentlemen of the Council, on this side there has been no deficiency. In consequence of the interchange of Turbans between you and the late Nuvvaub, I look up to you as the brother of my father. My country and my dwelling are yours. I have on all occasions studied your pleasure, and the satisfaction of the gentlemen of the Council; you on your part have still acted with the duties of friendship and affection, and I feel and acknowledge the obligation.

The disposition and conduct of Mr. Bristow were formerly known to you. You lately wrote to me, that having included him in the number of your chosen and select friends, you had sent him here; and Major Palmer, agreeable to instructions from you, returned from Cawnpore to Lucknow to advise and encourage me. This he did, recommending attention and regard to the inclination and satisfaction of Mr. Bristow.

Mr. Bristow, at his first interview, assumed the disguise of affability and kindness. His first proposal was, that I should entrust him with the management of my house-

hold : if I would, he said, he would conduct the business of that department in such a manner as would give infinite satisfaction.—I replied, that for the interest of the Company's Surcor he had full public powers, and that I approved of them from my heart, as the means of confirming and strengthening the friendship between the Company and me, and that I would comply with every thing he might propose for the benefit of the Company's Surcor; but that in my household concerns there was not any thing of such importance as to render it necessary to trouble him.

In a few days he assumed a line of conduct correspondent to his disposition—to attempt a particular and minute account of it would be in vain and fruitless. Not one circumstance which could be productive of indignity, contempt, or the annihilation of my authority, has he left unperformed. Shocahs respecting the regiments and other matters he has caused to be written through Hyder Beg Khan, without my knowledge; he has sent a Suzzawul to Furruckabad contrary to my inclinations; and is preparing to send Suzzawuls to other places. He has strictly forbid my ministers from writing to you on the state of things, declaring that if any presumed to write a single circumstance of the transactions here to Calcutta, he would call him to a severe account. He sent a message to me directing me to appoint a treasurer and comptroller of his chusing; that the monies from the Mahalauts\* assigned for the expence of my household establishments and domestics should be paid in to the above-mentioned treasurer and comptroller, and kept in a separate house allotted to that purpose—that people sent by him should be stationed there for its protection, and that what was necessary should be expended with his knowledge and under his direction.

I replied, that every one throughout the whole empire, from the highest to the lowest, had the direction of his own household establishments and domestics; and desired to know whether he would deprive me of *that* authority also. He answered, that such were the orders of the gentlemen of the Council, and he would execute them. I represented to him, in the most earnest and forcible terms, by message, that this measure would be of no benefit to him, but that it would cover me with indignity and dishonour in the eyes of all mankind; that it would be said, the Nuvvaub Vizier was so completely divested of all power and authority, that by the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller, he had no longer any command

\* *Assigned lands.*

over his own household establishment and domestic servants. This message had no effect: he came to visit me, and asked why I entertained apprehensions from the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller; that he proposed it with a view to the regulation of my affairs: (he had said, at first, that neither he nor Hyder Beg should have any concern in the appointments of the treasurer and comptroller, but that I should appoint whom I thought proper) I replied, that the appointments of treasurer and comptroller of my household would be a disgrace to me: after that he proposed, that I myself should take upon me the management of all my affairs, and that the ministers should be dismissed. As I knew that this proposal for the dismissal of the ministers was made with a secret view to the full establishment of his own authority, in order to sound his intentions I observed, that in the time of Moktaur ul Dowlah similar conversations had passed between us, and that when I wanted to do it he himself protected him. He replied, that I might now do what I thought proper with respect to the ministers, that he would give it under his hand and seal, that they should not receive protection either from him or from the gentlemen of the Council. I said, that the ministers had hitherto committed no crime worthy of dismissal; but that I wished he would give up the intended appointments of comptroller and treasurer. He replied, that he had orders to that purport, and that it was not in his power. Here the conversation ended.

Again he repeated his message for the appointment of the treasurer and comptroller; I said, in answer, that the Jagheers of my parents, my relations, my friends, and my officers, were all sequestered, that they had no means of subsistence, and that it was my wish to admit them all to a participation in the little which remained to me, but that he would not permit even that; that he threw a cord about my neck to prevent my eating my morsel in ease and comfort; that the miseries of my friends, relations, and Jagheedars, filled me with the deepest distress; to that he added these disquietudes: and I intreated him for God's sake to leave me at rest.

He again visited me in person, saying, "I desire you  
 " to appoint a treasurer and comptroller, your Highness  
 " refuses to acquiesce. To-day I tell you plainly, that  
 " my orders are peremptory; that whether you may be  
 " pleased or displeased, I will at all events appoint a  
 " comptroller and a treasurer, will call in the money  
 " from the Jauidauds \*, and will issue it under my own

\* Literally Assets. It here means assignments.

“ authority, for the expences of your household.” I replied, “ Whatever you may propose for the benefit of the Company’s Surcar, I am ready to acquiesce; but to an arrangement of my household, so disgraceful and pernicious, I also will never agree: I will not consent to be deprived of my proper authority, and to receive from your hand the subsistence for my domestic servants, and the animals of my household.”—“ If your orders are peremptory, give to me a copy of the orders of the gentlemen of the Council—my seal is forthcoming, I will send it to you, and you may do by violence whatever you may think proper.—I will shut up the doors of my house—there I will sit, and exclude myself from all society.” He replied, it was well—he would give me a written copy of the orders from the gentlemen of the Council, I might send my seal: he would at all events execute the measure.—He then rose, and retired.

For two days repeatedly I sent my seal to him by the Mowlavee, that he might do whatever he thought proper; and then he said, that if I would not affix my seal voluntarily, my seal was unnecessary: he would send letters under his own seal, and would himself appoint a treasurer; to which I returned no answer. Accordingly the Tunhawmonies which came in he delivered to Mr. Cowper, and Mr. Cowper appointed a man named Dechait to the office of treasurer.

Whatever he chuses to have written to any one, he causes drafts of the Shocchahs to be made out by his own Moonshce, and sends them by Sheikh Shuffee Ullah. Sheikh Shuffee Ullah’s Khidmutgar causes them to be written by my Moonshce; and having caused my seal also to be affixed to them, carries them away. Hence you may form a judgment of the extent of my authority, and of that of my ministers.

He brought forward and carried into execution a reduction of the troops, and that too without consulting me even as a common Sirkishahdar\*. He threatens my ministers, telling them to act as he directs, otherwise he will cause them to be turned out of their offices. The ministers, influenced by the terrors of this menace, obey him; and this he construes into the management of affairs with the advice and approbation of the ministers of my Surcor.

The whole city, and many of the gentlemen here, are acquainted with the indignities I suffer. My situation, my friend, although I am every way devoted to your

\* *The head of an office.*

pleasure, is wretched beyond measure. My friends and my relations, the Jagheerdars, and the officers of my government, are starving. By enquiry inform yourself of the actual situations of these people. Such is my own condition, that Mr. Bristow throttles me, as it were, in order to force the morsel from my mouth.

I am made wretched to extreme by this conduct of Mr. Bristow. If you will give me leave, and write to me to that purport, I will come to you. Allow me not to be rendered contemptible in this country, where we have lived for three generations in honour and prosperity. I will come to you, and I will make no complaints; either do this, or deliver me from the hand of this man. I am devoted to your pleasure: I will not object to any thing. Whatever you may direct, agreeably to that I will act. If you are solicitous to promote my prosperity, confer upon me discretionary power over my country, and for the payment of the monies to the Company. By heaping these miseries and indignities upon me, Mr. Bristow has engaged for the payment of certain sums. After obtaining a perfect knowledge of my situation, whatever may be the mode on which you shall determine, be pleased to inform me thereof, and I will cause the monies to be paid to you through the hands of my ministers. If any deficiency or default of payment shall arise, do, on the instant, whatever you shall think proper. In freeing me from these indignities, you will procure a lasting reputation to yourself.

Concludes as usual.

P. S. In the Nuvvaub Vizier's own hand.

My distresses, my friend, exceed all bounds. This is the time for kindness and generous affection. I entreat that I may either obtain my request, or that you will call me to you.

*From the Nabob Vizier to the Governar-general, Second Letter:  
Received the 7th April 1783.*

Usual introduction.

I have already informed you fully of the persecutions and indignities I have suffered from the hands of Mr. Bristow. The contumely and deprivation of authority which I experience at his hands, are redoubled daily. I am every way disposed to fulfil your pleasure. The payment of the Company's demands I consider as an object superior to all others, and wish to discharge them in preference to every other appropriation.

H 4

I entreat



I entreat you, by enquiry to make yourself acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Bristow. The measures on which he has determined, and which he is carrying into execution, cannot, I am certain, correspond with your sentiments and intentions towards me, or with those of the gentlemen of the Council.

He declares that the government of this country is his by right, for that he has brought orders or authority from Europe; that he will take the entire management of it into his own hands, and with his own hand give what is to be given. It is his intention to reduce me to the state of a servant dependant upon him. I am oppressed to the

dependant  
.....

last extremity, and my life is become a burthen to me.

I am ready and willing to pay the Company's monies. I entreat, as a favour, that you will recall Mr. Bristow, and Mr. Cowper, and permit me the exercise of discretionary power for the management of my country, and the payment of the Company's monies. I will cause payment of those monies to be made through the hands of my ministers, in the manner hereafter mentioned:

That is to say, Whereas Mr. Bristow has declined taking bills from the † Mahajens, for the balance of Teeps, for 26 lacks given by them; and has taken the Jacouds assigned to those Mahajens into his own hands, and declared that he himself will collect the amount, and remit it to the Company's treasury; the truth of which you may ascertain from the Mahajens, who have given Teeps, and who declare themselves ready to grant bills for the same, if put in possession of the Jacouds originally assigned to them. When your orders, establishing my authority for the management of my country, and the payment of the monies, shall arrive, and Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper be recalled from hence, I will procure bills to be granted by those Mahajens, to the amount of the balance of the Teeps, and transmit them to you; and whatever sums may remain due on the bills for 26 lacks, granted by Gopaul Dofs Sâhoo, from whom Mr. Bristow has taken, by violence, my minister's Tummuslook \*, and substituted his own in the place thereof, I will take back Mr. Bristow's Tummuslook from the Gomastahs of the afore-mentioned Sâhoo, and cause it to be returned to Mr. Bristow; and for what shall remain due to the said Sâhoo, I will cause such good and substantial securities to be given to his said Gomastahs on the spot, that no cause for suspicion or doubt shall remain; and with

† Bankers.

\* Bond.

respect

respect to the present year Fusslee \* 1190, and the Jâcedauds for the Company's money settled and received by Mr. Bristow, and for the amount of which he has taken Tummussooks from the Aumils of the said Jâcedauds, let him be directed to deliver up the Tummussooks of the said Aumils to me, and whatever sums may remain due from the said Jâcedauds, and payable by the said Aumils, the same shall be remitted to you in bills, kist by kist, by my ministers; and whatever sums you shall direct to be paid here from the amount thereof, for the use of the Company's troops, the same shall be paid here monthly, to the commanding officer of the troops.

And for the ensuing year Fusslee 1191, whatever plan or mode you shall please to dictate and determine, that plan or mode, on your informing me thereof, shall be received, and strictly followed. I will not object to or hesitate to fulfil your pleasure in any respect whatever. If you will please, as a mark of your friendship, to recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, and confer on me discretionary authority for the management of my country, and for the payment of the Company's monies, with God's assistance, I will cause those monies to be furnished and remitted by my ministers. Agreeably to what I have written, if any defect or deficiency shall happen, you will, on the instant, take whatever measures you shall think proper.

Concludes as usual.

In the Nawaub Vizier's own hand.

I hope my friend, from your kindness, that I shall be delivered from these distresses, and obtain my request.

The allegations of the preceding letters, and of those of the minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, in which they are more fully detailed, if reduced to distinct and formal charges, will stand as follows.

1st. That Mr. Bristow had assumed an absolute power in the administration of the affairs of the Nabob Vizier, appropriating, or endeavouring to appropriate, to himself all the offices of government; taking all the public accounts under his own charge; dismissing and appointing the Aumils or officers of the collections; receiving and issuing the public money of the Nuvvaub's state; and performing other acts appertaining solely to the sovereignty of the Nabob Vizier, or to the authority dele-

\* *The Fusslee year begins on the 14th of September.*

gated by him, some without the knowledge, and some against the consent, of the Nabob Vizier.

2d. That he had assumed the inspection and controul of the Nabob's private expences and domestic arrangements, not only without his consent, but against his entreaties and vehement protestations.

3d. That he had demanded and attempted, by threats of dismissal from office, to extort from the minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, a contribution of 25 lacks of rupees from his private fortune.

4th. That he had compelled the minister to write and issue Shookas, or mandates, under the Nabob Vizier's privy seal, without the knowledge of the Nabob Vizier.

5th. That he had treated the Nabob Vizier with personal indignity and insult, visiting him for the declared purpose of making declarations to the Nabob of his resolution to assume the controul of his administration, and using harsh and unbecoming language in his presence; and treating, in conversation with the minister, the Nabob Vizier's remonstrances and fears with derision, calling them tricks and artifices.

6th. That he had forcibly assembled the Nabob Vizier's Mutteseddies, or official servants, at his own house, detaining them there eight days, and compelling them to prepare muster-rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or militia forces; that he had afterwards disbanded 4,000 horse and 7,000 foot of the said troops, declaring his intention of raising Sepoys for the Nabob's service in their room: and that these acts and declarations were made without the authority of the Nabob Vizier either obtained or solicited.

7th. That he had appointed a trooper, named Mahomed Beg, a Sazawel or comptroller of Ferruckabad, in direct opposition to the Nabob's representations, and compelled the minister to issue the Shooka, or Vizier's mandate, for the appointment.

8th. That, exclusive of the revenues assigned for the debt of the Company, Mr. Bristow had prohibited the disposal of the remainder, thereby precluding the pensioners, jagheerdars, officers, troops, and servants of the Nabob Vizier from the means of subsistence, to the disgrace of the Nabob Vizier, and the danger of his state.

9th. That for all the preceding and other acts, performed or attempted by Mr. Bristow, he had affirmed that he had written orders from myself, and from the

Governor-general and Council.

10th. That

10th. That on the demand made by the Nabob Vizier for a copy of Mr. Bristow's orders for assuming the controul of his household, he promised to deliver to the Nabob the same in writing, which promise he never performed; and that he had in like manner promised to write to the Governor-general the Nabob Vizier's objections to that interference, and request to be freed from the same, which promise he never performed.

11th. To these charges Mr. Bristow has himself added one more in his letter to the Board, dated the 13th of May, namely, that he had attempted to carry into execution a plan for the administration of justice, and had invested Mr. Cowper with extraordinary and undefined powers for receiving complaints from the subjects of the Nabob Vizier, and superscribing them with orders in the stile of mandates from the Nabob Vizier for the redress of the complainants.

I pass over other charges which are either in themselves less culpable, or such as may derive their criminality from the claims which I possess to Mr. Bristow's respect of my authority, or to his personal gratitude.—The liberties which have been taken with my character by my former opponents in office, the contumelious terms which  
<sup>used</sup>  
have been taken by the court of Directors in almost all

their letters written in a long course of years to this government, the wounds which have been inflicted on my official influence, even by the same men, the trustees of the Company, and of the national interests in India, and even in the most desperate state of their affairs, while they called on me for my particular exertions for their retrieval, will afford Mr. Bristow a sanction in the opinion of many, for every declaration or artifice used by him, or imputed to him, which had the destruction of my influence or authority for its object.—On these points I shall let the original charges and Mr. Bristow's defence stand uncom- mented, and make their own impression.

I regret that the mode in which the charges preferred against Mr. Bristow were transmitted to him, renders it difficult to follow the order in which I have arranged them, or any other, in the examination of his defence.—I could not prescribe a better mode, nor could I have proposed it without exposing myself to misconstructions.—I must therefore follow Mr. Bristow's defence, as he has applied it to the correspondent parts of Hyder Beg Cawn's first letter, which appears to me to comprize the whole of it.—One thing I own surprizes me; which  
is,

is, that though the Nabob Vizier has been loud in his complaints, and is the only relative subject of Mr. Bristow's guilt or innocence, in the immediate effects of the acts on which they depend, Mr. Bristow passes them either wholly without reply, or with remarks which are wholly foreign from his own acquittal, and confines himself with a studied adherence to the first letter of Hyder Beg Cawn.

Perhaps it will be expected, that I should first take notice of Mr. Bristow's letter which accompanies his defence.—Upon this I can say but little: when it was read at the Board, I listened to it with more than common attention, expecting it to contain the principal ground of his justification; and was a little mortified, that in the first pages of it I could catch nothing which I could substantially apply either to his acquittal or condemnation; nothing that I could either admit or refute; but an elegance of style exceeding by infinite degrees the talents of its ostensible writer; a characteristic prudence and delicacy of expression, which, avoiding the terms both of affirmation and denial, gently touched on both, and left such an impression on my mind as, had I not wholly confined my attention to the expectation of information, would have disarmed me of the most painful of the sensations which had been excited by what I already knew too well of the general subject.

To whomsoever Mr. Bristow is indebted for this composition, it is certainly not his own.—Combining the date of his letter to the Board, which bespoke the forbearance of his delays, with the length of time requisite for his original draft, or whatever materials were furnished for the substance of the letter, to arrive in Calcutta; for the composition of the letter, or for its correction; and for its transmission to Lucknow, and final dispatch to Calcutta, altogether comprehending the exact space of thirty-seven days;—I believe it to have been the work (I mean either in the composition or correction) of a very distant hand.—I owe it in candour to the person on whom my conjectures have fixed it, to declare that I attribute it to Mr. Macpherson.

I shall now examine Mr. Bristow's replies to the first letter of Hyder Beg Cawn, received the 28th March.

In the first paragraph he uses this expression: “I have unremittingly persevered in exerting my services for the benefit of both Sircars.”

Professions of this kind are seldom taken literally; but Mr. Bristow seizes it as an instrument for discrediting Hyder Beg Cawn's evidence in all his assertions, because he says, “the articles of the treaty of Chunar are with-  
“ out

“out exception to this hour in the same forwardness,  
“with respect to their accomplishments, as they were on  
“the 23d of September 1781, or on the day of the rati-  
“fication.”—I do not know what article of the treaty  
of Chunar does remain unaccomplished.—It is certain  
that the principal articles, which related to the resump-  
tion of the Jagheers, was accomplished; for the Jagheers  
were not only resumed, but they are inserted in Mr. Bris-  
trow’s own accounts as making part of the last year’s as-  
signments, granted or taken for the discharge of the Com-  
pany’s balance.—It is certain, therefore, that Mr. Bristow  
has in this instance hazarded an assertion which his own  
evidence has refuted: yet I do not think that even his  
own example would warrant his opponent in calling it  
“a declaration that carries falsehood in the face of it,”  
in applying to it the terms of “the most unblushing  
“confidence,”—and, “an utter contempt of truth,” or  
in affirming that “it is sufficient to destroy at once all  
“opinion of his veracity.”

While Mr. Bristow yields to the impulse of so un-  
guarded a malevolence, in arraigning the character of  
another, he ought at least to be careful not to furnish  
weapons for wounding his own. I should not have cast  
away a moment’s attention on so frivolous an argument,  
but that Mr. Bristow seems to have rested upon it as the  
principal ground of his defence; asserting universally, on  
the strength of it, his right to implicit belief, on the cred-  
it of his own veracity, and the assumed falsehood of  
Hyder Beg Cawn.

2d Para.—In the second paragraph, Hyder Beg Cawn  
accounts for his past silence on the subject of his actual  
complaints, by ascribing it to “the strict injunctions of  
“Mr. Bristow, that no one should presume to inform  
“this government of the state of affairs here,” that is,  
at Lucknow;—to this charge Mr. Bristow applies the  
full force of the position established in the preceding pa-  
ragraph. His words are so remarkable, that any comment  
upon them would but weaken their impression: I shall  
therefore quote them at large.—“This, gentlemen, is  
“also an assertion without proof: I crave permission to  
“oppose it by a flat denial; and in addition to what I  
“have said in the preceding article, I beg it may be re-  
“membered, that I have never yet been convicted of  
“deliberate falsehood.”

With respect to the charge itself, it must be admitted,  
that it is, if true, capable of positive proof, were there  
any power on the spot competent to collect the evidence of  
it; and that Hyder Beg has not offered to produce any  
proof of it. But neither does it appear that it was in-  
tended

tended as a criminal charge, but rather as an excuse for forbearance; nor that it was a design either of the minister, or of his master, to convey in their letters more than the representations of facts; the proofs in this, as in every instance of the like nature, were regularly to follow in the process of enquiry, instituted on the reception of the charges. Yet I can myself afford a presumptive proof in support of it, which is, that all intercourse between the Court of Lucknow and myself had certainly ceased since Mr. Bristow's arrival, unless it may be affirmed to have subsisted in a very few letters of mere form, or in an application for Bramins to be sent to the Nabob, who were skilled in the art of innoculating. I can positively vouch for the effect, whatever cause may have produced it; nor can I devise any other, unless it can be supposed that the Nabob and his minister had early concerted this plan of reserve, for the purpose of ascribing it to Mr. Bristow; a supposition inconsistent with itself, as it states an effect of resentment preceding the ground of injury.

3d Para.—This paragraph consists of profession on one side, and denial and invective on the other. They require no other comment.

4th Para.—This claims a different notice. Hyder Beg Cawn accuses Mr. Bristow, first of an early declaration of his intention to assume the immediate and entire charge of the Nabob's administration, in most of the terms comprehended in the 1st article of the charges which I have prefixed to this examination; and, secondly, of attempting to extort from him 25 lacks of rupees of his own private property, which is the 3d article of my charges. To the first point Mr. Bristow replies, that "it is a vague and unsupported assertion, marked by its absurdity, contradicted by fact, and requiring no other refutation."—I must differ in this conclusion: if the charge is contradicted by fact, it is capable of refutation; and the fact ought to have been produced with its evidence, to refute it. Plain assertion and denial are not refutation.

On the 2d charge he dwells with a stronger emphasis, affirming it to be an absolute falsehood in terms, stating the fact to which it relates in contradiction of it; and concludes with a declamatory antithesis on the defeat of his antagonist, a commendation of his own moderation, and an expression of regret, that the public interests had suffered by his too scrupulous adherence to it. I shall only examine the fact which he calls "a most simple transaction." Hyder Beg Cawn's state of the claim made on him by Mr. Bristow, is expressed in these words: "Therefore I must give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees  
" from

“ from my own private property, to enable him to pay the troops, household establishment, and Jagheerdars.” Mr. Bristow affirms it to be “ absolutely false,” or, in other words, that he did not require of Hyder Beg Cawn “ that he must give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees from his own private property,” &c. “ I proposed,” says he, “ to the minister, to assist government with a loan from his own fortune, or upon his credit; observing, that it was incumbent on those who derived advantages from their public station to prove their zeal for the state, by uniformly exerting themselves to relieve its distresses.”—The palliating terms, *I proposed*, and *to assist government*, will not change the quality or identity of the fact. A proposal to assist with a loan, connected with a declaration that it was incumbent on him to yield to it, is a demand, and is exactly the same in substance, though differing, and but little, in expression, from Hyder Beg’s state of the fact, which Mr. Bristow affirms to be “ absolutely false.” As to the qualifying offer, which Mr. Bristow says he made, employing his influence with the bankers to procure a sum equal to what it might be in his power to advance, I do not comprehend either the generosity or object of it. If Hyder Beg Cawn was able to advance the sum which the bankers were to be influenced to lend, there seems to be little occasion for the use of any influence for such a purpose, since there would be in that case no occasion for the loan; and in whatever sense the offer was made, it was certainly meant that Hyder Beg was to make the advance. Therefore it is fully proved, that Mr. Bristow did require of Hyder Beg Cawn “ that he must give five-and-twenty lacks of rupees from his own private property.” Mr. Bristow will not, I hope, avail himself of the distinction which the forms of speech will afford him, between the terms of gift and loan, since it is as notorious, from the state of the Nabob Vizier’s resources, and the demands upon them, as it evidently follows, from the reason assigned for the demand, that they were in that case synonymous. As Mr. Bristow has assigned no other ground for this extraordinary transaction, but that Hyder Beg, as a servant of the state, ought to prove his zeal for it, and that it had for its sole object the service of the public; and as there is not a syllable in my instructions that can warrant, by the most distant construction, such a violation of the principles of common justice, I do pronounce it to be a most flagitious abuse of his public trust, aggravated by his concealment of it from the knowledge of the Board.

Paragraph 5th.—This contains the substance of the 4th and 9th charges. Hyder Beg Cawn affirms, that Mr. Bristow



Bristow required him to write and issue a Shooka or mandate, in the name of the Nabob Vizier, without the Vizier's knowledge; "asserting, that he had it in command from the Governor-general and Gentlemen of the Council, to act as he should deem proper, without waiting to inform the Nabob; or allowing his measures to depend on his Highness's pleasure or displeasure."

To this Mr. Bristow replies, that "it is most true, that the Shooka in question was written without the knowledge of the Vizier: but that it is as true, that it was written by the minister alone;" and adds, that in the instance of the assignment of the Toorksuvaurs Hyder Beg had practised the same forgery, and had issued Shookas unknown to the Vizier. What follows must be repeated in Mr. Bristow's own words: "When I understood this to have been the case, I severely censured his behaviour; explaining to him withal the abhorrence with which acts of this nature were regarded by the natives of Europe; and warning him, that should you ever be advertised of the transaction, he would assuredly fall under your heaviest displeasure; and that my silence would depend upon his religiously observing my injunctions against a repetition of such unwarrantable conduct." Had Mr. Bristow stopped here, so pointed a denial would at least have left the credit of the fact in suspense; and the prejudice with which every Englishman views a contest with one of his own countrymen, and a native of Hindostan, would have affixed to it a general impression equivalent to a full refutation. But Mr. Bristow, unfortunately for his own safety, pursues his victory with too great precipitation into a field of argument which turns the defeat on himself. "You, however, gentlemen (he adds) will judge how well this affected delicacy, with respect to the application of the Nabob's seal, accords with his having been in *actual* possession of it for years, with a discretionary power also, as he pretends, *freely* granted him by his master, to use it as he should think fit. Under this sanction he has since reigned with the most unbounded authority over the territories of Allos ul Dowlah, and in commanding he has ruined them." But if this is a fact of such notoriety, as is implied by the allusive construction of the sentence which introduces the mention of it, nor is it easy to conceive how such a fact could have existed for years without notoriety, and if under this sanction (that is by using the Nabob's seal without his knowledge) the minister had reigned with the most unbounded authority, and ruined the country, it will seem very extraordinary that Mr. Bristow should have felt such sentiments  
of

of abhorrence on the detection of a few recent instances of it, and issued such peremptory injunctions against a repetition of it, on pain of the heaviest displeasure of our government. If Mr. Bristow believed that the minister possessed the Nabob's authority for the discretionary use of his seal, it was an absurdity in terms to charge him with criminality for using it. If he knew that the minister did not possess that authority, but knew, as he certainly must have known, that the minister had been in the practice of this guilt for years, his indignation would have been excited by the falsehood of the minister's plea of the necessity of applying to the Vizier for his authority to use his Seal, and to issue the Shooka. As a corrector of abuses, he could not have failed to make this the first object of his reformation; but by his relation of the case, he appears to have suffered the long and uninterrupted continuance of it without reproach or notice, and suddenly (it appears not on what provocation) reprobates it as a crime regarded with abhorrence by all the natives of Europe, and denounces the severest judgment and penalties against the repetition of it.

But what were the occasions in which the Nabob's seal and mandates were thus fraudulently used?—It appears from Mr. Bristow's own account, in various parts of his correspondence with Hyder Beg Cawn and the Nabob Vizier, and even his letters to the Board, that it was for the purpose or carrying two points, which Mr. Bristow himself had at heart, and first urged to the minister; namely, to call for the assistance of regiments of the Company's forces, and to constitute new assignments for the payment of the Nabob's household troops; two points, to which he knew the Nabob Vizier would object, if they had been proposed to him; and which form part of the charges preferred by Mr. Bristow himself against Hyder Beg Cawn, for his opposition to them. Is it possible that Hyder Beg Cawn, charged by Mr. Bristow with so persevering a determination to thwart him in all his measures, and availing himself of his ascendancy over the Nabob Vizier to that effect, should have committed so flagrant an encroachment on the Nabob's sovereign rights, for the sake of carrying into execution the measures of Mr. Bristow, of which he himself disapproved, and which he had himself opposed; that he should hazard the commission of an act so repugnant to his interest and credit with his master, and yet suppress the knowledge of it from

Mr. Bristow himself, without he had an undoubted title

to some merit in the sacrifice? It is impossible; for I  
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affirm that such a conduct is without example in the whole history of human nature. Were extraneous proofs wanting, in default of inherent conviction, the letters written to Mr. Bristow by Hyder Beg Cawn, in which repeated allusions are made to his having, in obedience to Mr. Bristow's orders, issued Shookas with the Nabob's seal, unknown to the Nabob, are of themselves undeniable evidences of the fact, for Mr. Bristow admits them without a denial; though it will appear, on the perusal of his letters, that he dwells with repetition on other matters of infinitely less relative moment, and passes, without a word of exculpation or reply, the imputation of an act to which he affixes every idea of horror in his application of it to another.

Paragraph 6th.—This paragraph contains the particulars of the second charge. It states, that Mr. Bristow began by an order to the minister to deliver to him the accounts of the Vizier's Kitchen, his Horses, Elephants, and Camels; that on the minister's hesitation to comply with a demand so unusual and offensive to his master, Mr. Bristow insisted, with anger, and said, "I have orders to take possession of all papers;" that the minister, on this information, complied; that Mr. Bristow proceeded to the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller of the Nabob Vizier's household, first proposing it to the Vizier himself by message, and afterwards in person; that the Nabob Vizier objected, and protested against the appointments, and against Mr. Bristow's interference in his private expences; that the Nabob, unable to prevail on Mr. Bristow himself, deputed the minister to entreat him to desist from his purpose, "to ask him why he thus persecuted and depressed him;" adding, "the little which falls to my lot, even that he will not allow me to ear in peace and quietness;" that "this declaration was accompanied by tears of anguish." Mr. Bristow's answer to this message, and his reflections on the state of misery and humiliation to which he had reduced the Nabob, if they have been fairly stated, are equally an outrage to decency and humanity. I will not debase my mind with the drudgery of transcribing so foul a subject, nor attempt to abridge what ought, for our national credit, to be alike consigned to oblivion. The readers of this minute will be furnished with the same means of reading both the original representation, and Mr. Bristow's reply; and it will not be difficult for a mind accustomed to representations, written under the influence of interest, pride, or malevolence, to decompose the substance of each, and separate the truth from the grosser matters which envelope it. It is sufficient to my subject to mention,

tion, that both the Nabob's prayers, and the intercession of the minister, were alike unavailing. Mr. Bristow not only insisted on the appointments which he had recommended, but went himself to the Vizier for the purpose, as he is said to have declared, of "telling him so face to face, and in plain terms;" saying, "that his orders from the gentlemen of the Council were peremptory." The Nabob is asserted to have demanded a written copy of the orders; to have bidden him to take his seal, and do by force what he thought proper; and to have declared, in the agony of his feelings, and the conscious shame of his degradation, that he would confine himself within his apartments, and exclude himself from all society. Mr. Bristow promised to give the Nabob a copy of his orders; but remained inflexible to his point, declaring his resolution to issue his own orders to the Aumils for the delivery of their collections, if the Nabob continued to refuse the authority of Shookas; and that he would keep the treasury, that is, the treasury of the Nabob's private expences, in his own hands. I again refer to the original letter, and add my earnest intreaties, that the candid readers of this minute will take their information from that, and not from this brief and very imperfect state of it, or rather allusion to it.

I proceed to Mr. Bristow's reply.—By the introductory quotation of my instructions, it would appear, that he avows the charge, and justifies it by his prescribed duty. This quotation consists of extracts from my instructions to Mr. Middleton, the preceding Resident, and from those which were personally directed to Mr. Bristow on his appointment.

The plain design and express charge of both was, that the sum allotted for the Nabob's private expences should be paid in equal monthly installments, and be allowed a preference to every other demand: it was dictated with a spirit as opposite to Mr. Bristow's application, as the widest extremes of nature. It made a part of a general injunction to treat the Nabob with every possible delicacy, conciliation, and attention; and was written purely from the apprehension in the deficiency of the public funds not admitting the full payment of the Company's just claim, and the calls of his personal and necessary wants; and may I add, without the hazard of drawing on myself a severe censure from such of my constituents as shall think that, in the time of their distresses, my first and exclusive care should be given to their relief, than that of having authorized the deprivation of an unhappy prince, whose alliance had subjected him to a servile dependence on the power of this government, that it was

my intention to preclude the operation of such a plea, by directing that the Nabob's personal share of his own finances should be fully allotted to him, although the Company's debt remained wholly in balance? Let me be judged with candour. Our alliance has proved the extinction of his sovereignty, and the improvement of his country and revenue, and it was but just to allow him the means of subsistence, if no more remained of the resources of his inheritance.

I cannot suppress a spark of resentment in repeating Mr. Bristow's application of my instructions in the words immediately following his quotation of them:—"These are the grounds, gentlemen, upon which I recommended to the Nabob the separation of his public and private funds," and for that purpose, as he afterwards explains it, "the establishment of an office of treasury," which he calls "the execution of an article so explicitly provided for by the treaty;" that is to say, that because I had enjoined to Mr. Bristow a particular care that the Nabob Vizier should, against every other exigency, receive the full amount allotted to his private expences, Mr. Bristow should issue Shookas, or mandates, in his own name and seal, if the Nabob refused the sanction of his, to the Aumils, for the assignment of their collections for a fund of his own appointment; that he should himself, or Mr. Cowper for him, or a treasurer for both (for the arrangement has never been well defined) receive the money of these assignments; issue them as he pleased, not to the Nabob, but to the menial officers of his household; dispose of his superfluous horses and other cattle; determine how many elephants were necessary to the state of the Vizier of the Empire; and the number of domestics for his attendance; and pry into his kitchen, for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of victuals which ought to be dressed in it; that Mr. Bristow should controul the accounts of these disbursements, and appropriate to his own use (for the consequence is inevitable, if he chose it) the residue produced by these economical retrenchments. Yet Mr. Bristow has pretended that he acted by instructions from me, and in the execution of a treaty made by me with the Nabob Vizier; and he has had the boldness to affirm, that it was "the only measure that could prevent the Nabob from continuing a cypher."—I know not what Mr. Bristow means by his allusion to the treaty, which most assuredly does not contain a syllable which can justify his conduct; but by the unexampled latitude which he assumes in his constructions, he may, if he pleases, extort this or any other meaning from any part of it.

I shall

I shall make no other comment on this transaction than to observe, that the controul which Mr. Bristow has assumed over the Nabob Assof ul Dowlah is such as no man living, however mean his rank in life, or dependant his condition in it, would permit to be exercised by any other, without the want or forfeiture of every manly principle; and can only be equalled in insolence with his abetting a young servant of the Company, his assistant, in dictating to the sovereign of the country the written drafts of his own mandates.

Such is the state to which the Company's influence has reduced one, and the first of its allies, and such the example held out to other princes of India, who may be attempted to ensnare themselves in the same connection.

7th Paragraph.—This contains the sequel of the same transaction, with the particulars of the 6th Charge, namely, “That he had forcibly assembled the Vizier's Muttesidies, or official servants, at his own house, detaining them eight days, and compelling them to prepare muster rolls of the Nabob's Mutayena, or militia forces; that he had afterwards disbanded 4,000 horse and 7,000 foot of the said troops, declaring his intention of raising Sepoys for the Nabob's service in their room; and that these acts and declarations were made without the authority of the Nabob, either obtained or solicited.”

Mr. Bristow avows the design, but affirms that it failed through the opposition of the minister, and that the rest of this article “as detailed by the minister, is an absolute romance.”—What part of this article Mr. Bristow means by “*the rest*,” does not appear, since no part of his reply expressly applies to any part of the charge; but if he was really concerned in any part of the conduct attributed to him, it will not be easy to separate it from the rest, and the whole was unwarranted by his instructions.

Paragraph 8.—I have not included this in the list of analyzed charges, for I do not understand it. It alludes to an attempt made by Mr. Bristow to remove the minister from his office, and to obscure conversations held with the Nabob Vizier upon it.—And Mr. Bristow's reply seems to have been dictated by some strong provocation of anger, the cause of which is not apparent; for he begins it with saying, “I am now fully convinced, and I have told your honourable Board so, that the salvation of Owde depends upon the dismissal of the minister.” There the sentence closes.—I can make nothing of it, and leave it.

Paragraph 9th.—This is general, both in charge and defence; yet there is in both an allusion which I must not permit to be lost. Hyder Beg Cawn says, “Such is Mr. Bristow’s disposition, that he outwardly professes and caresses, while in reality he is endeavouring to expel me from my office, and then frequently denies or contradicts his own declarations. In the representation which I have made, I have not in any one instance deviated from the truth; and it is a positive proof of the reality of many of the particulars, that Mr. Bristow did not reply to those which are stated in my answer to his letter, but at our next interview assumed appearances of affability and goodwill.”

This passage relates to the Shookas which were issued without the knowledge of the Nabob Vizier; and of these the history, as related by Hyder Beg Cawn, is as follows:

The first instance occurred early, the time is immaterial, and therefore I do not trace it. Mr. Bristow thought it necessary to call for the assistance of the Company’s troops from the detachment commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings, at Futty Ghur. He applied to Hyder Beg Cawn for the Nabob’s Shooka or letter, under the Nabob’s private seal, requiring them, such being the form prescribed for such occasions: Hyder Beg Cawn answered, that it would be necessary to communicate this affair to the Nabob Vizier. Mr. Bristow assented, and said he would speak to him himself; but changing his mind, reproachingly ordered Hyder Beg Cawn to cause the Shooka to be written, without making any mention of it to the Nabob Vizier; saying, that such was the pleasure of the Governor-general and the gentlemen of the Council. Hyder Beg Cawn, awed by this implied menace, submitted, and gave him the Shooka, with the Nabob’s seal furtively affixed. This account is thus detailed in the 5th preceding paragraph.

The latter instance is thus related:—When Mr. Bristow assumed to himself the controul of the Nabob Vizier’s household expences, he found the Nabob’s body-guard of horse, which are mentioned by the name of Toorkshawars, greatly in arrears: he, in like manner as before, compelled Hyder Beg Cawn to cause Shookas to be written, with the seal, and in the name, of the Nabob Vizier, but without his knowledge, to certain Aumils or collectors of the public revenue, commanding them to pay their collections in assignment, for the discharge of those arrears. The Vizier, having notice of it, was very much offended; and when Mr. Bristow pressed

pressed him on the subject of the appointment of a treasurer and comptroller of his household, he, after long resistance, yielded, being, as he said, without remedy; but exacted, as a condition, that the Shookas which had been issued by Mr. Bristow should be at the same time withdrawn, and others issued by himself in their stead. As it seems to have been Mr. Bristow's practice, whenever he found a difficulty in carrying any of his measures into execution, to lay his disappointment to the account of the minister, imputing it either to his secret opposition, or to want of due exertion; the minister, in return, justified himself against these imputations, by appeals to instances of his obedience, yielded even at the hazard of forfeiting the Nabob's favour, and especially to these in question. These appeals from the substance of his letters to Mr. Bristow, which stand on record of the following dates; viz.

11th of Rubbe ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.

16th — Ditto — 19th Ditto.

The same subjects are also mentioned in a Shooka or letter written by the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow, and returned by Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, with a letter dated the 20th Rubbe al Owel, or 23d of February.

The following extracts from the preceding correspondence will illustrate the exposition which I have given of it, but cannot add to the proofs which have been already exhibited in my remarks on the 5th paragraph, which relate particularly to the same subject.

Extract of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Bristow, dated the 11th of Rubbeal ul Owel, or 14th February 1783.

“ From the moment of your arrival I have not in any manner been deficient in obedience, but have in every business, and without hesitation, fulfilled your commands; as in the important business respecting the regiments at Futty Ghur, which you were pleased to direct should not be suspended by attention to the Nabob's permission, or by the necessity of informing them thereof.”

To this letter Mr. Bristow made no reply.

Extracts of a Letter from Hyder Beg Cawn to Mr. Bristow, dated the 16th of Rubbeal Owel, or 19th February 1783.

“ And respecting the Tunkhaw, which, by the contents of the Shookas which you have caused to be



“ written to the Aumils, is included in the Tunkhaw  
 “ of the Company, and the superintendance of which  
 “ has been given to Mr. Cowper, and a separate trea-  
 “ surer appointed for the same, that you will withdraw  
 “ this measure, and return these Shookas, and that  
 “ Shookas, respecting the Tunkhaw of the Toorksuwars,  
 “ may be written, directing the monies to be transmit-  
 “ ted to his Highness.”——“ His Highness replied to  
 “ me in a passion, and said, you first caused Shookas to  
 “ be written, including the Tunkhaw of the Turksawars  
 “ in that of the Company, and delivered them without  
 “ my knowledge; and now that it has been agreed to  
 “ return those Shookas, you again counteract it.—I will  
 “ not consent.—Let that which has been agreed to be  
 “ performed.”——“ I represented to you in reply, the  
 “ things which I had done, both in affairs of import-  
 “ ance, and in concerns of less moment, both with and  
 “ without the knowledge of his Highness, in compliance  
 “ with your directions, and likewise the causes of the  
 “ delay which had occurred in certain particular affairs;  
 “ and I furthermore remarked, that my having wrote  
 “ and delivered to you the Shookas respecting the Tun-  
 “ kaw of the Toorksuwars, in the manner or to the  
 “ purport which you had directed them to be written,  
 “ without the knowledge of his Highness, must stand  
 “ as an incontestable proof of my obedience to your com-  
 “ mands. And on this account his Highness has repeat-  
 “ edly upbraided me, demanding to know how I presum-  
 “ ed to cause Shookas to be written and delivered without  
 “ his knowledge. ❀ I informed you of the Nabob’s  
 “ displeasure, and you told me to be under no apprehen-  
 “ sion; that what I had done I had done by your orders.”  
 ——“ Notwithstanding such proofs and demonstra-  
 “ tions, the written evidence of which still exist, you  
 “ say that professions of duty and obedience, unattended  
 “ by the execution of business, are of no avail.”

I must take notice that Mr. Bristow, in the Appendix  
 to his defence, gives a different translation of this letter  
 from that which is entered on the consultations, and  
 which was not received when the charges against him  
 were sent to him.—In his translation, which is exceed-  
 ingly faulty throughout, the passages which I have quot-  
 ed are so mutilated, and warped from the real meaning,  
 as to render the transaction, of which they are in evi-  
 dence, either too obscure for application, or almost inno-  
 cent. I shall instance only one sentence of Mr. Bristow’s  
 translation, answering to that above bearing this mark ❀;  
 and I will add the Persian text in the margin \*.

\* *In the margin of the original are certain Persian charac-*  
*ters.* “ I several

“ I several times informed you of the Nabob’s displeasure on this head, and your commands were, that I should take no heed of it, since the business must be settled as you had ordained.”

There is a wide difference between a declaration said to be made by Mr. Bristow, that an act already done “ must be settled as he had ordained,” which, by the bye, is not reconcilable to common sense, and his acknowledgment, that “ it had been done by his orders :” And if this sophistication was not an error unintended, it will be very obvious why it was made, though not yet easy to reconcile it with the horror with which Mr. Bristow pretends to have been affected, when he obtained the first information of the act.

I myself vouch for the fidelity of the first translation, having compared it with the original ; and if it is disputed, I will put it to proof.

To this letter also Mr. Bristow made no reply, assigning as a reason, “ that he had already explained to him in the plainest language his intentions, which he still wilfully misunderstood, and invariably misrepresented ;” and “ that, having every thing of importance yet to do, he did not chuse to engage in a silly and endless war of words, or to sit down seriously to answer fables, because he chose to dignify them with the name of facts.”——This is a very easy refutation, but not such a one as the magnitude of the charge deserved, or as would commonly suffice to a mind conscious of its integrity, and sensible to the feelings of wounded honour.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 10th of Rubbe al Owal, or 23d February 1783.

“ His Highness desires that the monies may be kept in the Pungmahla, under the charge of the Muttasaddies of the Sircar, and that I will return the Shookas which were formerly issued concerning the Tuncaw of the Toorkshawars, agreeably to his Highness’s commands. —I consent to both. —P. S. I send back his Highness’s Shookas addressed to me, and Sheikh Golaum Surroor.”

Copy of a Shooka or Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow, which was returned by Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn with the preceding Letter.——I cannot extract it.

It may afford a triumph to Mr. Bristow to have such a proof of “ the unprincely style of the unhappy Affof ul Dowlah,

“ Dowlah, opposed to the dignified idea of insulted sovereignty;” but if there is a spark of generous virtue in the breasts of any of my countrymen who shall be the readers of this compilation, this letter shall stand for an instrument to awaken it to the call of vengeance against so flagitious an abuse of authority, and reproach of the English name.

“ You desired that a treasurer and comptroller might be appointed over the disbursements of the \* Dowaub, domestics, &c. of my household; I rejected, because it would reflect disgrace upon me in the eyes of the whole world, since it would be apparent that I had no longer any authority over my own household, my Dowaub, and my domestics, &c. at the same time that it would be productive of no advantage whatever to the English nation.—You insist upon the appointments being made from the highest to the lowest; it has still been customary for every one, whatever income his situation afforded him, to manage the expences of his own domestics and Dowaub at his discretion;—yet, such are the events which my fate has brought forwards, that a new treasurer and comptroller are about to be appointed over my household, domestics, and Dowaub.—The infant that has aught in his hand, will weep if it is forced from him.—I also understand what is and what is not for my advantage; and I now with humility tell you, that if for my satisfaction, and out of friendship for me, you will desist from this measure, you will confer a favour upon me; but in case it is your pleasure that it shall be so, I am without resource—make the appointments.—Yet, at least, let thus much of appearances be preserved, that the monies for the Jaidaud Mahals, for the Dowaub domestics, and household disbursements, and for the Tuncaw of the Toorkfawars, may be transmitted to the place where I reside, and separately delivered into the charge of my people.—The monies on account of the Dowaub and household expences shall be issued by Dawaugaudas the treasurer, and Mahomed Hassan, comptroller, and Tahakoordas the comptroller’s Paishkot, under my directions or authority; and the Tuncaw of the Toorkfawars, corresponding to the regulations and practices of this Surcor, shall be issued to them as formerly by Rajah Tippur Chund; and that you will return the Shookas, which you caused to be written without my knowledge, concerning the Tuncaw of

\* *This word must not be confounded with the province of the same name. It means only cattle of different kinds.*

“ the Toorkfawars, directing the monies to be included  
“ in and remitted with the Tuncaw of the Company;  
“ and that you will hereafter, as my friend, write to the  
“ Governor-general, and request his orders to abolish  
“ the appointments of the new treasurer and comptroller  
“ which are about to be made.”

10th Paragraph.—This contains the 7th Charge; namely, the appointment of Mahomed Beg, a trooper, to the Sezawlee of Furruckabad, by Mr. Bristow's order, against the remonstrance of the minister, and the Nabob Vizier's disapproval.—I pass the rest, which is but a repetition of former charges.

Mr. Bristow, in answer, refers the Board to his address of the 30th January 1783, for proof “ that he always considered the appointment of a Sezawlee to Furruckabad, as a desperate alternative, but it was the only one; that he therefore acquiesced in it when urgently recommended by the minister, and was happy to find that acquiescence honoured and confirmed by our approbation.”

It is very true that Mr. Bristow did inform the Board of this appointment, and obtained their approbation of it; and so he might of any other transaction, however unexceptionable, by suppressing every information which could render it such. He represented this appointment, and his participation in it, as the effect of the desperate state of the Company's assignment on the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, the oppressions exercised by the former Naib Mahomed Saced Cawn, the complaints of the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, and the urgent request of the Nabob Vizier and his minister. My instructions to Mr. Bristow were, to abstain entirely from all interference in the transactions of the Nabob Vizier and his minister with the Nabob Mozuffer Jung; but neither could I nor the Board take any reasonable offence at his interference, when he apologized for it, grounding it not only on absolute necessity, but on the united and urgent wishes of the Nabob Vizier, his minister, and the Nabob Mozuffer Jung, whom it principally regarded.

The Nabob Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn, both represent it as an act of Mr. Bristow's own choice, and executed by his own authority, and against the will both of the Nabob Vizier, and of his minister. These are strong contradictions; but I cannot trace them to any proof, except the following passage in a letter from Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, dated the 8th of Sesser, or 13th January 1783, which I think a strong one:—“ Considering the bad state of affairs at Furruckabad, it is necessary that Mirza Mahomed Beg should receive his dismissal  
“ as

“ as soon as possible. He will be introduced to you by  
 “ this letter. You will give him his dismissal to-day,  
 “ and in such a manner that it may be known to every  
 “ one.”

This letter, urging the dispatch of the new Sezawall, giving him his introduction as if a stranger to the minister, and prescribing the mode of his appointment, does not very well agree with the passive and reluctant part which Mr. Bristow ascribes to himself in the transaction; but is more likely to be understood by an uninformed reader as the address of a principal urging a point to another less inclined to the acceptance of it: and with this construction I must leave it until Mr. Bristow can furnish a better.

11th Paragraph.—This requires no comment on either side.

12th Paragraph.—This is not a charge, but a prayer to be freed from the oppressions of the Resident, with the acceptance of the Nabob's offer of the security of creditable bankers for the punctual discharge of the Company's demands. This, by a most extraordinary perversion of reasoning, is seized by Mr. Bristow as a clear refutation of all the charges which had been preferred by Hyder Beg Cawn against him; but the Nabob Vizier has himself proposed the offer, and has complained against Mr. Bristow, in language expressive of as much keener sensibility, as his sufferings exceed the vexations exercised on his minister.

It is natural for a man labouring under any grievance to wish for the removal of the cause of it; and it is proverbial, that even the poor worm will turn with the impatience of anguish on the foot that crushes it; but it was never before inferred, that a desire to be delivered from the power and presence of an oppressor, was an evidence against the existence of the oppression.

I shall here close my observation on Mr. Bristow's replies to Hyder Beg Cawn's first letter, and proceed to the examination of Mr. Bristow's letter, addressed to the Board, of the 13th May, which contains the particulars of the 11th charge, namely, “ that he had attempted to  
 “ carry into execution a plan for the administration of  
 “ justice, and had invested Mr. Cowper with extraordi-  
 “ nary and undefined powers for receiving complaints  
 “ from the subjects of the Nabob Vizier, and superscrib-  
 “ ing them with orders in the style of mandates from the  
 “ Nabob Vizier, for the redress of the complainants.”

I have already said, that I considered this letter as an anticipation of the complaints which Mr. Bristow knew had been made against him, but which he had not received,  
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nor indeed were they sent to him till the 29th of the same month. Whatever advantage may be derived from the title of having been the first complainant, it has certainly some in its influence on common judgments, and this perhaps arises from the construction which every man instinctively affixes to recriminated accusations, as being the effects of a vindictive principle, and therefore liable at least to exaggeration. This letter has very much this appearance, for it has all the characteristic forms and qualities of a systematic attack. It begins with an accumulated, though general, reprobation of the conduct and character of Hyder Beg Cawn—it proceeds to the circumstantial detail of a specific fact, and concludes with a prayer for his dismissal from office. Mr. Bristow's mode of writing renders it an attempt of difficulty to reduce the substance of his unconnected and often unapplied periods to precise facts or propositions, on which I can depend for their certain relation to them. If, therefore, I shall err in my construction of them, the fault is not intentionally mine, but the effect of the obscurity of the text, which I am compelled to explain before I can make the proper use of it.

Of the letter, which consists of four small sheets of paper, the two first, and part of the third, contain only general positions, which may be comprised within the two following brief articles:

1st. That Hyder Beg Cawn had rejected all Mr. Bristow's "frankest offers of friendship and confidence," and 2d, had obstinately and contumaciously opposed all his "innovations," which he is pleased to call in his first, though not the most respectful application of my official title, the wise system prescribed by the honourable "the Governor-general." The means by which the minister is enabled to maintain so powerful an opposition, are summarily ascribed to "the influence of his power, his talents, and his wealth," and in a more large detail to his ascendancy over the mind of the Nabob Vizier his master. His account of this effect is curious, and contradicts every physical as well as moral principle, which is supposed to regulate the actions or stimulate the passions of mankind. The Nabob, he says, detests this minister from a declared conviction that the minister has reduced his provinces to desolation, and his court to a "speaking picture of penury, nakedness, and famine." Yet that the Nabob supports his minister against all Mr. Bristow's endeavours to free him from so abject a thralldom, to give peace, order, and plenty to his country, and to administer an abundance for the relief of all his personal wants—because the minister is yet in possession of his  
finances,

finances, and by dealing them to his master with a sparing and artful oeconomy, which Mr. Bristow calls "alter-  
 " nately exerting his hopes and fears," he "prevents the  
 " Nabob from adopting any firm and dignified resolution;" and this philosophical solution he concludes in the following words: "These passions (*i. e.* hopes and fears) whilst  
 " in equilibrium over the mind, keep it hesitating and  
 " undetermined, the resolutions of despair alone are un-  
 " qualified and decisive." I shall leave this doctrine to work its own effect, and proceed to the specific instance, which seems introduced to prove the general charge of Hyder Beg Cawn's opposition to Mr. Bristow's innovations.

This, as I with difficulty collect it from the letter and its enclosures, of which the letter is little more than a comment, is as follows:

In my instructions to Mr. Middleton, I directed him to urge the Nabob Vizier to endeavour gradually, if it could not be done at once, to establish courts of justice throughout his districts. Mr. Middleton, who had shewn little attention to any article of my instructions, appears to have taken not the least notice of this, till a short time before his recall, and when he most probably expected it. It was then, and not till then, that without any recent ground assigned for it, or advice given to me or the Board, of the measure, or of his intention preceding it, he prevailed upon the Nabob Vizier to appointed a man named Morolevy Mobein to the office of *Sudder ul Stuck*, or chief administrator of justice to the city of Lucknow, and the dominions of the Nabob of Owd; but without any assignment of power, local office, or salary; and the poor man himself seems to have felt the humiliating consciousness of his insufficiency for so elevated a dignity, to which the last step of his promotion was the profession of a school master, which had occupied the greatest part of a life already far spent. To this feeble instrument Mr. Bristow had early resource, for the establishment of a new regulation for the general administration of justice throughout the Nabob's dominions; although it does not appear, from the letters either of Mr. Bristow or of Mr. Cowper, to whom Mr. Bristow appealed for the explanation of his instructions, that he had ever formed any precise or defined plan respecting it, for both allude to it as intended for the institution of "proper courts of justice," yet both style it "a *Fowjdarry Adawlet*," which is a court instituted for the trial of criminal offences; and Mr. Bristow in his correspondence generally confounds it with the office of "police of the city," which is commonly the  
 charge

charge of Cutwall, and never assigned to the court of justice either civil or criminal.

The means used by Mr. Bristow to carry this plan into execution mark no great extension of design, or effort of invention;—the account which he himself gives of his progressive acts in this business is, that very early after his arrival he desired the minister to establish the Fowjdarry Adawlet upon a respectful footing; that he next applied for the appointment of a house to hold the court: that all the Nabob Vizier's houses being occupied (for Mr. Bristow says, that the minister had purposely filled them with lumber, to serve as an excuse for withholding them) the minister allotted a tent for the use of the Mowlevy. At length a house was allowed him, but he did not like it, because it was “situated in the center of the palace, “where his proceedings would be subject to restraint, “the place itself too confined,” and some of the Nabob's effects remaining in it. The correspondence enclosed by Mr. Bristow shews that he too thought the house too small, and that the minister maintained a contrary opinion, but would apply for another; that both concurred in opinion of the unfitness of the tent for a court of justice—the minister praying for time to get a house: that Mr. Bristow required the court to be held in the city.—and the minister pleaded the Nabob's orders for its being held in the palace, with other questions of the like moment; but that on a firm declaration made by Mr. Bristow, that he would appeal to the Governor-general and Council, the minister implicitly submitted, affirming, at the same time, that he had never disputed Mr. Bristow's order. In the same period of time another source of difference arose, which is most imperfectly connected with the same subject, and is thus explained by Mr. Cowper, in reply to an appeal made to him by Mr. Bristow for that purpose. That Mr. Bristow “recommended to the Nabob Vizier the immediate institution of a Fowjdarry Adawlet at Lucknow;”—that Mr. Bristow's “sole motive in this recommendation “(if Mr. Cowper had not utterly misunderstood him) “was to restore peace and order to the capital, and security to its inhabitants;”—that as the Governor-general had himself mentioned the want of proper courts of justice, as a cause of great evils, but advised much caution in their introduction; and as both Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper apprehended “danger from the abrupt “application of the remedy, when the evil was universal,” Mr. Bristow, whose “attention was engaged by objects “of more immediate importance,” requested, “that Mr. “Cowper would enquire and endeavour to ascertain how “far a reformation, so necessary to the prosperity and  
“happiness



“ happiness both of the prince and people, might be effected with the least possible inconvenience and delay.” —That “ in conformity to Mr. Bristow’s wishes, he sent for Mowlevy Mobein, who had received his (Mr. Bristow’s) instructions to assist him, proposing to enter with him into such explanations as “ might afford him an idea of the system of jurisprudence then established there;” but the Mowlevy assured him, that “ there was not, nor had been for years, even the shadow of a police;” that his appointment was “ a mockery, and himself a pageant.”—After much discussion of the unsuitness of such a man as the Mowlavy (a schoolmaster) to dispense law to a whole people, and to unite, in his person, the civil and criminal jurisdiction of such extensive countries,” which he says was an indication of the disposition of the minister, too plain to be mistaken; he adds, “ I must confess, I drew a conclusion from it that at once induced me to augur very ill of our undertaking, and determined me to proceed in it with all wariness and circumspection.” The issue was, that after very mature deliberation, he advised Mr. Bristow to confine his views for the present to the institution of “ a Fowjdarry court for the capital only” (which I must observe he had before mentioned as the original institution, and actually formed)—that Mr. Bristow took his advice, and obtained the Nabob’s assent, and his appointment of Mowlavy Mobein to preside in the court, now limited to the capital; “ and here,” says he, “ the matter still rests to this hour, and to this hour the inhabitants of Lucknow are left in a condition of licentiousness, very near approaching to a state of nature.”

I have recapitulated Mr. Cowper’s account of his commission, but I profess that I do not understand the drift either of the appointment, or of his explanation of it. What gave occasion for the latter, was this:—Mr. Cowper, by some commission from Mr. Bristow, received petitions from the inhabitants, to which he affixed orders, in the formal style of mandates from the Nabob Vizier, for the redress of the petitioners. This, Mr. Bristow said, had been misrepresented as a superintendance of the court of Adawlet, and an usurpation of his Excellency’s right of sovereignty;—and he therefore called upon Mr. Cowper, in writing, to “ state the instructions which he had received from Mr. Bristow on this occasion, and his proceedings in consequence;” and “ explain his conduct relative to such petitions as Mr. Bristow might have referred to him.” The sum of Mr. Cowper’s explanation is, if I conceive it rightly, that he received  
from

from Mr. Bristow neither appointment nor instruction, nor performed any act relative to either.

With respect to the petition, he says, and prefaces what he says with calling it "the undisguised state of the case," "that as the petitions were referred to him he had them read, and directed Hossain Alla Cawn to write upon the face of them severally an order, such as, had it finally rested with him to settle them, he should have issued upon the occasion, and then bade him carry them to the minister;" "not," he adds, "that the Vizier's zeal should be affixed," but "that the minister should decide upon the propriety of his ideas, and ultimately reject or adopt them, as he saw fit." This the minister was to know instinctively, as it appears from what immediately follows: "and I chose this mode of communicating them rather than by letter, because it was the simplest and readiest, &c." He then refers to one of the petitions, which he incloses; and I will insert it here, with two others furnished by Hyder Beg Cawn, for their curiosity.

[Mr. Cowper's Supercription.]

Sheik Durgahlee,  
Naib of Rodurmun Sokul,  
having made himself acquainted  
with the contents of Erzee, must  
enquire into the same; in case  
the grievance is founded in fact,  
let him redress it, and send a Ra-  
zee Naameh to the presence.

The renowned Nuvvaub, the Dispenser of Justice to the Age.

Buddim Sing is Kannoongo, of the Purgunnah of Durraabad, Munfa Sing, Jemadar of the Mouza of Shapoor, has confined the brother of your slaves for these eleven months past unjustly, and without cause, and will not set him at liberty; the reason is, that during the Aumildarre of Setul Chund, the dismissed Aumil of the Jagheers, he entered into an agreement for the above

Mouza or district, under the secularity of the said Kau-noongo: he has moreover plundered our property, and razed our habitation. We hope from your goodness and favour that our brother may obtain his liberty, and that we may, agreeably to justice, receive back the property, goods, grain, &c. which he has plundered.

Concludes as usual.

Erzee of Lelik Sing  
and Derbaud Sing.

[Mr. Cowper's Supercription, in the Hand Writing of  
his Moonshy.]

Let orders  
be issued to Jaun-  
Beg not to molest the  
habitations of the widows,  
but make good the injury  
he has done them.

Erzee to the Nuvvaub the Dispenser of Justice, &c.

Sets forth, That Jauni Beg unjustly, and by force and violence, hath seized upon the dwellings of certain widows. You are the protector of the poor. Whatever may be your determination in behalf of the widows, be pleased to declare it. We have no other refuge but you, &c. He formerly pulled down four or five houses, and he has now prohibited water from being carried to four or five others.

Signed, Erzee of the Widows.

[In the Hand Writing of Mr. Cowper's Moonche.]

Let orders  
be issued to Fakcer  
Chund without cause, but let  
the sons in law of Haujee  
oppress a liberty  
Aka Mahummed an account of the  
and write an account of the  
circumstances respecting them  
to the presence

Sets forth, that the sons in law to Hajee Aukau Mahummed have been confined in prison during the whole of the last year: from the time of Fakur Chānd's appointment, he has treated them with the utmost severity, even to the prohibiting their food from being brought to them.—We had rented the Purgunnah of Aali Gunge for three years.—four months of the Fuffull of Hurref remained when we were turned out: all that was received to that period was paid; and if we had continued through the Hurref Fufful, the remainder would have been paid. We are in no shape guilty.—We hope from your favour and goodness, that in your kindness to the poor and the helpless you will set them at liberty, &c.

Signed,

The Erzee of the family of  
Hagee Auka Mahummed.

Let those who will, comment on this transaction. It was a gross and most indecent attempt to dictate to the Vizier of the empire the words of his own mandates, which the Vizier was to copy from Mr. Cowper's draft, and issue without a knowledge of the subject. It is an insult to common sense to impose any other construction upon it.

Mr. Bristow's motives for giving these extraordinary authorities, and enforcing them with so many angry movements, is more extraordinary than the acts themselves; and I must own that I first read them with an idea which no consequent act has effaced, that he wrote them under the conviction that he might write what he pleased, in the assurance of its being favourably accepted.

I have already mentioned the instructions which I gave to Mr. Middleton, relating to the introduction of courts of justice in the Nabob Vizier's dominions, which will be found, on a liberal examination of them, to have been dictated under doubts of its expediency. In my instructions to Mr. Bristow, written with a fuller and recent experience, I expressed those doubts in terms, assigning many strong reasons for entertaining them, and concluded with recommending the subject to his enquiry, but without venturing to give him any instructions concerning it. Mr. Bristow, in a letter which he wrote on the 12th December, professedly intended as a detail of his transactions and intentions respecting the execution of my instructions, adopts all my conclusions; and adds to them other arguments, much stronger, against the institution of Adawlets; and so much stronger, that these alone ought to have deterred him from attempting it. He closes the subject with the following words:

“ I would, however, propose, that Moulavy Mobein, the man recommended by Mr. Middleton, should continue with the name of Sudder ul Huck; and when regularly shall be introduced into other branches of the government, the extension of his power will form part of the plan.”

These are the authorities which Mr. Bristow quotes from his attempt to introduce the establishment of his plan, whatever it was, for the administration of justice; and they are inserted at full length in the third number of the appendix to his letter. I appeal to the same authorities, for the proof that I gave him no instructions to institute courts of justice; and that he had therefore no authority to attempt it; that he himself declared it to be improper; and by his own interpretation of my instructions, gave them the force of orders prohibiting any such attempt; that by such a declaration, concluding with a recommendation to suffer the nominal appointment to subsist, without any substantial application of it, he certainly intended to convey to me the assurance inevitably implied by it, that he would himself attempt nothing beyond the appointment; and that, by attempting it, he has consequently been guilty of the double charge of disobedience of orders and deception.

I have now gone through the examination of the charges against Mr. Bristow, and of his answers to them, according to the order in which he has himself arranged them. I shall not attempt, by any recapitulation of them, to point out the strength of the former, or the insufficiency of the latter. I shall leave both to make their own impression; and doubt not that they will necessarily produce, in the minds of others, a conviction which they have produced in my own, that the truth of every charge against Mr. Bristow is either positively or presumptively established, even by the authorities which he has himself produced to refute them.

I myself am personally aggrieved by Mr. Bristow's conduct and pretensions. Every accumulation of his guilt is doubled by the attempt to fix the original charge of it upon me. In his declarations to the Nabob Vizier, to the Minister, and even in his addresses to the Board, he appeals to my instructions, as the rule and warrant of his actions. To disprove this, I need only to appeal to my instructions themselves: these had one essential object,—the discharge of the arrears due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company, with his growing debt; and every article of them had a regard either to the means of rendering this effectual, or to the cautions requisite in the exercise of an unavowed influence, in the place of a lawful authority.

city. The means by which our government acquired this influence, and its right to exercise it, will require a previous explanation: both originated in our connection with the Nabob Suja Dowla. I found him a dependant on the Company, or rather on the Commander in Chief of the army. Under the authority of the Council of which I was the president, in the year 1773, I concluded a treaty with him, which left him optionally free, but virtually dependant on our government, by the reciprocal obligations of it, which on our part consisted in military assistance whenever he demanded it; and on his, the payment of a monthly subsidy for the expences attending it. He remained the absolute sovereign of his own dominions; and whenever he found the presence of our army, or the ascendant of our alliance, too powerful for his ease or dignity, he might free himself from both, by the dismissal of the former. But the necessity of his affairs rendered it unsafe or inconvenient to part with it, as was evinced by the experiment of a few months, in which the army was remanded to our frontier, and again recalled for his service; and thus its attachment to him, and the kind of tribute which he paid for the use of it, were rendered permanent, but in such a mode, as conduced to his interest and safety, without a diminution of personal consequence. He was himself the instrument of forming this relation; he left the advantages of it; he experienced nothing humiliating in the superiority of the part assigned to our government in it; and in the short interval which followed the construction of it, two rich and extensive members were added to his paternal dominions, besides that which he acquired with it. Let me add, without the imputation of assuming too much self-consequence, that my personal behaviour to him was unvariably marked by a studied respect. In public, I addressed him as my acknowledged superior; in private, for only one person was ever privy to our conferences, I made my demands in firm but decent language; exacted his compliance, by stating the grounds of our mutual necessities, without either concealment or exaggeration; and obtained, with his chearful and most willing concession, the best accession of a new dominion, a portion of the wealth of a valuable and remote territory, without the burthen of its administration. He parted from me contented; and if I may trust to those assurances which my station may be suspected to have extorted from private adulation, he publicly and frequently acknowledged the obligations which he owed to me; and even in his last moments recurred to them, in the line of conduct

which he recommended to his son and successor, the present Nabob Affof u' Dowla.

With his death a new political system commenced, and Mr. Bristow was constituted the instrument of its formation, and trustee for the management of it. The Nabob Afoph ul Dowlah was deprived of a large part of his inheritance, I mean the province of Benares, attached by a very feeble and precarious tenure to our dominions; the army fixed to a permanent station in a remote line of his frontier, with an augmented and perpetual subsidy; a new army, amphibiously composed of troops in his service and pay, commanded by English officers of our own nomination, for the defence of his new conquests; and his own natural troops annihilated or alienated by the insufficiency of his revenue for all his disbursements, and the prior claims of those which our authority or influence commanded; in a word he became a vassal of the government: but he still possessed an ostensible sovereignty, his titular rank of Vizier of the empire rendered him a conspicuous object of view to all the states and chiefs of India; and on the moderation and justice with which the British government in Bengal exercised its influence over him, many points most essential to its political strength, and to the honour of the British name, depended.

This is not a place, nor have I room in it, to prove what I shall here content myself with affirming, that by a sacred and undeviating observance of every principle of public faith, the British dominion might have by this time acquired the means of its extension, through a virtual submission to its authority, to every region of Hindostan and Deccan. I am not sure that I should advise such a design, were it practicable, which at this time it certainly is not; and I very much fear that the limited formation of such equal alliances as might be useful to our present condition, and conduce to its improvement, is become liable to almost unsurmountable difficulties. Every power in India must wish for the support of ours, but they all dread the connection.

The subjection of Bengal, and the deprivation of the family of Jaffier Ally Cawn, though an effect of inevitable necessity, the present usurpations of the rights of the Nabob Wallar Jau, in the Carnatic, and the licentious violations of the treaty existing between the Company and the Nabob Nizam ul Dowla, though checked by the remedial interposition of this government, stand as terrible precedents against us. The effects of our connection with the Nabob Affof o Dowla had a rapid tendency to the same consequences, and it has been my invariable  
study

study to prevent it, by the removal or restriction of every authority or influence derived from our government which interfered with his, and by the promise of whatever means I might possess for withdrawing that interposition of it in the internal management of his affairs, which we exercised in the assignments made of portions of his revenue for the payment of the Company's debts, whenever he should either have discharged them, or could afford a security for their payment. It is not unknown to the members of the Board, who composed it in the beginning of the year 1781, how much it was my wish, even then, to return on a new commission to the residence of the Nabob of Owd, provided I could be entrusted with powers to make such an accommodation, for his finances were daily diminishing; the presence of the representative of our government enfeebled that of the Nabob in its executive acts, and all the provinces of his dominions were gradually sinking into decline, the reproach of which, even from our own countrymen, was cast upon our government as the cause of it.

Unfortunately, the Nabob Vizier wanted the requisite talents for business. His understanding, though far underrated in the common opinion of it, was deficient in many other requisite qualities of government; but it was united with a gentleness of manners, a susceptibility of kindness, and a pliancy of will, which might, in proper hands, constitute an equivalent to them. It was in my reliance on the effect of these qualities that I solicited, and in their effect obtained from him, in return for my concessions, his agreement to the admission of the assistance of the Resident, in the charge then specially given to his minister, of his finances and public disbursements. Dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Middleton, the Resident to whom this charge was first committed, and of his deputy, Mr. Johnson, to whom he delegated it, I formed the resolution of naming Mr. Bristow to it in their stead. To this I had various and powerful inducements. The first and principal was, the reiterated order of the court of Directors for his appointment: secondly, the wish of the other members of the Council urging it: thirdly, their declarations of uniting to support my authority, and other concurrent circumstances removing the objections which had hitherto opposed it: fourthly, a reliance on the personal gratitude of Mr. Bristow, for my optional nomination of him to so important a trust: and, fifthly, his assurances, and a pledge given me for the performance of them, in which I then reposed a religious confidence:—I proposed, and the Board agreed to his appointment, leaving it to me to give his instructions. These



were accordingly delivered, first verbally, but accompanied with heads in writing for his remembrance, in a discourse which occupied four hours of my time, when I was yet too ill to write, and they were afterwards dictated, for I continued unable to write them; and having received the approbation of the Board, they were transmitted to him on the 24th of October. I have detailed the process of this affair to shew, at least, the improbability of Mr. Bristow's misunderstanding my intentions respecting the line of conduct which he was to pursue, if these were really contrary to that which he did adopt. Hitherto the Resident had never interfered beyond advice and persuasion. I myself never affected a higher claim; nor had I a suspicion that Mr. Bristow would go beyond it; it therefore never occurred to me to guard against it. On the contrary, I will freely confess, and I am ashamed of it, I yielded to him an implicit confidence. As to my instructions, and their real objects, I affirm, that they have been wholly neglected; nor has any use been made of them but to pervert them to designs of which I know not the authority, nor can devise any other end but private *rapacity*. In one instance, indeed, he may appear to conform to them, which is in his disagreements with the minister, with whose conduct I was certainly much offended on the occasions which had afforded me so much offence against Mr. Middleton; and I therefore warned him to keep a watchful eye on Hyder Beg Cawn, and I spoke of him in terms which marked great distrust of his principles, and dislike of his character. Whether I was right or wrong in my judgment, I will not now attempt to determine: I certainly erred in the unreserved manner in which I communicated it, since it has been so frequently and powerfully retorted upon me: but Hyder Beg Cawn is not the object of this discussion. Let his former conduct have been what it would, it will not justify Mr. Bristow in acts done consequent to it, and independent of it. Let his present conduct be what it will, it will not warrant Mr. Bristow's usurpation of an authority which was never entrusted to him, and in the commission of insults and indignities to a sovereign prince, united by treaty to the Company and to the British nation. There is not a syllable of my instructions which will admit of a construction of a power to assume any authority whatever in the administration of the Nabob Vizier. The only passage which I find, in a recent search, to bear any thing like a tendency to it, is the close of the 13th Article; in which, speaking of the dangerous abuse which the Beegums had made of their Jagheers, I direct him to remonstrate in the strongest terms against their restoration; and

and I add, that he “ must not *permit it* until this government shall have information of it;” but how far even this expression was from conveying the idea of his exercising an authority over the Nabob, will be demonstrated by the expressed purpose of the communication, in the words immediately following; viz. “ and shall have had “ time to *interpose its influence* for the prevention of it.” This extract will shew, that in a case which I deemed of the utmost consequence to the safety of the Nabob’s dominions, and of our political interests, in this instance more nearly than any other connected with it, I did not conceive that even the Governor-general and Council, in their collective capacity, had a right to interfere with authority; but could only make use of the means of persuasion, or, as it is expressed “ to interpose their influence,” for preventing the evils which we supposed; and can it be believed, that I should invest Mr. Bristow with powers of which I disavowed the use myself, and denied the exercise of them to the administration of which I was the first member?

The article respecting the Nabob Vizier begins with an injunction “ to study, on every occasion, to conciliate “ his good-will, and to shew him every ostensible and “ external mark of respect.” I expressed “ my hope, “ that he would not find it difficult to make the Nabob “ himself the mover of every act necessary, whether for “ the advancement of his own interests, or the discharge “ of his debt to the Company.” I recommended to him to endeavour to win the Nabob’s confidence from Hyder Beg Cawn; and I remember using this, or a very like expression, in my verbal instructions.—“ Be you his minister, and make yourself his advocate, and the vindicator of his rights, if his present minister shall injure “ them.” And I strictly enjoined a preference of the Nabob’s claim to the sum allotted to his personal expences before any other, little imagining that this clause would be perverted to a virtual but effectual deprivation of the use of it.

The advice which I thus pointedly recommended to Mr. Bristow was such as I should have pursued myself, had I been in his situation, and with a well-grounded expectation of succeeding in attaining the prescribed objects of it; for I have myself experienced what might be effected by conciliation in situations the same as his, and in others not dissimilar from it, and on minds more difficult than the meek spirit of the Nabob Asoph u Dowlah; for I never found either the acute apprehensions and quick susceptibility of Meer Coffim, nor the pride and manly sense of the Nabob Suja Dowla, impenetrable to arguments

ments applied to their interests, and delivered with truth and plain dealing, which were all the arts I ever used in my political negotiations.

But I have a further proof, and an unanswerable one, that I never had, nor could have had, any design in any commission given to Mr. Bristow, either hostile to the Nabob Vizier, or offensive to his feelings, without such a profligacy of character as must have been marked by the whole tenor of my life according with it. When I mentioned to Mr. Bristow my intention of appointing him to the residency of Lucknow, I at the same time informed him, that I could not yet effect it, until I had an assurance that it would be acceptable to the Nabob Vizier, not knowing whether, from former transactions, the Nabob might not have a personal exception to him; and I therefore directed him to apply by letter to the Nabob himself for his consent. Mr. Bristow did write to him accordingly. I also caused Govind Ram, the Nabob's Vakeel, to apprise his master that the application was made with my knowledge, and with my wish that it might prove effectual, if the Nabob had not the objection which I had apprehended; and lest he might be induced, by his remembrance of the interest by which Mr. Bristow's former appointment had been before made, to object to it on a principle of delicacy to myself, I desired Rajah Govind Ram to assure him, that Mr. Bristow should receive his appointment from my own choice, not by the imposition of any authority contrary to it: but I abstained from any direct communication of these sentiments, that the Nabob might be the freer in his decision upon the proposition submitted to him. I have already alluded to this transaction in a minute, dated the seventh of March 1783, and dictated on a different occasion, and with other particulars, which are here omitted.—Mr. Bristow will not deny the fact, as I have related it; and Mr. Macpherson will possibly recollect it.

Is it possible that I could have used so much delicacy, and affected such a tenderness towards the Nabob, if I meant to send a tyrant to rule over him?

I shall forbear to speak my apprehensions of the consequences, if it shall be finally resolved by the members of this Board, that Mr. Bristow shall be formally vested with the power of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Asoph u Dowla, and guaranteed to him against all invaders, by a sacred treaty, by which the faith and honour of the British nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it. A system of such controul cannot subsist on constructive powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Bristow the declaration which I have  
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made, of the revocation of those which he received from me, and which he has grossly abused, I shall; and at his peril let him dare hereafter to quote them, as containing the authority for his actions. Those who abet him in his conduct ought to prescribe to him the rule of it. When I am made acquainted with that rule, I will record my opinion of it.—Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful consequences which, however qualified, must attend the exercise of any dominion built on such a foundation, and committed to such a ruler!

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Department,

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*Fort William, 20th October 1783.*

*To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.*

Honourable Sirs,

I HEREBY make my appeal to your honourable Court, from the acts of this government, on an occasion which highly concerns the interests of the Company, and the honour and faith of the British name. The subject is two-fold, and consists, first, in a series of charges, preferred by the Nabob Vizier, and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, against Mr. Bristow, your Resident at the Court of Lucknow: and, secondly, in an offer made by the Nabob Vizier of the security of creditable Bankers, for the discharge of his past and growing debt to the Company; and accompanied with a conditional prayer, to be freed from the presence and oppressions of Mr. Bristow, and his assistant Mr. Cowper.

Messrs. Wheler, M'Pherson, and Stables, have severally acquitted Mr. Bristow of all the charges which were alleged against him; and they have severally refused to accept the offer of the Nabob Vizier, and to comply with the prayer accompanying it. My opinion, on both points, stands in direct contradiction to theirs!

The proceedings on this affair have been already swelled to so enormous a size, and I have myself contributed so largely to it in my examination of Mr. Bristow's defence, that I shall deem it most consistent with the respect which I feel for the value of your time, to refer you to the minutes of Council which comprehend this subject, and

and for that purpose to enumerate them in the order in which they may afford you the most connected information, viz.

Treaty of Chunar, dated	19th	
September 1781.	—	Vide Governor-general's narrative of the insurrection at Benares.
Instructions to Mr. Middleton,		
23d September 1781	—	Do.
Mr. Johnson's recall from his office at Lucknow	—	Secret Conf. 7th September 1782.
Mr. Middleton's recall, and Mr. Bristow's appointment	—	Public do. 23d Septemb.
Governor General's notification to the Board of his instructions to Mr. Bristow	—	Secret do. 24th October.
N, B. These instructions are entered on Secret Consultations of 21st April 1783.		
Governor General's minute, on the appointment of Mr. Fowke to the Residency at Benares		7th March 1783.
Complaint against Mr. Bristow		21st April 1783.
		12th May.
		19th.
		22d.
		29th.
		13th June.
		7th July.
		24th.
		28th.
		31st.
		11th August.
Minutes of Mr. Wheler, dated		
24th August	—	28th.
Do. — of Mr. Stables, dated		
30th August	—	4th September.
Do. — of Mr. Macpherson,		
3d September	—	Do.
Do. — of Governor General,		
29th September	—	29th.
Do. — of Do.		
6th October	—	6th October.

Papers recorded with the above minute of the Governor General, viz.

Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general, dated 16th September 1783.

Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general, dated 20th September 1783.

Do. from Hyder Beg Cawn — Do. — received 27th.

Minutes of Mr. Macpherson and Stables, in answer to the Governor-general's last — Secret Conf. 13th Oct.

Minute of the Governor-general in reply, dated 11th October 13th.

Papers recorded with this minute, viz.

1st. Letter from the Governor-general to Hyder Beg Cawn, delivered to Mr. Bristow, with his instructions, and with a power of delivering it to Hyder Beg Cawn, or of suppressing it, at his discretion.

2d. Information given by Rajah Gobind Ram to the Nabob Vizier on the occasion of Mr. Bristow's proposed appointment.

3d. Instructions from Major Davy to Major Palmer, by order of the Governor-general, on the same subject, dated 6th October.

Minute of the Governor-general, dated 20th October — Secret Conf. 21st Oct. recording his instructions to Major Palmer, dated 6th May 1783.

Mr. Stables's minute of 24th October, in answer to the Governor-general of the 29th September — Secret Conf. 21st October 1783.

Mr. Macpherson's, in answer to Do. — Do.

The Governor-general's of the 2d November, in reply. — Do.

Mr. Macpherson's minute, recording correspondence between Major Palmer and Mr. Cowper 25th.

What may be the future process and issue of this business I cannot foresee; I have borne a very painful and laborious part in it, and shall continue to devote as much of my time and attention to the examination of the materials which may be furnished in the prosecution of it, as my other more urgent calls, if I can have any more urgent, and the impaired state of my constitution will allow.

I fear, in every instance which may impel me to speak of myself in any allusion to the relation of my office to your honourable Court, to err in the forms of respect. I therefore bespeak your pardon, with the most solemn assurance that I mean not to offend, for the too obvious suggestion implied in the following expostulation: Do not, honourable Sirs, consider me as an object in the issue of this reference. Your decision upon it, at whatever period it may arrive, will be received by an administration with which I can have no concern; and may I presume to hope, that it will place the executive charge of your commands in the hands of a person who shall be invested with the powers of the office, not disgraced as I have been with an unsubstantial title without authority, and with a responsibility without the means of discharging it. May he at least possess such a portion of exclusive controul as may enable him to interfere with effect in occasions which may tend to the sacrifice of your political credit! This, whatever temporary convenience may dictate a different rule of conduct, applied to every variable contingency so construed, will be found the only principle which can give permanency to your dominion. A belief, however warranted, of a contrary rule of policy influencing your affairs, has been the real and undoubted cause of the late confederacy formed for your destruction, and of the consequent desolation of one great member of your state, and may (which God avert!) prove one hidden source of its ultimate dissolution. This doctrine may be ill suited to the character of a man whose removal from office has been declared by high authorities necessary to quiet the minds of the native princes of Hindostan, and restore their confidence in the faith, justice, and moderation of the British nation. A few years will remove the veil of faction which has caused this illusion, and it will be known that all my acts have been regulated by the most sacred observance of treaties, and all my negotiations with truth; yet let me be what I may, I profess the necessity of justice and good faith to the existence of the national interests in these kingdoms. Your honourable Court has proclaimed it; one great member of the legislative body has solemnly pronounced the

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the same doctrine, and the voice of the people is ready to echo it; yet it is, even with these great authorities, inefficient, since every man who is in the possession of power to violate the national faith, and is impelled by the provocations of ambition, avarice, or vengeance, stronger than the restrictions of integrity and honour, may violate it with impunity. Your wisdom may enforce, in partial applications, the rule which your justice has generally prescribed, and the terrors of parliamentary enquiries may deter gross and notorious abuses of it; but until the legislative power of the nation shall declare it capital in any of its subjects to commit a breach of treaty, or to invade any of the ascertained rights of nations, the greatest of all moral enormities, by which the fate of millions may be closed, and states doomed to annihilation, will remain protected by the law of England from the effect of that justice which dooms to death the meanest invader of private property.

I cannot conclude this address without expressing my concern for the interest and character of a man whom I have proved, unfortunately, though unintentionally, the instrument of involving in a contest which threatens to terminate in his ruin, however upright his intentions may have been, or however laudable in their prosecution—I allude to my military secretary, Major Palmer, whose accidental presence at the Court of Lucknow furnished the occasion to the Nabob Vizier and his minister, of transmitting through the channel of his letter their complaints against Mr. Bristow. For the ground of his original deputation, I beg leave to refer you to my instructions, which will be found among the numbers of the packet sent by this dispatch; and for the part which he has borne in relation to the complaints, to his letter, also inserted a number in the same packet. These will afford additional and (if I do not view them with too partial a judgment) incontestible proofs of the delicacy which I have both observed in my own conduct to the Nabob, the Nabob Vizier, and in that which I have prescribed to others; and how little I merit the reproach of that savage treatment of him which Mr. Bristow has pretended to ground on my authority.

Allow me to attest, that with an intimate knowledge of Major Palmer's character, acquired and improved by an intercourse of many years, I do not know a man who possesses a truer sense of honour, a more benevolent heart, a more candid spirit, or more gentle manners; and I believe that this is his character in the estimation of all who know him.

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Those whose designs and actions have been drawn from their concealment by the means in which Major Palmer participated, will avail themselves of specious and general maxims to brand him with the character of an incendiary and an informer. Had he refused to act the part which he has done; had he, my avowed and confidential minister, professing himself attached to me by the strongest ties of friendship, been an eye witness of deeds which stamped my character with infamy, and destroyed the credit and faith of the government which he served, and had allowed the cold precepts of that self-interest which is sometimes denominated prudence, to influence his suppression of them, I on my part should have detested him as a monster of ingratitude, falsehood, and infidelity. On which side was he, in such an alternative, to have made his option? To the justice of your honourable Court, and to the breast of every virtuous and honourable man, I safely appeal for the reply.

I have the honour to be,

Honourable Sirs,

Your most obedient,

and faithful servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

*Minutes of Mr. Macpherson, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Hastings, in Consultations, 21st October 1783.*

Mr. Macpherson,

October 20th.

I HAVE perused the Governor-general's minute, delivered in Council the 30th September. For the present I will only take notice of those parts of it which point particularly at myself, and the public state of the question.

The Governor-general has been pleased to suppose, that I had either written or corrected Mr. Bristow's letter to the Board, transmitted with his defence. To Mr. Hastings I shall only reply, that he is mistaken in this opinion. The compliments which he pays to the style and temper of the letter are flattering; but if they do not fall to the avowed writer, I know not who has a right to claim them.

As Major Palmer has, upon another occasion, supposed that I transmitted to Mr. Bristow copies of the minutes of the members of this Board, or of other public papers, on the subject of the accusations against him, I desire that Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper may be called upon to make a declaration, to the truth of which they will hereafter be ready to attest upon oath, in the presence of a proper magistrate, "whether I wrote or corrected, or in any shape composed the letter that accompanied Mr. Bristow's

“ tow’s, defence; or whether I ever, through any communication, direct from myself, or indirect through others, transmitted to them copies of what any other member of the Board, or of what I myself have written upon the subject of the charges against Mr. Bristow, or his defence.”

My object in making this proposition is not so much to disprove what a plain negative can answer, as to shew how very different my proceeding has been in this business; it has been such as is entitled to the real approbation of the Governor-general.

As to the difference of my proceeding in the respective cases of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bristow, I shall leave it to the public records to place it in its proper light.

The re-establishment of the French power in India, without any restriction as to the military force they are to keep at Chandernagore renders it, according to my ideas, particularly necessary for this government to continue their Resident at Oude, and to maintain a respectable force in that frontier.

But I mean not to enter into a discussion upon this or any new ground, to shew the advantage to the public from the establishment of a Resident at Oude. The measure has been long adopted, and is now rendered more indispensable, from the late directions of the Court of Directors.

I should at the same time be extremely happy to see an administration established at Oude, and with every one of our country dependant allies, that would preclude as much as possible the internal interference of our agents with the affairs of their countries. Such an interference it will ever be difficult to keep within those bounds which secure the prosperity of the natives, and the regulation of the country, from the effects of opposite and clashing authority.

Had the Vizier and his minister been found competent to secure the peace and good management of the Nabobship of Oude, on the bottom and principles of the Chunar treaty, it would not have been found necessary to have charged Mr. Bristow with the powers which his instructions gave him, and which bound him at least to *attempt* to introduce a new and a better system.

His representations to the Board, of the state in which he found the country, of his expectations and endeavours to carry through the expected arrangements, and of the difficulties that lay in his way; these representations, which the Board received in detail, without any disapprobation of his proceedings, and more particularly the independence which he maintained against a minister,

whose influence existed in the abuses complained of, were the grounds upon which Mr. Bristow appeared to have been entitled to support.

But should it hereafter appear that Mr. Bristow, instead of being entitled to such support, has endeavoured to pervert the instructions and authority with which he was charged to the purposes of *private rapacity*, he can no longer merit countenance; and I sincerely believe that he will meet with none from any member of the Board. There is an expression in the Governor-general's minute, which, though it does not charge Mr. Bristow with any act of private rapacity, intimates, that his instructions may be perverted to such. If it does not, I have misunderstood it.

Had the majority of the Board directed Mr. Bristow, in consequence of his representations against Hyder Beg Cawn, to urge the Vizier to remove that minister, and make him account for his past administration; had they directed the Resident, in consequence of the oppositions he met with, to insist on reformations, which must have divested the Vizier and his administration of much of their wonted authority, they might be charged with proceeding with violence.

But, in the present situation of affairs at Lucknow, the Resident of this government does not appear to me to be supported in the exercise of any such oppressive controul.

On the contrary, his official representations tend to shew that the Vizier's administration hardly treats him with the attention that is due to his office, much less with the respect which ever accompanies power in this country.

(Signed) M<sup>c</sup>P.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

Mr. Stables.

24th Oct. 1783.

I beg leave to offer the following remarks on the Governor-general's minute of date the 29th of last month, for the consideration of the Court of Directors, and in justification of my own conduct.

On my arrival in Calcutta, in November 1782, I found that Mr. Bristow had been appointed Resident at the court of Oude in September preceding. I have no knowledge of this gentleman, nor have I ever seen him.

When the Governor-general presented to the Board the complaints of the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, against the public representative of this government at his court, which the Governor-general had received

received at different periods prior to their being communicated to the Board, I immediately perused the former proceedings on the subject, and especially the instructions dictated by the Governor-general himself to Mr. Middleton the late, and Mr. Bristow the present, Resident; instructions directing measures to be pursued of a general, strong, and extensive nature. These instructions were, I conceive, for his conduct at the court of Asuph Ul Dowlah, a prince of very doubtful private character, and avowedly known to be labouring under the most abject subjection to his minister, Hyder Beg Cawn, who is also painted in very strong colours in these very instructions, which I earnestly recommend to the attentive perusal of the Court of Directors. To have recalled Mr. Bristow, whose conduct was highly commendable and meritorious when he acted in the same capacity in the year 1775 and 1776, on the simple allegations and intrigues of such characters, I conceive would be destructive to the public interest, and render our government contemptible. After re-considering this subject, and after an attentive re-perusal of the instructions for Mr. Bristow's conduct, I adhere to the sentiments I before delivered in my minutes of the 19th and 22d of May, 31st of July, and 4th of September, without any apprehension that I shall be numbered among the oppressors of the princes in India.

I cannot pass unnoticed the following expression in the Governor-general's minute:—"As to my intentions, and their real objects, I affirm that they have been wholly neglected, nor has any use been made of them, but to pervert them to designs of which I know not the authority, nor can devise any other end, but private rapacity." This expression, I imagine, alludes to the conduct of Mr. Bristow, although no fact is brought in support of such an insinuation. I can only observe for the present, that if, upon sufficient proof, the Resident shall be convicted of private rapacity, I shall deem him unworthy of the trust committed to his charge, and shall readily vote with the Governor-general for his recall. The Governor-general thinks himself aggrieved by Mr. Bristow's continual appeal to his instructions as the rule and warrant of his conduct: I beg leave to premise, without wishing to offend, or having a desire to diminish the powers legally vested in the executive member of this administration, that the instructions to the Resident at the court of Oude, when read and approved by the members of the Board, became the instructions of the Board at large, and not of the Governor-general as an individual; and that until they are revoked or annulled by a majority of the Board, I conceive the Resident is justified

in quoting them as authority for his conduct. At the same time, if there are any reformations or regulations enjoined in the instructions, which are not necessary for the correction of the enormous abuses that are too well known to prevail in the Nabob Vizier's country, I shall cheerfully concur with the other members of the Board in altering them.

Respecting what is delivered in the Governor-general's minute, wherein he solemnly declares, that the powers of this government are not in his hands, nor exercised by the principles which he professes, I shall be totally silent, submitting the same entirely to the decision of the Court of Directors; to whose judgment, with respect and deference, I appeal, and who, I trust and hope, will think it absolutely necessary to order a thorough and complete investigation into the whole of the transactions at the court of Oude, respecting the Nabob Vizier and his minister.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

Governor-general.

2d Nov. 1783.

Mr. Stables's minute, dated the 24th of October, and Mr. Macpherson's, dated the 20th, were delivered to me by the secretary; the first on the 27th, and the last on the 28th of the same month, being the same days on which I understand them to have been received. I shall make some observations on both.

It is in the first place incumbent on me to clear Major Palmer from the offence of having intentionally cast any reflection on a member of the Board, by a supposition of his having transmitted to Mr. Bristow the charges which had been preferred against him. Major Palmer intimated this in a familiar note, written on an occasion obviously leading to it, and to a man standing in the relation of an intimate friend: it ought not to have passed the breast of this friend, nor would it have been made public, but for the disingenuous use which he made of it. At the same time I will so far justify Major Palmer by my own testimony, as to declare that I did myself expect that Mr. Macpherson would apprise Mr. Bristow of the charges; and as it was written by Mr. Bristow's recriminatory letter of 13th of May last, that he had received early notice of them from some channel, I did as naturally conclude that the information reached him through that of Mr. Macpherson, but did not in that instance impute to him any breach of official trust.

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I am happy that I can undeceive Mr. Macpherson in the opinion which he has entertained of the new rights derived to the French from the preliminary treaty. The 13th article, which prescribes the mode of their return to Bengal, simply restores them to the privileges which they before held with their former possessions, but expresses no new conditions added to them; nor can they, by any construction, lay claim to any not expressed; for this article is not, as others are, reciprocal, but binding on our nation only for the allowance of the French to their re-admission into a territory of British jurisdiction. But whatever ground there may have been for a contrary supposition, it is now removed beyond all reach of argument, or possibility of doubt, by the express authority of the Court of Directors, in their circular letter of the 6th of March, in which they declare in terms, that “by this stipulation no intention is entertained on the part of France, to erect a fortification, or to introduce a force which can give just cause of alarm to our government, the intended establishment being entirely commercial.” As little ground is there, on the other hand, for any apprehension of a confederacy of the powers of the French and the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah against this government. The respect which I bear to Mr. Macpherson’s talents will not allow me to believe, that he would deliberately use this as an argument, or that he would have applied it even in distant allusion, but as it was required to give effect to one of greater force. As justly may the government of Fort St. George deprive the Nabob Wallajau of his inheritance, lest he should unite his arms to those of the French at Pondicherry. The condition of both princes is equally destitute, and equally oppressed, and the humiliation of their remonstrances shews them to be equally hopeless of any redress, but in the mercy of their oppressors.

Another reason urged for continuing the establishment of a Resident at Oude is, that “the measure has been long adopted.” I have been long accustomed to war with words: the Resident whom I first appointed was placed there for the purposes of maintaining the good understanding which had recently taken root between the two governments, and of guarding that of Oude against vexation from that of our’s—it is an abuse of terms to plead the right or necessity of prescription for the continuance of an office which exists only in the name, but with its original powers and objects inverted.

“I am ignorant of any late directions from the Court of Directors, by which the measure is now rendered more indispensable.” They have indeed prescribed the

payment of the pensions assigned to the Begums through the Resident, and an asylum to be granted to them if they require it, in our provinces. Both purposes can be as completely and easily fulfilled without a Resident as with one: since there must be some office or channel for the receipt of much larger sums from the Nabob Vizier than the Begums pensions, and for the grant of an asylum to them in our own provinces. The command of the Court of Directors, without any other intervention, would be sufficient; and the Nabob, in the case of necessity supposed to require it, would be as glad to be freed from them as they to leave him.

What follows in the minute now under examination, involves a position not affirmed, but too pointedly marked to be missed. It is that, “the internal interference of our agents with the affairs of the countries of our country dependent allies,” is necessary to their better administration. This position, which I have stated in terms borrowed, but transposed from the words of the minute, applies equally to the Nabob Wallajau as to Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah. Indeed the cases are too similar to admit of a principle respecting one, that will not equally apply to both; yet I did believe that the sentiments of the members of this government were unanimous concerning the treatment suffered by the former.

When a doctrine is held which is contrary to the common principles of moral, or even of political rectitude, the respect which is due to the opinions of mankind, and the reverence which is due in a higher degree to authority, require both that there should be good and strong grounds for the deviation, and that they should be clearly demonstrated. I know no grounds that will justify this, nor are any assigned; and I may therefore also, without assigning any reason, in strict rule, deny the right of any power or state upon earth to usurp the administration of another, because it can better administer it than its proper administration. I also take upon me to deny that any advantages, whether reciprocal or separate, of such an usurpation, can compensate for the injuries which will be sustained by it in the effects of “opposite and clashing authorities,” if these are allowed to exist with it, or to the sacrifice of public faith, if it is declared and absolute.

But neither is it allowable in the present case, on any ground of specific engagement, though this is implied by the following paragraph:—“Had the Vizier and his minister been found competent to secure the peace and good management of the Nabobship of Owde, on the bottom and principles of the Chunar treaty, it would not have been found necessary to have charged Mr.

“Bristow

“ Bristow with the powers which his instructions gave him, and which bound him at least to attempt to introduce a new and a better system.”

What bottom?—what principles of the Chunar treaty requires that Mr. Bristow should secure the peace and good management of the Nabobship of Owde, and for these purposes to exclude the authority of the Nabob Vizier, and his minister, as incompetent?—I have proved, in long and detailed argument, that no such right, and much less obligation, was conveyed by the treaty, and my expositions of it, in repeated letters and other declarations to the Nabob, made before Mr. Bristow’s appointment, absolutely disclaim it.—What powers was Mr. Bristow charged with in his instructions? I have used many arguments to prove that I never gave, as I know beyond all power of argument that I never intended to give, to Mr. Bristow, any authority to exercise “an internal interference in the affairs of the government of Owde.” To those proofs I appeal, and with some plea for complaint, that while those remain unanswered, as I believe them to be unanswerable, Mr. Bristow’s powers, derived from my instructions, should still be quoted in allusion, as to a fact established and admitted.

Though Mr. Macpherson disclaims the intention of “entering into a discussion of any new ground, to shew the advantage to the public from the establishment of a Resident at Owde,” yet I believe he has run over every ground, whether new or old, and both of expediency and of right, which could tend to justify the establishment and the continuation of it, viz. the danger of French intrigues, and of the power of the Nabob Vizier united with the French; prescription; the late orders of the Court of Directors; the incompetency of the administration of the Nabob Vizier and of his minister; the treaty of Chunar; and Mr. Bristow’s instructions;—and to these I have fully and distinctly replied.

I am now compelled, not unwillingly, to take notice of an argument urged in justification of Mr. Bristow, which escaped my attention when I wrote my examination of his defence. This argument is used in the former minutes, and repeated in those now before me. I shall state it in Mr. Macpherson’s words:—

“ His representations to the Board of the state in which he found the country, of his expectations and endeavours to carry through the expected arrangements, and of the difficulties that lay in his way; these representations, which the Board received in detail, without any disapprobation of his proceedings, and more particularly the independence which he maintained against



“ a minister, whose influence existed in the abuses complained of, were the grounds upon which Mr. Bristow appeared to have been entitled to support.”

I have already observed, on a similar plea made by Mr. Bristow, concerning the appointment of Mahmud Beg, a trooper, to the Sezawelee of Furruckabad, that “ it was very true that Mr. Bristow had informed the Board of this appointment, and obtained the approbation of it; and so he might of any other transaction, however exceptionable, by suppressing every information which could render it such.” This is precisely the character of every representation which Mr. Bristow ever made to the Board, until he was apprized of the complaints which were written against him.—His letters contain frequent references to measures which he advised, to plans which he recommended, and to acts requiring his participation, in which he acquiesced, at the solicitation of the Nabob, but not one which afforded the Board the slightest intimation of his using, or intending to use, his own authority. It was not till very late that I knew what had passed; for the Nabob and his minister ceased to correspond with me, and I had other cares which drew off my attention from that quarter. I naturally approved the letters, for I saw nothing in them to disapprove; for however exceptionable his measures were (to repeat my former words) he had precluded all objection, by the suppression of every information which could render them such. I will instance one letter, because it has been particularly mentioned by Mr. Stables, as producing the fullest warrant for his acts, by the detailed information given of them, and no disapprobation of the Board following it. The truth is, that I knew no more of the contents of the letter than Mr. Stables; but had it been laid before the Board in its proper time, I should have approved it; for it conveyed, and with the most guarded expression, the construction of a line of conduct agreeing with my own sentiments, and diametrically opposite to that which he did actually observe, and for which he is now defended on the plea of expediency, the ground of his instructions, and the right of treaty.

The following extracts, from Mr. Bristow's letter to the Board, dated the 21st of January 1783, which is that in question, will prove what I have advanced:

“ And I shall now submit to your consideration the plans which I think it my duty to recommend to the Vizier.”

“ I have procured an assignment in their favour for nine lacks of rupees.”

Memorandum.

Memorandum. This is the assignment which Mr. Bristow is charged with having obtained, by compelling the Minister to issue the Nabob's Shokas or mandates for them without his knowledge, and which the Nabob afterwards prevailed upon Mr. Bristow, by other sacrifices, to withdraw and cancel.

" This corps being likewise on the spot, the Vizier  
" may in person review and muster them, in which I  
" propose having the honour to attend him."

" I have procured certain funds for the payment of his  
" corps, and shall strongly recommend it to the Vizier  
" to withdraw the detachments of his Rasselah from the  
" interior parts of the country, &c."

" I shall, without further delay, advise the Vizier to  
" abolish the practice of detaching troops in small bodies."

" The honourable Governor-general's commands of  
" 23d September 1781, directing that the Vizier should  
" be advised to abolish the system of assignments to his  
" Mootayena."

" Probably the end of the year, as required, before  
" his Excellency will be able totally to abolish the system  
" of assignments. In such instance, where it can be im-  
" mediately executed, I shall exert my endeavours to per-  
" suade the Vizier no longer to postpone so necessary a  
" measure."

" Unless the Vizier acts directly in the business, my  
" making the circuit of such districts as are the most de-  
" serving his attention, and deputing confidential agents  
" to the remainder, the evil would be a long time before  
" it could be completely remedied."

" I hope the advantage to be derived from it will ap-  
" pear so evident to his Excellency, that he will not only  
" sincerely and heartily assent to the measure, but support  
" it by every exertion of his authority."

" I now beg leave to submit to your consideration the  
" heads of the plan which I have recommended to the  
" Vizier."

" Or any great officer of state to whom you may direct  
" me to advise the Vizier to intrust so important a  
" charge."

" This is the outline of the plan I have proposed for  
" regulating the Vizier's household."

In the preceding extracts an uninformed reader would naturally conclude, that Mr. Bristow acted solely as the Nabob's adviser and assistant, with the full concurrence of the Nabob, and hearty acquiescence in his assistance; for the Nabob is stated to be the actor and the principal,  
and

and Mr. Bristow's interference following, as a point of consequent duty.

Yet, will it be believed, that almost every act thus represented was forced upon the Nabob against his will, and forms the material part of his complaints against Mr. Bristow, for the usurpation of his sovereignty, and insult on his person?

I desire that the other letters of Mr. Bristow may be tried by the same test; they will terminate in the same conviction.

I certainly meant not, by any expression in my former minute, to charge Mr. Bristow, or any other person, with private rapacity; nor do I know why so much stress is laid on it in both the minutes now before me. Had I known, and could I have proved any instance of private rapacity, I would have affirmed it in plain terms. I never insinuate, nor in the whole course of my political contests have I ever descended to the use of an expression meant to convey a sense, which I wished to elude in the direct expression of it. I have somewhere affirmed, and I now repeat, that the power claimed and exercised by Mr. Bristow may serve the purposes of private rapacity, and can serve no other purpose. It will not be denied that the absolute power of receiving and disbursing all the public wealth of the province may be converted to that purpose, and that it will require an approved integrity to withstand so strong a temptation; and it demands an evidence stronger than Mr. Bristow's assertion, or even the judgment of the Board confirming it, to prove that the Company's debt cannot be realized without it.

On the moderation of the majority of the Board, as it respects their intention, I cannot judge: it is true that they have neither directed Mr. Bristow to urge the Vizier to remove his minister, nor to prosecute him, on the plea of making him account for his past administration (a dreadful suggestion, even though Mr. Bristow should not be his judge) nor by any specific act divested the Vizier and his administration of much of their wonted authority, neither was it necessary; they have rejected the appeal of the Vizier and his minister, and left Mr. Bristow in the possession of an uncontrolled and irresistible authority, which requires no further interposition of the powers of the Board, than that which may serve for the purpose for which it is since solicited, of the gratification of private vengeance. What may be yet in the intention of the Board, I know not; and scarcely dare to trust to my imagination in the apprehension of what evils may yet lie concealed beyond the clouds which involve this transaction in the actual state of it. I will however so far trust, with a degree of assurance, to the moderation of the

the majority, that they will hesitate at least to give a more decided sanction to the acts of Mr. Bristow, after the recent experience which they have received of his intemperance in his last letter.

I regret the time which I have bestowed on this subject, and yet more the quantity of matter composing it, in which the truth suffers the risk of being wholly lost. Yet, whatever may be the result, I am resolved that I will devote what further portion of labour may be exacted from me, and my health and strength will allow, to the last defence of a cause which I deem the cause of honour and humanity.

In the mean time, that the question with which it originated may not be forgotten in the voluminous discussion of it, I will hereto subjoin the terms of it.

The Nabob Vizier complains, that Mr. Bristow has assumed the powers of his government, and the sanction of his name and seal, without his authority or knowledge, insulted his person, and thrown his country into disorder; and as the debt which is due and growing from the Nabob to the Company is used as the pretext for this violent conduct, he has offered to give the security of Bankers of honour, credit, and responsibility, for the regular and full discharge of the debt; requesting, as the condition of this engagement, that he may be freed from the presence and oppressions of Mr. Bristow, and his assistant Mr. Cowper. I maintain that we ought to accept this offer, and the other members of the Board reject it.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Dept.

THE Governor General lays before the Board the following letter and enclosure from the Nabob Vizier.

*From the Nabob Vizier; received November 29th 1783.*

Usual introduction.

In all due attention to the rights of friendship towards the Company, the gentlemen of the Council, and yourself, I have at no time been deficient from my regard thereto; I have so acted as to give satisfaction to the gentlemen heretofore appointed to this place, and they likewise, in managing the concerns of the Company, attended to the preservation of my honour and dignities, so that there was no opportunity for censure or complaint on either side.

In the year 1789 Fussulle, Mr. Johnson adopted certain measures calculated to bring disgrace upon me, which  
being

being made known to the gentlemen of the Council and yourself, your equity and kindness induced you to call the above gentleman to an account. Mr. Bristow, from the time of his arrival has done, and still does, every thing that can tend to depreciate my authority. Repeated accounts have been transmitted to you of his injurious conduct; but as yet no justice has been done, or due notice taken of them, and the above gentleman is now, more than ever, bent on involving me in new difficulties and disgrace.

I have always been in want to discharge the Company's Tunkaw by assignments on the Aumils of my Sircar; and the amount received from them being placed to my credit in the Company's accounts by their former Residents, they again received Juidaud from me for the balances that might remain. If the assignments on the Aumils fell short from any unforeseen accidents, the Resident did not require the deficiency from them, for there could have been no advantage in so doing; and thus the Company's concerns were well conducted. Mr. Bristow, without my knowledge or consent, has thought proper to put Khaujah Ain ud Deen, Aumil of Barcily, &c. in the province of Rohilcund, under confinement. To detail the particulars of this transaction would be tedious.

He has proceeded thus against the Khaujah on accusations false and groundless. No objections have been made by me to peremptorily and threateningly calling on my Aumil for the payment of his monies; on the contrary, I myself so call on them, when necessary; but Mr. Bristow has, of his own accord, confined this Aumil, and still keeps him in confinement; and having included his balance in the accounts of the present year, has forcibly taken Juidaud from me, and he means not to leave me any thing for my necessary expences. Having agreed to his requisition of Juidaud for the Khauja's balance, which he had added to the accounts of the present year, I repeatedly, by letter and message, applied for his release, but he still keeps him in confinement. To your candour I refer the consideration of the disgrace thus thrown upon me in consequence of his thus imprisoning my Aumils by his own authority; a mode of proceeding never adopted by any of his predecessors. The Aumils dependant upon my Sircar are loaded with dishonour, whilst those dependant on Mr. Bristow, such as Ismael Beg, and others, who were appointed in the last year only, and who, though there has been no drought in their Mahals, have greatly reduced the established Jumma, have far exceeded the usual allowances for expences, and have fallen in arrears of the payment of the Company's Tunkaw.

law granted on them, are still continued in possession of their Mahals, and are his confidential ministers and advisers. No demand is made on them for the deficiency of Jumma; increase of expences, or balance of the Company's Tunkaw; but the latter is charged on me included in the accounts of the present year, and Jauidaud required for the amount; to which I have not the power to object. Others of his measures and orders are as follows: I have always been wont to discharge a part of the Company's Tunkaw by Jauidaud, on the payments of Almas Ali Khan, from which I likewise received a part for my own expences. This year Mr. Bristow has withheld my Jardaad for the latter my necessary disbursements; and though I have repeatedly desired him, both by letter and message, to take a part only of the payments from Ilmas Ali Cawn into the Company's Tunkaw, as heretofore, to let me receive a part from my expences, he will not comply; but has written to Ilmas Ali Khan, saying, "I will receive the whole of the monies due from you; you will pay no part thereof to any person whatever, if you do I will not give you credit for it in your accounts." He likewise laid injunctions on Ilmas Ali Khan's Vackeel, saying, "if his Highness requires any money from thence, you shall not give it." Thus having put a stop to my necessary expences, and issued orders declaring, that if any thing was paid to my order, it should not be admitted in account;—what authority is left me, either with the Aumils or the people? Add to the foregoing, that the difficulties I labour under from the present scarcity are such as require my most earnest supplication to God. One other of the above gentleman's proceedings is as follows: the change and dismissal of Aumils was talked of and determined by him in the month of Jeyte; and those who assisted him with their advice were all of them encouraged to expect employment. The engagements entered into for the year expired at the end of Badvon; and the Zemindars and Ryots, always ready to take advantage of events, hearing of the proposed new arrangement, withheld the payment of their monies; at length, in consequence of Mr. Bristow's injunctions, the change of Aumils was entered upon; such well founded reasons as were offered in opposition on this head, were disregarded by him: I was left without remedy, and acted as he directed. By this measure large balances remained due from the country on the remaining Kists of the past year, which has become a plea for deduction with the present Aumils. Thus I have suffered the loss of lacks of rupees; and Mr. Bristow having carried the balances of the Aumils to my account in the

accounts

accounts of the present year, exacts Jardaad from me, and I am unable to object to it.

These measures and proceedings of the above gentleman are not done without deliberation and design. To enter into particulars would be endless. In addition to this, every one is impeached by him with multiform, false, and groundless accusations. Thus situated, let me conjure your equitable interposition. How can I support my existence now that Mr. Bristow's prosecutions, and my disgrace, are arrived at the pitch they are? I implore redress; let me obtain justice.

Concludes as usual.

\* \* \* \* \*

Governor-general.—Mr. Bristow, in the letter last read, avowedly mentions both his previous intention of confining Khauja Ain ul Deen, one of the Nabob's principal Aumils; his actual execution of that intention; the Nabob's application, in writing, to Mr. Bristow for the release of the Aumil; and Mr. Bristow's refusal to comply with it. The Nabob also complains of this transaction in the letter to me, which is entered above; and of a letter written by Mr. Bristow to Almas's Ally Cawn, containing the declaration of his intention to take the full produce of the Mahals which were under Almas's charge, for part of the Company's assignment, with a dictatorial prohibition to give any part of the produce of it without his (Mr. Bristow's) permission.

These are acts of power so contrary to every pretension that this government can assert, or has ever authorized Mr. Bristow to exercise, that I must request the Board to determine, whether they have or have not their sanction, and whether he shall be hereafter permitted to exercise the like power independantly of the Nabob, and without respect to his concurrence. This, in effect, will determine the question which I have proposed in my first minute.

I must also take notice of the reasons assigned by Mr. Bristow for refusing to comply with the Nabob's requisition for the release of Khaujah Ain u Deen; namely, "that the Nabob's letters may, in the words of his instructions, be considered as dictated by Hyder Beg Cawn." A similar expression occurs in a former letter of Mr. Bristow's, dated 14th October; in which he says, "Had the salutary orders of the honourable the Governor-general been received with a cordiality at this court equal to the zeal and earnestness with which they were proposed; and a steadiness shewn by the prince in the execution of them, answerable to the wisdom of the counsel which produced them, the affairs of Oude  
" would

“ would long have assumed an aspect very different from that in which they now appear.” This indecent and very disrespectful allusion to my orders for acts done in gross and shameful violation of them, cannot receive the countenance of the Board; for, surely, it is indecent and disrespectful, after the past complaints, made by myself as well as the Nabob, against Mr. Bristow, for his perversion and disobedience to my orders, to appeal to them for his warrant, with epithets of affected praise; nor is his disobedience of my express injunction to act in every instance in conformity to the Nabob’s will and inclinations palliated, but, on the contrary, exaggerated, by his allusion to a remote observation made by me upon a different and special subject, and neither expressing nor implying any instruction for his conduct.

For these reasons, and because I do most solemnly declare, that Mr. Bristow does not either confine himself to my instructions, or pay the least regard to them, I do again conjure the Board to determine the line of his conduct, and to give him such instructions as in their judgment shall be proper and requisite for the effectual execution of the system which he has himself established, and which the Board has hitherto permitted, if it be their determination that such a system shall be maintained; or such other instructions as in their better judgment they shall think proper to frame; and this I conceive to have become indispensably necessary, by the application made by Mr. Bristow himself for his guidance on the occasion of the declaration made to him by me, in conformity to one made some time preceding by myself to the Board, that the instructions under which he acted, or pretended to act, were no longer my instructions.

Some reply must be made to this reference, or Mr. Bristow will be left without authority, and (what is worse) without a controul; therefore, the Board must either adopt those instructions, and call them their own, or must give others. If they declare them to be their own, it will be necessary to explain those parts which are construed by Mr. Bristow in a sense which I have affirmed, and do affirm, to be contradictory of my own; and as I have no longer the right or power of explaining my own instructions, it seems to be but reasonable that the Board, having approved the line of conduct pursued by Mr. Bristow, should either explain their sense of those instructions, or give him new.

I forbear, in this place, to state the points which will require the determination of the Board, because they might lead to a disagreeable as well as unprofitable discussion, which I yet hope may be avoided.

Ordered,



Ordered, That the foregoing minute from the Governor-general be sent in circulation.

Read again the Governor-general's minute, entered in consultation 6th of October last, proposing the appointment of Mr. Wills to be Resident at Furruckabad, with the papers accompanying it.

Ordered, That these papers be circulated to the members of the Board.

*Consultations, 27th December 1783.*

THE following minute having been delivered on 23d instant to the secretary, by Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson and Mr. Stables, with orders to take it to the Governor-general, was shewn by the secretary to the Governor-general accordingly.

The subject of the Governor-general's minutes of the 16th December, and the alternatives which he states to be necessary for the Board to adopt, relative to the management of affairs in the Nabob Vizier's country, are so important, that we agree to take the same into our serious consideration, and we propose to record our opinion thereon at the next meeting of the Board in this department. The letter from Mr. Bristow of the 10th December, and sent in circulation, calls for some decided resolution upon these subjects.

(Signed)      { Edward Wheler,  
                          John Macpherson,  
                          John Stables.

The following minute, prepared by the Governor-general, previous to his seeing the foregoing minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, and Mr. Stables, was circulated by his orders to the other members of the Board on the 23d instant.

Governor-general.—Mr. Bristow's representation of the conduct of the Bankers, in the letter last addressed to the Board, and his preceding letter of the 14th October, is so consistent with his usual dealing with the Board, that I will unravel it for the conviction of the Board, and hope that they will not fail to take due notice of it: I must premise that he is in charge of the most important station in the service, both with relation to its political magnitude, and the great pecuniary interest attached to it; and that therefore his reports ought to be both regular, complete, and strictly just, in every point of business, and that the neglect of this duty, but more especially a perversion of it, is in the highest degree criminal.

Mr.

Mr. Bristow, in his letter of the 14th October, after stating that Gopaul Dofs, the banker, had lent to the Company fifteen lacks of rupees in June last, and promised as much more at a short period as should make the loan 30 lacks complete, complained that he both valued the performance of this condition, agreement, and engagement (for such are the terms which he variously uses in the same sentence) and had even presumed to demand payment of the first loan.

The Board in their reply, dated the 21st November, required a copy of the engagement on which Mr. Bristow founds his claim; and how does he answer it? he refers the Board for information to an extract from a letter written to the Board on the 3d of June, which states the original transaction in a light totally different; and adds the Board's answer, approving the loan; a translation of the bond given by him for the first loan, engaging to repay it in the manner claimed by Gopaul Dofs; and transmits a further extract of his letter of the 14th of October, containing his representation of the failure of engagement on the part of Gopaul Dofs. But though he quotes the order of the Board, directing him to transmit "copies of the engagement with Gopaul Dofs, and to explain in the clearest manner all the circumstances attending this transaction;" and immediately subjoins his reply in terms which mark an intention to give the satisfaction thus pointedly required; yet he neither transmits copies of the engagement, nor gives any explanation of the transaction: but as he has neglected his duty of respect, at least, if not of obedience, I will do it for him; and shew that he has either indecently misrepresented the whole transaction, or, which I rather hope will prove to be the case, has perplexed and confounded the subject by his eagerness to force it to a connection with his favourite object, the crimination of Hyder Beg Cawn. My exposition shall not embarrass the Board, nor fatigue their attention: for it shall be confined to the materials furnished by Mr. Bristow himself, in the dispatch immediately before us.

In the extract of his letter to the Board, dated the 3d of June, he mentioned his "having concluded an agreement with the house of Gopaul Dofs for fifteen lacks of rupees, that he expected to receive the bills in the course of two or three days, and should then commence another negotiation for 15 lacks more; and so on, until he obtained as large a sum as he was able, &c." That he did not chuse to inform the bankers of the sum total he must require, as they would have exacted higher terms than he should think it justifiable to grant;" and that

“ the plan which he proposed for the repayment of the  
 “ bankers was, to engage that, after supplying the dis-  
 “ bursements of the troops under the command of Colo-  
 “ nel Morgan, and Colonel Sir John Cumming, and the  
 “ expences of the Resident's office, all surplus receipts  
 “ shall be paid to them ;” and this engagement appears  
 accordingly concluded in the terms of the bond.

Nothing can be clearer nor less ambiguous than this explanation of the transaction, when it was offered as a proposition for the option of the Board. The engagement is stated in terms to be limited to 15 lacs ; and the intention of extending it is also declared to have been most cautiously withheld from the knowledge of the bankers, and the condition of payment is defined ; yet in the reviewal of this transaction on the 14th of October, Mr. Bristow affirms, that “ when in June last he pro-  
 “ cured from the house of Gopaul Doss the sum of 15  
 “ lacs of rupees, he had a promise of so much more, at a  
 “ short period, as should make the loan to our government  
 “ 30 lacs complete :” adding, that Gopaul Doss had broke his engagement, and even demanded payment of the sum of the actual loan ; and he connects this information with the charge of breach of engagement in such a manner, as implies the same criminal construction of it, though he at the same time furnished the Board with the most ample warrants for Gopaul Doss in making the demand for payment, in his confession of the original engagement, and in the translation of the bond which expresses the condition of payment, and which allows only a preference to the charge of the two military corps and of his own office, after which it was positively agreed to apply the produce of the growing collections to the discharge of the bond.

I pass over Mr. Bristow's charges against Gopaul Doss for the insolence of employing an agent of his own nomination, in opposition to the choice of Mr. Bristow, and for “ abandoning those prudent maxims by which  
 “ alone as merchants they ought to have regulated their  
 “ conduct,” in declining to trust Mr. Bristow with a second loan of 15 lacs (no small sum, nor the proper subject of personal compliment) after the refusal to discharge the first. The claim of right to dictate to a banker, whom he shall employ as the agent of his affairs, and to appropriate all the money which the banker can raise, and for which he himself has occasion, loses both its degree and quality of presumption in its comparison with the usurpation of the rights and power of an independent state, and with the insolence which could prescribe to a sovereign prince the number of horses which he should be  
 allowed

allowed to ride, or the dishes which should be cooked for his table. While I remark the inconsistency of Mr. Bristow's representation, I am yet willing to suppose, as I before suggested, that he may have erred in the expression, but not in the fact, and that he may mean to allude to some agreement made by Gopaul Dofs, after the settlement and advance of the first loan, though he affirms them to have taken place at the same time: but to establish this solution of the difficulty, it will still remain to prove that Gopaul Dofs did engage to make a further loan; and for this purpose, Mr. Bristow must comply with the orders already so clearly expressed in our letter of the 25th November, "to transmit copies of the engagement with Gopaul Dofs, and to explain in the clearest manner all the circumstances attending this transaction." It is not the custom of bankers to make verbal engagements; and Salla Cashaul Chund, Gopaul Dofs's agent, has assured me, on the authority of his master, that he made no such engagement.

The following minute, from the Governor-general, was sent with the foregoing on the 23d instant, to the other members of the Board, for their perusal.

**Governor-general.**

The subject of Mr. Bristow's letter of the 1st of November is alarming, not on account of its immediate effects, for they are past, but as it indicates so total a dissolution of the powers of the Vizier's government as must have a tendency to excite similar and repeated instances of sedition. I shall make but one brief remark upon Mr. Bristow's state of this transaction, which is, that a tumult of the most flagitious kind was suffered to manifest itself in a gradual progress of some months, till it grew to such magnitude as threatened the life of the Nabob Vizier himself, during a period, as Mr. Bristow's letter states, of three days, and I have reason to believe that it was of it yet longer duration; and that Mr. Bristow, in all this important interval, appears to have stood by a quiet passive spectator, although he had a regiment of the Company's Sepoys, and his own body guard, which is nearly equal to a regiment of Sepoys, at his instant command; and might with such a force have repelled the whole strength of the Nabob Vizier's military establishment, had it been united in so loose and unconnected a species of hostility. This is a point which he ought to explain; for if he had it in his power to suppress the meeting, and did not, his conduct was criminal in the last degree; if otherwise, it concerns both his credit and

the honour of our government that the doubts which he has thrown on his own conduct should be removed by a clear exposition of it.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 31st December 1783.*

THE following minute having been received by the secretary, on the 28th instant, at noon, from Mr. Wheeler, Mr. M'Pherson, and Mr. Stables, it was sent immediately by the secretary to the Governor-general: and the minute in reply to it, which is entered after it, having been received from the Governor-general in the evening, was immediately circulated to the other members of the Board.

The Governor-general, in his minute of the 16th instant, having declined proposing or joining in any order that may be issued concerning the advices lately received from Oude; having likewise stated a necessity which may exist, for authorizing Mr. Bristow, in the event of our support of him in the authority which he exercises, to assume avowedly the government of the Vizier's country, and to appoint agents and officers of government in the name of the Company; and having called upon us to adopt the instructions given to Mr. Bristow, and call them those of the Board (disavowing them to be any longer those of the Governor-general) or to make out other instructions for the guidance of Mr. Bristow;—we deem it necessary to take these respective subjects into our most serious consideration, and to consider maturely what measures are most likely, in the present distressed situation of the Company's finances, to recover the heavy balances due to them by the Vizier, and to secure the tranquillity of his dominions.

As it is our most earnest wish that such measures should be adopted, and as we should think ourselves more fortunate in meeting any arrangement that may favour the public good, and coincide with the Governor-general's sentiments, than to establish, on the clearest ground of argument, the force and justice of the opinions which we have already recorded relative to the affairs of Oude, we shall not recapitulate here what is already in reference to the Court of Directors; we shall not dwell on those obligations which bind every member of the government to adopt and support the resolutions of the majority of its members; nor shall we even regret that the Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn should ultimately prevail in effecting the removal of the public minister of this government from Lucknow, if that removal can be productive of real  
and

and immediate advantage to the Company, and of more unanimity in our councils.

Upon the same principles we hope, if it shall be the mature and decided resolution of this government to continue the present Resident at Lucknow, and give him the instructions and powers which the occasion renders necessary for the recovery of the Company's balances, and the regular payment of their troops, that the Governor-general will not think of withdrawing the very essential support of his name and authority from those measures which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintenance of the Company's interests in Oude. To withhold that support, would be in effect to render our utmost exertions of no public utility; for as it has been the custom to carry on all correspondence with the Vizier in the name and under the seal of the Governor-general, a deviation from this rule would not only invalidate the force of our representations, but leave ground for those evils which are to be removed.

The object of appointing a Resident at the Vizier's court, as well as of the instructions which should be the guide of his conduct, must be principally directed to the payment of the Company's claims upon the Vizier, and the good order of his government.

Mr. Bristow, appointed to this station by the Company, and furnished with the most ample powers and instructions, has not succeeded in recovering the Company's balances, or in acting to the satisfaction of the native administration of the Vizier's country. The Vizier and his acting minister have complained against him, and request not only his removal from Oude, but that the English residency should be entirely withdrawn. Mr. Bristow has on the other hand stated the oppositions he has met with in carrying through the measures which he understood to be recommended to him in his instructions; and he now states, in various representations, that unless he is fully authorized and supported by this government, he cannot secure the necessary receipts of money and provision for the absolute wants of the troops, which the Company have stationed for the protection of the Vizier's country, and to prevent evils the most alarming to the public interest.

The alternative, therefore, which the Governor-general has stated, in his minutes of the 16th December, presses the adoption in one way or other. In other words, this government must effectually resolve to trust to the Vizier's administration for the payment of the Company's claims, and the maintenance of their troops in his country, or the Resident must be ordered to exercise the powers of his

office, to recover those assignments that have been granted on the Vizier's revenues, by making the Aumils answerable to the Company for the debt.

As we have approved of Mr. Bristow's management hitherto, and as that approbation has been fully stated upon the Company's records, and as we have further a high opinion of the merits and integrity of Mr. Cowper, nominated by the Company to succeed Mr. Bristow, we cannot think ourselves justified in assenting to their removal at the request of the Vizier's administration, if the object of that removal was merely a change of agents. On the contrary, the opposition of Hyder Beg Cawn to these gentlemen is, in our opinion, a convincing proof that they have not yielded to that influence which was the ground for removing the former Resident.

If, therefore, it should be thought expedient to recall Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper from Oude, and make an experiment of Hyder Beg's agency, as proposed in his own and the Vizier's letters, received 7th April, we must explicitly declare, for such is our real opinion, that Mr. Bristow has our approbation for his exertions to discharge the duties of his station; that in the event of the residency being now withdrawn, and afterwards restored, from a failure on the part of the Vizier's agents, we shall think Mr. Bristow entitled to succeed to the charge of the office, and Mr. Cowper to the succession to it, as ordered by the Company; and that it will be proper that the Vizier and his ministers should be informed in letters, to be delivered by Mr. Bristow, of these several resolutions of the majority of the Board.

To bring the question at once to issue, we think it expedient, in the present situation of affairs, to agree to the recall of Mr. Bristow from Oude, with the preceding reservations, and to withdraw the residency entirely, according to the original request of the Vizier and his acting minister, provided the present balance due to the Company, of            lacks, is paid into the Company's treasury, by bills on creditable bankers, payable, half in one month, and the remaining half in two months, from the date of Mr. Bristow's surrender of his office to the Vizier; and provided further, that the current kits for the payment of the brigade at Caunpore, and of Sir John Cummings's detachment, are paid regularly and monthly by the minister to the Company's paymasters in Oude.

We shall agree to this arrangement, on the express condition that the Governor-general will hold himself responsible to the Company and the public for the faithful performance of these engagements on the part of the Vizier and his minister, as well as for the security of the internal

internal peace of the country: to maintain which, and enforce these arrangements, we shall give him our utmost support.

Should the Governor-general think this responsibility more than he should undertake, and should be of opinion that the contest between the Resident's authority and that of the native administration in Oude has already created embarrassments too great for the success of his plan, he leaves no alternative, but that of giving the orders of a divided administration to the present Resident to execute the duties of his office, and to consider his instructions from the Governor-general, which are already in his possession, as those of the Board, with any future explanations they may think it necessary to give relative to some articles of them.

A true copy.

E. Hay,  
Secretary.

E. W.  
J. M. P.  
J. S.

Governor-general.

28th Dec. 1783.

I have read, with more than common attention, the minute signed by the other members of the Board, and delivered to me this morning.

I sincerely regret the loss of time and trouble which they have bestowed on the subjects of my minutes, recorded on the 16th instant. Nothing was further from my intention or expectation. Possibly my sentiments, delivered verbally on the instant occasion which produced them, were defective in precision; or possibly their direct meaning has been overlooked, in too extensive a consideration of the subject. I had no other design or object than to warn the Board of the dangers which might attend the Company's interests in the government of Oude, and those of our own provinces, in their relation to it, by the irregular and unauthorized power assumed by Mr. Bristow, their Resident, and by the indecision of the Board on the points referred to them, both by the Nabob Vizier, and by the Resident himself. I stated to the Board, that if it was determined to support Mr. Bristow's pretensions, it was necessary to go further, and authorize him to avow the power which he had assumed, and to exercise it in the Company's name; and in that case I desired that my instructions might be withdrawn, and others framed by the Board for his guidance, that the responsibility might rest, as it ought, on them, for the system which had the sanction of their approbation, against my judgment, and myself exonerated from it. I conceive, that in this requisition, I have insisted on nothing which



is-contrary to reason, or which can be denied me on any ground of reason.

I have not in anywise disclaimed the "obligations which bind every member of the government to adopt and support the resolutions of the majority of its members."—Neither have I said, that I should "withdraw the support of my name and authority from those measures which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintainance of the Company's interests in Owd." I am sorry that these suppositions have been used in application to me, for I know not what may be the "resolutions of the majority of the members" of the Board, which may require me to acknowledge their obligation on me; nor "the measures which the majority of the Board may think requisite for the maintenance of the Company's interests in Owd."

The Board has yet formed no resolutions—no measures: when they shall have formed them, I shall deem them binding on me to give them all the support which my name and authority can give them; but with this reservation, that if they shall be repugnant to my sense of the principles of honour, justice, and public faith, I shall deem the obligation void, and appeal to that power which imposed it for my acquittal; knowing that no power upon earth can impose upon me the obligation of doing what is morally wrong, and conceiving it to be a species of treason to apply it even in the most remote supposition to the high and most respectable authority to which I allude.

As to the seal of the Governor-general, or his special correspondence, surely these forms will not be required for the purpose of announcing to the Nabob Vizier the annihilation of his authority, and the elevation of Mr. Bristow's in its stead; if such shall be the final determination of the Board, an event which I am warranted by the terms of the minute before me to suppose, there will be no need to tell the Nabob Vizer in form, what will be visible to all the world, and what he, if he has feelings, will be the first to feel and know.

Having thus explained the sentiments which I have before submitted to the Board, and disclaimed the constructions which have been applied to them, I must decline to take upon myself the responsibility which is stated to be required of me, in the event of their consenting to remove Mr. Bristow, and his assistant Mr. Cowper.

The members of the Board have furnished me with the most powerful argument both to refuse it and to justify the refusal, by the blank space which they have been obliged to leave in the place where the sum ought to be expressed,

expressed, which was to specify the present balance due to the Company, and one object of my responsibility. This is not an inaccuracy, for the Board know not the present balance which is due from the Nabob Vizier to the Company. It stood, at the close of Mr. Bristow's account of the 31st October, at 51,25,184. 11. 2. To what amount it may have since accumulated, I cannot conjecture, for I have no materials; but I believe it impossible for the Nabob Vizier "to pay one half" even of this sum into the the Company's treasury, by bills on creditable bankers, payable in one month, and the remaining half in two more from the date of Mr. Bristow's surrender of his office to the Vizier; nor if the Nabob Vizier would engage to pay it, and I believed him capable of paying it, "would I hold myself responsible to the Company, "and to the public, for the faithful performance of such "an engagement," because I do not think it consistent with truth, or the regard which every man ought to pay to his own reputation, to bind himself to the performance of acts which depend solely on the ability and will of another.

It is not my desire that the other members of the Board should make any concessions to my opinions or wishes. They will act as they shall best judge, from the superior consideration of the duty which they owe to the honour, credit, and interests of the Company. I only press them to decide, and am sorry that they should hold out to me so desperate an alternative, as that which is too plainly indicated in the last paragraph of their minute, —namely, of requiring from me the pledge of a responsibility which I cannot grant, or of leaving the administration of Owd, and the Company's interests in it, to a state of total indecision, by referring Mr. Bristow for his guidance to instructions which can have no longer any force, and which are, in every article, contradictory of the system which he has adopted, and which the Board have hitherto supported, and still manifest their resolution to support.

Before I conclude, I shall desire to solicit the recollection of the Board to the great length of time which has elapsed since I first laid before them the complaints of the Nabob Vizier, all tending to shew that Mr. Bristow's acts and pretensions had thrown the government and country of Owd into a state of weakness bordering on anarchy: and Mr. Bristow himself, in his representations of the same subjects, has insisted on the same conclusion, but has ascribed it to another cause. It is evident, from Mr. Bristow's last letters, that the disorders of that state have been greatly augmented, and that the power which he has assumed, though unresisted at the Court of the Nabob

Nabob Vizier, has produced only the spirit of contumacy, revolt, and embezzlement in its dependencies, independently of the public discredit which the English name has suffered by so long a subjection and oppression of the sovereign of the country in alliance with the Company.

This state of affairs has now existed almost twelve months, and it is more than eight since the Board has been acquainted with it. The acknowledged event has demonstrated the danger of leaving it so long without the attempt at least to apply a remedy to it; and a short continuance of the same indecision may render it incurable.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,  
Secretary.

Read the following minute from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, and Mr. Stables.

By Mr Bristow's accounts of the Lucknow treasury received yesterday, the balance due the beginning of this month was 53 lacs. We could not imagine nor suggest that the Governor-general should be answerable in his private fortune for so large a sum, or that his responsibility for the payment of it, or for the payment of the current kits, should extend further than those obligations which constitute responsibility in a decided recommendation of any measure, contrary to the general opinion of the majority of the Board, such even as the Governor-general has expressed in the close of his minute 21st October; wherein he says (speaking of the security of bankers of *known credit and responsibility*, tendered by the Vizier) "*I maintain that we ought to accept this offer.*"

The Governor-general is better acquainted, from his long residence in this country, than we can be, with the validity of the bankers' security, thus offered by the Nabob Vizier and his minister. We wish that security, or a better, if it could be obtained, to be lodged in the treasury, before we withdraw the Residency; and we imagine that the declared proposition of restoring the residency to the charge of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, if the Vizier's minister fail in these payments, would bind them to a more punctual performance of their engagements.

It will on all accounts be necessary to inform the Vizier and his minister immediately, that the Company's troops in Oude must be paid their arrears, and supplied with

with provisions. We approve of the Vizier's resolution of restoring the Jaghires; but the Company's claims upon them should be first discharged (if such exist) so that they be restored without incumbrance; and the Resident should in our opinion, be directed to concert with the Vizier the best means of discharging Gopal Dofs's debt, which appears to be in some train of payment; he should be further directed to release the Aumil of Rohilcund, after taking proper security for the arrears due by the said Aumil.

These points, and others relative to the situation of the Company's in Oude, we consider to demand the immediate orders of this government, independant of the complaints against Mr. Bristow, upon which we have already given our decision.

If therefore the Governor-general will not take upon himself the responsibility which we have stated in our minute of the 28th instant, and there more clearly explained, relative to the balances due to the Company in Oude, the current kists, and the expedient of withdrawing the residency, it only remains for us to call upon his support to the orders which we have pointed out in this minute, as necessary to be carried into execution, or to direct the secretary to inform Mr. Bristow of the resolution expressed in the close of our last minute; viz. that he is to consider the instructions he has already as those of the Board, and to act under them in the discharge of his duty, informing the government of the obstructions that impede him in the necessary exercise of it.

A true Copy.	(Signed)	E. W.
E. Hay,		J. M <sup>r</sup> P.
Secretary.		J. S.

31st December 1783.

The Governor General.

I can have no objection to charge myself with the responsibility, in the terms of the explanation given of it in the preceding minute; that is to say, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition expressly annexed, of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper; and that I will consent to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.

In making this declaration, I rely upon the promise of support made to me by the members of the Board in their former minute, and I assent to the other conditions of the last.

The

The state of the Nabob Vizier's dominions will render it necessary to leave the sums of the monthly payments, and the ultimate period, to future adjustment. I will use my utmost influence to prevail upon the Nabob to regulate them in the manner most favourable to the complete and speedy discharge of the Company's debt; and as he has promised to abide by my recommendation in this business, I have no doubt of effecting it.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

The Board resolve to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of responsibility and charge of affairs there, as expressed in his last minute; viz. that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general consenting to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.

Agreed that the following letter be written to Mr. Bristow.

To Mr. John Bristow, Resident at the Vizier's Court.

Sir,

Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct since your late appointment to the office of Resident at the Vizier's court, and though they have resolved in consequence to reserve to you your claim and right to the office of Resident at Owde, from the orders of the honourable Company, should the office be deemed hereafter necessary;

We have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt and current gifts to the Company, on condition that the residency should be withdrawn from his court.

To fulfil this condition on our part, you will, on receipt of this letter, inform the Nabob Vizier and his minister, that you and Mr. Cowper, and the other gentlemen connected with the residency, are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall.—But as the reservation made in favour of your claims to the office of Resident at Lucknow, might hereafter, if announced at the Vizier's court, be an argument with his ministers for some future objections, you will be pleased to take no notice of this circumstance, which we communicate only for your own satisfaction.

We make no doubt but the Nabob Vizier and his ministers will afford you every aid to settle the concerns of your residency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the most amicable manner. The Governor-general will write to them upon this subject; and we trust, that on your part you will endeavour to connect, as much as possible, the removal of your present station with good order in the Vizier's affairs.—You will deliver over the accounts and necessary papers to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his station, and you and your assistants will return to Calcutta.—You will signify our orders to them accordingly.

We are, Sir,  
Your most obedient,  
Humble Servants,  
Governor General and Council.

(Signed)  
Fort William,  
Secret Department,  
31st December 1783.

A true Copy.  
E. Hay,  
Secretary.

Mr. Wombwell being at present in Calcutta;

Ordered, That he be directed to repair immediately to Lucknow, and to receive charge from Mr. Bristow of the accounts and papers of the Resident's office.

*Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal, dated the 31st December 1783.*

Par. 18. OUR late letters have informed you of the differences which have subsisted in our opinions with respect to Mr. Bristow's conduct at Lucknow.—The letters from Mr. Bristow, as well as the complaints of the Vizier and his minister, shew clearly the state of the dispute: your troops in Oude fell several months in arrears; the claims upon the Vizier, independent of the current kists, amounted to upwards of 53 lacks of rupees; a famine had begun to prevail in his country, and evils of the most alarming nature were to be apprehended.—We refer to our proceedings for particulars.—The majority of our members supported Mr. Bristow's conduct; the Governor-general condemned it. Differences at our own Board, and these differences known in the Vizier's dominions, could not but add to the public distress.—The representations from the Vizier and his minister, as well as Mr. Bristow, continued as strong as ever. The Governor-general

general called on the majority to determine what should be done; his instructions to Mr Bristow were declared by the Governor-general to be cancelled by his revocation of them, and the majority of the Board were required to furnish Mr. Bristow with new. The majority resolved to take the matter into their serious consideration; and on the 28th instant delivered in a minute, which with the Governor-general's answer to it, the reply from Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, and Mr. Stables, and that from the Governor-general, accepting the proposition of the majority, we have the honour to send numbers in this packet.—The result is, that we have resolved to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of responsibility and charge of affairs there, as expressed in his last minute; that is, that the offer made by the Nabob Vizier and his minister, to give the security of the bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of this year, be accepted, with the condition annexed of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general consenting to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure.—But when we remove the residency from Lucknow, we reserve to Mr. Bristow his claim and right to that office by your orders, should such office be deemed hereafter necessary.—We have the honour to transmit to you a copy of our letter to Mr. Bristow on this occasion.

19. We have the honour to acquaint you, that in consequence of the directions implied in your letter to us of the 14th of February last, of the distresses of the district of Ferocabad, the strong representations on this subject from the Nabob Mazuffer Jung, and his dissatisfaction, as well as that of the Vizier, with the Sezawul appointed to remit the tribute from thence to Lucknow, we some time since appointed Mr. John Willes to be Resident on the part of this government with the Nabob Mazuffer Jung, not doubting that the Vizier will confirm our choice of this gentleman; and for this purpose a letter has been addressed to his Excellency by the Governor-general.

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*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 8th October 1784.*

READ the following letter, and enclosures, from Mr. Bristow.

Honourable

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I have been honoured through your secretary with the copy of a letter from the honourable the Governor-general, covering sundry enclosures, on the mode of making my receipts and disbursements during my late residency at the court of Owde, and I beg leave to offer you my acknowledgements for the opportunity hereby offered me of justifying my conduct.

I shall have little difficulty in replying to a charge, which sets out with a confession that I made your orders and regulations my invariable guide. To save your honourable Board the trouble of a reference, I take the liberty to enclose copies of your orders in the year 1776 on this subject. It will appear, upon a perusal of them, that they were intended to remedy the inconvenience of the very plan now proposed by Hyder Beg Khan. If the assay table had been found unfair to the Vizier, he might, in the first instance, or at any succeeding period, during eight years of its continuance, have objected to it: he, on the contrary, at the conclusion of every year, was accustomed to approve and sign the accounts of my predecessors in office; and it will be found, upon a comparative view of our accounts, that my mode of calculating the batta faithfully corresponds with that used by them. In those days there were no complaints; and I am justified in remarking, that the present application to you, upon a point so clearly established by your orders, and by precedent, has every appearance of personal enmity on the part of Hyder Beg Khan against me, without any consideration of public good.

On an inspection of the accounts of my predecessors, it will be found, that on all receipts from the Aumils of Rohilcund, the batta, as fixed in the assay table on Bareilly rupees, was charged—on all receipts from Corah, that fixed on Corah rupees; and so with all the different species of rupees current in the Vizier's dominions, precisely in the same manner as I have done. Nor do I see how any other mode than the one thus practiced by my predecessors, and myself, could with propriety have been adopted. I had no authority, in contradiction to an express regulation of the Board, to alter the batta, which they had fixed on each particular specie with a precision that left me no alternative. All the payments on account of the troops stationed in Rohilcund were made in Bareilly rupees at the established rate of batta; and had I adopted, as has sometimes been found necessary, the simple method of transporting the revenues from several districts in Hacceries to Lucknow† I must have paid the whole away to the paymasters, and others to whom I had occasion to  
make



make disbursements, at the same rate. They would not have been satisfied with an opinion from me, that the exchange in the assay table was much over-rated—that the Batta in the Bazar had so fluctuated as to make them nearly in equal in value to the Sicca of the day—and that they ought therefore to receive them as such. They would, in answer to all this, have produced the established rates, and required payment accordingly, and I must have complied. By adopting, on the other hand, the method of negotiating bills, the distant districts were not drained of their specie, and the Batta being still charged as provided by the assay table, in the same manner as it must have been if transported in Hackeries, neither the Vizier nor the Company sustained any loss.

If the 23d, 24th, and 25th suns were indeed equal to standard, it was more than I knew; the Sicca of the year has ever been valued, both in the assay table and in the receipts and disbursements of my immediate predecessors in office, at the same rate as that charged in my accounts; and having so decided an authority as the former for my guidance, it never occurred to me to investigate its accuracy. Hyder Beg Khan asserts to the Governor-general, that he had represented to me the Siccas of the late coinage, or 23d, 24th, and 25th suns, as having been made equal in weight and fineness to the standard, and that I ought therefore to have received them as such. I shall, in refutation of his assertion, content myself with observing, that Hyder Beg Khan has on this occasion added one more to the numberless misrepresentations with which he has already stained your records.

I certainly knew that the assay table was established, “because the several species were proportionably inferior to the standard, or Fyzabad 16 sun Sicca;” and this conviction alone, independent of the reasons I have already urged, would have deterred me from making any alteration in the established practice, or attempting to regulate the rates of Batta by the fluctuations in the Bezar. I had well-grounded hopes that I might have been so fortunate as to realize the whole, or nearly the whole, of the Company's claims upon the Nabob; and I have no doubt, but for the obstructions thrown in my way by the intrigues of the minister, that I should have succeeded in this expectation. I should then have been enabled to send down to the presidency a considerable sum in specie; and it would have afforded me singular satisfaction to have been instrumental in removing, or at least in alleviating, the very great scarcity of ready money so generally felt in Calcutta. In that case had I regulated the Batta conformably to the fluctuations in the Bezar, instead of the assay

assay table, and the Bareilly rupees had been received from the Vizier, agreeable to the honourable the Governor-general's statement of the case, at 20 or 25 per cent. discount, in lieu of 42. 10. 9, as established by assay, supposing the calculations in the table to be accurate, the Company on sending them to the Mint would have suffered a loss of near 20 per cent. by an unauthorized deviation on my part from the Board's positive and most explicit orders.

It now only remains for me to remark on the Gourshies, the specie in which the revenues of Kishagur are paid. It happened that there were few of them in circulation at Lucknow; I was therefore, in my negotiations for realizing the amount of the Company's assignment on that district, commonly under the necessity of receiving Lucknow siccas, at the exchange of the day. These were in the market never inferior in value to the Goorshies, and were often one per cent. better. I however thought it my duty, as the Aumil had engaged in his Caboolet to pay goorshies, to give the Vizier credit in my accounts for that specie, at a discount of only 2. 2. 6 per cent. agreeable to the assay table; whereas, as has been shewn above, I received Lucknow rupees sometimes at par, and often with a deduction of 1 per cent. on which I was obliged in my disbursements to allow a batta of 5. 9. 3 per cent.; hence it clearly appears, that on my receipts from Kishagur I sustained, upon an average, a loss of about 3 per cent. which I thought it better to submit to, in the hope that it would be made up to me upon the whole exchange, than by the expedient already mentioned of transporting the revenue in hackeries to drain that district of its specie—yet has Hyder Beg Khan, with a blind inveteracy, included even these receipts in his most fallacious estimate of the Vizier's losses.

The Governor-general in his letter observes, "it might be supposed that the Resident would make use of his influence to cause a great proportion of the payments to be made in those species which were in the assay table most depreciated in comparison of their current and intrinsic value."—That I had, during the whole of my late residency, no influence equal the production of such effects, is fully evinced in my having been unable, with the ample powers delegated to me in my instructions, to execute any the most minute point of reform therein so forcibly enjoined me: with how much greater force does the honourable the Governor-general's reasoning apply to Hyder Beg Khan, who, with an influence so effectual, and the absolute controul he possessed over every department and every individual of the Vizier's

government, could with ease either have debased the coin, or enhanced the value of every specie, as might best suit his interested purpose, if not restrained by some specific regulation, such as the assay table ?

I never interfered in the detail ; and my general instructions for the management of the treasury enjoined a rigid adherence to the assay table, and to the forms in use by my predecessors. When, in the month of September last, I laid my accounts for the preceding year (1190 Fuffulee) before the Vizier and his minister, no such objections as these now stated were urged. My accounts were found strictly conformable, both in form and matter, to former usage, and were approved accordingly. Could Hyder Beg Khan have discovered any thing chargeable with such matter of accusation as he has now thought proper to produce against them, it is not probable that in his anxiety at that period to effect the removal of your Resident, who, without power indeed to controul, yet unceasingly watched his conduct : it is not probable, I say, that so circumstanced he would have neglected so promising a prospect of accomplishing this his favourite object. He had shewn himself anxiously disposed to criminate my conduct in every instance ; and it is not reasonable to suppose he would have omitted an accusation of this nature, when he had not hesitated to produce, as charges against me, complaints stamped with the most unequivocal proofs of my zeal for your service, and his determined opposition to every measure, however forcibly recommended by you, that militated in any shape against the uncontrouled power and influence he had so many years enjoyed over the Vizier's dominions.

Fort William, I have the honour, &c.  
2d October 1784. (Sighed) JOHN BRISTOW.

In addition to what has been said, I beg leave to trouble you with an observation which I did not introduce into the body of this letter, as not being immediately connected with the subject, though, as it exhibits a custom established in your own provinces similar to that in which my defence is founded, it may not improperly follow in this place.

That in the year 1773 a table, containing the different rates of batta on the various species of rupees receiveable in the course of the collections, was established by authority, in order that the government might have some fixed rule to ascertain the value of rupees, and not be subject to the daily fluctuations in the Bezar exchange ; and I understand that the same rates are still in force, and that all payments of revenue at the public treasuries, when made

made in various sorts of rupees, are still regulated by the standard.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

*Extract of a Letter from the Governor-general and Council to Mr. John Bristow, Resident at Owde; dated 8th January 1776.*

WE transmit you a copy of our Assay-master's reports of the exact value of the Fyzabad Sicca rupees, and the comparative proportion which the other rupees received in payment from the Nabob bear to that specie.

We desire you will adjust the accounts of the late Vizier, and of the present Nabob of Owde conformably to these rates.

Report of the Comparative Values to Fyzabad Siccas, and Battas on sundry Species of Rupees, received by the Honourable Company from the Nabob of Owde, and re-coined in the Mint at Fort William;

SPECIES OF RUPEES,	Number.	Weight.		Comparative Values.		Better than Fyzabad Siccas.			Worse than Fyzabad Siccas.		
		Sicca	A. P.	Established Standard.	R. A. P.						
Fyzabad Sicca Rupees	100	96	12	100							
Old Delhi Rupees	100	97	—	102, 902	2	14	5	per cent.			
New Do. Do.	100	97	—	102, 902	2	14	5	Do.			
Fyzabad Rupees, of 15 and 16 sun	100	96	8	101, 507	1	8	1	Do.			
Old Banaras	100	96	14	100, 342	—	5	5	Do.			
Do. Jugda	100	96	12	101, 796	1	12	3	Do.			
Do. Pranchmail	100	96	14	101, 895	1	14	3	Do.			
Pranchmail	100	96	11	99, 937	—	—	—	1	—	per cent.	
Do. second fort	100	96	14	99, 680	—	—	—	5	—	Do.	
Banaras Fusuli	100	96	8	98, 637	—	—	—	1	5	9 Do.	
Old Vizeiry Rupees	100	95	4	92, 350	—	—	—	7	10	4 Do.	
14 Sonne Do.	100	95	8	91, 937	—	—	—	8	1	Do.	
Janjee Do.	100	95	7	79, 431	—	—	—	20	9	1 Do.	
9 Sonne Vizeiry Rupees	100	95	—	70, 385	—	—	—	29	9	10 Do.	

Affay Office,  
20th Nov. 1775.

(Signed) WM. PAXTON.

*Extract of a Letter from the Governor General and Council,  
to Mr. Bristow; dated 13th June 1776.*

In our letter of the 8th of January, we directed that the account of the difference of Batta between Fyzabad Siccas and rupees of inferior assortments, received in payment from the Nabob of Owd, shall be ascertained by the difference in their intrinsic value, and not by the fluctuating exchange of the Bazer. We are not sure that you have followed this rule in the accounts which you have lately transmitted to us. We desire, therefore, that you will inform us on what standard you form the Batta inserted in your cash account of the 31st March; and direct, that if that account be not drawn out with the Batta equivalent to the difference between the intrinsic value of the inferior species of rupees and Fyzabad Siccas, agreeable to the Assay Master's report, which has been transmitted you for that purpose, you will send us a rectified account, drawn out according to that rule, and that you will literally conform to this in all your future accounts. We are very desirous of receiving your accounts for April as soon as possible, adjusted in this manner; as the accountant, for want of them, cannot balance the books to that period, or complete an estimate of resources for the present year.

We desire that you will ascertain and report to us the weight and fineness of a Bangalo Sicca, which we suppose to be the same as the Fyzabad Sicca, or the current Sicca of the province of Owde; and that you will inform us of the current rate of exchange between those Siccas and Patna Sunats at Fyzabad or Lucknow. Our motive for making these enquiries arises from a representation which has been lately made to us, that the rupees issued in payment to the army are in reality five per cent. worse than the Patna Sunats, and that this difference is made to them in their pay, but withheld in their Batta and other allowances. We are at a loss to know whether the 5 per cent. which is allowed to the troops in their pay, be an excess, or whether they are deprived of their due by its not being extended also to their other allowances. We therefore request that you will take pains to gain all the information upon this subject in your power, to assist us in our desire to do justice to the army and to the Company in our decision upon it.

(Signed) A true Extract,  
JOHN BRISTOW.

Read another letter from Mr. Bristow, as follows :

Gentlemen,

I have had the honour to receive your secretary's letters of the 1st July, 26th of August, and 2d instant.

The Governor-general having informed you, in his letter of the 14th of June last, that he should soon have occasion to address you again on the subject of my disbursements, and as he had stated no specific objection to them, it was out of my power to give a satisfactory explanation. I supposed the subject of the Batta was connected with that of my disbursements; and I trust it will appear, upon an inspection of the account, that my supposition was well founded. My waiting therefore for further explanations, especially as they were so soon to be expected, will, I hope be approved of by you.—It did not proceed from disrespect to your commands, for I could not but be exceedingly anxious to afford you satisfaction on points of such magnitude, in the event of which both my character and fortune were apparently involved.—I relied on your justice not to expect a defence, while the accusations preferred against me were incomplete.

I now see that it was a natural consequence of the general principle of the acting minister's conduct, that he should produce fallacious accounts against me, knowing, as he did, that the several representations which I made to you on the state of the Vizier's revenue exhibited an annual decrease of near a Crore of rupees, at the expiration of the fifth year of his administration.—In making these representations I acted in strict conformity to your commands, which instructed me to obtain "an early and minute knowledge of the state of the province of Owde especially, and the rest of the Nabob Vizier's dominions, and report the result of my enquiries." If in the discharge of my duty, and in self defence, I have unavoidably exposed circumstances which have criminated Hyder Beg Khan, and excited his personal resentment, it is to your justice that I must trust to a due consideration of our relative situations.—I now beg leave to repeat my acknowledgements for the opportunity afforded me, of vindicating my conduct by so candid and fair a communication of the charges.

I deny that the Vizier has any claim upon me. So far as the imperfect lights afforded me in the first instance would admit, I had prepared a full refutation of the complaint on the mode "of making my receipts and disbursements;" and finding it correct, I have now accordingly delivered it in. The other complaint, of "my  
" having

“ having incurred certain unauthorized disbursements,” exhibits a variety of new matter, to which I could not possibly have prepared any defence. It will require some days to examine and arrange the papers, and I must solicit your permission for this delay.

Your secretary’s letter of the 26th of August, covering the copy of one from the honourable the Governor-general, directs me to acquaint you “ why I did not intimate to the Vizier your wish that the two Rossalabs of cavalry, which returned with the detachment from the west of India, might be kept up at the stations of Cawnpore and Futtu Ghur ?”

I have the honour to inform you, that no wish or resolution of your honourable Board to the above effect was ever communicated to me. As I was apprehensive that your commands on this subject might by some accident have miscarried, I applied to your secretaries, Messrs. Bruere and Hay, by whom I am informed, that they had no orders to communicate any such resolution to me, and that it passed subsequent to my recall.

Calcutta,  
4th Oct. 1784.

I have the honour, &c.  
(Signed) J. BRISTOW.

*To the honourable Warren Hastings, Esquire, Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.*

Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

I SHALL now do myself the honour of replying to the objections offered by the Nabob Vizier against certain articles of my disbursements; but as the account transmitted by me to Hyder Beg Cawn was not sufficiently explicit on the heads under which the several sums were disbursed, I have therefore given it a new form. The enclosure, No. 1, will explain the particulars. The paper, No. 2, contains my separate reply to each article of objection.

In the years 1775 and 1776, when I had the good fortune to execute all your commands with success, the charges of the residency were upon a very moderate scale; with respect to the increase of them since, I humbly conceive no responsibility can rest with me, for institutions which did not originate through my agency, or by my advice. If my disbursements were improper, it is to Hyder Beg Cawn, who now complains of them, that a principal share of the blame should be attributed. He possessed the unparticipated and entire administration of the Vizier’s affairs; he was the agent through whom they were first established.



The several instances in which the Nabob Vizier denies the having given his sanction to my disbursements, though incurred in conformity to his orders, are particularly deserving your notice; such an extraordinary conduct is hardly to be attributed to the Vizier himself. Indeed I observe in the honourable the Governor-general's Letter of the 25th August, that it is Hyder Beg Cawn who prepared and delivered the exposition. I am therefore justified in considering the objections stated in the name of the Nabob Vizier, not as his, but as his minister's.

When Hyder Beg Cawn violates the faith and honour of his sovereign, in causing him to deny expenditures to which he gave his sanction, which no motive but a desire to oblige induced me to make, and without the expectation or desire of emolument to myself, it can only be attributed to his resentment against me. In the amicable and familiar intercourse which I had the honour to preserve with the Vizier, he was accustomed to apply to me for various European commodities, and often to a considerable amount: with such applications I never hesitated to comply, without requiring an authority in writing for each expenditure, the demand for which would have been degrading to the Vizier, and disgraceful to your representative. Such were the reasons that induced me to advance the money on account of the clothing and coral upon a verbal application.

If I erred in making the accustomed disbursements of my office, it was in judgment, but not from interested motives. Hyder Beg Cawn was apprized of my intentions concerning the allowances of the gentlemen, and he assented to them.

I have produced positive evidence that many articles which the Vizier is now made to disallow, were authorized by him, and that Hyder Beg Cawn was himself the agent through whom that authority was granted. If my disbursements had exceeded those of my predecessor, the minister's conduct might carry with it an appearance of justice; but the contrary is notorious, for my disbursements were upon a reduced scale. All these circumstances considered, I flatter myself that accusations founded in prejudice will never be suffered to injure my reputation; and I trust that my private fortune cannot be made responsible for charges incurred either under written or verbal authority, or according to the prescriptive usage of my predecessors in office, from which, I again beg leave to repeat, no possible emolument could fall to my share.

I continued the official expences which I found established on my arrival at Lucknow, and the gentlemen who received

received allowances from the Resident had either appointments directly from your honourable Board, or your permission to reside at Lucknow. I knew not that the allowances paid by my predecessors for years past had been censured or reprobated by you; but whether those allowances were exorbitant, or the principle which established them improper, the responsibility of the measure rests, as I have already remarked, with Hyder Beg Cawn, through whose agency it originated; and I could not suppose a new sanction was requisite, while I acted only in conformity to the usage of my office.

When the residency was abolished, I considered it incumbent on me to close all accounts, and discharge all demands. It was certainly my duty to pay the allowances of the assistants before my authority ceased; the recovery of their claims at any future period would have rested on the pleasure of the minister, and must have been precarious. The greatest proportion of the disbursements made by me was issued from time to time, as occasions occurred, and the exigencies of the service required. It would have been impossible to have executed the duties of my office unless I had defrayed these disbursements, and it was not to be expected that I should make them from my private fortune. The sum actually paid by me at the abolition of the residency did not amount to four lacks of rupees; and it was not to be supposed that the arrangements made by the minister, in consequence of his engagements to discharge upwards of seventy lacks, the balance then due to the Company, could be affected by a disbursement comparatively so trifling.

I have now replied to the accusations preferred against me. I have, upon solid and just grounds, considered them as originating from Hyder Beg Cawn, although the name of his sovereign is brought forward to authenticate his assertions; I am therefore to regard him as the sole evidence against me; and were I to object to the credibility of the witness who thus impeaches my character and conduct, I should not deviate from the rules of self-defence, or the laws of justice: but this point I submit to your consideration; to your impartiality I appeal for my conviction or acquittal; and, though I might be able to prove the conduct of Hyder Beg Cawn devoid of truth and integrity; though I might be able to shew the motives that have influenced him to persevere in a premeditated attack upon my honour and character, by preferring and repeating the most unprovoked and unjustifiable accusations; though I have the justest grounds, in my opinion, for impeaching his administration during the eight years he has possessed the unparticipated and entire authority

authority of the Vizier's government, I shall not at present trouble your honourable Board with the detail, in the confidence that I have said enough to justify myself; and that, if you should deem further arguments, proofs, or documents, necessary, you will not refuse me the opportunity of submitting them to your consideration.

In order to present immediately to your view the character I have uniformly supported, and the approbation with which I have been honoured in all my conduct by your honourable Board, permit me to refer to the accompanying extracts of your proceedings.

In corroboration of what I have urged respecting Hyder Beg Cawn, I appeal to your records at large, and in particular to the following paragraph of my general instructions, dated the 23d of October 1782.

“ 4th. Immediately on your arrival sound the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable; till within these three months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government, the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared both to use the Nabob's name, and even his seal affixed to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or written for him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own earnest solicitations, such as the resumption of the Jaghires, and the seizure of his father's treasure, which has been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar.”

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect,  
Honourable Sir, and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

Calcutta,  
26th Nov. 1784.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

An Account of Receipts and Disbursements made by Mr. Brif-  
tow, as Resident at Lucknow, from October 1782 to Janu-  
ary 1784, both inclusive

R E C E I P T S.

To cash received, particulars, agree-  
able to the account transmitted to Hy-  
der Beg Cawn; the Vizier's acting-  
minister - - - - - 11,41,729 15 -

Since received in full, from the  
Farmer of Kyragur, through Captain  
Dennis - - - - - 8,000 - -

11,49,729 15 -

Balance - - - 14,367 14 11

Rupees - - - 11,64,097. 13 11

Balance - - - 14,367 14 11

Since closing the above account, Mr.  
Thomas tendered me payment of the  
sum charged in the 7th reference to the  
Vizier's remarks - - - 6,000 - -

Balance - - - 8,367 14 11

D I S B U R S E M E N T S.

2. Allowance to the Resident's Assistants, viz.

Mr. Cowper, first assistant, and ap-  
pointed in succession to the residency 1,05,425 11 3

Messrs. Swainstone, Gregory, Saml.  
Middleton, Neave, and Holt, 16  
months, at 2,000 each per month - 1,60,000 - -

Mr. Trevor Wheler, 5,000 rupees  
per month, for 16 months - - 80,000 - -

Rupees - - 3,45,425 11 3

The Resident's Official Disbursements, viz.

Mr. Reybaud, a monthly  
writer, from the 23d Oct.  
1782 to the end of March  
1783, at 400 per month 2,116 2 -

Mr.

Mr. Morgan, do. to 10 Jan. 1783, at 200 rupees per month - -	526 10 8
Mr. Michael, part of Oct. 1782 to 11th No- vember do. - -	168 10 8
Mr. Daqin, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the 9th November 1783 - -	1,850 10 8
Mr. Sicklona, from Dec. 1782 to October 1783, inclusive - -	2,132 — —
Mr. Strong, 13 mos. at 200 rupees per month	2,600 — —
Mr. Jones, from 15th August 1783 to 31st Oct. 1783, at 400 rupees per month - -	1,000 — —
Do. and writers, from November 1783 572	
Do. Dec. — 660	
Do. Jan. 1784 900	
	<u>2,132 — —</u>
Expence of monthly writers, for 16 months	12,526 2 —
Moonthy's office, from October 1782 to Jan. 1783, inclusive -	10,688 2 6
Treasury charges, do.	7,330 — —
Dawk charges under Ismael Beg, do. - -	36,273 — 6
Holas Roy, news writer at Fyzabad, and agent with the Begums; ditto - -	1,280 — —
Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow -	50,446 6 6
The Resident was ex- clusively allowed above 1,200 rupees a month for his official disbursements, which sum was regularly received by Mr. Middle- ton: not being certain of the exact amount, I shall state it as above, at 1,200 rups. a month, for 16 months is 1,92,000	

Deduct, already charged  
in part rs. 1,18,543 11 6

73,456 4 6  
→ 1,92,000 ← ←

Gentlemen whose Allowances were paid,  
exclusive of the Assistants; viz.

Mr. Bruce, surgeon to  
the Vizier, and to the re-  
giment stationed at Luck-  
now, 3,136 rupees per  
month, for 16 months 50,176 — —

Mr. Orr, employed in  
the Accountant's-office,  
at 2,000 rupees do. - 32,000 — —

Mr. Taylor's salary,  
1,000 rupees a month, for  
16 months — 16,000  
Do. Dawk bearers 16,000

32,000 — —  
→ 1,14,176 ← ←

rupees → 6,51,601 11 3

Dawks to the detachment under the  
command of Lieut. Colonel Knudson 385 — —

6,51,986 11 3

3d. Khord Mehull, through Major  
Gilpin - - - - - 10,000 — —

Feeding the Begums' Elephants - - - - - 3,206 10 8

Mint expences, through Sheek Morau-  
doola - - - - - 4,275 — —

Price of an Elephant given to Major  
Lumsdane, upon the capture of Bulbudder 1,400 — —

Gratuity to Tuckey Beg and Ismael  
Beg, at the time of Bulbudder's disturb-  
ances - - - - - 5,000 — —

Allowance to a Vackeel from Mahajec  
Scindia - - - - - 1,400 — —

Allowance to Mr. Thomas, surgeon,  
in part - - - - - 10,000 — —

Do. to Rajah Koshall Roy - - - - - 8,000 — —

Expences incurred by Capt. Jaques,  
agreeable to the orders of the honourable  
the Governor General and Council - - - - - 6,161 7 —

Meer Umjud - - - - - 10,000 — —

Colonel Morgan, in lieu of Bazar du-  
ties - - - - - 1,00,000 — —

Expence

Expence of transporting the Begums effects	480	—	—
Do. of the Arsenal, through Colonel Martine	9,118	15	—
Colonel Cuming, in part of his allowances in lieu of Bazar duties	50,000	—	—
Expence of purchasing salt petre for the Arsenal	5,000	—	—
Sheik Cummall-ud-dine	1,000	—	—
			<hr/>
4. Resident's guard	-	-	2,25,042 — 8
5. Cloathing for 5 battalions of Sepoys, and 30,000 Flints	-	-	2,09,607 — —
6. Re-building the barracks, for the regiment stationed at Lucknow by Major M'Clary	12,900	—	—
Major Johnstone, for erecting a shed for the ordnance attached to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, and for the residence of the European artillery men	2,538	—	—
Lieut. Bie, repairing Do. in June 1783	589	8	—
Lieutenant Shipton, Do. in Oct. 1783	534	10	—
			<hr/>
7. Mr. Thomas, in part of his allowances	-	-	16,562 2 —
8. Mr. Mooty, for Coral, on account of the Vizier, and paid for by me agreeable to his Highness's order	-	-	6,000 — —
9. Captain Dennis, in part of his claim for contingent expences incurred during his command in the province of Illahabad	-	-	1,900 — —
			<hr/>
			<hr/>
	Rupees	-	11,64,097 13 11

Calcutta, the 26th Nov. 1784.

Errors excepted.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

*An Account, containing the Nabob Vizier's Remarks on the contingent Charges incurred by Mr. John Bristow, as Resident at the Vizier's Court.*

1<sup>st</sup>. RECEIPTS (viz.)

Siccas	5,99,611	—	—	
Barrelly rupees	6,68,535	14	10½	
Corahs	1,33,576	—	—	
		<hr/>		14,01,722 14 10½
Deduct Batta on the Barrelly rupees	64,016	4	3	
Do. - on the Corah do.	7,515	6	3	
		<hr/>		71,531 10 6
Net amount, which the Vizier states to have been collected by Mr. Bristow, - Sicca rupees				13,30,191 4 4½

2<sup>d</sup>. CHARGES (viz.)

To Mr. Oer	-	-	32,000	—	—
Mr. Abboo, writer	-	-	2,116	—	—
Mr. Morgan, do.	-	-	526	10	8
Mr. Nungien, do.	-	-	168	6	—
Mr. Dubkin, do.	-	-	1,850	—	—
Mr. Suckloo, do.	-	-	2,132	—	—
Mr. Afrorien, do.	-	-	2,600	—	—
Monthlies expences	-	-	10,688	2	6
Hoolafs Roy, news writer at Fyzabad	-	-	1,280	—	—
Mr. Hulbrifs, writer	-	-	1,000	—	—
Writers under the above	-	-	2,132	—	—
Expences of the officers of the treasury	-	-	7,330	—	—
Allowances to the gentlemen under					
Mr. Bristow	-	-	3,45,425	11	3
Dawk charges under Iamael Bed	-	-	36,273	—	6
Mr. Taylor's allowance	-	16,000	—	—	—
Do. for the Dawk bearers	-	16,000	—	—	—
			<hr/>		32,000 — —
Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow	-	-	50,446	6	6
Allowance to Mr. Bruce, surgeon	-	-	50,176	—	—
Dawk expences to Colonel Knudson	-	-	385	—	—
			<hr/>		5,78,530 — —

The



The Nabob having allowed the sum of 25,000 rupees per mensem to the Resident, to defray the expences of the gentlemen under him, together with the office and dawk charges, &c. during the period of Mr. Bristow's residence at his court, amounts to

4,00,000 — —

The difference, being rupees 1,78,530. 4. 1, cannot be admitted.

3d. The Nabob admits in this remark sundry disbursements to the amount of 2,25,042 — 8.

4. Regarding the sum which Mr. Bristow states to have been expended in pay to the battalion, cloathing them, and building them barracks, the Nabob observes that Mr. Bristow has made an increase in the pay to the seven companies, and has also inserted the expence of cloathing, and building barracks, without acquainting him therewith; yet to cause him no trouble he (the Nabob) is willing to admit it; viz.

Pay to the battalion	- -	1,91,801	— —
Building barracks	- -	9,263	— —
Cloathing	- -	8,536	— —
		<hr/>	
		2,09,607	— —

5th. Regarding the expence of purchasing cloathing and flints, the Nabob observes it was incurred without his orders; but since Mr. Bristow sent them, he is willing to allow of this article being 45,000 — —

6th. Regarding the expence of building new barracks, and repairing others, the Nabob observes, that it was incurred without his orders or knowledge, and is therefore inadmissable; viz.

Building of new barracks	- -	11,458	6 —
By Major Johnson	- -	2,538	8 —
Repairing do. through Mr. Petty	- -	589	8 —
Do. — Do.	- -	534	— —
		<hr/>	
		15,121	— —

7th. Mr. Bristow inserts the sum of 16,000 rupees, as paid to Mr. Thomas, but Mr. Thomas acknowledges the receipt only of 10,000 rupees — difference 6,000 — —

8th. As to the purchasing * Pearls, the Nabob remarks that he does not know by what authority Mr. Bristow has inserted the expence, being	-	1,900	—	—
9th. Excess in the allowances to the gentlemen under Mr. Bristow, and other charges above mentioned	-	1,78,530	4	1
10th. Batta, as stated by Mr. Bristow	2,46,465	3	7	
Allowed by the Vízier	-	71,531	10	6
		<hr/>		
Difference	-	1,74,933	9	1
11th. Difference in the collections of Khiragur, between Mr. Bristow's and the Nabob's accounts, Mr. Bristow having omitted to bring to account	-	13,527	12	3½
12th. Balance unaccounted for in the account from Mr. Bristow	-	59,087	15	3
Deficiency in balance, said to be left in Munfarum's hands	-	51,441	10	—
Accounted for through Colonel Cummings	-	50,000	—	—
		<hr/>		
Deficiency	-	1,441	10	—
		<hr/>		
Rupees	-	60,529	9	3
		<hr/>		
13th. Total amount of the sum claimed by the Vízier	—	Sicca rupees	4,50,542	2 8½

*Mr. BRISTOW in Reply.*

1st. This sum exceeds what I acknowledged to have received, the difference is caused by the mode of calculating my receipts and disbursements, which conformed to the orders of the honourable the Governor-general and Council, and the practice of my predecessors. I have already explained this subject in my address of the 2d Oct. to which I beg leave to refer.

2d. I entreat your permission to place these sums in the order they are stated in the accompanying account (No. 1) as the several heads under which they were disbursed will then appear in a clearer point of view, (viz.)

Allowance to the Resident's Assistants.

Mr. Cowper, first assistant, and appointed in succession to the residency - 1,05,125 11 3

\* *Should be Coral.*

Messrs. Swainton, Gregory, Samuel Middleton, Neave, and Holt, 16 months, at 2,000 rupees each per month	-	-	1,60,000	—	—
Mr. Trevor Wheler, at 5,000 rupees per month for 16 months	-	-	80,000	—	—
			<hr/>		
			3,45,425	11	3

## Resident's Official Disbursements.

Mr. Reyband, a monthly writer, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the end of March 1783, at 400 per month	2,116	2	—		
Mr. Morgan, do. to 10 Jan. 1783, at 200 rupees per month	526	10	8		
Mr. Michael, part of Oct. 1782 to the end of November do.	168	10	8		
Mr. D'Acquin, from the 23d Oct. 1782 to the 9th November 1783	1,850	10	8		
Mr. Sicklona, from Dec. 1782 to October 1783, inclusive	2,132	—	—		
Mr. Strong, 13 mos. at 200 rupees per month	2,600	—	—		
Mr. Jones, from 15th August 1783 to 31st Oct. 1783, at 400 rupees per month	1,000	—	—		
Do. and writers, from November 1783	572				
Do. Dec.	660				
Do. Jan. 1784	900				
			<hr/>		
			2,132	—	—
			<hr/>		
Expence of monthly writers, for 16 months	12,526	2	—		
Moonthy's office, from 1782 to January 1783, inclusive	10,688	2	6		
Treasury charges, do.	7,330	—	—		
Dawk charges under Ismael Beg,	36,273	—	6		
Holas Roy, news writer at Fyzabad, and agent with the Begums	1,280	—	—		

Sundry

Sundry disbursements made by Mr. Bristow -	50,446	6	6	
The Resident was exclusively allowed above 12,000 rups. a month for his official disbursements, which sum was regularly received by Mr. Middleton; not being certain of the exact amount, I shall state it as above, at 12,000 rups. a month, for 16 months is 1,92,000	<u>1,18,543</u>	11	6	
Deduct, already charged in part as above		11	6	
	<u>73,456</u>	4	6	
				<u>1,92,000</u> — —

Gentlemen whose Allowances were paid, exclusive of the Assistants.

Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the regiment stationed at Lucknow, 3,136 rupees per month, for 16 months	50,176	—	—	
Mr. Orr, employed in the Accomptant's-office, at 2,000 rupees do.	32,000	—	—	
Mr. S. Taylor's salary, 1,000 rupees a month, for 16 months	16,000			
Do. Dawk bearers 16,000	<u>32,000</u>	—	—	
				<u>1,14,176</u> — —
Total Rupees	—	6,51,601	11	3
Dawk to the detachment under the command of Lieut. Colonel Knudson		385	—	—
		<u>6,51,986</u>	11	3

The Vizier in his remarks observes, that on account the above disbursements, amounting to 6,51,986. 11. 3. the Resident was granted, for every particular therein specified, an allowance of twenty-five thousand rupees a month, all together making 4,00,000 rupees.—I assert, that disbursements similar to mine were authorized in the time of my predecessor, and that no propo tion was ever

made to me, either by the Vizier or his minister, that I should accept the sum of 25,000 rupees per month, in full for all such my disbursements; if it had been made to me I could not have agreed to it, nor can it common sense be believed, that either my predecessor or I should have accepted a sum so inadequate to the purpose.

Lieutenant Colonel Knudson commanded a detachment of two regiments of Sepoys stationed for about three months at Iohomgurabad, in order to repress the incursions of the Sikes.

The sum of 385 rupees was an expenditure for a Dawk laid between that station and Futtu Ghur, and was certainly a very moderate charge for an object so evidently necessary as that of preserving a communication between the two armies.

The sum of 3,136 rupees has for years past been an established allowance to the surgeons at Lucknow.—The late Mr. Walters, Dr. Balfour, and Mr. Murchison received it, for this reason I gave it to Mr. Bruce; Mr. Taylor discharged the duties of postmaster and superintendent of the Dawk bearers, and had your permission to reside at Lucknow; neither Mr. Taylor nor Mr. Bruce had, as I understood, any allowances from the Company, and consequently were entitled to them from the Nabob.

The particulars of part only of my official disbursements, amounting to rupees 1,92,000, are specified; the remainder relates to the expence of public servants, secret services, agents of all denominations, Durbar charges, &c.

The magnitude of my office necessarily obliged me to incur very heavy expences; and I trust the amount will appear moderate, on a comparison with the contingencies drawn by your civil and military servants employed in the political line of your service. In all events, Mr. Middleton regularly received the sum of twelve thousand rupees a month on this account. It was an authorized and established charge.

I submit to your judgment if the allowances granted to Mr. Cowper, or to the assistants in general, was exorbitant, compared with those enjoyed by gentlemen of the same rank in your own provinces, or with other establishments in Owd\*.

During

\* *The annual income of Mr. Cowper, appointed in succession to the residency, including what he was allowed by the Company, amounted to rupees*

83,888 — —

*The annual income of Mr. Trevor Wheeler, fourth in rank upon the list of Assistants at*

*Lucknow,*

During the whole of my residency I was greatly embarrassed in settling the expences of the establishment: The minister repeatedly evaded giving me a clear explanation of them, which compelled me to make enquiry, and ascertain from individuals the allowances they had been accustomed to receive in the time of my predecessor. Having done so, I formed my judgment of each gentleman's pretensions by that standard; I explained the particulars to Hyder Beg Cawn, who assented to the sum I proposed, both for the assistants and others, and himself recommended part of the payments which I made.—That Hyder Beg Cawn should omit to state this fact in the Vizier's Remarks is consistent with his general management, in respect to me, of creating the cause, that he may at a future period seize the opportunity of fabricating a complaint.

His objection to the disbursements of the residency is unprecedented; his doing it now is no proof of his zeal for the public, but a deliberate act of malice, as my disbursements were considerably less than at any preceding period; and he must be conscious, that in making this assertion I only speak the truth.

3d. There are errors in the additions, and in some of the sums, which I have corrected in the accompanying account, No. 1.

4th. It would indeed be exceedingly painful to me to acknowledge my gratitude of the indulgence which is here professed: I made this charge as being authorized and proper, and I solicit that it may be passed on no other ground than matter of right. For the proof I beg leave to refer to the following correspondence between Captain M<sup>c</sup>Leod and me,

*To Captain Norman M<sup>c</sup>Leod.*

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose you a copy of the Nabob Vizier's observations on the disbursements which I made to the corps under your command, during the period I last held the station of Resident at his Highness's court.

I am to request the favour that you will furnish me with an attested copy of the order I delivered to you from

<i>Lucknow, exclusive of the advantages he may have derived from a share in Mr. Scott's contract for cloths</i>	63,600 — —
<i>Mr. Thomas, a surgeon upon the Lucknow establishment</i>	1,12,632 — —

Rupees = 2,60,120 — —
O 3 the

the Vizier, directing you to provide the cloathing of your battalion; and also that you will favour me with a relation of such circumstances as may fall within your recollection relative to the transactions on which the Vizier's observations are formed.

Calcutta,  
the 10th Oct. 1784.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

*Captain M<sup>c</sup>Leod to Mr. Bristow, in Reply.*

Sir,

I am favoured with your letter of the 10th instant, wherein you enclose me a copy of the Vizier's observations on the disbursements which you made to the corps under my command, during the period you last held the station of Resident at his Highness's court. You further desire me to furnish you with an attested copy of the order you delivered to me from the Vizier, for providing the cloathing of my battalion; and to state such circumstances as fall within my recollection, relative to the transactions on which the Vizier's observations are formed.

In reply I beg leave to send you the original letter from the Vizier to me, containing an order for making up the very cloathing for my battalion, which is objected to in those observations as unauthorized by his Excellency. A common attention to facts will evince that all the other particulars excepted to, as grounds of accusation against you, had the fullest sanction which the authority of the Vizier could give them. Upon my arrival at Lucknow, I represented to you the disorderly and undisciplined state of the corps I was ordered to command. I told you that one of the seven companies had been disbanded during the rebellion of Chyte Sing, and that it was never formed again; I requested you to represent the expediency of raising a company to supply its place, to his Highness; expressing at the same time my desire to have my allowances fixed, and the establishment of the corps determined. To this you replied, that nothing could be done till such time as the abstract was translated into Persian, for the perusal of the Nabob, without whose approbation, you said, nothing could be settled. Several days elapsed before the Minister, Hosseign Beza Cawn, brought you the Persian of the abstract from his Highness, declaring his fullest approbation of it. Regarding the moderation or extravagance of it, I shall be very happy however soon it be compared with the most moderate establishment of the many corps which have been commanded by British officers in the service of the Vizier. The price charged for the cloathing was agreeable to a fixed rate, and did  
not

not depend on me. Comparing it with the account sent by Mr. Delisle, I find I got 2,000 rupees by it, a sum little exceeding the reckonings in the Company's service. If there was any difference between it and other cloathing made up for the Vizier, it was in the superior quality, not in the price of it.

As there was no place for cantoning the men, I found, upon my arrival, that they were dispersed all over the city of Lucknow, every man residing where he pleased. I represented to you the impossibility of collecting the men upon any emergency, and without some place to canton in, the service of the battalion could never be depended on; you thereon applied to his Highness, for his consent to build a magazine and cantonments; and having obtained it, the Minister Hussim Reza Cawn rode with you and me from Gillalabad, and marked out the ground for them.

The price charged for the materials and workmen was agreeable to the prices published in orders, and allowed for all buildings in the Company's service. To shew that there has been no increase to the pay of the seven companies made by you, it is a fact which a comparison of my abstract with those which were made out in the time of your predecessor will at once prove, the difference consisted in the mode of making out the monthly charges for the corps. My abstracts were made out for the whole corps, under one head, upon one sheet of paper; it comprehended all charges whatever, my own pay, &c.; the pay, batta, &c. to the officers, Sepoys, artificers; besides the charges of feeding the gun and carriage bullocks; all amounting to 12,000 Fyzabad rupees a month. During the time of your predecessor in office at Lucknow, it was different, the charge was not made under one head, nor drawn in one abstract; there were several separate charges monthly. The abstract for the pay of the officers and Sepoys amounted to 9,000 rupees per month; besides which there was a charge of paymaster's allowance, and a third monthly bill for feeding the draft and carriage cattle. Taking any of those separately, and comparing it with my abstract for the whole, there appears a difference, but I can safely say, that it was not a difference of expence to the Vizier; and that laying the advantage of a regular descriptive out of the question, that the corps has at no time cost him less than during the time of your last holding the office of Resident at Lucknow. All the expences incurred for my command bear my signature, and the sooner they are referred to a candid investigation the better.

Calcutta, I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.  
 14th Oct. 1784. (Signed) N. M<sup>r</sup> LEOD.  
 John Britton, Esq. O 4 *Translati. n*



*Translation of an Order from the Nabob Vizier to Captain M'Leod; dated the 25th of Jemmady ul Ewal 1197.*

“ The cloathing of the battalion under your command  
 “ being old and worn out, I therefore direct you to purchase  
 “ cloth, and make new cloathing, which you will  
 “ deliver to the battalion, and which shall hereafter be  
 “ passed in account agreeable to your bill for the same.”

I am to observe, in corroboration of what Captain M'Leod has advanced concerning the Nabob's Remarks on the encrease of pay to the battalion, that the whole was authorized—I furnished Hyder Beg Cawn with the abstract; it lay in his hands for some days; he approved, and returned it, signed by the prime minister, Hussian Reza Cawn, telling me at the same time that it was the form of office for papers of this nature to be passed by that minister.

5th. I could have no inducement to make a purchase of this nature, but at the Vizier's request; it was no emolument to me, I did not myself furnish the cloathing; and the following letter will afford another instance of the fallibility of his Highness's memory.

*From Raja Kesball Roy to Mr. Brislow; received 3d October 1784.*

I am honoured with your commands, directing me to state the circumstances that passed relative to the Vizier's orders for the purchase of articles: one day that his Highness was at the breakfast table, after having drank tea, he informed you that he required cloathing for five battalions of Sepoys, 30,000 flints, some of the best sort of fowling pieces, and some curious pistols; he desired that you would send for and purchase them on his account, and whatever might be the cost he would defray it. Two or three days after I attended at the presence, and asked what orders his Highness had to give concerning the price he was pleased to allow on the articles he had commissioned, and what the particulars were to be.

The Nabob replied, that “ he had given the order the day before yesterday; that he would allow whatever might be the cost of the articles (which are hereunder specified) and it would be agreed to and approved.” Thus was his Highness twice and thrice pleased to express himself. The particulars will appear from the following list:

Cloathing for 5 battalions, agreeable to the English establishment.

Flints

Flints	—	—	30,000
Fowling pieces of the first sort.			
Pistols	—	—	5
6th. There are errors in the Nabob's statement of this account, which I have corrected in mine, viz.			
Rebuilding the barracks for the regiment stationed at Lucknow, by Major Maclary	-	-	12,900 — —
Major Johnstone, for erecting a shed for the ordnance attached to the regiment at Lucknow, and for the residence of the European artillery men	-	-	2,538 — —
Lieut. Bie preparing ditto in June 1783			589 8 —
Lieut. Shipton — ditto in Oct. ditto			534 10 —
			<hr/>
			16,562 2 —

The following translation of the correspondence which passed on the building of the barracks by Major M'Lary will explain the Nabob's objection to this article as ill founded.

*From Mr. Bristow to Hyder Beg Cawn, 2d Ramzoom, 1197.*

“ I verbally explained to you Major Maclary's representation concerning repairs to the cantonments of the regiments stationed at Lucknow, without which they must fall to the ground, and the ammunition will be damaged by the leaking of the buildings. An estimate of the expence, amounting to twelve thousand nine hundred rupees, which I received from the Major was before this sent to you through Sheik Shuffy Oolah; you have approved of it, and therefore I have prepared a draft of an order to be addressed by his Highness to Major Maclary, which Sheik Shuffy Oolah will deliver to you, and, if it be proper, you will cause it to be written by his Highness, and sent to me.”

To this letter Hyder Beg Cawn himself returned a verbal answer through the bearer of it, Sheik Shuffy Oolah, at the same time he sent an order from the Vizier, of which the following is a translation.

*From the Nabob Vizier to Major M'Lary, 3d Ramzan 1197.*

“ An estimate of the expence of building the cantonments of the regiment stationed at Lucknow, amounting to 12,900 rupees has been presented to me; you will please to advance the money, and build the cantonments. This order shall be your warrant for the payment

“ payment of the amount by my government at a future  
“ period.”

At the time Major Johnstone built the artillery shed, Hyder Beg Cawn gave his verbal assent to the charge. I am not certain whether I apprized him of the expence incurred in repairs; but I submit it to your honourable Board, whether such a building was not necessary, and repairs unavoidable.

7th. Mr. Thomas does not acknowledge the receipt of this sum, because he wishes to transfer it in part payment of a demand he has made upon me for rupees 9,660, on account of medical attendance, medicines, &c. during my residence at Lucknow: I refused his demand, and he has threatened me with an action at law. I shall hereafter take the liberty of applying to your honourable Board for redress against Mr. Thomas.

8th. One day in November 1782, the Nabob Vizier honoured me with his Company to breakfast at Lieutenant Colonel Martin's: Mr. Mooty, a follower of the camp at Futty Ghur, came and offered some coral to his Highness for sale, which he bought, and referred to me for payment; Mr. Mooty received the money through Lieutenant Colonel Martin, who was present when the Vizier gave me his orders.

9th. I have already answered this Remark. Vide 2d Reply.

10th. I have already answered this charge, in my address of the 2d October.

11th. There must be an error in the sum claimed by the Vizier, as Captain Dennis only received 8,000 rupees; I was obliged to let that officer retain this sum in his hands, on account of certain contingent expences which he incurred during his command in the province of Allahabad, and which are now before the committee of accounts.

12th. An inspection of the account, No. 1, will explain that I have accounted for all the monies which I have received.

13th. The sum of rupees 14,367,14. 11, will appear due to me agreeable to the accompanying account, No. 1.

Calcutta,

26th November 1784. (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

*Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General and Council to Mr. John Bristow; dated the 6th of June 1775.*

We have received your letter, inclosing copies of the treaty proposed to be entered into by the Company with the Nabob Asulph ul Dowlah, and of the separate engagements

agements executed by him. We entirely approve of every article in the treaty, and the negotiation of it. We have ordered two fair copies to be immediately engrossed in form, which we shall transmit to you as soon as possible, with our signature, and the seal of the Company affixed to each, that you may obtain the seal and signature of the Nabob in like manner, and return one of them to us. In the mean time however you will directly make known to the Nabob our acceptance of this treaty.

In ratifying a treaty so highly honourable and advantageous to the Company, as that which you have had the honour of concluding with the Nabob, we cannot, in justice to your distinguished zeal and assiduity in the course of this important negotiation, omit expressing to you the highest approbation of your conduct, and returning you our thanks for the service you have rendered to the Company. The terms you have obtained are so complete and satisfactory that they equal our warmest expectations, and you may be assured we shall not fail to represent the whole of your conduct, since your appointment, to the honourable Court of Directors in that favourable light in which it appears to us, and in which we do not doubt it will be received by the Company.

As a further mark of our approbation, we have agreed to order a bond to be made out in your favour for one lack of rupees, bearing interest at 5 per cent. from the 21st of May, being the date of the signature of the treaty, subject however to the final approval of the honourable the Court of Directors, to whom we shall recommend it as a just reward of your services.

Vide the proceedings of the honourable the Governor-general and Council upon the recall of Mr. John Bristow from the Court of Oude, on the 2d of December 1776.

*Copy of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor General to Edward Wheeler and John Macpherson, Esquires; dated upon the Gangés, near Sooktagore, the 22d of September 1782.*

A few days before my present indisposition commenced, I informed you that I was sorry to find, that the Resident at the Vizier's court had evidently failed in his duty to this government, in not having carried into execution the conditions and spirit of the late treaty with the Vizier. I had further the mortification to be obliged to inform you, that neither the Resident, nor the deputy in his absence, had communicated to me the confusions which had arisen in the Vizier's dominions from a neglect or violation of the treaty. The letters which I wrote in  
consequence

consequence of such mismanagements to the Resident, and to the acting minister of the Vizier, were laid before you, and approved.

Upon the same occasion I observed to you, that the obstacle which opposed itself to the nomination of Mr. Bristow to the residency at Oude no longer existed. It was removed by my having vindicated what must ever be esteemed one of the necessary privileges of this government. I had the pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Bristow, during his former residence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive. I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

I have now great satisfaction in informing you, that my letter to the acting minister to the Vizier has had the happiest effect in realizing the heavy balances due to the Company from Oude; and it is said, that the present Resident and his deputy are brought to a proper sense of their duty to the Company.

But as, in every act of my administration of the affairs of the Company, I never had an object in view but their permanent interest, as far as my judgment could direct me, and as prejudice in favour of those in whom I have confided, or against those who opposed me, vanish in my mind when the good of the service requires it, I now wish you to recall Mr. Middleton from the court of the Vizier, and to appoint Mr. Bristow in his room.

My weak state of health obliges me to dictate this letter from my bed; yet I cannot but add, that your instructions to Mr. Bristow should be strong and positive upon three points; first, That he should always shew every possible respect to the Vizier and his family; secondly, that he should take the most effectual steps for securing all that may remain unpaid of the Company's balances; thirdly, that the security and internal peace of the Vizier's dominion, and the happiness of the people, should be continually in his view; and that he should communicate fully and freely with this government upon those subjects.

The state of my health requires my proceeding further up the river; and I shall communicate to Mr. Bristow, with your approbation, any more particular instructions that may occur to me, and that I may be able to send him.

*Copy of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor-general and Council to Mr. John Bristow, dated the 31st December 1783.*

Though the Board have fully approved of your conduct since your appointment to the office of Resident at the Vizier's court, and though they have resolved in consequence to reserve to you your claim and right to the office of Resident at Oude, from the orders of the honourable Company, should the office be deemed hereafter necessary, we have come to the determination of accepting the offers which the Nabob Vizier has made of paying his debt and current kilts to the Company, on condition that the residency should be withdrawn from his court.

To fulfil this condition on our part, you will on receipt of this letter inform the Nabob Vizier and his minister, that you and Mr. Cowper, and the other gentlemen connected with the residency, are ready to withdraw from Lucknow, having received orders of recall; but as the reservation made in favour of your claims to the office of Resident at Lucknow might hereafter, if announced at the Vizier's court, be an argument with his ministers for some future objections, you will be pleased to take no notice of this circumstance, which we communicate only for your own satisfaction.

We make no doubt the Nabob Vizier and his ministers will afford you every aid to settle the concerns of your residency, and enable you to take your departure from Lucknow in the most amicable manner. The Governor-general will write to them upon this subject; and, we trust, that on your part you will endeavour to connect, as much as possible, the removal of your present station with good order to the Vizier's affairs. You will deliver over the accounts and necessary papers to Mr. Wombwell, who returns to his station, and you and your assistants withdraw to Calcutta. You will signify our orders to them accordingly.

True Extracts.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

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#### OBSERVATIONS ON MR. BRISTOW'S DEFENCE.

Governor General. the 7th December 1784.

IT is with concern I am forced to take up the subject of the charges against Mr. Bristow at the moment of the dispatch of the Surprize, and at a juncture when so many important

important affairs, affecting the immediate interests of this government, press on my attention, and scarce leave me time to read the letters and papers which he has sent us in defence and justification of his conduct, much less to enter into a discussion of the several arguments he has used, in so minute and precise a manner as the justice which I think due from us to the Nabob Vizier would require. I must confine myself to a summary examination of the principles on which Mr. Bristow justifies his withholding the sums which the Nabob Vizier has claimed from him; these are as follow, viz.

- 1st. The Practice of his Predecessors.
- 2dly. The Orders of the Board.
- 3dly. The Moderation of the Expences and Allowances he has charged.
- 4thly. The Sanction of the Nabob Vizier, expressed in Writing.
- 5thly. The verbal Sanction of the Nabob Vizier.

These principles do not all apply to every one of the charges, they are used differently in justification of different articles; I shall therefore examine them separately, and touch on the principal articles justified under each.

1st. The Practice of his Predecessors.

It is on this ground that Mr. Bristow chiefly justifies the heavy expences with which he has charged the Vizier, as well as the method which he has used in calculating the Batta on the sums received in payment of the subsidy. We have no proof before us of the conduct which is here imputed to Mr. Bristow's predecessors, and he does not pretend to say that it had the sanction of his employers in any instance, except in that of the Batta, which I shall have occasion to discuss hereafter. Without passing any opinion therefore in this place on the general conduct of the former Residents at the court of the Vizier, I shall only observe that Mr. Bristow's immediate predecessor was removed from his office for supposed instances of misconduct, which, however blameable, was certainly so in a less degree than those which Mr. Bristow has now attempted to justify; with such an example before him, Mr. Bristow should have been cautious not to carry the imitation of his predecessor so far as even to exceed those parts of his conduct for which he fell a sacrifice, and which opened the way to Mr. Bristow's own appointment. Admitting the practice imputed in this defence to former Residents to be justly stated, it will rest with the Board to determine how far such precedents, if unauthorized by this government, were a sufficient sanction for adopting a similar practice.

2dly. The Orders of the Board.

Mr. Bristow has endeavoured to justify on this ground, as well as on the example of his predecessors, the whole of the loss sustained by the Nabob Vizier during his residency, under the article of Batta; for a more particular explanation of this subject I must beg leave to refer the Board to my address of the 14th June.

I must here observe, that whatever may have been the object of this government in issuing the orders of the 8th of January and 13th of June 1776, to which Mr. Bristow has alluded, it never could have been intended that they should furnish a source of private advantage to the Resident, nor can they, by any possible construction, be admitted as a sanction for the practice which is asserted on the one hand and not denied on the other, of charging to the account of the Vizier, where the subsidy was actually paid in Lucknow rupees, the difference of Batta which would have been gained if the payment had been made in the species of Bareilly or Korah, taken at the rate of the assay table, and afterwards exchanged at the fluctuating Batta of the Bazar for the Lucknow rupees, or those which were used in the disbursements.

I know of no satisfactory exculpation which Mr. Bristow could have used, unless he could have asserted that the same species which are inserted in his accounts, whether Bareilly, Korah, or Lucknow rupees, were actually received in payment of the subsidy, and that the same identical species were afterwards issued to the troops and others, at the same rate of Batta as that which he charged to the Nabob Vizier; a few instances might, I believe, have been quoted, in which this was actually done, but such were certainly rare, and this indeed may be plainly inferred from Mr. Bristow's own words;—I shall beg leave to quote the following paragraph from his letter of the 2d of October: “ All the payments on account of  
“ the troops stationed in Rohilkund were made in Bareilly  
“ rupees, at the established rate of Batta; and had I  
“ adopted, as has sometimes been found necessary, the  
“ simple method of transporting the revenues from the  
“ several districts on Hackeries to Lucknow, I must have  
“ paid the whole away to the paymasters and others to  
“ whom I had occasion to make disbursements, at the  
“ same rate. They would not have been satisfied with  
“ an opinion from me, that the exchange in the assay  
“ table was much over-rated—that the Batta in the Ba-  
“ zar had so fluctuated as to make them nearly equal in  
“ value to the Sicca of the day, and that they ought  
“ therefore to receive them as such; they would, in an-  
“ swer to all this, have produced the established rates,  
“ and



“ and required payment accordingly, and I must have  
 “ complied, by adopting, on the other hand, the method  
 “ of negotiating bills; the distant districts were not  
 “ drained of their specie, and the Batta being still charged  
 “ as provided for by the assay table, in the same manner  
 “ as it must have been if transported on Hackeries,  
 “ neither the Vizier nor the Company sustained any loss.”  
 The inference which I draw from this paragraph is, that where the subsidy was paid from the revenues of Bareilly, &c. the Batta was charged on those species of rupees, according to the rate admitted in the assay table; but as the amount was remitted in bills of exchange on Lucknow, the money which was actually received into the Resident’s treasury was in Lucknow rupees. The effect of such an operation is clearly pointed out in my address of the 14th June. The subject of the Batta, which is the only article that Mr. Bristow endeavours to justify on the grounds of orders from this government, is now, in my opinion, sufficiently clear to enable the Board to determine, whether the orders alluded to should be admitted as a sufficient justification of Mr. Bristow, or whether any, or what reparation, is due to the Nabob Vizier. But if the Board should think that further elucidation is still wanted, we must necessarily make a new reference to Lucknow, from whence I doubt not but the most ample proofs may be procured of the nature of each receipt and payment. For my own part, I should regret such a reference, as every procrastination tends to defeat the purpose of this inquiry. If the Nabob Vizier is entitled to redress, it has already been too long deferred, and the justice of our government must lay under an imputation till it is granted.

3dly. The Moderation of the Expences and Allowances he has charged.

This is one of the grounds on which Mr. Bristow has justified the principal articles charged in his account with the Nabob Vizier: the amount which he inserted in his first account for the expences of the Resident’s office, and allowances to the gentlemen at Lucknow, was 5,78,530 rupees; the amount which the Nabob Vizier was willing to admit, was four lacks, being at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month, for the period of Mr. Bristow’s residency. When Mr. Bristow is called upon to account for the difference, being 1,78,530 rupees, instead of shewing that sense which I should have expected of his former charges, and confining himself to circumstances necessary for their vindication, he seems to have repented of them as being too moderate, and gives in a new account to the Board,

Board, in which, chiefly by an augmentation of his own exclusive official disbursements, from 1,18,543. 11. 3 to 1,92,000, he raises the whole charge of the Resident's official disbursements, and of the gentlemen at Lucknow, to 6,51,601. 11. 3.

In the Remarks which he has subjoined to this part of the account he says, he trusts that the amount of his official disbursements will appear moderate, in comparison with the contingencies drawn by the civil and military servants employed in the political line of the service; that Mr. Middleton regularly received the sum of 12,000 rupees per month on this account, and that it was an authorized and established charge; and he submits to the judgment of the Board, if the allowances granted to Mr. Cowper, or to the assistants in general, were exorbitant, compared with those enjoyed by gentlemen of the same rank in our own provinces, or with other establishments in Owde. These are clear propositions for the Board to decide on: for my own part, when the Vizier's minister first informed me, that the amount which his master had authorized, and was willing to admit for the charges of the residency, and the allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow, was 25,000 rupees per month, I own I was startled at the magnitude of the sum, and was some days hesitating in my mind, whether I could, with propriety, admit of it; but Mr. Bristow declares, that no proposition was ever made to him, either by the Vizier or his minister, of accepting that sum in full of all such disbursements; that if it had been made, he could not have agreed to it; and that it cannot, in common sense, be believed that either his predecessors or himself should have accepted a sum so inadequate to the purpose.

4thly. The Sanction of the Vizier, as expressed in Writing.

To such disbursements as Mr. Bristow can justify under this sanction, I shall make no objection: they have indeed been already admitted by the Vizier himself, except only the sum of 12,900 rupees, stated to have been paid to Major M'Clary. That the official disbursements, and the allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow, amounting, by Mr. Bristow's last account, to 6,51,601. 11. 3 rupees, do not come under the description of sums for which he has received the written sanction of the Nabob Vizier, is clearly shewn in the following extract from the remarks which Mr. Bristow has annexed to that part of his account; viz. "during the whole of my residency  
 " I was greatly embarrassed in settling the expences of  
 " the establishment. The minister repeatedly evaded  
 Vol. II. P " giving

“ giving me a clear explanation of them, which compelled me to make enquiry, and ascertain from individuals, the allowances they had been accustomed to receive in the time of my predecessor. Having done so, I formed my judgment of each gentleman’s pretensions by that standard. I explained the particulars to Hyder Beg Cawn, who assented to the sum I proposed, both for the assistants and others, and he himself recommended part of the payments which I made.”——  
All these charges, therefore, come under the next head.

5thly. The verbal Sanction of the Nabob Vizier.

Mr. Bristow observes on this subject, in a letter which has accompanied his remarks, “ that in the amicable and familiar intercourse which he had the honour to preserve with the Vizier, he was accustomed to apply to him for various European commodities, and often to a considerable amount; and that with such applications he never hesitated to comply, without requiring an authority in writing for each expenditure, the demand for which would have been degrading to the Vizier, and disgraceful to the representative of this government.” Were I convinced that such an amicable intercourse had always existed, and that Mr. Bristow had uniformly shewn, on other occasions, an equal degree of delicacy towards the Nabob Vizier, I might have been induced to have allowed this argument great weight, and have contented myself, on the Vizier’s disavowing his sanction, with merely ascertaining the reality of the expenditures, and the reasonableness of the sum charged; but our records of last year are filled with remonstrances written even previous to these expenditures, which impress us with ideas very different from those of delicacy and amicable intercourse; and most assuredly, if Hyder Beg Cawn was “ the agent through whom Mr. Bristow’s disbursements for the charges of the residency were first established,” as Mr. Bristow has declared, the distrust, and even rooted enmity which Mr. Bristow had entertained against him, ought naturally to have led him to require some written authority for the disbursement of sums from his treasury to so considerable an amount on account of the Nabob Vizier; or, if delicacy must again be suffered to intervene, he should certainly have obtained a subsequent sanction for them, by observing the ordinary form of delivering in his accounts monthly, which would probably have drawn from the Vizier or his ministers either an approbation of the expenditures, or early objections.

I have

I have thus summarily considered the several grounds on which Mr. Bristow has justified the charges stated in his accounts with the Nabob Vizier; it will now rest with the Board to decide upon them, and to determine what redress is due to his Excellency. This is incumbent on us in the first place; it must then become a subsequent question, how far Mr. Bristow was justifiable in appropriating to these expenditures without the sanction of this government, money which he appears to have received on account of the subsidy due from the Vizier to the Company.

I have passed over the reflections conveyed by Mr. Bristow on Hyder Beg Cawn, and the use which he has made of a quotation from my instructions. I have had too frequent occasion to complain of the unbecoming references which Mr. Bristow has made to my instructions, in partial quotations of them, as the warrant for his conduct, the invariable tenor of which was a gross opposition to them: but I do not wish to encumber the present subject, or to waste my own time with discussions not immediately in point.

In the course of this minute I have pointed out some propositions, on which, if the Board shall think fit to decide, the claims of the Vizier or Mr. Bristow may be adjusted. I do not, however, press a decision. The affairs of Owde, whilst they were under that gentleman's management, have already swelled our records beyond their proper proportion, and given rise to much disagreeable argument; and it may perhaps be difficult for us now to pursue the subject with that cool indifference which justice requires, or without again entering into long and controversial debates, which would necessarily employ that time and attention which may be so much more advantageously bestowed on the immediate concerns of this government. If, in expressing such sentiments, I should happen to meet those of the other members of the Board, however anxious I may be to render speedy justice to the Nabob Vizier, I will agree to suspend our proceedings in this country, and refer the whole to the Company at home, who will now have sufficient materials to enable them to form a decision.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Stables.—I request that an exact statement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier, since the treaty of Chunar, with vouchers for the same, may be accurately prepared, and laid before the Board.

Let it.

(Signed) J. STABLES.

Signed { W. H.  
          { J. M.P.

Mr. Macpherson.

I have just had time to read over cursorily the Governor-general's minute of yesterday on Mr. Bristow's last answer to the charges preferred against him by the Vizier and his minister.

Justice to the Vizier, and justice to the Company, are equally required in the consideration of these accusations, and of the defence pleaded against them.

To pass judgment on each particular charge, after considering fully the answer made to it, is in the nature of a judicial duty, and as such, the opinion given being recorded, will stand as a test of the impartiality and clear discrimination of the judge. I do imagine that even a difference of opinion in such cases can produce any unpleasant discussion; and I am ready, for my part, to give my opinion on each specific charge, and to call on the accused for any further justification he may have to offer, where that given is objected to, or appears unsatisfactory.

The subject of the Batta, and the Vizier's claims for the profits upon it, or for unjust advantages taken under that head by the Resident, is a subject which I confess myself not to understand clearly, either in the nature of the claims advanced, or the precision of Mr. Bristow's reasoning upon that head. In general, I know that all collectors of revenue, or their native agents, and all disbursers of large sums of money, or their native agents in this country, must have a profit upon the exchange or Batta, where coins are of many different kinds, and of local and often of arbitrary value.—A table of assay, ascertaining from our mint the intrinsic value of each coin, and prescribed by this government as the standard by which all monies are to be estimated, is the only check that law can establish to prevent impositions in receipt or disbursement of monies so various in value and estimation. The gross sum of rupees that Mr. Bristow acknowledges to have received and disbursed from and in the Vizier's country, is, I think, very near the sum which the Vizier admits him to have collected. The difference is, if I remember, a few thousand rupees.—If this collective sum of money was disbursed according to the assay table or Batta standard of government, it is upon the receipt of it by a different standard that illegal profits could be made. If the Vizier and his ministers knew our assay standard, it occurs to me that they ought to have complained while Mr. Bristow was at Lucknow, and could be confronted with the Aumils who paid Mr. Bristow their rents by an Assay standard more advantageous to the Vizier's government, or, in other words, by an inferior rate of Batta. Whatever may be in this idea, we know for certain, that the

the laudable efforts of this government to bring all rupees in the provinces into the coin of Sicca rupees at our mint, have not yet succeeded so as to preclude the profits of a thousand Shroffs, and the currency of different rupees in every district. In our investigations in Davy Sing's collections at Rungpore, the *Devinvilla* makes an extraordinary article, and shews what a source of embarrassment, profit, and oppression the variable Batta on rupees must occasion, if there is no established standard.'

On other grounds, this charge about the Batta constitutes a serious question. Should it be found that Mr. Bristow has truly made an immense profit by the Batta, and that such profit was even accumulated under the strict letter of the Assay Batta table established by this government in 1776, I am of opinion that the Company have a claim upon him; they know a process by which he can be made answerable, and it is their duty afterward to render the Vizier the justice to which they may think his Highness entitled.

The Company will readily believe that such excessive profits, if they are real, originated at an earlier period than Mr. Bristow's late charge of the residency at Oude; and that other residents and other collectors of revenue at Oude are equally responsible to refund what they may have unjustly acquired by the profits of Batta.

Relative to the other heavy charge of unauthorized disbursements, Mr. Bristow's defence has opened an extraordinary and alarming scene. Immense allowances paid to the Company's servants at Lucknow, without the official authority of this government, and, as the Governor-general declares, without his knowledge, except in the instances he mentions.

Whether it was the Vizier or his ministers, or the late or former Residents, by their own authority, that instituted these allowances, the Company have equal ground of alarm.

For my own part I declare, that though I knew generally that the Company's covenanted servants residing at Lucknow could not live there on their Company's allowances of two or three hundred rupees a month; and though I heard of fortunes made by military and civil servants at Oude, yet I never knew before that there were specific allowances of two, three, five, and six thousand rupees per month granted to different Company's servants at Lucknow, nor that a lack of rupees a year was granted to the commanding officers of our brigades in Oude, besides their Company's allowances, in consideration of their Bazars. As the servants are known who received these allowances, it would be easy to call upon them

separately, to learn by what authority they either claimed or received such extraordinary advantages.

But on such subjects, as the Governor-general has justly and generally observed, the temper necessary to conduct our present more material concerns, and the attention which ought to be perhaps exclusively devoted to them, might be disturbed; for the task of investigating the advantages of individual servants can never be pleasing, nor favourable to unanimity: besides, great relative questions arise from every investigation relative to the affairs of Oude.

It is a principle in law as well as justice, that the accusers, as well as the accused, should be in certain respects amenable to justice, if their accusations are found unjust, vexatious, or originating from unfair motives. The Vizier and Hyder Beg Cawn may easily and at any time accuse the Company's servants that are employed in Lucknow and in Oude; but should their accusations (which is possible) be unjust, or directed from views to be disengaged from all agency on the part of the Company, it is the duty of the Company to obtain redress for their servants, and to be upon their guard against views of any separate interest. Hyder Beg Cawn was likewise accused by Mr. Bristow of malversation in his office, and of an appropriation of immense revenues, and we have yet to see whether the Vizier and his minister will faithfully fulfil the engagements under which the Residency was withdrawn, or whether the arrangements made by the Governor-general for increasing the Vizier's revenues are to be faithfully maintained by the Vizier's government.

Upon the whole of this important subject, I agree with the Governor-general to refer it in its present state, with the letters which the Governor-general has addressed to us in consequence of the Vizier's complaints, and with Mr. Bristow's answers to the specific charges preferred against him, to the honourable Court of Directors, for their opinion and decision; declaring at the same time my readiness to continue any further investigation of the subject here, if the other members of the Board are so disposed.

The complaints against Mr. Middleton and Mr. Johnson were left to the opinion and decision of the Company, with this difference, that in some instances, where the charges appeared not fully exculpated, a want of exculpation was pronounced, but no punishment inflicted. But the charges against these gentlemen were of a different nature from those against Mr. Bristow;—they were chiefly charges of political delinquency. The charges  
against

against Mr. Bristow go to his property, as well as his character as a political agent.

There are gentlemen in the direction of the Company's affairs at home, of ability to investigate the most involved transactions; of perseverance and probity, to prosecute enquiry to the most beneficial ends; and of impartiality to decide with the utmost justice.

To them, and to the Company at large, let us recommend the full investigation of these affairs, as involving the character of their service, their justice to their allies, and that necessary line of future regulation which constitutes a boundary to the province of every servant, and a necessary restriction of those alledged extraordinary profits and allowances which distract the views of all our junior servants, and which, on being promulgated at home, excite those contentions which must ever prove dangerous to the existence of the Company, if not to the good order of the constitution of our country.

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.

Mr. Stables.

So near the dispatch of the packet, I have barely had leisure to peruse the Governor-general's minute on Mr. Bristow's last letter of exculpation.

I agree with the Governor-general to submit, in their present state, to the honourable Court of Directors, the several points of accusation and defence, as they appear respectively in the charges preferred by the Vizier and his minister against Mr. Bristow, and in the answers of that gentleman; but I cannot in my conscience, in justice to myself and my employers, agree that the investigation we are pursuing here on these subjects should therefore stop.

It is obviously only from the lights they shall receive from us, that the Court of Directors can be enabled to judge with any precision on this intricate subject.

Those we are now about to yield them I do not think, with deference to the Governor-general's opinion, will answer this end; and I conceive it my duty to trace them to the very foundation, since, after all that has been said upon it, I must confess it appears to me still very much involved.

In coming to a resolution, as I trust the Board will, to continue these enquiries, and in pursuing them till no possible doubt shall remain upon the merits, I have no apprehension that unanimity and the utmost temper will not *mark* all the proceedings of the Board, the final and only objects of those enquiries being to discover truth, and to do justice.



Having said thus much, I shall forbear to enter further into the discussion, until the accounts and other documents relative to Oude, called for in my minute of the 8th instant, shall be laid before the Board.

11th Decem. 1784. (Signed) J. STABLES.  
Eight o'Clock at Night.

11th December, 8 o'Clock at Night.

Governor General.

It is not possible for me, at this late hour, to reply to Mr. Macpherson's minute, nor can I desire that the packet should be detained another day for so inadequate a purpose.

The original letter, written on the subject of the Batta, shews the iniquity of the transaction, and clearly explains it. I do not recollect that Mr. Bristow denies it. There is no intricacy in the subject: the plain fact is, that Mr. Bristow took the rupees from the Nabob at the Batta fixed by the Assay table, and took, as his own profit, the difference between that and the Bazar rate, which, on the Bareilly rupees, was, as I recollect, 30 per cent.; and where the standard rupees were paid by the minister, Mr. Bristow gave credit for them only as Bareilly rupees, allowing the Bazar Batta upon them, and taking to himself again the intermediate profit arising from the Assay table.

I again refer to my original letter upon this subject, of which I desire the secretary to subjoin the date, because I cannot recollect the precise Batta on these last rupees in the table. I think it was 43. 9, and the Bazar rate 15.

The Nabob, or his minister, could not bring these charges against Mr. Bristow while he was at Lucknow.

They had to defend the existence of the Nabob Vizier's government; and even for that they were obliged to have recourse to secret means for transmitting their complaints, with which this was nothing, in comparison of the enormity of the rest; nor was it easy to have ascertained the charges then, as I understand no accounts were adjusted. It was mentioned to me by the minister as early as our first meeting at Benares, but the amount could not be specified till some months after; and of that the reason is, I believe, assigned by me in a late letter.

I have not sought this new debate; I have complained of the indecency of Mr. Bristow's obtruding his letters on the Board at the close of our dispatches. I was compelled to answer him, but confined my answer to him.

I see fresh occasion to regret this behaviour of Mr. Bristow's, since it has drawn from Mr. Macpherson sentiments as ill agreeing with the temper of his judgment as with the principles of justice and policy. Enough of enormity has been established against Mr. Bristow; yet he has suffered no punishment. Why must punishment be denounced against the Nabob Vizier and his minister for daring to accuse Mr. Bristow? Let the rule be once established, that a highly patronized individual may not be arraigned for any crime, but at the peril of his accuser, though the person aggrieved, if he cannot make good his accusations; and I will promise you, that such a man may commit what acts he pleases with impunity, neither will the injured accuse, nor witnesses appear against him.

Mr. Middleton may have committed similar acts; Mr. Johnson may have been guilty of greater offences; others of yet greater, but they are not before us, nor can their misdeeds palliate or warrant Mr. Bristow.

I am an old servant of the Company, and am attached to them at least by the natural effect of long habit, if not by duty and gratitude. God forbid that I should be the means of involving it in contentions at home, which must prove dangerous to its existence! I know not whether this observation tends: Mr. Bristow has been charged with such acts as, if suffered, would have proved the ruin of a great province, and stamped the British name with infamy. I am sure it cannot be Mr. Macpherson's meaning that such acts should pass without a check, lest, by being promulgated at home, it should excite contentions dangerous to their existence. But I forbear the argument. The Company are in possession of sufficient evidence against Mr. Bristow; and it rests with their justice to pronounce judgment upon him—I desire not to be his judge.

(Signed)

W. H.

Mr. Macpherson.

I am sorry that any general observations in my minute of the 9th should have been misconceived. The Governor-general will find, by the issue of the investigation against Mr. Bristow, that I am anxious that punishment should follow where he is guilty, or if he is guilty, as any member of the Board can be. Perhaps I ought to be more so; and if I remember well, I pointed out a process by which every unjust profit, or indeed every profit on batta, may be ascertained by the Company.

I was speaking of the enormous unauthorized allowances of the servants at Owde, when I observed that these advantages,

advantages, on being promulgated at home, excite those contentions “ which must ever prove dangerous to the “ Company’s existence.” The late attack on the Company’s charter is said to be an instance of such contentions, with the knowledge of those allowances, and the alledged profits or peculations of the Resident — I wished the Company to adopt regulations to restrain both, and put an end them. The inference to be drawn, and which I truly meant, was, that an office in the receipt and payment of such vast sums of money of different kinds of coin should be checked by rules that are adequate to check it, or not permitted.

In every discussion on this subject I trust I shall preserve the temper of my judgment; indeed I am confident I shall, and adhere liberally to the principles of that justice which is due on all sides.

(Signed) J. M<sup>r</sup>P.

In consequence of the desire expressed by Mr. Stables, in his minute of the 8th instant, and acceded to by the other members of the Board, the Accountant-general, who is the only officer at the presidency in the regular receipt of the accounts with the Vizier from Lucknow, has been called upon to prepare and lay before the Board an exact statement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier since the treaty of Chunar, with the vouchers for the same.

8th December 1784.

Governor-general.

THE Governor-general begs leave to offer the following short remarks on the letter which has been delivered in by Mr. Cowper.

He assures the Board, that the allowances of the Resident’s office, drawn either in the time of Mr. Bristow or his predecessor, Mr. Middleton, never were authorized by him, excepting the single instance of Mr. Trevor Wheler, which the accusations of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper compel him to acknowledge.—He had often heard that there were abuses, and that very large allowances were drawn at Lucknow, but he declares that he was unacquainted with the extent of them, until after his arrival at that place. He heard of these things as he heard of other irregularities, which he can trace to no authority, and which he would correct if he could; and he particularly declares that he knew nothing of any allowance appropriated to Mr. Cowper, or his predecessor, Mr. Johnson, beyond what appears in the public monthly accounts.

counts. The Governor-general thinks it necessary to point out to the Board that Mr. Cowper in speaking of "the allotted monthly expence of the Resident's office, or 25,000 rupees," from which fund, he says, he received his allowance as first assistant, mentions it as a matter of public notoriety, and wonders by what accident, at the final adjustment of accounts with Mr. Bristow's predecessor, this charge of 25,000 rupees per month should have escaped the notice of the Vizier. The Board are already informed that the Vizier has not refused to admit of this charge, on the contrary, his ministers have asserted that it was what was established, and his Excellency has desired that the sum of 25,000 rupees per month may be inserted in the account as the limited amount of the expences of the Resident's office and allowances of the gentlemen at Lucknow; and that Mr. Bristow has objected to it, declaring that it was never offered to him, and that it is contrary to common sense to suppose that either he or his predecessor should have accepted of a sum so inadequate to the purpose. Mr. Cowper's letter forms therefore a strong evidence against Mr. Bristow. The Governor-general cannot help observing that instead of those motives of respect towards himself which Mr. Cowper professes, both that gentleman and Mr. Bristow, in delivering in their representations at the very moment of an important dispatch for Europe, seem to have studiously chosen the particular time when they might most embarrass the attention of the Board, and preclude a refutation of their assertions.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 19th February 1785.*

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor-general, &c. Members of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

My character, fortune, and future prospects in life, depending on the result of the accusations preferred against me by the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, I beg leave to solicit the fullest information that your records can furnish me with; in the hope that you will deem me intitled to this justice, I request your permission to have access to, and copies of your proceedings, which may in any respect relate to the subject matter of the said accusations, as well as of all my transactions at the court of Owde.

Before

Before the honourable the Governor-general's return to the presidency, the members of your Board individually assented to my request, but your secretary, Mr. Hay, objected, until he should receive a written order from any individual member on the sanction of your honourable Board collectively, for which I now beg leave to apply.

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect,  
Gentlemen,

Calcutta,  
the 21st Dec. 1784.

your most obedient,  
humble servant,  
(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Agreed, That Mr. Bristow be permitted to have copies of all the papers and proceedings in this department, that relate in any respect to his transactions at the court of Oude, and to the accusations preferred against him by the Nabob Vizier and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn.

*To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq. Governor General,  
&c. Members of the Supreme Council, at Fort William.*

Gentlemen,

A MOTIVE of respect towards the honourable Governor-general determined me to wait his return to the presidency, before I addressed you upon a subject to which, although I cannot strictly perhaps be deemed officially a party in honour, I still must and do feel myself most immediately and essentially interested.

In a letter from the honourable Governor-general to the Board, dated 25th of August last, and of which the communication came to me from my late superior at the court of Oude, Mr. John Bristow, it is stated, that of the monies collected by this gentleman during his late residency on the account of the Company, he had appropriated near fourteen lacks of rupees to the payment of expences which were not incurred by your government, and which had at no time received its sanction: and further, that this sum was discharged without the orders, or even the knowledge of the Vizier. In the account particulars of the amount declared to have been so appropriated, I find included the allotted monthly expence of the Resident's office, or 25,000 rupees. It was from this fund that I received my allowance as first assistant to Mr.

Bristow;

Bristow; but I received it, gentlemen, under a conviction that it was equally known to the members of our government and to the Nabob, and authorized by both.

It is true that, however uninformed in this respect, I might yet have accepted such allowance, when tendered to me by Mr. Bristow without any risk of personal consequences, the Resident being solely responsible for all disbursements; but I should have scorned, when information was open to me, to have recurred to the plea of ignorance, in excuse of a conduct which, had it been advisedly adopted, could admit of no justification, and which, in the retrospect, promised no better consolation than might be derived from the cheerless consciousness of undeserved impunity: on the other hand, the salaries allowed to the assistants in the office of the last Resident at Oude, were already of that public notoriety as made the aid of shift or subterfuge, either in the payment or acceptance of them, could gentleman have stooped to such practice, every way unnecessary. To establish this position, I conceive, with much deference, it will be only necessary to prove (which may be done by a simple reference) that from the period of the Chunar treaty, these allowances had been regularly received by the gentlemen officiating as assistant to your Resident at the Vizier's court. This being the fact, supposing the Nabob's account to be open to his inspection, it is not easy to divine by what accident at the final adjustment of them with Mr. Bristow's predecessor, the charge of 25,000 rupees per month should have escaped the notice of his Highness. If, on the contrary, such want of information is to be attributed to Hyder Beg Cawn, assuredly it must have been by very subtle management that the minister could have concealed a disbursement of this nature and extent so long, so completely, and, as it would seem, singly, from the knowledge and observation of his master, and of the honourable the Governor-general. Indeed his success in this respect must appear by so much the more wonderful, as it was a circumstance familiarly known to Mr. Wheeler, who, speaking of his nephew Mr. Trevor Wheeler as one of the assistants to the Resident at the court of Oude, informed me, that as such he received a salary of 5,000 rupees per month. This verbal communication occurred at the time of my appointment to be first assistant to Mr. Bristow, and a very few days previous to my departure for Lucknow. The subject was afterwards renewed between us in a correspondence by letter; which written documents, should the honourable Board deem it necessary, I shall most readily lay before them, nor am I the least apprehensive that in so doing I shall incur the censure  
of

of one candid or honourable man, the single object of this appeal being to vindicate my honour from a most serious charge, which, although it is directly exhibited against Mr. Bristow alone, I am aware, from the situation in which I stood relatively to that gentleman at Oude, may very warrantably be construed as applying to me also, at least, gentlemen, such construction is possible—thus to meet it, therefore, is only duty to my employers, to myself justice: for the rest it is, I doubt not, in the recollection of the honourable Board, with what art and industry my name has been still implicated with Mr. Bristow's, in all the crimes and oppressions which it has pleased Hyder Beg Cawn to attribute to that gentleman.—Such then, Sirs, are the facts upon which was founded my acceptance of the salary heretofore received by Mr. Richard Johnson, whilst standing in the same relation to the former Resident as I did to the last; and I flatter myself, that they will appear to the honourable Board, and to my employers, of a strength and complexion to satisfy and remove every doubt that I might otherwise have entertained of the propriety and authority under which it was tendered to me; sensible as I am, at the same time, that whosoever in these days hopes, or indeed deserves to maintain the reputation of disinterestedness, must be so clear in his account of pecuniary transactions, as to defy from any set of men, or from the world, any colourable application of the terms 'mysterious or evasive' to his conduct. In addition to what I have already submitted to you respecting my stipend as first assistant at Lucknow, and in proof of its legality and notoriety, I beg leave to subjoin a solemn declaration:—That, save except the 6,000 Sicca rupees per month, so stated to have been received by me as an allowance from the Nabob, and the further monthly salary of 400 Sicca rupees from the honourable Company, I neither directly or indirectly, whilst I acted in the capacity of first assistant to Mr. Bristow, benefited a single rupee by my station; and this declaration I shall at all times be ready to attest upon oath in the presence of the honourable Board, or of a proper magistrate.

In thus stating the extent of my allowances and emoluments as deputy to the Resident at the Vizier's court, I shun any invidious comparison of them with those enjoyed by very many gentlemen, greatly my juniors in the service, and in situations of infinitely less necessary expence; and shall further only crave permission respectfully to observe on this head to the honourable Board, that (the interval of my stay at Oude excepted, including a period of sixteen months) I have been since my return to Bengal,  
more

more than three years ago, entirely without office or employment, and consequently without the means of subsistence at all.

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Calcutta,  
7th Dec. 1784.

your most obedient,  
and most humble Servant,

(Signed) WILLIAM COWPER.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 5th April 1785.*

READ the following letter, and its enclosures, from Mr. Bristow.

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor-general, and Members of the Supreme Council, at Fort William.

Gentlemen,

Your honourable Board having been pleased to comply with my request for free access to such parts of your records as related to, or were connected with my transactions while Resident at the court of Oude, a privilege which, as an accused person, I conceived to be my right, I now beg leave to submit to your consideration such further facts and arguments as I deem necessary for my vindication.

Lest however it should be supposed that I had designedly delayed my representations, with the view of taking an unfair advantage of the absence of the late Governor-general, you, Gentlemen, will I trust do me the justice to recollect, that my application for access to your records was preferred during Mr. Hastings's administration. The permission required was not granted until after his departure.—I could not prepare my reply with greater dispatch; and I rely on your candour, to pardon the freedom with which I shall address you on a subject in which my character, fortune, and future prospects in life, are so immediately connected.

It is my intention studiously to avoid any reflections on the opprobrious epithets applied to me by Mr. Hastings, as well from motives of respect to your honourable Board, as from a conviction that investive, evidently flowing from resentment, and general assertions, unsupported by proofs, need no serious refutation.—Necessity, however, compels me to request your permission to contrast the crimes laid to my charge by the sole voice of the late Governor-general, with the uniform approbation my former



mer conduct received in the years 1775 and 1776, when it was acknowledged, even by opposite parties, that I had served the Company with fidelity and success. Until the period when I was sent to the court of Oude, as the selected friend of Mr. Hastings, my public character had ever met the applause of my superiors; since then, indeed, my faculties and time have been wholly employed in defending myself against the malicious accusations of my enemies.

My political conduct having been honoured with your full approbation, the two specific charges lately exhibited against me, upon the exchange of rupees, and the exorbitant expences of my office, are the subjects which require further explanation.—And here I must observe, that the late Governor-general, vested with the powers of your government, and Hyder Beg Cawn with despotic sway over the Vizier's dominions, have not produced a single evidence in support of their accusations.

Had I been guilty of the crimes alledged against me, the proofs might surely have been obtained when inclination and power were active in the search.—For the minister, countenanced and protected by the first member of your administration, could with impunity have promised rewards to any native who should have stood forth as my accuser, while on the other hand it is probable that he threatened to inflict punishment on those should conceal the knowledge of transactions which might any way tend to criminate my conduct. I conceive I do not deviate from propriety, in forming suppositions, a mode of reasoning for which the late Governor has established the precedent.

“ Whilst the Vizier and his ministers possessed their  
 “ proper authority, an adherence to the rates of the table  
 “ of assay was of little prejudice to them, because they  
 “ had it in their option to make their payments in what-  
 “ ever species they pleased; but after the English Resident  
 “ assumed and obtained a controul over the finances, the  
 “ loss was heavily felt; it *might* be supposed, that the  
 “ Resident would make use of his influence to cause a  
 “ great proportion of the payments to be made in those  
 “ species which were on the assay table most depreciated  
 “ in comparison of their current, or intrinsic value, since  
 “ he could immediately exchange them to the merchants  
 “ at a very considerable advantage to himself.” The  
 reasoning above stated I have already refuted in my address of the 2d of October 1784: but in corroboration of what I then advanced, I now beg leave to observe, that no European at Lucknow could have effected a single point of importance, Major Palmer alone excepted, and  
 that

that gentleman, as private agent to Mr. Hastings, was intimately connected with, and the confidential adviser of the minister. Thus situated, with positive knowledge that Hyder Beg Cawn was my inveterate enemy and malicious accuser, is it to be supposed that I could be so deficient in common sense and prudence as to furnish him with the certain means of effecting my ruin ?

The supposition therefore of the late Governor-general, that I influenced the exchange, as well as his positive assertion, that I assumed and obtained a controul over the finances of the Vizier, I most solemnly declare to be totally void of foundation.

I am supported by a most respectable authority when I assert, that your government alone is competent to establish equitable rules of exchange. The authority to which I allude is so much in point, that I hope the honourable the Governor-general will pardon me for quoting it in this place.—“ A table assay ascertaining from our  
“ mint the intrinsic value of each coin, and prescribed  
“ by this government as the standard by which all monies  
“ are to be estimated, is the only check that law can estab-  
“ lish to prevent imposition in receipts or disbursements  
“ of monies so various in value and estimation.”—Such a table assay was prescribed by your government in the year 1776, as the standard by which all monies should be received and disbursed ; and from this standard I never in the least deviated, nor indeed could I have done it with propriety, or the hope of safety.

Exchange of money has always been productive of advantage to individuals under every government. Mr. Macpherson, in his minute already referred to, has used the following words, which as they apply to the preceding observation to the practice of this service, he will, I hope, excuse my inserting.—“ In general I know that all col-  
“ lectors of revenue, or their native agents, and all dis-  
“ burfers of large sums, or their native agents in this  
“ country, must have a profit upon the exchange or  
“ batta, when claims are of many different kinds, and  
“ of local, and often of arbitrary value.”—Having then the sanction of government, the known general usage of the service, as well as the example of my predecessors, to justify this part of my conduct, I will not pretend to deny that emoluments were made at Lucknow by the Shroffage, or exchange of rupees. The same regard to truth which leads me to make this confession, now impels me also to declare, that the amount was far short of the enormous sum stated in the fallacious account of Hyder Beg Cawn. I hold it to be a self-evident proposition that Mr. Hastings, who exclusively presided for a series of

years over the honourable Company's affairs at the court of Oude, must have known some emoluments were attached to the office of Resident. Could it be supposed that your representative at that court was to support himself with becoming dignity on one thousand rupees per month, a sum infinitely less indeed than the allowances granted to every gentleman employed in the political branch of your service? Permit me to make a comparison between my allowances as Resident, and those of many of the Company's civil servants, my juniors in rank, who at that time held appointments of much less responsibility, and unclogged with those extraordinary expences, which in my situation were unavoidable. I believe, Gentlemen, it will appear, that my salary was comparatively trifling, and every way inadequate to the appointment, I had the honour to hold. An appointment which Mr. Hastings has termed "the most important in the service, both with relation to its political magnitude, and the great pecuniary interest attached to it."

I appeal then to the candour of your honourable Board, whether, on combining these circumstances, I am not justified in asserting, that the late Governor-general must have been fully aware of some emoluments being made by the Resident at Owde; and whether any could have been more fair or honourable than those derived from an exchange, the rates of which had received the sanction of your government, and were established by long precedent. If, however, it can be proved, that at any period I endeavoured to influence the Shroffs, or others, to raise or depreciate the value of the different rupees, for my own advantage, or even if I interfered, directly or indirectly, further than to receive and disburse the public money, at the exchange fixed by your honourable Board, I readily admit that I should deserve the greatest disgrace and severest punishment your government or the law could inflict on me; but in justice to myself, I deny even the intention of so flagitious an act; and I must repeat, that had such influence been exerted, the late Governor-general, through the channel of Hyder Beg Cawn, might easily have obtained certain evidence thereof, and would doubtless have produced it.—I shall now proceed to reply to the second charge exhibited against me, on the exorbitant expences of the residency: here I entirely agree with the late Governor-general, that if the allowances objected to by the Vizier were established by my predecessor, without the previous consent or knowledge of his Highness, the precedent ought not to be admitted; but I feel a confidence when I assert, that both the Nabob and his minister had acquiesced in and approved of charges  
still

still greater than those for which my conduct has been arraigned. I have already observed, that those charges did not originate with, nor were they in every particular approved of by me; it was my intention to have reduced them as soon as I had effected the important changes and regulations pointed out in my instructions as the grand objects to which my attention should be primarily directed. I take the liberty of referring your honourable Board to those instructions, it will be found that they insist on a speedy and effectual alteration in almost every department of the Nabob's government. To have attained a competent knowledge of matters so complicated, to have examined accounts purposely involved by the minister in intricacy and confusion, would have been impracticable, without the zealous and active assistance of the gentlemen attached to my office, their diligence and constant application deserved, in my opinion, some superior allowances; in all events their conduct could not have merited, nor should it have been required, by punishment, and such they would have deemed a reduction of the salaries, which had from the usage of years been considered as permanent, not to be done away but by the express orders of the Vizier. I once indeed attempted to prevail on the minister to curtail Mr. Thomas's allowances, which appeared to me enormous, their amount being no less a sum than 8,136 rupees, exclusive of what he drew in the capacity of surgeon to the Resident; but my advice, as that gentleman observes, was treated with contempt: I repeat, however, it was my design to have lessened these salaries, provided the Vizier's consent could have been obtained, whenever I could have accomplished the object of my mission. Had I begun the arduous task of reformation in my own department, my time would have been entirely engrossed in transmitting and answering representations to your honourable Board, on matters comparatively insignificant with those important charges in the Nabob's government which I was ordered to carry into immediate execution. I had the official assurance of my predecessor, that the late Governor-general knew that these salaries were paid by the Vizier, even posterior to the treaty concluded at Chunar: Mr. Middleton being in Europe, I cannot avail myself at present of his personal evidence, but I hope the honourable the Court of Directors will call upon that gentleman to avow or disprove what I have here advanced.

Mr. Hastings, in his minute dated the 7th of December 1784, has expressed himself as follows:

“ For my own part, when the Vizier's minister first  
“ informed me, that the amount which his master had  
“ authorized,

“ authorized, and was willing to admit, for the charges  
 “ of the residency, and the allowances of the gentlemen  
 “ at Lucknow, was 25,000 rupees per months, I own I  
 “ was startled at the magnitude of the sum, and was  
 “ some days hesitating in my mind, whether I could with  
 “ propriety admit of it.”

In another minute, dated the 8th December 1784, he assures the Board, “ that the allowance of the Residents,  
 “ drawn either in the time of Mr. Bristow, or his pre-  
 “ decessor Mr. Middleton, never were authorized by  
 “ him, excepting in the single instance of Mr. Trevor  
 “ Wheler, which the accusations of Mr. Bristow and  
 “ Mr. Cowper *oblige* and *compel* him to *acknowledge*.”

Now though the absence of Mr. Middleton <sup>precludes</sup> precludes the possibility of a positive proof that Mr. Hastings was informed of all the allowances which were paid by the Resident, still there exists a strong presumptive one, as will appear, that he was neither ignorant of, nor averse to, the Vizier's granting large salaries to more than one European gentleman. In the first place, I shall instance Mr. Thomas, who, exclusive of his pay from the Company, which was 1,200 rupees, claimed from the Vizier, with Mr. Hastings's knowledge \*, 8,136 rupees per month. Secondly, the late Governor-general avows his authorizing Mr. Trevor Wheler's receiving 5,000 rupees per month. In this place I take the liberty to remind your honourable Board of that gentleman's being my fourth assistant. Was it natural to suppose, that he alone enjoyed superior allowances? or was it not more consonant to reason, for Mr. Hastings to conclude, that my other assistants were permitted to receive salaries from the Nabob superior or inferior to Mr. Wheler's, according to their respective ranks in the Company's service? Surely it could not be conceived that I would, by so unjustifiable a partiality in favour of Mr. Wheler, create jealousies and disgust in the minds of every gentleman belonging to my department. Lastly, to shew that Mr. Hastings knew and approved of large salaries, I beg leave to annex the copy of a letter, which nothing but the necessity of self-defence should ever have induced me to make public—it requires no comment.

“ Dear Bristow,

“ Sir Eyre Coote has some field allowances to receive  
 “ from the Vizier, they amount to Sicca rupees 15,554  
 “ per month, and he has been paid up by the Vizier to

\* *Vide Consultation 25th November, in which the late Governor-general recorded Mr. Thomas's application to him for these identical allowan.es.* “ the

“ the 20th of August 1782. The Governor has directed  
“ me to write to you, to request you to receive what is  
“ due from the Vizier from the 20th August last, at the  
“ rate of Lucknow Sicca rupees 15,554 per month, and  
“ send me a bill for the amount, the receipt of which I  
“ will acknowledge in the capacity of Sir Eyre Coote’s  
“ attorney; and the Governor desires, that you will con-  
“ tinue to receive Sir Eyre Coote’s field allowances at  
“ the same rate, and remit the money to me as it comes  
“ in.”

“ Calcutta, January 25th, 1783.

“ (Signed) CHARLES CROFTS.

Permit me to request your honourable Board will bear in mind, that I could derive no possible advantage, but incur personal risque, from profusely lavishing, without authority, the public money on gentlemen, most of whom were unconnected with me in any other relation than my official capacity: when these facts and arguments are allowed their full weight, I hope and believe your honourable Board will admit, I had sufficient grounds to presume that the allowances now complained of were not only authorized by the Vizier, who has passed them without objection in his accounts for succeeding years, but were also approved by your late president, who has even continued the salaries to Messrs. Bruce and Taylor to this day, although they form a part of the inadmissible charges objected to by the Nabob Vizier in my account.

Mr. Hastings, in his minute dated the 7th of December 1784, speaking of charges incurred by the Nabob’s verbal orders, observes, “ were I once convinced that such an  
“ amicable intercourse had always existed, and that Mr.  
“ Bristow had uniformly shewn on other occasions an  
“ equal degree of delicacy towards the Nabob Vizier, I  
“ might have been induced to allow those arguments  
“ great weight, and have contented myself on the Vizier’s  
“ disavowing his sanction, with merely ascertaining the  
“ reality of the expenditures, and the reasonableness of  
“ the sums charged. But our records of last year are  
“ filled with remonstrances written even previous to those  
“ expenditures, which impress us with ideas very different  
“ from delicacy and amicable intercourse.” I have ever considered and treated the complains preferred against me by the Vizier as proceeding from his minister, who it is notorious holds his sovereign in entire thralldom, and has often “ dared to use the Nabob’s name and even affixed  
“ his seal to letters, either dictated to the Nabob, or  
“ written without his knowledge.”—To prove however that an amicable intercourse did actually exist, I submit

to the perusal of your honourable Board translations of a correspondence (No. 2) that passed between the Vizier and me, a short time after those remonstrances alluded to by the late Governor-general were made; when the Vizier wrote these letters he was absent from his minister, and therefore, it may be presumed, he spoke the genuine dictates of his heart. Many of the articles of expence which Hyder Beg Cawn asserts to have been incurred without the consent or knowledge of the Vizier, I have produced written authority for; this wilful misrepresentation I conceive is of itself sufficient to invalidate his evidence, but I can further prove that for years past he has uniformly persecuted me with complaints and crimination, which had no other foundation than malice. One of the last events of my residency in the year 1776 was the recommendation of this identical minister to the station he at present fills. I supported him with your authority, and first recommended him to your notice.—It was impossible that I could entertain any other than the most friendly disposition towards the man in whose elevation I had thus assisted, and it could only be my wish to unite with him in the execution of the public service; far different sentiments, however, possessed the mind of Hyder Beg Cawn; for, unprovoked by any offence on my part, he in the year 1781 instigated complaints against me in the name of the Nabob Vizier; I had at that period the honour to be your Resident at the court of Owde for the management of political affairs, and as my office was divested of influence and authority, there could be no object of contention between us, and it is difficult to reconcile the conduct of Hyder Beg Cawn in preferring these ill-founded and unprovoked complaints with the principles either of honour or gratitude.

In October 1782 your honourable Board thought proper to resolve on arrangements which should correct the multiplied evils that existed in the Vizier's government, and did me the honour of selecting me for this important trust. The whole period of my residency passed in contests with Hyder Beg Cawn; his object was to resist, mine to execute your orders. No situation, no conduct could guard me from his calumny; for the very regulations proposed by me, in strict conformity to your commands, were made the basis of his complaints. In saying thus much on the character and conduct of the minister, I conceive myself perfectly in order, as he is not only my accuser, but also the sole evidence against me; complaints injurious to my character have for a long time composed a voluminous part of your proceedings, and though successively refuted, have been renewed with equal eagerness and inveteracy

veteracy. What reparation, what satisfaction am I to receive? I am myself amenable to the laws of my country, but my accuser is exempt from our jurisdiction; and may therefore, if any purpose is yet to be answered, continue to fabricate his falsehoods without any apprehension of punishment, and with every local advantage.

Though in the beginning of this letter I declared my resolution to refrain from remarking on the injurious epithets Mr. Hastings has so liberally bestowed on my conduct, I may, I think, without departing from this profession, be allowed to observe, that those epithets, however properly they might have been used by my accuser, were unbecoming the dignity of the Governor-general, and irreconcilable with the impartiality of a judge. Nor will it, I imagine, be considered improper or disrespectful to accompany this defence with some extracts (No. 3) from the late Governor-general's minutes written at different periods, whereby it will appear that his opinion of my public character frequently varied from bad to good, and good to bad, according to times, circumstances, and situations.

In conclusion, I make it my request, in which I hope to be indulged by your honourable Board, that this address may go a number in the packet to the honourable Court of Directors, with a reference to these letters noted in the margin, which form the first part of my reply to the accusations preferred against me by the late Governor-general, the Nabob Vizier, and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn. [2d and 4th Oct. 26th Nov.]

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Gentlemen,

Calcutta,  
22d March 1785.

your most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Bristow to the Honourable the Governor General and Council, dated the 2d of October 1784.*

I never interfered in the detail, and my general instructions for the management of the treasury, enjoined a rigid adherence to the assay table and to the forms in use by my predecessors: when in the month of September last \* I laid my accounts for the preceding year (1190 Fussally) before the Vizier and his ministers, no such objections as those now stated were urged, my accounts were found strictly conformable both in form and matter to former

\* Should be 1783.



usage, and were approved accordingly. Could Hyder Beg Cawn have discovered any thing chargeable with such matter of accusation as he has now thought proper to produce against them, it is not probable that, in his anxiety at that period to effect the removal of your Resident, who without power indeed to controul, yet unceasingly watched his conduct—it is not probable, I say, that so circumstanced he would have neglected so promising a prospect of accomplishing his favourite object; he has shewn himself anxiously disposed to criminate my conduct in every instance, and it is not reasonable to suppose he would have admitted an accusation of this nature, when he has not hesitated to produce as charges against me complaints stamped with the unequivocal proofs of my zeal for your service, and his determined opposition to every measure, however forcibly recommended by you, that militated in any shape against the uncontrouled power and influence he had so many years enjoyed over the Vizier's dominions.

A true extract.

JOHN BRISTOW.

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow: Received May 1783.*

I am rejoiced by the receipt of your letter, enclosing the draft of an answer to Mahajy Sindia, and Bow Buxshy, and an address from Major Browne. The news of your health affords me the highest satisfaction. By the blessing of God my health is good, and my heart is ever intent on receiving accounts of your welfare. I have caused letters to be written, agreeable to the drafts you prepared, to Mahajy Sindia and Bow Buxshy, and you will please to forward them.

Considering my heart anxious for an interview with you, you will write me frequent accounts of your health.

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. Bristow: Received May 3d 1783.*

By the blessing of God my health is good and prosperous, and my victorious army is encamped in Bairaitch. My mind, impressed with the purest friendship for you, is ever searching after the news of your health; and in the midst of the joy of my hunting, to which my inclinations are sincerely disposed, I frequently strike my heart with my nails, in recollection of you; for those reasons it is my sincere wish that you will always write me the news of your welfare and happiness, encrease the gratification

cation of my anxious feelings, and dissipate the irksome apprehensions of my mind, by the most pleasing intelligence of your good and prosperous health.

*Mr. Bristow in Reply, 21st Jemmady ul fany 1197.*

I am honoured with your Highness's letter, expressing your favour towards me, and informing me "that your health is good and prosperous, the victorious army is encamped at Bairaitch, that your heart is highly anxious for the news of my welfare; and that, in the midst of your hunting, to which your inclinations are sincerely disposed, you often strike your heart with your nails, in recollection of me; for these reasons you request me always to write you the news of my welfare and happiness, thereby to encrease the gratification of your anxious feelings, and dissipate the irksome apprehensions of your mind, by the most pleasing intelligence of my good and prosperous health."

Accept of my most grateful thanks, for these proofs of your Highness's favour, and may the Almighty spread the shade of his blessings over your Highness for this recollection of me—I have in these days received a Shoka from the king, and a letter from the Nabob Nuyjud ud Dowla, directing me to apply to your Highness to suffer the exportation of grain from your dominions. Similar applications will be probably have been made directly to you through Major Browne. Being your Highness's sincere well-wisher, I addressed the honourable the Governor-general, in consequence of the drought in your dominions, requesting a remission of the duties on grain that might be exported from Benares to these parts; as the interests of both governments are mutual, in all likelihood my request will be approved. I have likewise addressed the gentlemen at Benares, Patna, and Churan Chupra, desiring they will encourage the merchants in exporting grain, as in your Highness's dominions the scarcity is so severely felt, that many of your subjects have perished. It is not expedient that you should suffer any exportation, at the same time it is necessary to shew a deference to his Majesty, and I therefore recommend that your Highness should write such an answer to the royal Shoka as may not cause offence. Having from of old been honoured with your Highness's favour, I hope you will continue to gladden me with frequent letters of your health.

*From*

*From the Nabob Vizier, in Reply: Received 30 May 1783.*

Your pleasing letter with the news of your health to the following purport, in answer to mine, is received. That "an answer to the Shoka of the most holy and auspicious king, on the subject of the exportation of grain from these parts to Delhy, should be so framed as not to cause offence to his Majesty; and that you, with a view to the good of humanity, and from friendship to me, had addressed the honourable Governor-general concerning a remission of the duties in Benares, and also the gentlemen of Churan Chupra, &c. concerning the giving encouragement to merchants."

The news of your welfare, and the other circumstances communicated in your letter, are clearly and explicitly understood, and afford me satisfaction. It is certain that the improvement of my affairs, and the good of humanity, are ever the wish of your heart. Copies of my answer to the King, the Nabob Mujjeed ud Dowla, and Mirza Shuffer, go enclosed for perusal.—Out of respect to the orders of majesty, I have not returned a peremptory denial, but made some general excuses; and it appears that before this, an account the dearness of grain, and the distress of the people, I issued my orders to Khewja, Ainudine Almas Ally Cawn, Mahomed Beg, &c. prohibiting the exportation of grain from my dominions.

I am encamped at Nanapara, on account of the plenty of game which is in this quarter. To-day by the strength with which the Almighty has blessed me, I valiantly, and with springs like the Tyger, killed, by thousands of arrows and musket shots, an Elephant which would not yield to the Elephants of the Heavens in fierceness, and which in size would out-top the mountains—I granted salvation to a world labouring under his violence. In the spirit of the purest friendship I make this communication; and it is incumbent on you, that, considering me anxious for your health, you always write me letters.

A true translation.

JOHN BRISTOW.

*Extract of Secret Consultations, Fort William, 21st December 1774.*

The Governor-general objects to this proposition, because in his judgment, Mr. Bristow is not qualified for the office, neither by his knowledge of the Persian language, nor by any distinguished abilities.

*Extract*

*Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal in the Secret Department the 2d Dec. 1776.*

Governor-general.—I bring no charge against Mr. Bristow. I do not accuse him of any faults. I know of no charge that was produced against Mr. Middleton when he was removed. The majority of the Board thought proper at that time to remove the public minister at the court of the Nabob of Oude, who had received his nomination from me, and to appoint another in his stead, in whom they had a confidence. Highly as I esteem the merits of Mr. Middleton, I will not bring them into an invidious comparison with those of Mr. Bristow, whom, though totally unknown to me but by his public character, I esteem.

*Extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General and Council of Bengal, in their Public Department, the 2d October 1780.*

Governor-general.—I will ask who is Mr. Bristow, that a member of the administration should at such a time hold him forth as an instrument for the degradation of the first executive member of this government? What are the professed objects of his appointment? What are the merits of his services? Or what the qualifications which entitle him to such uncommon distinction? Is it from his superior integrity, or from his eminent abilities, that he is to be dignified at such hazard of any consideration that ought to influence the members of the administration? Of the former (his integrity) I know no proofs; I am sure it is not an evidence of it that he has been enabled to make himself the principal in such a competition; and for the test of his abilities I appeal to the letter which he has dared to write to this Board, and which, I am ashamed to say, we have suffered. I desire that a copy of it may be inserted in this day's proceedings, that it may stand before the eyes of every member of the Board, when he shall give his vote upon a question for giving their confidence to a man (their servant) who has publicly insulted them (his masters) and the members of the government to whom he owes his obedience; who assuming an association with the Court of Directors; and erecting himself into a tribunal, has arraigned them for disobedience of orders, passed judgment upon them, and condemned or acquitted them as their magistrate or superior.—Let the Board consider, whether a man possessed of so independent a spirit, who has already shewn a contempt of their authority, who has shewn himself so wretched

wretched an advocate for his own cause, and negociator for his own interest, is fit to be trusted with the guardianship of their honour, the execution of their measures, and as their confidential manager and negociator with the princes of India.

*Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Governor-general, to Edward Wheeler and John Macpherson, Esquires, dated upon the Ganges, near Soakjagore, 22d September 1782.*

I had the pleasure of finding, upon the most impartial enquiry, that the conduct of Mr. Bristow during his former residence at the court of the Vizier, had been proper and attentive; I accordingly wished to recommend him to succeed the present Resident, provided the Vizier had no reasonable objections to his appointment.

*Extract of a Memorandum transmitted in conformity to the Orders of the Honourable the Governor-general, by Major Davy, to Mr. Bristow, in a Letter dated the 7th October 1782.*

Major Palmer to inform the Nabob and his ministers, that Mr. Bristow is not the choice of the Gentlemen of the Council, but the Governor's own and sole choice has now been formed on the most perfect knowledge of his integrity, honour, and abilities.

*Extract of the Honourable the Governor-general's Minute into Council, the 30th of September 1783.*

Is it possible that I could have used so much delicacy, and affected such a tenderness towards the Nabob, if I meant to send a tyrant to rule over him?

I shall forbear to speak my apprehensions of the consequences, if it shall be finally resolved by the members of this Board, that Mr. Bristow shall be formally vested with the powers of ruling the dominions appertaining to the Nabob Assooph ul Dowla, and guaranteed to him against all invaders by a sacred treaty, by which the faith and honour of the British Nation, and not the Company alone, are pledged to maintain it—a system of such controul cannot subsist on constructive powers; and if the Board do not notify to Mr. Bristow the declaration which I have made of the revocation of them, which he received from me, and which he has grossly abused, I shall; and at his peril let him hereafter quote them as containing the authority for his actions: those who abet him in his conduct ought to prescribe to him the rule of it; when I am made acquainted

acquainted with that rule, I will record my opinion of it. Would to God I could prevent it, and the dreadful consequences which, however qualified, must attend the exercise of any dominion built on such a foundation, and committed to such a ruler!

*Extract of the Governor General's Minute upon Mr. Johnson's Defence; Consultation, 21st October.*

Upon the whole, though I have strictly delivered my opinion on Mr. Johnson's defence, I must add, that I think he has been sufficiently punished by the deprivation of his office, and by the severity with which it was immediately effected: "not to be worse stands in some rank of praise." His faults sink to mere errors and inadvertencies, when compared with those of his principal, and are wholly lost in the contrast with those of the present Resident.

True extracts.

(Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.

Ordered, That the secretary do acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Bristow's letter and its enclosures, and acquaint him, that copies thereof were transmitted, agreeable to his request, to the honourable Court of Directors, with the dispatches, by the Hinchinbrooke.

Read the following Letter from the Accountant-general.

To the Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq; Governor-general, &c. Council of Fort William.

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your commands of yesterday's date, directing me to prepare "an accurate statement of all the allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier since the treaty of Chunar, with the vouchers for them, and to transmit the same to your honourable Board without delay."

In obedience to these commands all the public accounts of the Lucknow station, in which I have any official concern, have been carefully inspected, and are not found to contain an entry of any such payment; nor have there ever been transmitted from that station to this office any other vouchers than the copies of such as appear to have been taken for the monthly allowances of the honourable Company's covenanted servants and surgeon attached to the station, paid by the Resident, and carried to the honourable Company's debit.

There



impress him with unfavourable sentiments of Major Palmer, for the share which he has had in the late transactions at Lucknow, the Governor-general requests, that if the other members of the Board are in possession of a copy of this correspondence, and conceive that any inference may be drawn from it, which may serve to illustrate any part of the general subject, they will be pleased to lay it before the Board, that it may be recorded with the other corresponding materials.

Sir,

The proceedings of Mr. Bristow since his last appointment to the office of Resident at the court of the Nabob Vizier, having been publicly complained of to you by the Vizier and his acting minister, as highly injurious to the rights, interest, and dignity of the former, and as unjust, arbitrary, and oppressive to the latter, and the share of interference which I have avowedly taken in those transactions having been misrepresented both in the motives and degree, and affected to be considered as the result of a concerted plan for encouraging an opposition in the minister to the measure and authority of the Resident, and of creating a misunderstanding between them, for the purpose of removing Mr. Bristow from his office; I think it my duty to make a public report to you of such transactions as have been communicated to me by the Vizier and his minister, on what grounds I thought myself obliged to interfere in their complaints, and to what extent that interference has been carried, that you and the public may judge whether my conduct has been actuated by malignant or interested views, or by motives of duty and fidelity to you, and of regard to the Company's and the national interest.

You will be pleased to recollect, Sir, that after I had left Lucknow last year, on my return to the presidency, from an unsuccessful commission with which you had charged me to the Vizier, you communicated to me the appointment of Mr. Bristow to the residency of Oude, and directed me to return to Lucknow, and in your name to acquaint the Vizier and his ministers of this appointment, to impress on their minds a firm reliance on your having given Mr. Bristow your entire confidence, and of your determination to afford him your utmost support, and to endeavour to establish reciprocal confidence and cordiality.

Having faithfully and zealously executed this commission, I should have left Lucknow, and returned to Calcutta, conformably to your instructions, had I not at that time received intimation, that you were disposed to favour



favour a proposal which I had made to you of an establishment for myself in this quarter, which would have required my presence at Lucknow if it had taken place. I therefore remained here principally for my own convenience, but with the hopes also of cementing the harmony which I flattered myself I had been instrumental in founding at the Durbar, but I received very early intimation of a disposition in Mr. Bristow, which greatly damped this hope; I heard from various quarters, that Mr. Bristow had declared his disaffection to your person, and disclaimed all dependance on your authority and influence; and the first step which Mr. Bristow took after his arrival at Lucknow, clearly tended to destroy that confidence which the public service required should subsist between him and the minister, and to alarm the latter for his personal security, and the stability of his office. Mr. Bristow had authorized Lieutenant Colonel Martin to enter into a written engagement with the minister, implying fidelity and obedience on the part of the latter, and confidence and support on the part of Mr. Bristow; this engagement Mr. Bristow thought proper to cancel, and to leave the minister without any reliance on his favour or protection.

The apprehensions of the minister, at a transaction so extraordinary and alarming, were confirmed and increased by a demand which Mr. Bristow soon after made upon him of twenty-five lacks of rupees, from his own private fortune, for the public service, under the menace of being dismissed from his office in case of refusal. The next occurrence which was represented to me for your information, was a requisition made by Mr. Bristow to the minister of a Shoka in the Vizier's name, but without his knowledge, directing the payment of specific monthly subsidy, for the Fuddy Ghur detachment.

Before my departure for Rampoor I was informed that Mr. Bristow required of the Vizier to displace certain of his household officers, and that others of his nomination should be admitted in their room. Some time after my arrival at that place, I received intelligence from the minister, that Mr. Bristow had proceeded to regulate, by his own authority, and against the strongest remonstrances and opposition of the Vizier, the offices and expences of the household, for which purpose he appointed a Cuzaunchee and Mushriff; directed a separate place for the reception of the treasure; took the receipts and disbursements under his own charge; obliged the Muttesudys to attend Mr. Cowper with the accounts of the household, under many circumstances of rigour and disgrace; and made  
*many*

many reductions and regulations in the Vizier's domestic economy.

The next subject of complaint, with which I was desired to make you acquainted, was the mode of interference which Mr. Bristow made use of in establishing an *adault*, in the name of the Vizier, but under the controul of Mr. Cowper; who, as it was stated to me, held the courts in his own house, and received, examined, and decided upon petitions; and also dictated the decrees to be signed, some by the Vizier himself, and others by the *Aumils* in whose jurisdiction the complaints respectively lay.

Mr. Bristow, of his own authority, and without the knowledge of the Vizier, ordered the reduction of four thousand cavalry, and seven thousand infantry; he also assumed the payment of the Vizier's cavalry, and appointed Mr. Cowper to the office of paymaster; directed Tunkaws for the payment of the troops to be included in the Company's *Jydads*, upon which Tunkaws two lacks of rupees were actually collected and paid in to Mr. Cowper, but refunded from the strong opposition made by the Vizier.

Mr. Bristow peremptorily directed the minister, by letter, to send Mahomed Beg as *Sazoul* to *Furrockabad*, without the knowledge of the Vizier.

The minister repeatedly advised me of Mr. Bristow's having encouraged the Vizier to disgrace and punish him, giving the Vizier assurances that our government would not disapprove of or interfere in any measure which he might think proper to take with his own servants; this relation the Vizier himself confirmed to me.

It has been reported to me, and in some instances has been proved to you, that whenever the Vizier's refusal has been opposed to any of the above measures, Mr. Bristow has declared, and even to the Vizier himself, his determination to carry them into execution whether the Vizier consented to them or not.

Mr. Bristow having, of his own authority, granted Tunkaws upon that part of the revenue assigned for defraying the Vizier's household expences, to be paid to the *Cuzaunchee* and *Moothriff*, whom he had appointed, sent for the Vizier's seal, in order to affix them to the *Purwannahs* directed to the *Aumils*; the Vizier at first refused to send his seal, but fearing that Mr. Bristow would execute the measures without it, and thereby degrade his authority, at length complied; when Mr. Bristow rejected the use of the Vizier's seal, and declared that his own should suffice, and be of equal validity in all public acts of this government.

Other instances of the high tone of authority over this government, and of independence on yours, which Mr. Bristow has assumed, have been circumstantially and consistently related to me, which having passed in conversation only, do not easily admit of proof, and which perhaps are not material if they did; but every other transaction herein particularly recited appeared to me of such high importance to the peace and security of both governments, to the national character for justice and moderation, and to your personal reputation, and are so inconsistent with the sentiments I have ever heard you express, and were, besides, accompanied with such testimony, either in writing or by references to Lieutenant Colonel Martin's knowledge<sup>d</sup> of the facts, that I must have violated every obligation of duty and fidelity to you and to the Company, if I had refused the requisitions of the Vizier and his minister, to forward their representations to you.

Besides these obligations which I owe to you and to the Company, in common with every other member of your family and government, a more particular one was imposed upon me, by the commission with which you charged me to the Vizier, to establish the credit and influence of Mr. Bristow at his court, and to encourage the Vizier to a reliance on Mr. Bristow's good disposition towards him. I must have forfeited my own character, and have subjected yours to unjust suspicion, if I had refused to be instrumental in obtaining from you a redress of grievances, which in your name I had encouraged the Vizier to hope he would never experience.

The share which I had taken in the complaints against Mr. Bristow having been incidentally mentioned by me in a correspondence with Mr. Cowper on a private subject, that Gentleman thought proper to furnish Mr. Bristow with a copy of it, which I understand has been forwarded to Calcutta. This is a principal reason for my supposition in the former part of this address, that it would be attempted to be proved, that my continuance at Lucknow, after my return from Rampore, was for the purposes of encouraging the minister to oppose the measures of Mr. Bristow, and to excite complaints against his conduct.

I am as certain that no such inference can be fairly drawn from any part of that correspondence, as that the direct reverse is the truth.

My detention at that period was occasioned entirely by two young children being successively seized with the small pox, and before their recovery I received your commands to remain at Lucknow, in consequence of the public complaints which had reached you from the Vizier and

and his minister against Mr. Bristow. It was the complaints against Mr. Bristow which caused my stay, and not my stay which caused the complaints; and so far have I been from exciting them, I solemnly declare that I never enquired of the ministers, or any other person, into the proceedings of Mr. Bristow. The communications of them were made to me sometimes by the Vizier himself, but more frequently by the minister on his own behalf, and on that of the Vizier; and all the encouragement I gave to them, was to hope for redress if the complaints were just; and even this with the strictest caution against accusations either frivolous or false, warning the minister, that if they were found to be such, the mischief which he intended to others would recoil upon himself. It was my constant advice to the minister, to comply without delay or hesitation with every requisition which Mr. Bristow made in the name of government; but to demand such requisitions should be made in writing, for his own security, and justification to his master.

How much soever it may be the interest of Mr. Bristow to have it believed that complaints against him have been sought for and encouraged, he will never establish such a belief, whilst your character obviates the possibility of a suspicion that you could employ a man who has possessed your confidence and esteem for near ten years in the debasing office which Mr. Bristow would assign to me; and I trust that the invariable tenor of my own conduct will, to all who know it, acquit me of being capable of either assuming or accepting such an office.

Lucknow, I have the honour to be, &c.  
16th Sept. 1783. (Signed) Wm. PALMER.

Sir,

Since the dispatch of my public address to you of the 16th instant, I have discovered that I was mistaken as to the circumstance of Mr. Bristow having authorized Lieutenant Colonel Martin to enter into the engagement therein mentioned with Hyder Beg Cawn, and which Mr. Bristow, after his arrival, disavowed and cancelled. I now understand that Lieut. Col. Martin, as the confidential friend and agent of Mr. Bristow, gave, of his own authority, a written assurance for the purpose of removing his apprehensions of the resentment of Mr. Bristow on account of a former misunderstanding between them. This difference in the manner of the transaction makes little or none in the substance of it, and the inference which I drew from it still remains the same.

Lucknow, I have the honour to be, &c.  
20th Sept. 1783. (Signed) W. PALMER.  
R 2 *Con-*

*Consultation 21st October.*

Governor General.

20th October 1783.

THE frequent use which has been lately made of Major Palmer's name in the records of the late transactions at Lucknow, the assertion made by Mr. Johnson in his defence, that Major Palmer was at Lucknow in the character of a political agent, and the private suggestions which have been conveyed to me of misconstructions, passed on the nature and object of Major Palmer's deputation, compel me to lay before the Board the original instructions which he received from me, and which, if I can trust to my own recollection, and the rule of conduct which I have invariably prescribed myself in cases of this kind, were both seen and approved of by the actual members of the Board. I own that it is with reluctance that I present them. They were not intended to be recorded, their primary object being more to quiet the mind of the Nabob, to whom I owed that return of attention, for the honest attachment which he shewed to me when he thought me in distress, and my person in danger, than for any other purpose. This must account for the unapplied heads of memorandums with which the instructions conclude. I cannot at this time, were it necessary, explain them, but know that they were designed only to preserve his recollection of the loose and undetermined ideas which I had communicated to him in conversation respecting them.

I desire that this minute, with Major Palmer's instructions, may be added to the other papers which have been recorded on the general subject of the complaints preferred against Mr. Bristow, and transmitted with them by this dispatch to the Court of Directors.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Secretary to the Secret Department.

*Consultation, 21st October.*

To Major William Palmer.

Sir,

Fort William, 6th May 1782.

I depute you to go to Lucknow, and to wait upon the Nabob Vizier in my name, observing the following instructions:

1st. You will assure him, that I feel it a sensible disappointment that I am myself disabled from performing the visit to his court which I promised him at Chunar,  
by

by many causes which at this time render my presence at Calcutta indispensably necessary. These causes, as they are fully known to you, you will explain as far as you shall judge it proper, or conducive to the other and more essential points of your commission.

2dly. It has been a matter of equal concern and surprize to me, to learn by the letters of the Resident, that the Nabob Vizier was with difficulty, and an almost unconquerable reluctance, induced to give his consent to the attachment of the treasure deposited by his father under the charge of the Begum his mother, and to the resumption of her Jagheer, and the other Jagheers of the individuals of his family, although these measures were the effects of his own suggestion, and proposed with great earnestness to me for my concurrence.

I desire that you will inform him, that in these and the other measures which were either proposed by him, or received his concurrence in the agreement passed between us at Chunar, I neither had, nor could have any object but his relief, and the strengthening of his connections with the Company, and that I should not on any other ground have exposed myself to the personal obloquy which they could not fail to draw upon me by my participation in them, but left him to regulate by his own discretion, and by his own means, the œconomy of his own finances, and with much more cause the assertion of his domestic right. In these he had no regular claim to my interference, nor had I, in my public character, any claim upon him, but for the payment of the debt then due from him to the Company, although I was under the strongest obligations to require it for the relief of the pressing exigencies of their affairs. He will well remember the manner in which, at a visit to him in his own tent, I declared my acquiescence freely and without hesitation to each proposition, which afterwards formed the substance of a written agreement as he severally made them; and he can want no other evidences of my motive for so chearful a consent, nor for the request which I added to the means of fulfilling his purposes in them. Had he not made these measures his own option, I should not have proposed them; but having once adopted them, and made them the conditions of a formal and sacred agreement, I had no longer an option to dispense with them, but was bound to the complete performance and execution of them as points of public duty and of national faith, for which I was responsible to my king and the Company, my immediate superiors; and this was the reason for my insisting so peremptorily in their performance and execution, when I was told that the Nabob himself

had relaxed from his original purpose, and expressed a reluctance to proceed in it.

When you have given him this explanation of my motives in regard to the late transactions, you will endeavour to learn, both by immediate application for that effect to the Nabob himself, and by enquiry with others, what were the real causes which influenced the apparent change in his inclination respecting this transaction; and whether he had any grounds for offence or dissatisfaction in the course of it.

As these, if they exist, are beyond the reach of any satisfactory conjecture which I can form, I can give you no special instructions for your reply, but leave you to remove the Nabob's exception by such assurances as you may be enabled to make to him by your general but intimate knowledge of my sentiments and intention in whatever has a relation to his interests, and his alliance with the Company and the British nation.

3dly. I desire you to endeavour to obtain from the ministers, and from Almas Alli Cawn, such sums of money as they can spare from their own means, or raise by their credit upon loan. for the service of the Company. To effect this, it will be necessary to convince them, that they will be no losers by it; but that, on the contrary, their property will require a security from being lodged in the Company's funds. Explain to them the nature of the Company's interest notes, and the means of credit by which they pass in circulation, and are transferable from the original to other successive proprietors, so as to give them a just idea of the tenure, and of the equal footing on which Native, Alien, and British Proprietors stand in the possession of them. At the same time, it will be proper to apprise them of the fluctuation of their current value, which it would be criminal to suppress. You may assure them that when peace is restored to our establishment, and our expences are consequently diminished, the debt will be gradually paid off, as a former debt, contracted before my appointment to the government, to a much longer amount, was discharged in the course of two years, within your own remembrance; and that the estimated value of the notes will rise to the rates of their specific sums, and even above them, on the prospect of payment; so that the proprietors will be subjected to no loss, unless they shall chuse to part with their property in the notes during the intermediate time of our inability to discharge them, the annual interest due in the interval being duly and punctually paid. I have no doubt of their fidelity, but it can no way be so strongly shewn, nor the

the Company's support of them so strongly engaged, as by the assistance required.

4thly. The Nabob Vizier having, by an intimation made to Mr. Middleton in the month of February last, been pleased to express his desire to make me a present of ten lacks of rupees, and requested my previous consent and acceptance of the same, I desire you will make my acknowledgement in proper terms for this instance of his liberality and benevolence; and acquaint him that I am precluded from accepting it by many conditions, but by one especially, which I beg him to take in good part; namely, that if I had received it at the time in which the tender of it was made, it would have been liable to constructions, even in his breast, so repugnant to the disinterested friendship which I profess, and bear towards him, that no consideration of personal profit could have induced me to accept it at such hazard. If he should renew the offer to you, you will inform him that my objection remains the same, and is insuperable, but that if he will be pleased to transfer it to the Company, for the relief of their present and known distresses, I will accept of it on their behalf, with a thankfulness equal to that which I should have felt and expressed for the gift, had it been made to myself; the wants of the Company being at this time of equal concern to me as my own. Let him understand this subject rightly, and he will see in my refusal, thus qualified, the most convincing proof of my friendship for him, and regard for his interest.

5thly. It is very much my desire to impress the Nabob with a thorough confidence in the faith and justice of our government, that is to say, in my own, while I am at the head of it: I cannot be answerable for the acts of others, independent of me. I hope it will not be difficult to convince him of this truth; for I have certainly afforded proofs of it, nor has the reverse been ever personally imputed to me. It is my desire to assist him in regulating his administration, because the success of my own is nearly connected with it; but is much more liable to suffer by its defects or misfortunes.—The inversion of this observation will not apply to the effects of our misfortunes on his affairs, except in the most desperate extremes.—Though we have been involved in wars with all the states around us, his dominions have enjoyed a state of tranquillity undisturbed by foreign enemies, because we have stood between him and those who might have been his enemies. But were we to withdraw that interposition, he would soon experience a dreadful reverse.—I know not how you will convince him of this by words,



nor do I wish to put it to the proof; but you may assure him, that we will never interfere in his affairs beyond his own desire, nor make any claim upon him, but for what may remain of his debt to the Company, the payment of his subsidy, and of the future charges incurred by other detachments employed at his requisition and for his defence. Much delicacy and caution will be required in your declarations on this subject, lest they should be construed to extend to an immediate change in the administration of his affairs, or to the instruments of it. Their persons must be considered as sacred, while they act with the participation of our influence. This distinction the Nabob understands, nor will it be either necessary or proper to allude to it, unless he himself should first introduce the subject.

6thly. Give the minister privately assurances of the present support and future protection of our government.

Let your stay with the Nabob Vizier be short, and be careful to prevent its affecting the influence of the Resident.

For your complete information upon the subject of these instructions, I shall furnish you with copies of the agreement made by me with the Nabob Vizier in August last, and of my instructions to the Resident respecting it.

I shall also give you letters of introduction both to the Nabob Vizier, and to the ministers.

The following are given you as the heads of subjects recommended to your enquiry, but too variable for specific instructions:

Goorookpoor and Bareich,  
Jagheers.  
Fyzoola Cawn,  
Furrackabad.  
The King.

You will communicate these instructions, and my sentiments on every other subject of your mission, to Major Davy, who attends you as your assistant, and in case that sickness or any other accident should prevent your proceeding to Lucknow, you will transfer them to his charge for execution.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,

Acting Sec. to the Secret Department,

Mr.

MR. HASTINGS'S PROPOSAL TO VISIT LUCKNOW,  
1784.

*Mr. Hastings' Minute.*

Governor General.

20th January 1784.

IT is with reluctance that I bring before the Board a subject of the greatest importance, at a period not ostensibly requiring it; but the necessity of it has been long since foreseen, and not unnoticed in the verbal communications which I have had occasion to make to the members of the Board.

On the 28th of last month, while the late arrangement of the concerns of this government in the province of Owd was under discussion, I received a letter from my secretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming representation of the disordered state of that country, and urging the necessity of my repairing to Lucknow for the purpose of giving my personal and early assistance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval.

From other letters, which have been since received from Lucknow upon the same subject, I understand that this was the expressed wish of the Nabob Vizier, his minister, and all the principal persons of his family and court; and I have great reason to believe, that as soon as the Nabob shall have received the notification lately transmitted to him of the last resolutions of the Board, he will declare the same wish in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him.

It is neither consistent with my interest or ease to resign the ordinary transactions of my station, and by accepting the detail of a single and inferior department, engage in a scene of difficulties, some of which derive their origin from natural causes, and may be insurmountable by human exertions; nor am I very anxious to hazard my reputation on the success of so doubtful a service; yet as the Board has been pleased to commit the affairs of that province in an especial manner to my charge, and has given me the most positive assurances of their support to enable me to acquit myself of so weighty a responsibility, I conceive this to be a case which will not allow of my attending to any personal suggestion. My services are at all times, and in all cases, primarily due to the most important and most urgent calls of this government. To the importance and urgency of the present exigence are added the obligation of a special trust and engagement, and the pledge of the most powerful aid for my encouragement,

I here

I therefore make this early tender of my services to proceed to Lucknow, whenever I shall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpose of regulating the Company's interests in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like assistance for the regulation of his.

My reasons for thus anticipating the call which I have supposed are many.

I have already premised, which I now repeat in more forcible terms, that I am morally assured of receiving such a call from the Nabob Vizier; and I make no scruple of affirming, that I can implicitly rely on the deference which he has ever shewn to my advice, and on his confidence in my justice and good faith, for the most willing co-operation on his part in the measures which I shall recommend for his service, and as prompt and ready a submission to the rights which I may exclusively assert on the behalf of the Company.

The accumulating distresses of that country require preventive no less than remedial applications. The administration of his government requires the vigorous exertion of the powers of our own to restore and confirm the authority which has been loosened from it. His revenue requires the superintendency of officers acknowledging their dependence on their constitutional master, and possessed of credit and characters equal to the responsibility. The balance of the Company's debt, and its progressive growth, depend for their payment on the same provisions; and the liquidation of our own current and loaded debts, together with the credit of our treasury, equally depend on the early liquidation of that which is due to the Company from the province of Owd. The dearth which has already shewn itself in some severe effects, will require the same co-operative aid to remedy so much of this calamity as may proceed from artificial, grounded on natural causes.

The Sics, who have been for some time forming in late bodies, and have avowed their design on the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, require early preparations to meet and repel them; and I have cause to believe that the presence of the executive member of this government, supposed to possess the command of all its powers and resources, would contribute much to discourage the attempt, and supersede the necessity of more substantial operations. Such are the objects of the proposed measure, and the necessity of its early execution is involved in the term of each, nor is it possible to state them in others which shall exclude it. But to these I must add other considerations, derived from my own situation:—first, a respect

respect due to the constitutional rights of the individual members of the Board, and something due to my own credit, which impel me to bring the question before the Board, while every member of it now present may have an opportunity of giving his opinion upon it, and thereby also to guard myself against the imputation of seeking the advantage of carrying it by my own casting vote. Secondly, the desire which I have to possess the official assistance of Mr. David Anderson, whose weak state of health, derived from a late dangerous illness, has induced him to resolve on a voyage to Europe for his recovery : on intimating to him the possibility of my being called upon this service, and the indispensable call which I should in this case have for him, he cheerfully agreed to yield it to me, and to suspend the engagement of his passage until the latest period requiring it, that he might be at liberty to attend me.

I should be sorry to seem to depreciate the merit of others, by an exclusive preference shewn to one ; for I know many of the Company's servants, who are equal to any trusts that may repose in them ; many, who in talents and integrity are entitled to receive the most public testimony of my esteem and approbation ; but I have been long in official habits with Mr. Anderson ; I know him ; his disposition and manner of thinking agree with my own ; and, in the peculiar line in which I should wish to employ him, there is not another on whom I could so confidently rely. I do not think it reasonable to keep him longer in suspense, and on that consideration alone, were there no other, I would entreat the Board to bring this point to an instant decision.

I repeat, that I do not solicit the service which I have offered to undertake, but simply offer it, with the most firm determination to hazard every interest that is dear to me in the prosecution of it, if it shall be the option of the Board to assign it to me ; and I shall expect, in that event, to be invested with the full powers of my office, that is to say, such as I have had especially committed to me on similar occasions.

If the Board shall not chuse to accept of my offer, I shall rest contented with the complete discharge of my duty in having both made it, and used my endeavours to render it effectual.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

A true copy.

E. Hay,  
Secretary.

*Minutes of Mr. Stables and Mr. Wheler.*

The following minutes were received on the 23d ult. from Mr. Wheler and Mr. Stables, and communicated to the Governor-general.

Mr. Stables.

21st January 1784.

I am sorry that I cannot accept of the Governor-general's offer to proceed to Lucknow, In my opinion the executive member of government ought to remain at the presidency, and most particularly at this time, when we are in daily expectation of receiving the news of new arrangements from home.

A true copy.

E. Hay,

Secretary.

Mr. Wheler,

21st January 1784.

In giving my opinion on the very important question brought forward in the Governor-general's minute of yesterday, it is necessary for me to make a reference to what passed before upon the subject.

On the 31st December 1783, the Board resolved to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to confirm the Governor-general's acceptance of the responsibility and charge of affairs there, as explained in the minute agreed to and delivered, in by Mr. Macpherson, Mr. Stables, and myself, on the same day.

Previous to the resolution the Governor-general represented the necessity which he conceived there was for his repairing to Lucknow, for the purpose of accomplishing those plans which alone could place the Company's concerns in the Nabob's country in a more prosperous state. Against the acceptance of this many difficulties occurred, and in consequence it was, after much deliberation, mutually and unanimously agreed to decline the acceptance of the Governor-general's tender of his personal services in the Nabob Vizier's country, and this part of the proposal ended in conversation, without being entered on our recorded debates; however, in candour I must acknowledge, that no claim was preferred on the one hand to bring forward this question at a future day, nor on the other was any attempt made to preclude it, should the measure hereafter appear more strongly necessary.

But I flattered myself that in so short an interval as between the 31st December and 20th January, no motives more pressing, or reasons more urgent than those which had already been brought in argument, would have occurred to prompt the Governor-general to the revival of

of a question of such magnitude as that of his departure from the presidency, at a time when his services here are so essentially required, and I considered myself the more warranted in this hope, because no advices can have arrived from Lucknow since the Nabob Vizier received the notification of the resolution of the Board to accept the offer made by himself and his minister of giving the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and of the current demands of the year. It was true, the Governor-general's visit to Lucknow is said to be the expressed wish of the Nabob Vizier, his minister, and all the principal persons of his family and court, and that the same will probably be declared in terms, and be connected with the engagement prescribed to him; if such be the Nabob Vizier's intention, a very short period of time will be sufficient to enable the Board to receive his requisition in form.

Great merit is certainly due to the Governor-general for his zealous tender of his services on this occasion, which, he says, are at all times and in all cases primarily due to the most important and most urgent calls of this government; but in the present terms and circumstances of the question, I must beg leave to decline anticipating the necessity which may arise of accepting them in the way they are offered: for I think the presence of the Governor-general at our Board should never be dispensed with but on the most pressing and most important occasions; and I repeat, that I deem it at this particular juncture essentially requisite.

But should the Nabob Vizier, in his letters to this government, press the assistance of the Governor-general's abilities in forming new arrangements for the internal government of his country, and the aid of his personal and official influence to carry them into execution, and should state it as a measure absolutely necessary to be adopted for the regulation of his finances, and the speedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it also with his acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him; and if the Governor-general shall be of opinion that his services can be more effectual, and generally beneficial to the interests of the Company, by their being employed in that country, than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his station here, I shall not shrink from the additional weight of labour and responsibility which will in that case devolve on me, but shall think myself acting up to the spirit of the minute delivered in by Mr. Macpherson, Mr. Stables, and myself, in giving the Governor-general this opportunity of acquitting himself of the respon-

responsibility he is thereby charged with in the affairs of the Nabob of Oude. This opinion I hope and trust will meet with the concurrence of the other members of the Board ; and I venture to express a confidence in the hearty co-operation with me, during the Governor-general's absence, in discharging the important duties which belong to our government.

A true copy.

E. Hay,  
Secretary.

*Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal, dated the 7th February 1784.*

Par. 21. YOUR honourable Court has already been made acquainted with the resolution which we thought it necessary to pass on the 31st of December, for withdrawing the residency from Lucknow, and accepting the offer made by his Excellency the Vizier and his minister, of the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due from his Excellency to the Company, and other current expences, the Governor-general being specially responsible for the propriety of the measure. Mr. Wombwell, our Accountant at Lucknow, having been directed to receive such security from the Vizier, has lately transmitted to us a copy of the engagement entered into by two bankers, named Lela Butchrauge, and Faquir Chund ; in which they make themselves answerable for the sum of Lucknow Sicca rupees 1,03,84,420, being the balance due from his Excellency to the Company at the end of the last Fuffilee year, as well as for the subsidy and other current demands of the present year, according to a statement adjusted by Mr Bristow. Part is to be paid in the course of the present year 1191, and the remainder in the course of the next year 1192 Fuffilee. A copy of the engagement attends you, a number in the packet.

22. The Governor-general having laid before us copies of a correspondence which passed between Mr. Wombwell and Mr. Bristow, by which it appears, that Mr. Bristow has hesitated to obey the order which directed his return to the presidency, in consequence of some doubts expressed to be primarily founded on the terms of that order, which he expresses to be "loose and indefinite," we have sent our peremptory commands to Mr. Bristow to leave Lucknow, and repair to the presidency immediately, directing, in like manner, the assistants of his office to do the same.

23. We

23. We have the honour to transmit to you a number in this dispatch, copy of a minute delivered by the Governor-general, on the 20th of last month; in which the Governor informs us of a letter he had received from his secretary, Major Palmer, at Lucknow, containing a very alarming representation of the disordered state of the Vizier's dominions, and urging the necessity of his repairing to Lucknow for the purpose of giving his personal and early assistance to the Nabob Vizier for their retrieval: and that from other letters received from Lucknow upon the same subject, the Governor-general understands that this was the expressed wish of the Nabob Vizier, his minister, and all the principal persons of his family and court; having also great reason to believe, that as soon as the Nabob should have received the notification lately transmitted to him, of the last resolutions of the Board, he would decline the same wish in terms, and connect it with his acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him. The Governor-general has therefore made us an early tender of his services, to proceed to Lucknow whenever he shall receive an invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpose of regulating the Company's interests in that province, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like assistance for the regulation of his.

24. For the other important reasons which have induced the Governor-general to make this offer, we beg leave to refer you to his minute, which we deem well deserving your attention. The minutes of the other members of the Board now at the presidency, on this subject, are also enclosed numbers in this address; and by these you will observe, that the Governor-general's tender of his services to repair to Lucknow, has been accepted on the following conditions; viz. that the Nabob Vizier shall, in his letters to this government, press the assistance of the Governor-general's abilities in forming new arrangements for the internal management of his country, and the aid of his personal and official influence to carry them into execution, and state it as a measure absolutely necessary to be adopted for the regulation of his finances, and the speedy liquidation of his debt to the Company, connecting it also with the acceptance of the engagement prescribed to him; and that the Governor general shall be of opinion, that his services can be more effectual, and generally beneficial to the interests of the Company, by their being employed in that country, than in the arduous and important duties annexed to his station at the presidency.



*Extract of the Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 16th February 1784.*

Par. 10. We had the honour to inform you in our last advices, of a tender made on the 20th of last month, by the honourable the Governor-general, of his services to proceed to Lucknow whenever he should receive an expected invitation from the Nabob Vizier to that effect, for the purpose of regulating the Company's interests in the province of Oude, and affording the Nabob Vizier the like assistance for the regulation of his. Our resolution was also communicated to you on the Governor-general's offer.—A strong letter from his Excellency, and his minister Hyder Beg Cawn, has been lately received, and submitted to us by the Governor-general, who has renewed the offer before made to us.—The Governor's minutes on this subject, and the papers accompanying them, are transmitted to you numbers in the packet, together with the minutes of the other members of the Board now here, to which we beg leave particularly to refer you, and by which it will appear, that we have vested in the Governor-general the powers and authorities which he has desired, to enable him to effect the purposes of his visit to his Excellency the Vizier's dominions.

14th February 1784.

THE Governor-general having this instant received letters from the Nabob Vizier, and his minister Hyder Beg Khaun, translations of which accompany this minute; the Governor-general, in compliance with the pressing invitations contained in these letters, now renews the tender of his services in acceptance thereof, in the terms and for the purposes expressed in his minute of the 20th January.

The Governor-general also, relying on the Board's acquiescence in the foregoing proposal, since in the event which has happened it has already been in fact agreed to, and wishing to preclude all intermediate delay, submits to the Board, for their approval, drafts of his public credentials, and of orders to be issued to the civil and military officers stationed behind the province of Bahar.

Not willing on so short a notice to require the members of the Board to give themselves the trouble of an immediate and formal meeting for the purpose of discussing the business of the preceding questions, nor the occasion requiring it for the reason already mentioned, the Governor-general has directed the secretary to attend them with these papers, and requests that they will  
be

be pleased to deliver their opinions thereon in circulation.

A true Copy.  
E. Hay,  
Secretary.

Received February 14th 1784.

*From the Vizier to the Honourable Governor General.*

Usual Introduction.

Your gracious letters, which you honoured me with from paternal kindness, have arrived. In what language can I express the favours and obligations you have conferred upon me? this country, my family, and myself, are all yours. Such obligations have bound me firmly in gratitude. I before rested entirely on your pleasure, but am now with heart and life attached to it, and will in no measure depart from it. From the favours conferred on me, your reputation will spread throughout all Indostan, for to the inhabitants of this country you have given new life.

My only desire now is a meeting with yourself: from the same motive as you have already shewn me so many favours, I entreat you will travel this way, and confer prosperity on my family and country, which are the same as your own. Your presence will be the cause of increase of my reputation, regulation to my affairs, and settlement of the country, to the mutual advantage of our Sircars, as whatever plans you may adopt will remain permanent, and be a source of credit during our lives.

As I am now ardently employed in the direction of affairs, and the measures for paying the Company's demands, I have no leisure, and am therefore excusable, otherwise I should come to visit you. In the manner you have already favoured me, confer the obligation of coming here to complete my happiness, as I am certain such regulations will proceed from it, as shall not leave room for any one hereafter to find fault. I have performed the conditions signified by you through Major Palmer, for the satisfaction of the Company, which will be known to you from his letters.

Concludes as usual.

A true Copy of the Translation.  
E. Hay,  
Secretary.

Received February 14th 1784.

*From Hyder Beg Khan to the Honourable Governor General.*

Usual Introduction.

How shall I express the obligations you have conferred upon his Highness and his subjects in general, since human language is too weak? your fame will from them be spread throughout the world. His Highness is so obliged and grateful for your favours; as cannot be expressed; frequently saying, you have purchased him by generosity. This will be fully known to you from the letters of Major Palmer.

The only desire of his Highness now is, that you will, by coming here, bestow prosperity on his affairs. From your presence will spring stability to measures, and benefit of both Sirkars; as whatever you plan will remain firm for ever. I who am your servant, lifted from the dust by your hand, have received new life from the favours conferred upon his Highness, and regard paying my respects to your Excellency as necessary to my existence; but at this time your presence here is most advisable. The favours you have shewn can only be repaid by prayers for your prosperity. What was desired for the satisfaction of the Company has been performed, and shall be observed in future. Every point will be known to you from the letters of Major Palmer.

Concludes as Usual.

A true Copy of the Translation,  
E. Hay,  
Secretary.

Governor General's Credentials.

Whereas it has been resolved in Council, on the 31st December 1783, to withdraw the Residency at Lucknow, and to invest the Governor-general with a special and separate charge of the Company's affairs and interests in the dominions of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah, on certain conditions therein expressed, which have been since fulfilled; and whereas the Board have agreed on the invitation of the Nabob Vizier, and on a tender made by the Governor-general of his services in the acceptance thereof, that the Governor-general shall proceed to Lucknow, for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his government; it is hereby resolved, That the Governor-general shall be and is invested with full power and authority to concert and ad-  
just

just with the Nabob Vizier the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, of restoring and securing the peace, safety, and order of his government, and of promoting the improvement of his revenue, and to support the Nabob Vizier with the authority of this government, in as full and ample manner as we can empower him by an act of the parliament of Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the honourable the Court of Directors, and to take all such measures as he the Governor-general shall think necessary for the accomplishment of these ends : and for these purposes it is hereby agreed and resolved, that the Governor-general shall be and is invested with the full power and authority of this government (so far as we can legally delegate the same) over all the officers, civil and military, stationed or residing within the dominions of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah, and the province of Benares ; but restricted to the exercise thereof to the dominions of the Nabob Asoph ul Dowlah and the province of Benares aforesaid, and to the purposes above recited.

Given in Fort William, under the seal of the honourable Company, and under the hands of the Governor-general and Council, this . . . day of . . .  
in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,  
Secretary.

14th February 1784.

The Governor General.

To obviate any misconstructions of the confidence with which I have long since mentioned my expectation, which is now arrived from the Nabob Vizier, I think it expedient to observe, that, independently of my intimate knowledge of the Nabob's general wish upon this subject, his particular desire of a visit from me at this time, and for the purposes of the actual occasion, has been repeatedly signified to me in many private letters from Lucknow, both from Major Palmer and others, long before I made the first tender of my services in accepting the invitation.

At the time that my letter, containing the notification of the resolution of the Board, passed on the 31st of December, arrived at Lucknow, the Nabob Vizier had quitted his capital, and was on an excursion of pleasure at a distance of an hundred and ten miles from it. By a paper of intelligence, delivered to me by his Vakeel Rajah Govindram, and in the possession of the secretary, I am in-

formed, that such was his impatience to return, that he performed the journey in seven parrs, or 21 hours, in a Palanquin, and arrived at Lucknow on the 2d instant without attendants.

For further proofs of the little ground which existed for the use of any indirect means to influence the Nabob in soliciting my presence and assistance, I refer the Board to the accompanying letters, which I received the day before yesterday from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell, neither intended most assuredly for public record, nor was it without hesitation that I was induced to insert that of Mr. Wombwell. I could not deny myself the advantage of so strong a testimony, both of the point in question, and of the utter want of foundation for the assertion so often repeated by Mr. Bristow, that the Nabob was himself indifferent to the transactions which formed the multiplied complaints against the Resident, and that the whole were the fabrication of his minister without the participation of his will or inclination.

(Signed) W. HASTINGS.

A true Copy.

E. Hay,  
Secretary.

*Letters from Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell to the Governor General.*

(Copy.)

Lucknow, 2d February 1784.

My dear Sir,

The Vizier arrived here yesterday, after travelling a considerable part of his journey by post. Mr. Wombwell and I paid our respects to him this morning. After perusing your letters, presented to him by that gentleman, he entered into discourse upon the different subjects of them, and gave the strongest and most unequivocal proof how deeply he was penetrated with a sense of your goodness, and the important benefits which you have obtained for him.—He earnestly wishes to see you, to make his grateful acknowledgments in person, to request your personal assistance in completing the generous work which you have begun, by establishing the mutual interests and reputation of both governments upon the most solid foundations. To-morrow he will tell you so himself; and if his writing is so expressive and as forcible as his speech and action, you will be convinced that there is no circumstance in life can give him greater happiness than to see you at his capital, and to prove his gratitude by an implicit and cheerful acquiescence in whatever measures you may recommend.

I am

I am greatly concerned that the fine season for travelling will be nearly over before you can set out. The absence of the Vizier has caused an unlucky delay. I thought your visit a point of too much delicacy and importance to be settled whilst he was at a distance, as it would have been impossible for me to have known his real sentiments upon it; and I was determined to decline the invitation, if it should appear to be made only as a compliment.

I request, my dear Sir, that you will give me the information of your departure, that nothing may be wanting, either here or upon the road, for your accommodation. The Vizier has not yet intimated to Mr. Bristow his permission to depart, being desirous to avoid every appearance for his removal, and Mr. Bristow not having yet given in his accounts.

I am, with the greatest respect,

My dear Sir,

Your most devoted and affectionate  
humble Servant,

(Copy.)

(Signed) W. PALMER.

Dear Sir,

The Nabob arrived last night; and this morning I had the honour of presenting your letters to him. Major Palmer will acquaint you with the expressions of his gratitude. You were his friend, the brother of his father.

They were not lost to me; for he acknowledged his obligations in tears.

Permit me to offer my congratulations to you on this happy event.

With the most sincere respect,

I am, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) J. WOMBWELL.

The 2d February 1784,

Lucknow.

True Copies.

E. Hay,

Secretary.

## MR. HASTINGS'S ARRIVAL IN OUDE.

READ the following letter from Mr. Bristow :

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I this day received my audience of leave from his Highness the Nabob Vizier.

To anticipate calamity is an invidious and irksome task; yet before I retire from the Court of Oude I am strongly called upon by duty, and perhaps not ill qualified by experience, to suggest to the honourable Board the probable consequences of my removal; it is the last important obligation of the trust reposed in me, and I shall acquit myself of it with fidelity.

Much as I lament the unprosperous issue of an enterprize, which in its success would have been so honourable to me, my sensibility of it is unmixed with any painful consciousness. I have done my duty; and your applause, gentlemen, as it is the best testimony, is also the best reward of my laborious endeavours in the public service.

Appointed to the arduous work of reformation, I found in Hyder Beg Cawn an antagonist of irresistible strength, over whom it was impossible I should singly prevail; who in the extensive influence derived from his wealth, in the universal terror inspired by his authority, in the slavish subserviency, and more than puerile weakness of the prince his master, possessed a power of resistance which I long since foresaw, and long since foretold, would render equally vain the continued exercise of all my firmness, and every exertion of my understanding.

To restore the sovereign to his dignity, to curb the ambition of his minister, to correct the disorders and abuses of his government, were the salutary and important objects of my designation at the court of Oude. Their accomplishment would have established the English influence over these once rich and flourishing provinces on a basis of more stability than any we had yet owned, and interest in the hearts of the people, acquired and confirmed through the blessings they derived from us.

The triumphant opposition of Hyder Beg Cawn has defeated a purpose so full of wisdom and humanity, but the attempt, I am well assured, has left an indelible impression of fear and hatred upon his mind. Delivered at last from the hateful presence of your representative, and invested with the virtual sovereignty of the Vizier's domi-

dominions, all the activity, all the malevolence of his heart and understanding, will be called forth and exerted, to confirm his independence, and to gratify his revenge.

In the uniform experience of years, in the consistent iniquity and mismanagement of the minister, we find an elaborate instruction directing us with unerring certainty to the future fate of Oude, and our friends.

It is most foreign from my intention to arraign the wisdom, or to dispute the decrees of government; but I obey the dictates of truth and duty in declaring, that I cannot imagine a conjuncture of more imminent and apparent danger to the interest of my employers, or to the honour of my country; the first I consider as inseparably connected with the prosperity of Oude; the last will receive a mortal wound, should those be abandoned by us, who in their services and attachment have a sacred claim to our protection. From the exercise of despotic authority by such a character as the minister, what indeed is to be hoped but the most heinous abuse of it? From a reliance on the clemency of Hyder Beg Cawn, what milder doom, than death or confiscation? suffer me, gentlemen, in the assurance of the melancholy propriety of these reflections, to refer to your own opinions, to your own expressive language. I transcribe them from the instructions I received through the honourable the Governor-general, shortly after my appointment; delineating the former conduct of the minister with a truth and decision that will not be disputed, they furnish the most undeniable evidence of the peril of confiding in him, and render an appeal equally superfluous and impertinent: I shall therefore pass in silence over a thousand superadded examples, all strongly characteristic of the principles and policy of Hyder Beg Cawn, which have occurred during the interval that has since elapsed, and which, like those I am now about to lay before you, constitute a perpetual record of his contempt for your authority, of his insolence, ambition, and rapacity.

“Immediately on your arrival, found the disposition of Hyder Beg Cawn; his conduct has for some time past been highly reproachable. Till within these three months, when Mr. Johnson assumed a large portion of his authority, he possessed, without controul, both the unparticipated and entire administration, with all the powers annexed to that government; the Nabob himself being, as he ever must be in the hands of some person, a mere cypher in his, and the sanction by which he exercised his authority; yet he has dared both to use the Nabob's name, and even his seal, affixed to letters, either dictated



to the Nabob, or written from him without his knowledge, containing very improper demands on our government, and such as evidently tended to promote Hyder Beg's influence and interest, and even to make him assume a very unbecoming tone of refusal, reproach, and resentment, in opposition to measures recommended by me, and even to acts done by my authority, in literal conformity to the Nabob's own and earnest solicitations; such as the resumption of the Jaghires, and the seizure of his father's treasures, which had been so long suffered to remain in the hands of the Begum his mother, and the other conditions of the engagement exacted from me at Chunar. On every occasion of this kind the late Resident has been the faithful echo and support of the minister's pretensions. I must therefore have recourse to you for the introduction of a new system in that government." —Again, "It may be adviseable to try him (the minister) by the mode of conciliation in your first conversation with him; at the same time that it will be necessary to declare to him, in the plainest terms, the footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain his place, with the alternative of dismissal, and a scrutiny into his past conduct, if he refuses it. In the first place, I will not receive from the Nabob, as his letters dictated by the spirit of opposition, but shall consider every such attempt as the minister's, and as an insult on our government. In the second place, I shall expect that nothing is done in his official character, but with your knowledge and participation." —Again, speaking of Almas Ally Cawn, "It is very extraordinary that his defection, his retreat to the frontier, the subsequent negotiations which passed between him and the Nabob, the engagements concluded between them, which resemble more a treaty between equal states, than a transaction between a sovereign and his vassal, have all passed without the least communication or report of them made to me by the Resident, or his assistant, or the minister; and in a letter which I have lately received from the Nabob, the minister has had the presumption to make the Nabob declare the whole to be false, and without foundation; and to affirm that every part of his dominions enjoys the most perfect peace and tranquillity. Upon this subject the behaviour of the minister is so reprehensible, that I think it incumbent upon me to let him know my sentiments of it. It will at least shew him how thin the veil is by which he covers his own acts, and that such artifices will only tend to make them the more criminal, from the falsehood and duplicity with which they are associated. As for Almas Ally Cawn himself, the policy which has  
been

been observed towards him has been scandalously derogatory from the Nabob's dignity and interests, and hurtful to the representation of our government, so far as it is connected, or the world will think it connected, with it."—Lastly, "The Nabob has repeatedly and bitterly complained of the indignity which he suffers in his authority, by the usurpation of the Company's Resident; and as repeatedly demanded, that whenever the Company's balance shall be completely discharged he may be freed from this vexation; that he may be permitted to pay the subsidy in ready money; and that the assignments which have been granted to satisfy that demand may be restored to him. I confess that I did myself give encouragement to this proposition, knowing at the same time the quarter from whence it came, I mean from Hyder Beg Cawn; and, willing to exonerate this government from the trouble and responsibility, and the Company from the disgrace of whatever might attend the administration of the Nabob's government, I thought too that it presented a sure prospect of the regular payment of the current demands, by the penalty which would attend the failure, in the resumption of the former system of assignments, and in the personal claims which it would bring on the minister. But his misconduct has since manifested itself in so many particular instances, besides the universal disorder of the country, and this is so alarming in its effects to our government, that I shall hesitate, until I have the surest and most satisfactory grounds to recommend an acquiescence in such a measure. At present, the plea on which it is grounded is probably yet at some distance; for whilst I am writing these instructions, fresh circumstances occur to my knowledge, which make me much suspect the real payment of the sums brought to the Nabob's credit for the last year's balance. It may not, however, be amiss to talk with the minister on this subject, to let him know that it is well understood to be a demand for substituting his authority in the place of the Company's, and to invest him with the sovereignty of the Nabob's dominions; to ask him, whether he shall in such case expect the Company's protection? and if he does, by what claim of right? and whether, in the event of his involving our government in a new scene of hostilities by those which his mal-administration may produce, whether internally or by invasion in that country, he shall think himself in justice exempt from the personal vengeance which we may be disposed to exact from him? At all events, the proposition must be discouraged till a safer season for its acceptance;

ceptance; but the absolute rejection of it eluded with the Nabob, if he shall himself renew it."

I have the honour, &c.

Lucknow, (Signed) JOHN BRISTOW.  
8th Feby. 1784.

*To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable United East India Company.*

Lucknow, 30th April 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE judged it incumbent on me to make trial of every practicable chance of conveying to you the earliest intelligence of my arrival at the place from which this letter is dated, and of the first effects produced by the accommodation which took place by the resolution of the Governor-general and council, passed on the 31st of December last, and already notified to you by the successive dispatches of your ships. I shall begin the thread of my report from that date. I soon after found that the state of this country was so disordered in its revenue and administration, and the credit and influence of the Nabob himself so much shaken by the effects of the late usurpation of his authority, and the contest which attended it, as to require the accession of an extraneous aid to restore the powers and constitution of his government; and I was strongly and repeatedly urged to repair hither in person for that purpose.

These instances, though declared to be conformable to the wishes of the Nabob Vizier, his family and ministers, having been privately conveyed to me, I represented them as such to the Board on the 20th of January; and offered my services to go to Lucknow whenever the Nabob Vizier should require it, which I knew, from undoubted authority, he would, with his answer to the notification formally made to him of the resolution of the 31st of December.

My reasons for thus anticipating the occasion were many—the distracted state of the affairs, which every suspension of a day would aggravate; the season of the collections requiring the application of early exertions for their security; and my own infirm state of health, which was not equal to sustain so long a journey, if protracted to the commencement of the hot winds.

My offer was accepted, by a conditional declaration on the part of Mr. Wheler, and I made instant preparations for the journey.

On the 14th of February the Nabob's invitation arrived. I repeated my proposal; the same authority decided its acceptance;

acceptance; and on the 17th I took my leave of the Board, and departed from Calcutta with a severe indisposition, which had seized me some time preceding, then hanging on me. Happily the change of air effected my speedy cure; and on the 27th ultimo I arrived at this place, in a state of health so confirmed, as to promise an unremitting attention to the very important objects of my commission.

On my way, I had the alarming perspective of a soil so completely exhausted of its natural moisture by the failure of one entire season of the periodical rains, that except the fields of grain that had been kept in vegetation by the uncommon labour of the husbandman, and were still clothed with a luxuriant produce, or that retained the stubble of the recent harvest, the plains exhibited an appearance of barrenness so dreary, that even the roots of its former herbage no longer existed, and the deep ravines and beds of rivers, which I passed, threw up clouds of dust from their channels. These are not circumstances of trivial observation, nor are they confined to the lands of these provinces. Every region of Hindostan has felt the same angry visitation, and another year of equal drought (which is not to be expected in the course of natural events) would put it out of the reach of human wisdom to prevent or retrieve the dreadful calamity which must attend it.

Yet such is my reliance on the gratitude and unbounded confidence of the Nabob and his ministers, that I dare promise, even at this immature period, under every circumstance but the dreadful one which I have above supposed, and which I have stated as improbable, a successful progress and termination of the measures which I have begun, equal to any expectations which may have been formed of it, however sanguine, if I am not counteracted, and my operations impeded, by orders which I may not resist, and am allowed to remain to the time destined for their perfection—nor shall it be a common obstruction which shall restrain me; for I possess such inherent advantages as, I trust, will prove superior to every species of opposition, but the last extremity of it. Indeed, if such springs as give the common movements to popular opinion could influence my proceedings, I have already experienced such in two instances, one of which I believe to have had the special service in which I am engaged for its object, and the other the general ruin of my authority.

I allude, first, to a report fabricated at Fort St. George, of the arrival of a ship of war at Bombay, with the authentic intelligence of my dismissal with disgrace from my office, which I received at the instant that I was setting my

my foot on the shore at Nuddeah, for the commencement of my journey; and secondly, to a paper transmitted to me by a respected authority from Calcutta, containing strictures on my former deputation, said to be a part of a report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which unhappily apply to every purpose of this, and which declare (with horror I repeat it) a right invested in the Commander in Chief of the army to oppose the power delegated by the government itself to its first executive member, and to assert that right by an appeal to the army for its ultimate decision upon it. The words of the report, if it be such, to which I allude, are these:

“ By these instructions it appears, that the Governor-  
 “ general was positively restrained from the exercise of  
 “ any military power whatsoever beyond the garrison and  
 “ fortress of Fort William; so that the delegation and  
 “ exercise of all military power and authority, beyond  
 “ the limits so described, was a direct and positive dis-  
 “ obedience of the orders of the Court of Directors.  
 . . . “ Disobedience of orders on a point so delicate and  
 “ important as that of wresting the military command  
 “ from the official military officer, who was invested with  
 “ that authority by the orders of the Directors, might  
 “ have been productive of consequences extremely pre-  
 “ judicial to the service: if the Commander in Chief had  
 “ asserted the right invested in himself, a contention for  
 “ executive power might have been the consequence;  
 “ and the army, which in India is so peculiarly consti-  
 “ tuted as to require not only exact discipline, but the  
 “ most perfect subordination, in order to ensure obedi-  
 “ ence; must have ultimately decided where that obedience  
 “ was due.”

I dare not examine a doctrine affirmed to be of so sacred an authority; yet I may humbly suggest that it never was, nor never could have been intended to be applied to the actual commander in chief, whose command was originally constituted by the Governor-general and Council themselves, and therefore could not be rendered superior to, and independent of, the powers vested in the Governor-general and Council by an act of parliament passed before its existence, nor included in any instructions of the Court of Directors, also framed at a more ancient period, if even at a later; and a sense of national duty superior to every consideration of personal safety, or the reference which is due to high office, impels me to denounce, and to date the fall of the British empire in India from the instant that it shall be decidedly declared or understood that any commander in chief of the army, be his title or rank what it will, is, or may be, by any constructive power,

power, independant of the government under which the wisdom of parliament hath hitherto placed the army serving in these provinces, and every member of it, in an implicit and absolute subjection to its authority.

God forbid that any future Pizarros and Almagros should disgrace the annals of your dominion, or mark the traces of its decline with the blood of your servants and soldiers—but the contest will probably be of short duration; and happy will it be for the interests of humanity, if such shall be the issue, though dreadful to our own, whatever period of time may close it!

Let me add, nor let my words be uttered in vain, that whenever the fatal blow shall be struck, or from whatever hand it shall proceed, its effect will be not a gradual decay, but an instantaneous ruin; for your existence hangs on the thread of opinion, which the touch of chance may break; and even that source, which ought to flow with the principles of its duration, will, if productive of the same deleterious streams which have been lately seen to issue from it, prove the cause of its dissolution.

I am not myself apprehensive of any evil consequence of the partial and limited command which I possess over your army, in its tendency to provoke a competition; for in the first place, I will never put it to the issue of a trial; and in the second, were the Board to permit the Commander in Chief to come into this quarter, which is not likely, I confidently hope that before he could arrive, this province will have been so regulated as not to require any foreign aid for its internal protection, nor of course any exercise of the powers which I possess, and which he might deem himself warranted to resist.

I proceed to report the effects which have been produced to this time from the late accommodation, and the objects to which I look for the final issue of it.

Before my departure from Calcutta, I applied through a private channel to the acting minister to advance an immediate supply of money to your Paymaster-general at Lucknow for the subsistence of the troops stationed in these provinces, who were then many months in arrears, and suffered much additional distress from the scarcity and dearth of grain. He instantly raised the sum of ten lacks of rupees, which proved a critical and effectual relief. Since my arrival he has made other payments to a considerable amount. These are particularized in the enclosed account \*, No. 1, in which I have included, for  
your

\* *The accounts alluded to in this and the next paragraph were, in the hurry of the Governor's departure from Lucknow, mislaid,*

your early information, all the payments made in liquidation of the honourable Company's debt in the course of the present Fuffulee year, to which all accounts of the revenue are by old custom adjusted, and commences on the 11th of September, to the present time.

To this I have joined another account, No. 2, stating the probable claims of the Company upon the Nabob Vizier, from the beginning of the present to the end of the next Fuffulee year, or to the 10th September 1785.

On both these accounts I shall offer a few necessary remarks.—First on No. 1. The 1st sum of 16 lacks of rupees, stated as the account of Mr. Bristow's receipts, is taken from his own account in the possession of Mr. Wombwell, the Accomptant for this station, but differs materially from that which has been drawn by the Nabob's officers; and I referred it to the Board for adjustment with Mr. Bristow, who alone can explain the difference.

The second article is the regular produce of the current revenue.—I was early careful to guard the minister against the use of violent measures, to anticipate the period of collection for the purpose of giving an ostensible credit to the present system, by swelling the amount of the payments made in consequence of it; although the exigencies of your state induced me to press him to contribute what he could for your relief, without adding to the distresses of his own, for the country will not bear it.

The 3d article was obtained by my own suggestion from Almas's Ally Cawn, who complied cheerfully and without hesitation, considering it as an evidence seasonably offered for the general refutation of the charges of perfidy and disloyalty, which have been so laboriously urged against him, and carried at one time to an excess which had nearly driven him to abandon the country for the preservation of his life and honour, and thus to give a colour to the charges themselves.

It will scarce merit your attention to be informed that I have invested a part of this supply in bills of exchange payable to the Governor-general and Council in Calcutta, to the amount of 5 lacks of Calcutta Siccas, but as it is connected with an arrangement which may prove of future advantage to your interests in the reduction of the Hoon-dyan, or exchange, from 16 per cent. to  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , at which it is my determination to fix it.

*mislaid, and no copies of them are to be procured. It is hoped, however, that this accident will be excused, as the statements here alluded to have been comprehended in accounts of later date.*

I have

I have recommended to the Board to appropriate the whole of this article as a fund for the payment of the interest of your bonds, which had suffered something in its credit and current value from the suspension of the payment of interest some months before I left Calcutta.

The last article is the balance of the sum due from Fyze Oola Cawn, by a treaty made between him and the Nabob Vizier, through the agency of Major Palmer, on the 15th February 1783. Two lacks of this amount are now in regular course of payment, the remaining three are not due by stipulation till the next season, called Kherief, which is a period included between the middle of September and the middle of February. Some days after my arrival, I intimated to his Vackeel my wish to have both payments immediately concluded; and his master gave immediate orders for it.

To this instance of respect to your government he has added another, in the deputation of his son to Lucknow, to confirm the assurance of his attachment to the Company and British nation.

What further sums may be realized in the course of this year, of which the productive part is already past, I cannot say; but it is my hope that a considerable part of the Nabob's debt will be liquidated, and the discharge of the remaining ensued by the engagements of creditable bankers, so that it may be wholly cleared within the course of the ensuing year.

The account, No. 2, is an estimate formed on the actual expence, but will be considerably reduced if my future prospects and objects shall be answerable to my present expectations: to them I proceed.

1st. My first wish is to realize the amount of your demand on the Nabob of Owde, to the end of the next Fussulee year, and to obtain ample securities for it before I depart from hence.

2. My next care will be to induce the Nabob's ministers to appoint bodies of regular troops, for the support of his collections, and the internal defence of his country. This will preclude the necessity of calling for the aid of our troops, and I hope may prove the means of releasing him from the extraordinary and undefined subsidy, which he now pays for the great detachment employed under the command of Colonel Sir John Cumming, in Rohilcund, and the regiments which have been occasionally demanded and remain scattered over other parts of his dominions, and of confining our defence, and the Nabob Vizier's payments, to the brigade stationed at Cawnpore, and to the subsidy fixed by the treaty for its expence.



3dly. My last and ultimate hope is, that when these objects are attained, your wisdom will put a final period to the ruinous and disreputable system of interference, whether avowed or secret, in the affairs of the Nabob of Owde, and withdraw for ever the influence by which it was maintained.

This country has no inlets of trade by which it can supply the issues which are made from it; for, excepting the factory at Tonda, which subsists by a contract making part of your investment, and the produce of opium and salt-petre, which is not considerable, I do not know any other article of commerce from which it could derive any returns; therefore every rupee which is drawn from its circulation into your treasury will accelerate the period at which its ability must cease to pay even the stipulated subsidy. By the continuance of this fund, you maintain an accession of more than one half to the military establishment required for the defence of your dominions, without any charge on your own income, and you oppose a wide and powerful frontier to your eventual enemies.

That force will continue to be an effectual safeguard to the country, which will suffer nothing by its maintenance, because the specie thus applied will of course flow back into its circulation; and it is a tribute which it ought gladly to pay, for its whole wealth would not in any other way yield an adequate mode of protection.

Few are the advocates of the national interests, and their voice will be faintly heard amid the numerous and loud exclamations of private rapacity; but I humbly assume to rank myself with the former, and to assure you that if you seek for a permanent and profitable system of connection with this country, you must confine your claims upon it to the line which I have recommended; if you transgress it you may extend the distribution of patronage, and add, by the fortune of individuals, to the nominal riches of Great Britain; but your own interest will suffer by it, and the ruin of a great and once-flourishing nation will be recorded as the work of your administration, with an everlasting reproach on the British name.

To this reasoning I shall join the obligations of justice and good faith, which cut-off every pretext for your exercising any power or authority in this country, while the sovereign of it fulfils the engagements which have been contracted with you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

honourable Sirs,

yours, &c.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

MR.

## MR. HASTINGS'S SETTLEMENT OF OUDE IN 1784.

*To the Honourable Court of Directors of the Honourable  
United East India Company.*

Benares, 1st October 1784.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to send you a duplicate of my last address, and a copy of a letter to the Council, dated the 20th of September last, containing the report of my proceeding, and of the state of your claims on the Nabob Vizier to that period, being within three days of the close of the Füsselee year: this is so full as to render any further information on that subject unnecessary. The Nabob Vizier is so sensible of the just and disinterested conduct which I have observed towards him, and possesses, if I may credit appearances amounting to the strongest evidence of which such a conclusion is capable, so entire a confidence in my intentions respecting his concerns with the Company, that I have on my part an equal reliance on his steady support of the arrangements which have been formed under my inspection, both for the administration of his revenue, and the discharge of his debt to the honourable Company depending on it. He has given me the firmest assurances of this, and I have every reason to expect that the influence of the most respectable persons of his family will be employed to counteract every other which may tend to warp him from it. I am sorry to say, that such an assistance was wanting; as the Nabob, tho' most gentle in his manners, and endowed with an understanding much above the common level, has been unfortunately bred up to habits that draw his attention too much from the care of his own affairs, and often subject him to the guidance of insidious and unworthy confidants. This is one motive of my intention of making a longer stay at Benares than is necessary for the settlement of this Zemindary, which is already nearly concluded, that I may be at hand to counteract any attempt to defeat the effect of my proceedings at Lucknow: but I believe that the precaution, though dictated by prudence, will prove unnecessary.

My only remaining fear is, that the members of the Council, seeing affairs through a different medium from that through which I view them, may be disposed, if not to counteract the system which I have formed, to withhold from it their countenance and active support. While I myself remain, it will be sufficient if they permit it to operate without interruption; and I almost hope that

in the event of a new administration of your affairs, which shall confine itself to the same forbearance, and manifest no symptoms of intended interference, the objects of my arrangements will be effectually attained; for I leave them in the charge of agents whose interests, ambition, and every prospect of life, are interwoven with their success, and the hand of Heaven has visibly blessed the soil with every elementary source of progressive vegetation. But if a different policy shall be adopted; if new agents are sent into the country, and armed with authority for the purposes of vengeance and corruption, for to no other will they be applied; if new demands are raised on the Nabob Vizier, and accounts overcharged on one side, with a wide latitude taken on the other, to swell his debt beyond the means of payment; if political dangers are portended, to ground on them the pleas for burthening his country with unnecessary defences and enormous subsidies; or if, even abstaining from direct encroachment on the Nabob's rights, your government shall shew but a degree of personal kindness to the partizans of the late usurpation, or by any constructive indication of partiality and disaffection furnish grounds for the expectation of an approaching change of system;—I am sorry to say, that all my labours will prove abortive; for the slightest causes will be sufficient to deject minds sore with the remembrance of past conflicts, and to elevate those whose only dependence is placed in the renewal of the confusion which I have laboured with such zeal to eradicate, and will of course debilitate the authority which can alone ensure future success. I almost fear that this denunciation of effects, from causes so incompetent as they will appear to those who have not had the experience which I have had of the quick sensibility which influenced the habits of men placed in a state of polity so loose, and subject to the continual variations of capricious and despotic authority, will be deemed overcharged, or perhaps void of foundation; nor, if they should come to pass, will it be easy to trace them with any positive evidence to their connection; yet it is my duty to apprize you of what I apprehend, on the grounds which I deem of absolute certainty, may come to pass, and I rely on your candour for a fair interpretation of my intention.

It is not quite foreign from this doctrine, as it will be highly acceptable to your honourable Court to be informed, that during my residence (and I may take the date further back, to the expectation of it at Lucknow) the most perfect tranquillity prevailed, and it still subsists in every part of the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, a circumstance unexampled in the annals of that government,

ment, either in any former period, or during that in which our influence has been blended with its own constitution; and this I attribute exclusively to the prevalency of opinion, or, to apply the general maxim, to the universal conviction of a power and a disposition actually existing, the one equal to the suppression of any movement of sedition, and the other determined to the punishment of it: nor has my time been unprofitably bestowed, even in the long interval in which I was obliged to wait for the first appearance of the rainy season, before I could see the beginning of the new settlement. It afforded leisure for the constitutional administration of the country to recover its authority; it impressed the minds of all men, that the government which I represented was determined to render it permanent; and it enabled me to establish my own influence and ascendant over the minds of the Nabob, his ministers, and his people, on the grounds of their confidence in me. This was an easy line, for it required nothing to be done, nothing but forbearance: I daily conferred with the ministers, I received their reports, I gave my advice; but I left every thing wholly to their management. I assumed no appearance of command, I exercised none, not even in private; I issued not a single warrant, nor suffered any individual of my dependants to use my name, even in the common Bazar, with any privilege distinct from the rights of any other inhabitant. The Nabob met me on the border of his territory, our troops and baggage were intermixed on the road, and our camps often joined: I and my people, who were numerous, with a large society of English gentlemen, which was unavoidable, lived in the same city five months, and of that time within the same common enclosure of the Nabob's palace; nor in all that time did a single accident happen from such a mixture of society to disturb its peace, or to create misunderstanding between either the principals or parties of either, but they continued united with the same harmony that exists between the members of a private family: nor, whether in public or private, though occasions of great delicacy often occurred, did a word ever pass in conversation between the Nabob and myself inconsistent with the strictest amity and mutual good humour. I hope this will not have the air of self-commendation.—My behaviour was regulated by a preconcerted policy, the Nabob's by a natural benevolence and pliancy of temper, joined to persuasion that I merited more than an ordinary return of kindness from him, which left my part very easy, and will, I trust, still continue to operate for the common benefit of his interest, and yours, whatever may be my lot; for I have promised

that I will not abandon him to the chance of another mode of relation, and most confidently given him assurances of your ratification and confirmation of that which I have established between his government and the Company.

I hope I shall be pardoned for repeating a remark, which I have already made in my letter to the Council (for it ought to be known and remembered) that I have provided for the complete discharge, in one year, of a debt contracted by the accumulation of many, and from a country whose resources have been wasted and dissipated by three successive years of drought, and one of anarchy.

The recovery of so large a part of your property will also afford a seasonable and substantial relief to the necessities of your government, and enable it, for such is my confidential hope, to begin upon the reduction of your debt at interest before the conclusion of this year, I mean the year of our own computation.

Whatever may be the event of this transaction, I cannot conclude the report of it without testifying my acknowledgment of the very useful assistance which I have received from the official skill and abilities of Mr. David Anderson. His reputation, which has been established on the merits of much more important services, will receive little addition from this tribute paid to it; yet the circumstances under which they were yielded on this occasion would not allow me to suppress it, as he had formed the resolution of resigning the service for the recovery of a very declining health, and had actually bespoke his passage on one of your homeward-bound ships, when his friendship and public zeal induced him to remain, at my solicitation, and to accompany me on this deputation. As I have occasionally mentioned the number of gentlemen which composed my family, I have a pride and pleasure in adding, that they all contributed, by the correctness of their manners, and conciliating behaviour, to maintain that familiar and cordial intercourse which I have already described to have subsisted between the Nabob and myself, and to leave a lasting and favourable impression of the British character with his subjects.

For the rest I beg leave to refer to my letter to the Board; and am, with the most respectful and dutiful attachment.

Honourable Sirs,  
 your most obedient,  
 and most humble servant,  
**WARREN HASTINGS.**

**AFTER MR. HASTINGS'S RETURN TO OUDE IN  
1785.**

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 13th January 1785.*

THE following minute having been written some time since, and communicated privately to the members of the Board, the Governor-general desires that it may be entered on the minutes of the 4th instant, as well as on these, that being the day on which it underwent their inspection.

Agreed to, and ordered that the secretary do enter the same accordingly.

The Governor-general. 4th January 1785.

The period is now arrived in which I must either verify the declaration which I have made and repeated to the Court of Directors, of my intention to relinquish the service, or suspend the execution of it; if compelled to it on the grounds of superior obligation. These I shall now state, and submit my destiny to the justice and generosity of my colleagues in the administration. In making this appeal, I should be sorry to have it ascribed to any distrust in the issue, having evinced the contrary by making the declaration to which I have above alluded, without any such reserve or qualification, but I do it in performance of a solemn engagement, and with a conviction, that the security of a valuable portion of the Company's immediate and pecuniary interests indispensably require it.

The Board will permit me to remind them, that on the 31st December 1783, they passed an unanimous resolution, agreeing and declaring, that "the offer made by the Nabob Vizier, and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and for the current demands of that year, should be accepted, with the condition annexed, of the recall of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper, the Governor-general consenting to be specially answerable for the propriety of the measure;" and that in consequence of the Board's having agreed that the Governor-general should proceed to Lucknow, for the purpose of assisting the Nabob Vizier in the means of discharging his engagements to the Company, and the regulation of his government, they, on the 17th February last, resolved, "That the Governor-general should be, and he was thereby invested with full power and authority to concert and adjust,

“ with the Nabob Vizier, the means of discharging his  
 “ engagements to the Company; of restoring and se-  
 “ curing the peace, safety, and order of his government;  
 “ and of promoting the improvement of his revenue;  
 “ and to support the Nabob Vizier with the authority of  
 “ this government, in as full and ample manner as the  
 “ Board could empower him by any act of parliament of  
 “ Great Britain, or by any of the orders of the honour-  
 “ able Court of Directors; and to take all such measures  
 “ as he should think necessary for the accomplishment of  
 “ these ends.”

I undertook the service at a time, and under circum-  
 stances, which to a mind liable to despond, would have  
 suggested insurmountable difficulties: these I have mi-  
 nutely stated in my correspondence with the Board; and  
 my late report of the 20th September states in what man-  
 ner I have executed the trust which I had undertaken.

The engagements which I have obtained from the Na-  
 bob Vizier cease with the close of the next Fustile year,  
 or in September next, but his means of fulfilling them  
 depend upon the uncharged and unmolested subsistence of  
 many internal arrangements, which are mutually con-  
 nected in a series of five years from their formation, and  
*that* on the absolute forbearance of this government, from  
 all present interference in his authority, and especially in  
 the controul and administration of his revenues.

When I was on the eve of parting from him, I deemed  
 it consistent with the sincerity of my own character, and  
 necessary to prevent the consequences of too abrupt an  
 information, whenever he might receive it, of the appa-  
 rent deprivation of my support, to acquaint him with  
 the probable approach of my removal from the service,  
 and at the same time I promised him that I would on no  
 account make it my own act, without previously obtain-  
 ing from the Board their promise of an entire and punc-  
 tual adherence to the engagements which I had made with  
 him on my own part individually, and on the behalf of  
 the Board, in virtue of their existing engagements with  
 me, which are contained in the resolution to which I  
 have appealed in the introduction of this minute. The  
 same assurance I gave also to his ministers. I soon after  
 departed, leaving my secretary, Major Palmer, as my  
 personal representative and agent with the Nabob Vizier,  
 both for the encouragement of the Nabob and his ministers,  
 and for the means of urging them to the faithful dis-  
 charge of their stipulated payments, and Mr. Wombwell,  
 the proper officer, in charge of the receipts.

In conformity to the above engagements, I now make  
 it my earnest request to the Board, that they will be  
 pleased

pleased to record their resolution to abide by the arrangements which I have made, and to notify the same for the satisfaction and assurance of the Nabob Vizier, and his ministers, by an official letter to the Nabob Vizier from my eventual successor, with a promise that no deviation shall be made from the said arrangements, nor any person deputed to reside at his court, but at his own spontaneous inclination, or any authority exercised within the limits of his dominion, by the appointment or permission of the Board, except such as shall be required by the Nabob himself, from the military officers stationed for his defence, and the protection of his country, until the conclusion of the present Fuffulie year, or until the orders of the Court of Directors shall be received, in consequence of the references which have been made to them, if such orders shall either enjoin or authorize a different conduct.

I presume that this requisition is consonant with the strictness of legal propriety, as the first delegation of the trust made to me in December last extends in its full force, as a reciprocal obligation, to the period which I have prescribed; and as the act of a majority of the Board, which followed it from its legal obligation, on the whole necessarily includes and involves every engagement contracted under it and conformable to it, with the same force of an equal and permanent obligation.

Before I conclude, I desire to obviate every possible misconception of my object in the requisition which I have made. I do not desire the Board, nor the members of it, individually, to approve what I have done; I only desire them to ratify what I have done under a constitutional and legal authority, by their constitutional and legal acquiescence and confirmation of it; knowing that without it the Nabob Vizier, and his ministers, who are ignorant of the powers of the Board, and of the principles which give stability to its decided acts, will conclude that all the engagements contracted with them, by the only ostensible member of our government with whom by the forms of it they are connected, will be dissolved on his removal from it: I make the proposal with an anxiety natural to the importance of its issue, in the hope that it will prove the last act of my public life, and the last test which I shall exact from the Board of that spirit of mutual conciliation which no difference of opinion has yet been able wholly to extinguish, and which it is my most earnest wish to preserve, whether we are to be still longer united in the same service, or whether we are to part, in our public capacities, for ever.



The following minute is delivered by Mr. Macpherfort and Mr. Stables :

We have considered the very important and solemn proposition which the Governor-general has made to the Board : the very earnest manner in which he has called upon us, as his colleagues in the administration, and the great anxiety which he has expressed for the issue of our determination, oblige us to confine our sentiments, on the present occasion, to a close and explicit answer to the question which he has been pleased to propose.

The question itself, as a proposition for our adoption, is stated in full and clear terms ; nor need we repeat the words. It is a proposition founded upon specific acts of this government which have already taken place, and, as members of the government, we have already committed our sanction in its favour, by those legal obligations which bind every member of the administration to the acts of a decided majority, and that constitutional acquiescence in the arrangements concluded between the Governor-general and the Nabob Vizier and his ministers, and to which our ratification is required, in the liberal principle which the Governor-general has specified.

We are sensible of the just and public grounds upon which it is proper and necessary that the Nabob Vizier should be assured that arrangements concluded with him for the discharge of his debt to the Company, and the future regulation and increase of his revenues, should remain permanent and binding upon the Company's representatives, independent of the continuance in office of the Governor-general for the time, who had the delegated powers of the government to conclude those arrangements ; we are therefore willing and ready to adopt the mode which the Governor-general has proposed for relieving the mind of the Vizier, as well as his ministers, from all apprehension or uneasiness upon this subject.

We are confident, at the same time, that the Governor-general will, of his own accord, use his utmost influence to convince the Vizier and his ministers of the necessity of a punctual performance of their engagements, so as to preclude this government from all interference in the controul and administration of his Excellency's revenues. Having acceded in so explicit a manner to the Governor-general's proposal, and having pledged our support of arrangements, for the successful issue of which to the public, it is natural for the Governor-general to carry an anxiety beyond the period he may wish to prescribe to his own administration in this country, we further beg leave to assure him, that whether we are to be longer united.

united with him in the public service, or are soon to separate, it is our earnest wish to preserve unextinguished, and improve, that spirit of conciliation which is equally dictated by our own sense of public duty and our personal respect for the Governor-general.

(Signed) { JOHN MACPHERSON.  
JOHN STABLES.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 14th January 1785.*

THE Governor-general requests the decision of the Board on a proposition which he some time since submitted to their consideration; namely, that if it shall be their resolution, on the arrival of the Fox, which it has been supposed may contain some orders respecting the force to be kept up in the provinces dependent on the Nabob of Owde, to retain the detachment now commanded by Colonel Sir John Cummings in its present station at Futty Ghur, or in any other part of the Nabob's dominions, the payment of its expences be not demanded from the Nabob Vizier during the course of this year, but the subject be generally referred to the honourable Court of Directors, and a due time allowed for their answer and decision thereon to be received, for the regulation of that claim. The Governor-general is the more anxious to receive the determination of the Board on the question depending, because he conceives it to be immediately connected with the object of his minute of the 4th instant; for if the charge of that detachment, which has been estimated at twenty-two lacs and a half, but which will more probably amount to twenty-five lacs, shall be exacted from the Nabob Vizier in the course of the present year, it will not only be a breach of the engagements made with him by the Governor-general, but exceed by the amount, whatever it may be, his ability to pay it, and the demand will produce the effect of a total abolition of the engagements now subsisting with the Nabob Vizier.

Respecting the question of withdrawing or continuing the corps, the Governor-general informs the Board, that the Nabob Vizier has provided five battalions of Sepoys to replace Colonel Cumming's detachment. These have been lately completed, and properly equipped for the service, under the direction of a very able officer, whom the Governor-general left with the Nabob for that purpose, and for attendance on the prince, with whom they are at present stationed as his guard; they are to attend the prince as far as Futty Ghur, their destined station, and

and no further, as the Nabob cannot provide funds for raising an equivalent recruit to supply their place. This officer is Captain Frith. The Governor-general did not mention his appointment to the Board in his former report relating to the prince, because the Nabob Vizier had at that time signified his intention of placing the corps under the command of a native officer, and the Governor-general of course withdrawn his recommendation of Captain Frith. The Nabob has since changed his intention.

Now, if it be the decided opinion of the Board that the detachment be continued in its station for another year, the Governor-general conceives that it will afford a considerable saving to the Nabob Vizier, to apprise him of it, that he may disband the corps which he had appointed for its relief; and what is a saving to the Nabob will be eventually an aid to the Company. But if the Board shall either suspend their opinion, or shall adopt the conciliatory expedient of ordering the relief to take effect in the month of April or May next, beyond which the approaching season of the rains will preclude the necessity of any defence during their continuance; and it may be easily remanded to the same station, if there should be a call for it after that period; in either of these cases the Nabob should be informed of the Board's intention, that he may keep the same corps in readiness for its eventual destination. The Governor-general offers these intimations merely in advice, deeming it improper, in his present situation, to propose them as formal questions.

The only question in which he requests the decision of the Board, is that to which he has referred in the first part of his minute, viz. that no part of the subsidy or charge of Colonel Sir John Cumming's detachment be exacted from the Nabob Vizier during the course of this year, but that his engagement be allowed to stand at 1,05,00,000 rupees, the sum fixed by his engagement concluded with and ratified by the Governor-general.

(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS.

Mr. Macpherson.

The sum agreed between the Governor-general and the Nabob Vizier to be discharged within the Fussyuly year, is all that can be exacted from the Vizier within that period. I agree that the expence of Sir John Cumming's detachment be submitted, as was suggested in a former minute of the Governor-general's, and more particularly in the preceding minute, to the determination of the Court of Directors. But I think that the Vizier should be immediately informed that the Board think the expence of his

his new levies an unnecessary expence, and that Sir John Cumming's detachment will, while it remains in his dominions, render those new battalions unnecessary.

The Governor-general is requested to write to his Excellency the Vizier accordingly.

(Signed) J. M<sup>c</sup>P.

Agreed,  
J. S.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 8th March 1785.*

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letters, which he has received from Major Palmer; the last inclosing a letter from his Royal Highness the Shahzada Mirza Jewan Buckt.

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 13th Feb. 1785.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 11th instant, and am deeply impressed with a sense of the liberal and generous terms upon which you require my continuance at Lucknow, for the purposes of assisting in the arrangements established by Mr. Hastings between the Company and the Vizier, and of the transactions of your government.

It is with the greatest sincerity that I declare to you, my first wish is to retire from public business, not from distrust of your confidence and support, but for reasons which are purely of personal consideration to myself; yet I am too conscious of my obligations to the Company, to my most worthy and respected patron and friend, Mr. Hastings, and to the manner in which you have engaged my services, to hesitate a moment in making any sacrifice of my ease or convenience, whilst you and he are particularly disposed to believe it may contribute to the success of public affairs, and to the credit of your administration. These will be the first objects of my attention, so long as you are pleased to honour me with the execution of your commands. I have no views, nor will I entertain any that can come into competition with them; and you may be assured, that I will serve you with the same zeal and fidelity with which I have served Mr. Hastings for near eleven years.

I am persuaded that it cannot be difficult for you to find, amongst your particular and most deserving friends, a gentleman with every requisite to conciliate the confidence and esteem of the Vizier and his servants, and with abilities far superior to mine to conduct the affairs of your government at this Durbar; and whenever you shall be inclined to send here a person of this description, I will most cheerfully and cordially make way for him, and  
introduce

introduce him upon the most advantageous footing in my power.

The Vizier and his ministers place a firm reliance upon the assurances which Mr. Hastings has given them of your friendly disposition towards them, and of your determination to abide by the engagements which he has entered into. Their confidence will be strengthened and confirmed by your own letters, and the daily proofs which the course of business will afford.

The Shah Zaada and the Vizier are hourly expected. I shall have the honour to present your letters to them on their arrival; and will omit no means nor opportunity of exciting in their minds that entire confidence and esteem which is so necessary to the public welfare, and for your mutual personal satisfaction. I have not the smallest doubt of success in this endeavour.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that there is not the least appearance of failure in the Vizier's pecuniary engagements to the Company. The crops are remarkably fine, and no obstruction has happened, or is likely to happen in the collections. It shall be my particular care to guard against every circumstance which may tend to disappoint the well-grounded hope I entertain upon this subject.

The late predatory incursion of the Seiks has been more discreditably than injurious to the Vizier's government; there has certainly been neglect in the Amil of Rohil-cund, as the Vizier pays for a force in that country more than adequate to its protection against such a despicable banditti as the Seiks, and the Ghauts should have been properly guarded as soon as the rivers became fordable. The depredations made by these freebooters falls upon individuals, and can in no shape affect the public revenues. They retreated across the Ganges on the first appearance of the Vizier's troops; and although they are now assembled to the number, as is reported, of 20,000, on the western shore of the Ganges, I have not the least apprehension of their making another attempt to penetrate into the Vizier's dominions, as Sir John Cumming detached two regiments on the 2d instant to Anoopshire, and was to follow with his whole force on the 12th.

Repeated and uniform accounts have been received through the public news-papers, and private intelligence, of encouragement given to this attack upon the Vizier's possessions by Mahajee Scindia, and of his having engaged to support it by a Maratta force. I did not give implicit credit to these reports, but the possibility of their being true was sufficient cause for not neglecting them. I therefore recommend it to the Vizier to require the  
actual

actual march of the Fuddy Ghur detachment, and the preparation for it of the brigade at Cawnpore. The latter is now suspended as unnecessary, since Sir John Cumming is in the field, and Scindia has solemnly disavowed to Mr. Anderson having excited the Seiks to ravage the Vizier's country.

The acting minister of the Vizier having some time since intimated to me, that the conduct of Almas Ally Cawn wore the appearance of discontent, and of a design to give disturbance to the affairs of government, I requested the latter to come to Lucknow, with which he immediately complied. I made the departure of Mr. Hastings, and my desire to give him assurances of your kindness and protection, the pretext for desiring to see him; and whilst he was with me I found means to ascertain his real disposition and intentions, which I have the satisfaction to assure you are entirely dutiful towards his master, and full of confidence in and attachment to the Company's government. I discovered that he had entertained some distrust of Hyder Beg Cawn, on account of his having detached two of his principal dependants from their connection with him, at a time when it was suspected that he intended to retire from the Vizier's dominions; but I found it easy to remove this misunderstanding, and to restore confidence and cordiality between them, which they have engaged to preserve, and to apply their utmost exertions in their respective stations for the prosperity of the Vizier's affairs, and of those of the Company, as connected with them.

I hope that this concise relation will suffice to give you a general view of the present situation of the Vizier's most material concerns. I shall not fail to inform you regularly of all future transactions as they occur.

I have the honour to be,

with perfect respect and attachment,

Dear, Sir,

Your most obedient and

faithful humble servant,

(Signed)

WM. PALMER.

Dear Sir,

Lucknow, 21st February 1785.

I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 6th instant, with the enclosures of one for Hyder Beg Cawn, and one for Almas Alli Cawn, and duplicates of your former letters to these persons, and to Hessein Rezza Cawn.

Herewith I have the pleasure to transmit to you answers from the Nabob Vizier and his two principal ministers to your first letters: I am acquainted with their contents,

contents, although I had no share in their composition; I can assure you, that they contain the genuine and unmixed sentiments of the writers; and, for this reason, I am persuaded will afford you real satisfaction. I have the pleasure further to assure you, from the opportunity of daily personal observation, that the Shah Zaada, the Vizier, and his ministers, entertain the most entire confidence in your justice and friendly intentions towards them; and that no uneasiness remains upon their minds, but what arises from their personal attachment and esteem for Mr. Hastings.

I am willing to believe that you will consider the mention which is made of me in these letters; as a proof that I had no part in dictating them. I own that my vanity is gratified by the favourable opinions expressed of me; yet a sense of delicacy would induce me to desire they might be suppressed, if it had not occurred to me that they might serve as an argument in support of the honour which you have done me to continue me in the charge of the affairs of your government at this Durbar.

The Shah Zaada is preparing his answer. Almas is at a distance; but I expect his also in a day or two.

The enclosed order for two hundred and two gold Mohurs is the accustomed *Nazurs* of congratulation from the Ministers Husein Rezza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn.

As your letter informs me that Mr. Hastings had finally taken his departure, I beg leave in this place to offer you my sincere congratulations on your accession to the honourable and important station which he has resigned, and my warmest wishes that your administration may be invariably prosperous.

In my letter of the 13th instant I had the honour to acquaint you with the state of the most material concerns of the Vizier's government. The incursion of the Seiks was sudden and predatory, they retired on the first appearance of the Vizier's troops, without any considerable booty, nor have they since attempted to disturb the Vizier's dominions; on the contrary, the chief who is at this time with a body of those people near the Vizier's frontier, on the western side of the Ganges; has written to the Aumil of Rohilcund, that the late incursion was an act unauthorized by and offensive to their state. The greatest part of these freebooters have retreated across the Jumna, on the approach of Lieutenant Colonel Knudson's detachment, and those who remain in the Doab will avoid giving him any pretext for attacking them; their present purpose is to levy their tribute upon the country of the late Zaabita Cawn.

In this situation of security from their further ravages, the Vizier has recommended it to Colonel Sir John Cumming to return to Futtu Ghur, with the principal part of his force, leaving Lieutenant Colonel Knudson, with two regiments, at Anoopshire, until the rise of the river shall make the passage of the enemy impracticable, which will be early in the month of April.

The Minister and Almas Ali Cawn continue on terms of entire cordiality and confidence. I have not the smallest apprehension that their good understanding will be interrupted, since you have given them both such encouragement to rely upon your protection and support, whilst they discharge their respective duties for the advantage of both governments: and as they know how essentially their own honours and interests depend upon their zeal and fidelity, there can be no doubt of their best exertions.

I advised Mr. Hastings on the 22d ultimo, of the suspicions which the minister entertained of Almas Ali Cawn; but as I considered the exceptionable part of his conduct as calculated merely to obtain some advantage or indulgence in his farms, I told the Governor that I would not alarm administration until I had proofs to justify the apprehension of serious danger. The truth is, that Almas Ali Cawn has been made too powerful and opulent a subject, and certainly would be too much for the Vizier's government, if he was not restrained by its connection with ours: but as matters are now circumstanced, his defection would be attended with many ill consequences, and it cannot be denied that his opulence is productive of some good ones. His punctuality in payment may be relied on; and he frequently assists government with the advance of very considerable sums in its exigencies. He knows that he can no where obtain such a degree of security for his person and property as he finds in his present situation; it must therefore be very unjust and rigorous treatment that will induce him to desert it; and so long as he continues it, proper management will turn it to the benefit of the state.

There can be no doubt that all the transactions between your government, the Shah, and Mahajee Scindia, might be managed by a single agent: but I am almost certain that these two powers would not negotiate confidently with the same person. The Shah is far from being satisfied with the exercise of the authority and influence which Scindia has acquired over his affairs, and will struggle to free himself from his controul, whenever he thinks there is a prospect of changing it for another that will leave him a greater choice of action. He will never lose sight of your government, as his best resource against the in-

juried



juries and indignities which are offered to him by those who assume the direction of his affairs; and as a time may come when it shall be thought as politic and expedient, as it may be thought just and honourable, to support the house of Timur, and as at all times Shah Allum will not fail to apply to you when he feels his situation too irksome for his patience, it will perhaps be necessary to have an express agent from your government to reside with him for the purpose of confidential communication, which it would be difficult to conduct without one. I find also, that at this time the residence of an agent in the service of the Company is useful to the Vizier; and that he is desirous a separate agent should remain with the Shah until his return to Delhi, when it will be clearly known whether his Majesty is determined to continue the influence and authority of Scindia and the Mahratta state, or is disposed to change it. In the former case, an agent from you will not only be useless, but may be pernicious, whilst your government, and that of the Mahrattas, continue in their present relative situation.

These reasons against giving any intimation to Major Browne of your sentiments upon this subject, have occurred to me upon a short reflection, but your judgment and information are so superior to mine, that I cannot expect my arguments should be conclusive; I offer them as my excuse for not hinting, until I hear from you again, any thing upon the subject to Major Browne.

Lest the desire which is expressed in the Vizier's letter to you, of my continuing here, should be any restraint upon your inclination, at any time hereafter, to place another gentleman in my station, the smallest hint from you shall suffice to make the change my own act; and I sincerely declare, that whenever you may think proper it shall take place, I shall have a pride and satisfaction in the opportunity of evincing the extent of my wishes to deserve the confidence which you have reposed in me, and the regard which you have expressed for me.

I shall dispatch, by the public Dawk Bearers, to-morrow, and successively, some baskets of fruits, of which Hyder Beg Cawn requests your acceptance.

I have the honour to be, with the truest attachment and respect,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient,  
and faithful humble servant,  
(Signed) W<sup>M</sup>. PALMER.

Lucknow, 24th February 1785.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, a letter from the Shah Zaada, in answer to yours to him; and I have the satisfaction to assure you, that he is disposed to conduct himself entirely by the wishes and advice of your government, and to place the firmest reliance upon your personal kindness and friendship.

The Prince and the Vizier live in perfect harmony; and the former appears to be very happy and contented with his present situation.

The Seiks have entirely evacuated the frontiers of the Vizier's dominions, and every thing within them is in a state of tranquillity, without the least appearance of further disturbance or obstruction in the collections.

I have the honour to be, with perfect attachment and respect,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient,  
and faithful humble servant,  
WM. PALMER,

From the Prince: Received 7th March 1785.

YOUR letter has been received, in which you write that you are ready and active, from your heart and soul, in obedience and fidelity to the presence, and that at all times, and in all situations, you consider your allegiance as your greatest happiness; and that you are hopeful of the same favour and protection from the presence, as were experienced by the late Governor-general. Before this I had been convinced of your fidelity and attachment to me; and now, from the representation of Major Palmer, and from the receipt of your Arzee, I have been a hundred-fold more inclined towards you. The proofs of obedience in the late Governor-general, and his labour and attention to forward my concerns, are well known to you, and that he was even desirous of returning to this quarter, to shew his attachment to the presence, he must have acquainted you; as it has been necessary for him to depart for Europe, the settled allegiance which he had in his heart will, by the blessing of God, shew itself in your conduct. I am convinced of and depend firmly upon your attachment, and whatever favour and protection were shewn from the presence to the late Governor-general, will be doubled towards you. Know me to be beyond measure favourable, and well inclined to you; write constantly the accounts of your own situation.

Read the following letters to the Governor-general, from his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, and the Nabobs Hussein Reza Cawn and Hyder Beg Cawn :

From the Vizier : Received 3d March 1785.

YOUR friendly letter, containing the proofs of your friendship and affection, and full of words of friendship, and letters of kindness, arrived and gladdened me with all the particulars of your sincerity and affection.

The connection and alliance which existed between the Company, the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, and the Gentlemen of the Council, and the deceased Dawab during his life, need not be mentioned. By the blessing of God, the strength of this mutual affection is every day increasing. Mr. Hastings was at all times ready to support the connection of friendship, to improve the affairs of the Company, to add benefits and advantages, and stability to the concerns of my government, and to preserve the credit and satisfaction of my ministers, who are faithful servants to both parties ; and when he came to Lucknow, he settled an agreement with them for the payment of the debt to the Company, and for the good management of all my concerns. These circumstances are all known to you ; and as you, out of regard to the sincere and close friendship, in conformity to the customs and rules of the English, who never deviate from their engagements, have determined to preserve it, and having from your friendship approved that plans are inclined to support between yourself and me the agreement made by the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings ; you have by this auspicious news made me happy and easy on all accounts. This matter was fully explained to the utmost satisfaction of my heart, by the letters of the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, and the representations of Major Palmer. I am now from your letter fully convinced that you will maintain that agreement, which is full of advantages on both sides ; and Major Palmer has given me the greatest reliance upon you. I am now, hopeful, from your friendship, that in the same degree as the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, supported and maintained the strength, and friendship, and the stability of my concerns, and the credit and the honour of my ministers, you also will at present, from friendship, be inclined to maintain the connection of intimacy, the establishment and promotion of good management in my affairs, and the honour and credit of my ministers ; and I will at all times be equally steadfast in my friendship with you, as with the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings. By the blessing of God the debt

to the Company will be properly settled under the plan fixed by Mr. Hastings with my ministers. I have been highly delighted that Major Palmer remains with me on the former footing, because Major Palmer is always labouring with me to confirm the mutual friendship. From his letters you will learn all particulars of my friendship and satisfaction.

From Hussein Reza Cawn : Received 3d March 1785.

YOUR gracious letter, containing the particulars of your friendship for his Highness the Vizier, and of your approval and resolution to maintain the plan which the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, settled before his departure from Lucknow, honoured me by its arrival in a happy hour. The letters of the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings, assuring that you were determined to preserve the friendship of his Highness, and to shew favour to his ministers and dependants arrived, and the particulars were further and fully explained by Major Palmer, in consequence of your and the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings's, instructions, and gave the highest satisfaction. As the labours of the Company's chiefs have been always stedfast and firm in preserving the connection of friendship between the Company and his Highness the Vizier, and to this time its increase has, under the Governor-general, Mr. Hastings's, management, been published to the world, and its inhabitants : at present, that your letters are arrived, and that with the pen of friendship you promise to preserve the connection in the same state of strength and stedfastness, his Highness and all his wellwishers are made happy and grateful for your favours. I am an old servant, was from the beginning the faithful servant and wellwisher of both governments ; and now also, being fixed in the same obedience and fidelity, and considering you the same as Mr. Hastings, and being ready with my life, under a reliance upon your favour and protection, I will perform the duties of attachment, and will in no instance be deficient in the execution of your orders. I am convinced, from your kindness and favour, that the same protection as Mr. Hastings gave to my credit and honour, and the same favours as he bestowed, you, who have now expressed your approbation of my conduct, will fulfil my hopes, by bestowing upon me the further particulars of my readiness and obedience ; and my dependance upon, and confidence in, the favours and kindness which you have expressed will be explained to you by the letters of Major Palmer, who formerly, in consequence of Mr. Hastings's instructions, and now, in obedience to your orders, has

given his Highness and us, and all his Highness's servants, the greatest confidence in you. I am hopeful that I may be honoured with frequent letters.

*From Hyder Beg Cawn ; received 3d March 1785.*

In the same words as the preceding.

*From Hussein Reza Cawn ; 8th March.*

YOUR gracious letter, full of the particulars of favour and friendship, arrived, and encreased my dignity ; and I received the greatest pleasure and happiness from learning your favour and kindness, and your reliance upon the fidelity of me, whose sole desire is to experience your satisfaction and protection. By the blessing of God, and your good auspices, all matters will be completed in conformity to your wishes, and your great name and your dignity will be published in all Hindostan. The shadow of your favour and protection alone is necessary to produce that happy state of affairs which you wish ; and the plan which the Nabob Governor-general Amaid ud Dowla Bahadre settled in his own presence at Lucknow, will, through your protection, meet with a happy completion to your utmost satisfaction ; at this time that from your knowledge of men, and your protection of your servants, you have written so full a consolation to us, and Major Palmer, in your name, has assured us of your favour and kindness, and your reliance upon us, not the smallest hope, doubt, or alarm, is left in the heart of his Highness and his servants. My present only wish is, that, employing myself from my heart and soul in the execution of your orders, and in obedience to your commands, I may preserve your satisfaction and pleasure, which I must conceive as my greatest happiness, in the same degree as I employed, obeyed, and executed the orders of the Nabob Governor-general Amaid ul Doulah ; knowing my happiness to be concerned, I will from my heart and soul employ myself in fidelity and obedience to your commands, having and being at all times firm in my attachment to the Company's government, and that of his Highness, which are every way the same. I will now, through hopes of your favour and protection, be doubly so ; for I, considering my own interests to depend upon my proper management of the concerns of both governments, and in your satisfaction, you will learn all these particulars from Major Palmer's letter.--The concern which, from your kindness, you mention to have felt on account of the Seiks disturbance in the neighbourhood of Bevelly is very flattering.

tering. The case is, that in the beginning, from the Ghauts of the Ganges being fordable, the Seiks crossed the river, but immediately on the approach of the army of the Vizier, having no power to remain, they returned, and his Highness's army being again put under the command of Raja Jugnaut Bahadre, has in a proper manner disposed all the Ghauts of the Ganges, and for a greater protection two regiments from the Company's forces at Futty Gurr are marching towards Anoopshire; and his Highness's army having crossed at the Ghauts, in the country of the King and Zabeta Khan, are going towards the river Jumna. The disturbances of the Seiks are now at an end, which I write for your information; and through your assistance, and the firmness of your favour and protection, all matters will be properly settled. I am, beyond dispute, full of attachment to both governments, and am hopeful that I may be gladdened by letters of favour and kindness. Further particulars of my attachment and ready fidelity to you, and my wishes to procure your satisfaction, will be fully known to you by Major Palmer's letters.

*From Hyder Beg Cawn; Ditts.*

In the same words.

*Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April  
1785.*

Par. 63. THE resolution you passed on the 31st December 1783 to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his minister, to give the security of bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kists, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention; either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our Residents, or on the other to preclude ourselves from examining into the complaints exhibited against them by the Vizier and his minister. We approve likewise of the continuance of an Accountant or Receiver at Lucknow, so long as any of the Company's troops shall be stationed in the Vizier's dominions, whose business must be confined to the sole purpose of adjusting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the stipulated subsidy for those troops, and for appropriating the same in such manner as you shall think proper to direct,

*Letters from Mr. Macpherson to the Nabob Vizier, Hyder Beg Khan, &c. and Fyzulla Khan.*

To the Nabob Vizier: Written 16th June 1785.

In consequence of Major Palmer's wishes to return from his present office of minister for the Governor-general at your Highness's court, I have appointed Colonel Harper to his office.

In this appointment I have been guided by my knowledge of your Highness's high opinion of Colonel Harper, and the real attachment which he bears to your family, as well as the great esteem which your ministers and people bear to him from the experience which your late most illustrious father had of his attachment and honour.

Major Palmer will introduce Colonel Harper with the proper ceremony to your Highness. Permit me to add, that it was the wish of the late Governor-general, though he had no personal friendship for Colonel Harper, that he should be minister on the part of my government at your Highness's court, after the departure of Major Palmer.

If I had it in my power to shew a stronger mark of my attachment to your Highness, and of my determination to maintain the engagements settled between us than I now do by the appointment of Colonel Harper, I would gladly give such a proof of my friendship. In every matter you will find me the true friend of your family, and the just supporter of your rights. Colonel Harper will explain particulars.

As Major Palmer is speedily to return to Calcutta, I trust your Highness will mark his departure from your court with civility and favour.

To Hyder Beg Khan, Hussen Reza Khan, and Almas Ally Khan, of the same tenor and date.

To Akbar Ally Khan: Written 16th June 1785.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of his Royal Highness, that Colonel Harper is appointed my minister for the transaction of the affairs of my government at the court of the Nabob Vizier.

Colonel Harper will receive a separate and higher commission from me as my minister at the court of his Royal Highness, for whom I could not testify greater loyalty and affection than by such appointment.

Please to inform his Royal Highness of my constant attachment to his person, and that it will be my greatest ambition to obtain for him solid proofs of the regard and friendship

friendship of the English. The Nabob Vizier cannot oblige me more than by his constant proofs of obedience and personal friendship to his Royal Highness; and this is fully known to the Nabob Vizier, to his ministers, and people. Write to me frequent accounts of his Highness's welfare, and of your own prosperity.

To Fyzeulla Khan.

In consequence of Major Palmer's wishes to retire from his present office of minister for the Governor-general at the Nabob Vizier's court, I have appointed Colonel Harper to his office.

In this appointment I have been guided by my knowledge of his Highness's high opinion of Colonel Harper, and the real attachment which he bears to his Highness's family, as well as the great esteem which his Highness's ministers and people bear to him, from the experience which the late most illustrious Nabob had of his attachment and honour.

Permit me to add, that it was the wish of the late Governor-general, though he had no personal friendship for Colonel Harper, that he should be minister on the part of my government at his Highness's court, after the departure of Major Palmer.

Considering me to be your true friend, write frequently, and let all your letters, and every information respecting your concerns, be forwarded to me through the Colonel, to whom I refer you for particulars.

To Muzuffer Jung, of Furruckabad.

Of the same Tenor and Date, except the last Paragraph, which is as follows :

In consequence of your friendship for the Company, I have given you this information; and request that, considering me to be your true friend, you will constantly write me the news of your health.

*Extract of Court's Letter to Bengal, dated 21st September 1785.*

Para. 6. IN your letter of the 17th January last, you have submitted the following question to our determination, viz. "Whether the Company or the Vizier shall be charged with the expence of the detachment commanded by Sir John Cummings;" and we have taken an early opportunity of communicating to you our di-



rections herein. As your late Governor-general, in virtue of the powers with which he was invested, had agreed with the Vizier to strike out the charge of this detachment from his account from 1st January 1785, we hereby direct that the said agreement be punctually adhered to.

7. In the final arrangement of the military peace establishment which will accompany this dispatch, we have had in view the whole of the service which it will be necessary to provide for under your presidency; such part of that establishment as will be stationed in the Vizier's dominions will be paid by him according to the stipulations of the subsisting agreements. But it is our positive order, that no greater number of troops be employed upon that service, unless at his Excellency's particular application and request; and that all the troops so employed be considered as part of our fixed establishment, which is not upon any account to be enlarged.

8. We cannot help expressing our regret that the opinion of your Board did not concur with that of the Governor-general, when the question concerning the recall of Colonel Cummings's detachment was under your consideration, as the expence of it will, before the receipt of this letter, amount to nearly the sum of £. 300,000; and we agree with Mr. Hastings, that the brigade which by treaty is to be constantly resident in those dominions, would be found fully adequate to their protection. We therefore direct, that upon receipt of this letter not a moment be lost in ordering the recall of Sir John Cummings's detachment, so that the Company may be instantly relieved from the burden of that enormous expence.

16. The irruption of the Seiks, of which you advise us, leads to no other conclusion but the propriety of keeping a watchful eye over the western frontier of our own provinces, and those of the Vizier, which is the conclusion you properly draw from it.

17. In a preceding paragraph, we have directed the immediate recall of the Futty Ghur detachment. But as by your last advices we find that in consequence of these hostilities from the Seiks in the province of Rohilcund, the Vizier had applied for the assistance of a part of this detachment, and that it was probable he would make a further request for the whole, we hereby order, that the detachment be continued so long as the Vizier shall deem such continuance necessary for his own security, in which case the expence thereof must be carried to his account, agreeably to the stipulations of the treaty of 1781.

18. But as soon as the Vizier shall cease to require the assistance of all or any part of that detachment, we direct

direct our former orders to be carried into execution; and even during the time the Vizier may call for their assistance, we hereby order, that the whole expence of the staff, batta, and other contingencies, be immediately abolished.

19. And while upon this subject, we think it proper to express our approbation of the principles contained in Mr. Macpherson's letter to the Vizier; bearing date the 18th February last, and we expect that the agreements made between the Vizier and Mr. Hastings will be invariably adhered to.

20. Upon the same principle we must express our opinion, that if the continuance of Major Palmer with the Vizier is wished for by him, it would be improper at present to recall him, and far less would it be proper to send any person to reside with him whose presence would be peculiarly adverse to his feelings.

21. We observe what is stated relative to the good opinion Mr. Macpherson entertains of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Cowper. Upon that subject we purposely refrain from giving any opinion whatever; for the whole transactions in Oude for a considerable time past will very soon receive our full consideration, and it would be improper to anticipate any opinion at present.

22. In your letter of the 22d February last, we find it stated, that the sum charged to the Vizier for the brigade at Cawnpore is short of the actual expence, in the monthly sum of CRs. 33,760. 12. 4, and for the Futty Ghur detachment is CRs. 49,287. 11. 8, and for the regiment at Lucknow CRs. 984. 3. 10. It is not our intention to charge to the Vizier more or less than by the treaty he has stipulated to pay; but we must at the same time direct, that you make such arrangements in the corps serving in his Excellency's dominions, without diminishing their actual force, as will reduce their expences within the sum stipulated for them.

23. As we consider the troops stationed in the territories of the Nabob of Oude as forming a strong barrier to our own provinces, and as in our separate letter of this date we have stated the established force which we think fully adequate to their defence, it is our meaning that those troops shall be considered as forming a part of such establishment.

LETTER OF DIRECTORS APPROVING THE ABOLITION  
OF THE RESIDENCY OF OWDE, 1785.

*Extract of Company's Letter to Bengal; dated 11th April  
1785.*

Par. 63. THE resolution you passed on the 31st December 1783, to withdraw the residency from Lucknow, and to accept the offer made by the Vizier and his minister to give the security of Bankers of known credit and responsibility for the payment of the balance due to the Company, and the current kits, has our approbation; but by this approbation it is by no means our intention, either on the one hand to condemn the conduct of our residents, or on the other to preclude ourselves from examining into the complaints exhibited against them by the Vizier and his minister. We approve likewise of the continuance of an accountant or receiver at Lucknow, so long as any of the Company's troops shall be stationed in the Vizier's dominions, whose business must be confined to the sole purpose of adjusting and keeping the accounts between the Nabob and the Company, receiving the stipulated subsidy for those troops, and for appropriating the same in such manner as you shall think proper to direct.

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COPY OF PROCEEDINGS, &c. RELATIVE TO AL-  
LOWANCES MADE FROM THE REVENUES OF OUDE  
TO THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS, AND OTHERS,  
RESIDING WITHIN THE DOMINIONS OF THE NA-  
BOB VIZIER.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 19th February 1785.*

*Extract of Letter from the Governor-general to the Vizier;  
dated 18th Febr. 1785.*

WITH the reduction of the Company's expences, I anxiously wish to lessen the expences to which your Highness's treasury is put on account of the Company's troops, and that of gratuities to the Company's servants in your dominions, unless I think it for the Company's real service that your Highness should order any such allowance  
in

in future, or that you should be pleased to continue any allowances that are now granted. I hope your Highness will not grant any, or continue to order any to be paid, that are not recorded in the Company's accounts.

In case I should be of opinion, that your Highness should shew marks of your favour and generosity to the Company's officers and servants, I shall mention the business to the gentlemen in Council, and your Highness's generosity will then appear on the Company's books; for it is fit that the Company should know, in every instance, the allowances of their servants in their employments at your Highness's court, and in your dominions.

When the matters are fully known and recorded, much expence will be saved to your Highness, and I shall have much less trouble from the applications of the Company's servants who wish to have leave to reside at your court, and in your country. Besides that, the Company will have much satisfaction from an invariable regulation in these matters.

Your Highness may be assured, that every regulation tending to restrain the expences of the Company's government, and of your own, is a regulation to strengthen the friendship that was established between them and your illustrious father, and more strongly with your Highness.

*Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; dated 22d February 1785.*

Par. 32. YOUR honourable Court will readily approve another principal object of that letter\*. It explains to the Vizier the plan of reform which your government has adopted, and which was resolved upon with the concurrence of your late Governor-general. It promises a relief to the Nabob's treasury, by carrying a similar plan of economical regulation through every connection of our service with that of the Vizier within his Excellency's country; and it expressly stipulates, that his Excellency shall not pay any allowances or gratuity to any of the Company's servants, civil or military, within his dominions, that are not regularly recorded in his public accounts with this government. This stipulation appears from the result of late investigations to be no less requisite for the good of your service in general than for the relief of the Vizier, and it is our steady determination to en-

\* *Mr. M'Pherson's Letter to the Vizier.*

force and maintain it as far as our best exertions can effect so desirable a purpose.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 8th March 1785.*

*Extract of Letter from the Governor General to Major Palmer; dated 8th March 1785.*

ONE of the heavy complaints of the Nabob Vizier was the expence to which his government has been put by the allowances granted in various ways, and under different establishments, to the Company's civil and military servants in his dominions; such allowances, unless they have the express approbation of the Company's administration, and are recorded in the public accounts, are no less a grievance to the Vizier than injurious to the Company's service and general interests.

I have resolved, as the letter to the Nabob Vizier, of which a translation was sent, would inform you, to bring all allowances and pensions from the Vizier's treasury in the face of his account with the Company; my object is not an unpleasant and invidious retrospect (which seldom, in any case, forwards the public interest) but to keep our accounts with the Vizier correct and just in future, that he may have no cause, public or secret, for not fulfilling his engagements with the Company, and that as a correct adjustment may take place in his disbursements for the Company's service, a measure equally salutary to the respective interests of his and our own government, and constituting the best check to future intrigues.

My predecessor was often anxious to draw this line of adjustment, but he possessed not the opportunities which now offer for its establishment. The recent contest between the Nabob's ministers, and the servants of the Company at Lucknow, have placed the subject of the Vizier's resources, and the manner of their expenditure, in a clear view, fully upon record, and independent of the wishes which Mr. Hastings had, equally with me, to draw the line of disbursement from the Vizier's treasury to a just and oeconomic precision: present necessity, and the honour of this government, press irresistably for the adoption of the measures which I have recommended to the Vizier.

Mr. Hastings united with us heartily in the general system of retrenchments before his departure. We are now carrying resolutions adopted in Council with him into practical effect; and it will be necessary to inform the Company's servants at Lucknow, that they are not to remain

remain excluded from the effects of a general system of economy and retrenchment: what they receive from the Vizier is in fact received from the Company, while he is so much in arrears to them.—Mr. Wombwell will be directed to lay before the Board, bona fide, all the allowances that are paid to the Company's servants, of whatever description, within the Vizier's dominions, from the Vizier's treasury, or from the Company's paymasters. Your own allowances, as the late Governor-general's agent at Lucknow, should be mentioned with the rest. The Vizier, I suppose, finds you a house and servants. These particulars I would not mention, but on the principle that, when real reforms are undertaken, they should begin with the conductors of these reforms. You will understand that I have shewn the example in my own family; yet I claim not any comparative merit in this measure; my predecessor had not the opportunity that was offered to me, nor was the public distress ever so pressing as in the present moment

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 26th April 1785.*

*Extract of Letter from Major Palmer to the Governor-general; dated Lucknow, the 11th April 1785.*

THE Vizier is now desirous, as you will observe, of being entirely released from the stipends which he has granted to the Company's servants, that he may be enabled to make greater exertions for the common interest. These allowances, during my agency here, have been little more than nominal, only one lack of rupees having been advanced upon them: they are a source of great uneasiness and vexation to me, of which neither the Vizier nor his minister participate, as I have never been importunate with them for payment.

*Extract of Letter from the Vizier; received 21st April 1785.*

—————With respect to the expences of the gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered manner. I now write plainly, that I have no ability to give money to the gentlemen, because I am indebted many lacks of rupees to the bankers for the payment of the Company's debt. At the time of Mr. Hastings's departure, I represented to him that I had no resources for the expences of the gentlemen. Mr. Hastings having ascertained my distressed situation, told me, that after his arrival in Calcutta he would consult with the Council, and remove from hence the expences of the gentlemen, and  
recall

recall every person except the gentlemen in office here. At this time, that all the concerns are dependant upon you, and you you have in every point given ease to my mind, according to Mr. Hastings's agreement, I hope that the expences of the gentlemen may be removed from them, and that you may recall every person residing here beyond the gentlemen in office. Although Major Palmer does not at this time demand any thing for the gentlemen, and I have no ability to give them any thing; yet the custom of the English gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the end ask for something. This is best, that they should be recalled.

*Extract Proceedings of the Governor-general and Council, in the Secret Inspection Department, 3d May 1785.*

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter from Major Palmer, and the list transmitted with it of allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Company's servants, civil and military, employed in his dominions,

Dear Sir, Lucknow, 27th March 1785.

I have the honour to transmit to you the list which you require of allowances made by the Nabob Vizier to the Company's servants, civil and military, and to persons employed under them, within his Excellency's dominions:

These allowances have, since the removal of the Resident's office, been issued through me, as agent from the Governor-general, directly from the Vizier's treasury, and totally independent of his accounts with the Company. Hitherto a very small portion of them has been paid, and even for that I have waited until the Vizier could disburse it without interrupting his payments to the Company, or subjecting him to personal inconvenience.

I had the honour to acquaint you, in a former letter, that I did not think myself authorized to make any further application to the Vizier for allowances to the gentlemen residing at Lucknow, beyond the time of the late Governor-general's departure from thence, because I understood that their continuance after that period depended upon the pleasure of the Board, and not upon the authority of the Governor-general under the sanction of which they were established or confirmed.

It is proper and necessary that you should be fully informed of the Vizier's bounty to the servants of the Company, and I with pleasure anticipate your intended orders to Mr. Wombwell upon that head, by furnishing you with

with a faithful account of every particular which has come to my knowledge, and I believe that none exist without it. This communication, however, is not likely to be necessary to future regulation, if you should determine to make it an indispensable condition of your consent to the acceptance of allowances of this nature that they shall be registered on the public proceedings; because, however cheerfully the Vizier may grant them as acts of his favour, or the reward of his approbation, and that too in the mode and to the extent which you might personally recommend, he would not, without great reluctance, submit himself to the possibility of their being converted into obligations upon him by their being formally constituted a proof of the Company's demands against him.

You will now, Sir, be pleased to determine whether any persons residing at this court on the part of your government should be permitted to receive the bounty of the Vizier in the manner which he may be pleased to bestow it, and to what extent individually.

Your advice and recommendation to the Vizier upon this subject will be the rule of his conduct, because he will feel the fullest conviction of their being dictated by a regard for his interest.

I am inclined to believe that you will judge some emolument indispensable to the creditable subsistence of such gentlemen as must of necessity reside here for the business of the Company; and I am certain that the Vizier will cheerfully relieve your government from the charge of it, in consideration of the heavy burthens which the late war has brought upon it, and of these gentlemen being in effect employed for his service, as well as theirs.

I shall offer to your consideration a few observations upon the allowances which may assist your determination.

To begin with my own, I solemnly declare to you, that they are no more than what I really and bona fide expend, and that I have retrenched considerably in some of the articles since the expence has been borne by the Vizier; and in every particular I make as little parade and appearance as my station will admit.

I have not inserted the expences of the arsenal under charge of Lieutenant Colonel Martin, because they are independent of the appointment of a Company's servant.

Mr. Blaine, surgeon, is at a considerable expence in medicine and attendance upon the Vizier, and such of his servants and subjects who require his assistance, which numbers of the latter frequently do.

Mr.



Mr. Bruce, surgeon, is chiefly employed by the Europeans; and between both descriptions of persons, Lucknow furnishes sufficient practice for two surgeons.

The allowances of Mr. Willis have all the explanation which I am capable of giving them stated in the list.

Messrs. Gregory, Grant, and Jonstone, have afforded me their assistance, the former occasionally, and, in Persian correspondence, the two latter constantly.

Captain Frith has diminished the expences of the corps under his command almost 10,000 rupees per month, without taking a single sepoy from the strength of them. He has no interference with their pay or bazar, nor any means whatever of the smallest emolument, beyond his stated allowance.

Captain Mordaunt has not received a rupee of his allowance, from its commencement to the present hour.

The allowances to the other gentlemen residing at Lucknow are merely gratuities, and require no remark.

Be assured, Sir, that I shall most cheerfully acquiesce in whatever you may determine concerning my allowances; and I think myself very happy in an opportunity of contributing to the great object of public œconomy, which you and your colleagues in administration have in view. And I dare answer, that every gentleman here will feel the same sentiments for the public welfare.

I have the honour to be,

with great respect,

Dear, Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

(Signed)

WM. PALMER.

*List of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, Civil and Military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions.*

Monthly.

Former Allowances.	Present Allowances.
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Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawks, established for the purpose of intelligence, servants, cattle, and table expences, upon an average

— 19,000

Mr. Wombwell, paymaster and accountant-general, one and a half commission on receipts

Mr.

Monthly.

	Former Allowances.	Present Allowances
Mr. Wheler, assistant to Mr. Wombwell	5,000	5,000
Commanding Officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur, in lieu of Bazar customs, each one lack of rupees per annum	—	16,666
Lieutenant Colonel Martin, keeper of the arsenal, pay, batta of his rank	—	3,730
Mr. Blaine, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil establishment	8,000	5,000
Mr. Bruce, do. to the military establishment	3,000	2,000
Mr. Scawen, auditor general	—	2,000
Mr. Gall, assistant to do.	—	1,000
Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah	—	3,000
Mr. Bird, secretary to do.	—	1,000
Lieutenant Anderson, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia	—	3,000
Commanding Officer of the regiment stationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treasury	—	2,000
Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever	—	5,000
Mr. Gregory, assistant on the civil establishment	3,000	2,000
Messrs. Grant and Johnstone, ditto, each 2,000 rupees	—	4,000
Mr. Taylor, dawk master, 1,000 rupees for dawks, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers	—	2,000
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell	—	2,000
Mr. Willis, Sihzawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 rupees for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horse, annually, and a commission of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.—N. B. The commission is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung		
Captain John Mordaunt	8,000	8,000

Read the following extract of a letter from the Nabob Vizier to the Governor-general; received on 21st April, and entered on the secret proceedings of the 26th.

*Extract of a Letter from the Vizier to the Governor General; received 21st April 1785.*

With respect the expences of the gentlemen who are here, I have before written in a covered manner. I now write plainly, that I have no ability to give money to the gentlemen, because I am indebted many lacks of rupees to the bankers, for the payment of the Company's debt. At the time of Mr. Hastings's departure, I represented to him that I had no resources for the expences of the gentlemen. Mr. Hastings having ascertained my distressed situation, told me, that after his arrival in Calcutta he would consult with the Council, and remove from hence the expences of the gentlemen, and recall every person, except the gentlemen in office here. At this time, that all the concerns are dependant upon you, and you have in every point given ease to my mind, according to Mr. Hastings's agreement, I hope that the expences of the gentlemen may be removed from them, and that you may recall every person residing here beyond the gentlemen in office. Although Major Palmer does not at this time demand any thing for the gentlemen, and I have no ability to give them any thing; yet the custom of the English gentlemen is, when they remain here, they will in the end ask for something. This is best, that they should be recalled.

The Board having attentively considered the list of the monthly allowances paid by the Nabob Vizier to the Company's servants and others at Lucknow, the following resolutions are passed upon them :

*Present Allowances at Lucknow.*

Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawk established for the purpose of intelligence, servants, cattle, and table expences, on an average rupees 19,000 per mensm.

*Board's Resolutions.*

Agreed, That Major Palmer's allowances per mensm be restricted to the amount of those usually paid to a minister of this government at a foreign Court; which are as follows :

Sonat Rs.	
Lieut. Colonel's pay, and double batta - -	1,488
Fixed salary -	1,000
Contingencies, moonshees, servants, &c. -	500
Total -	2,988

Mr. Wombwell, paymaster and accountant general, one and an half commission on receipts.

Ordered, That the secretary do ascertain, from Mr. Wombwell, the amount of the allowance that he draws, either from the Company or from the Vizier, for the respective offices of paymaster general in the upper provinces, and accountant at Lucknow; and that Mr. Wombwell do state the average monthly amount of his commission.

Mr. Wheler, assistant to the accountant general, 5,000 rupees.

Ordered, That Mr. Wheler's allowances be restricted to Sonaut rupees 512 per month, being the allowance usually granted to the assistants to foreign ministers.

Commanding officers at Cawnpoor and Futtu Ghur, in lieu of bazar customs, each one lack of rupees per annum, 16,666 per mensem.

Ordered, That the secretary do ascertain from the records, and acquaint the Board, whether this allowance to the commanding officers in the Vizier's country has received the Board's sanction, or whether such sanction can have been supposed to have been implied by any of the Board's proceedings.

The Board are of opinion, that this allowance should be reduced, and that the camps should be supplied as they were before it was granted, but under such checks as shall remove

Lieut. Colonel Martin, keeper of the arsenal, batta, &c. of his rank, 3,730 per menssem.

Mr. Blaine, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil establishment, rupees 5,000 per menssem.

Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the military establishment, 2,000 per menssem.

those grounds of complaint from which it may have had its rise.

Agreed, That Lieutenant Col. Martin be restricted to drawing from the Vizier the difference between Lieut. Colonel's pay and double batta, and the pay and batta of a captain, which he now receives: the Vizier will of course defray the expence of his own arsenal.

Agreed, That Messrs. Blaine and Bruce be restricted to the pay, batta, and allowances of full surgeons in the field; which are as follows:

	S. rup.
Double batta, at	
12 rupees per day	- 360
Pay 4 rupees do.	- 124
	484

Besides the charge allowed for medicines to a full surgeon attached to a sepoy regiment in the field, which is

-	200
---	-----

Total Sonaut rup. 684

Mr. Scawen, auditor general, 2,000 per menssem.

Ordered, That the decision relative to this office do lie for consideration, but that Mr. Scawen do, in the interim, only draw the allowance that he receives from the Company, which is Sonaut rupees 1,946 per menssem.

Mr. Gall, assistant to the auditor general, 1,000 per menssem.

Mr. Gall not being a servant of the Company, the Board cannot authorize any allowance to this gentleman.

Major

Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah, 3,000 per mensem.

Mr. Bird, secretary to do. 1,000 per do.

Lieutenant Anderson, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia, 3,000 rupees per mensem.

Commanding officer of the regiment stationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treasure, rupees 2,000 per mensem.

The embassy to the Shah having been withdrawn, the allowances have ceased of course.

The Board cannot authorize the Vizier's allowance to Lieut. Anderson.

The allowance to this officer must be restricted to the monthly amount paid to the commanding officer of a regiment of sepoy, upon any particular service in the Vizier's country: it is as follows:

	S. rup.
Double batta, at 30 rupees per day	900
Pay - 6 rupees do.	186
For iron, steel, charcoal, and repairing arms	150
Tent allowance	150
Hircarrahs, guides, &c.	150
	1,536

Captain Frith, commanding 4 battalions of sepoy, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever, 5,000 per mensem.

Mr. Gregory, assistant to the civil establishment, 2,000 rupees per mensem.

The Board know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorize the allowance.

Mr. Gregory is appointed in the general letter from the Court of Directors, bearing date 12th July 1782, para. 61. "to be assistant to the revenue council at Patna, and to succeed to that chiefship on the first vacancy."

Agreed, That his appointment, as an assistant on the civil establishment at Lucknow, be reduced, and himself recalled, and that

Messrs. Grant and Johnstone, assistants on the civil establishment, each 2,000 per month.

Mr. Taylor, dawk master, 1,000 rupees per mensem, for dawk, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers.

Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell, 2,000 rupees per month.

Mr. Willes, sizawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horse, annually, and a commission of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.

N. B.—The commission is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung.

Captain John Mordaunt 8,000 rupees per mensem.

that the pension of his rank be granted to him while he continues out of employ.

Agreed, That the appointment of these gentlemen be reduced, and themselves recalled.

Agreed, That Mr. Taylor be recalled, unless the Governor-general should think it necessary to his correspondence with Lucknow, that there should be a dawk master, in which case, as Mr. Taylor now holds that office, he may be continued in it for the present.

Mr. Orr not being in the Company's service, no allowance to him can be authorized.

Ordered, That the secretary do ascertain, from Mr. Willes, the amount of the several allowances that he draws either from the Company, the Vizier, or the Nabob of Furruckabad, whether the same be in salary or commission, in his office of sizawal for the Vizier's tribute from that country.

The Board neither have authorized, nor can authorize, any allowance to Captain Mordaunt, at he is out of the Company's service.

Ordered, That the foregoing resolutions of the Board be notified to Major Palmer, in a letter from the Secretary; and that he write to him as follows:

To Major William Palmer, at Lucknow.

Sir,

The Governor-general has directed me to acknowledge his receipt of your letter, bearing date the 27th March, and enclosing a list of allowances from the Nabob Vizier to

to the Company's servants, civil and military, and to persons employed under them, within his Excellency's dominions. These papers have been laid before the Board, and some resolutions have been already passed, which I am ordered to communicate to you for immediate effect.

The monthly allowances drawn by yourself are restricted to the amount of those usually paid to a minister of this government at a foreign court, which are as follows:

Lt. Colonel's pay, and double batta	-	St. Rs.	1,488
Fixed salary	-	-	1,000
Contingencies, including Moonshes, servants,			
&c.	-	-	500
Total St. Rs.			<u>2,988</u>

Mr. Trevor Wheler, assistant to the accomptant at Lucknow, is to draw only the monthly salary of Sonaut rupees 512.

Lieutenant Colonel Martin is to draw only Lieutenant Colonel's pay, and double batta, his Excellency will of course defray the expences of his own arsenal.

Mr. Blaine, surgeon to the Vizier and to the civil establishment, and Mr. Bruce, surgeon to the military establishment at Lucknow, are each restricted to the pay, batta, and allowances of full surgeons in the field, which are as follows:

Double batta 12 rupees per day	-	St. Rs.	360
Pay 4	-	-	124
Besides the charge allowed for medicines to a full surgeon attached to a Sepoy regiment in the field, which is	-	-	200
Total Sonaut rupees			<u>684</u>

The Board have it in contemplation, to reduce the appointment of Auditor-general, but while it continues, Mr. Scawn is only to draw the allowance of Sonaut rupees 1,946 per mensum.

Mr. Gall not being a servant to the Company, the Board cannot authorize any allowance to this gentleman.

The embassy to the Shah having been withdrawn, the allowances to Major Browne and Mr. Bird have ceased of course.

The Board cannot authorize the Vizier's allowance to Lt. Anderson, Resident with Mahajee Sindia.

The allowance to the commanding officer of the regiment stationed at Lucknow for the protection of the Company's treasure, is restricted to the monthly amount paid



to the commanding officer of a regiment of Sepoys, employed on any particular service in the Vizier's country. It is as follows :

Double batta, at 30 rupees per day	-	St. Rs.	900
Pay	-		186
For iron, steel, charcoal, and repairing arms	-		150
Tent allowance	-		150
Hircarrahs, guides, &c.	-		150
Total Sonaut rupees			<u>1,536</u>

The Board direct me to observe, that they know nothing of Captain Frith's appointment, and cannot therefore authorize the allowance to this officer.

Mr. Gregory's appointment, as an assistant on the civil establishment at Lucknow, is reduced, and the pension assigned to gentlemen of his rank in the service is granted to him while he remains out of employ. He is recalled, with Messrs. Grant and Johnstone, whose appointment as assistants are reduced also.

The Board have been pleased to resolve, that Mr. Taylor be recalled, unless the Governor-general should think it necessary to his correspondence with Lucknow that there should be a Dawk master at that place, in which case, as Mr. Taylor now holds that office, he is to be continued in it for the present.

Mr. Orr not being in the Company's service, no allowance to this gentleman can be authorized.

The Board neither have authorized, nor can authorize any allowance to Captain Mordaunt, as he is not in the Company's service.

No sums having been placed in your list opposite to the names of Messrs. Willis and Wombwell, enquiries are ordered respecting the actual allowances of those gentlemen, and the Board will determine on them hereafter.

The Governor-general desires that you will be pleased to inform the Nabob Vizier of these resolutions of the honourable Board, and communicate them also to the gentlemen whom they respectively concern. The allowances that are granted are to be considered as allowances from the Company, and in lieu of all others, they are to be paid by the Accountant at Lucknow, and charged in the public accounts to the Nabob's debit.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Council Chamber,  
Secret Department  
of Inspection,  
3d May 1785.

App.  
(Signed) J. M-PHERSON,  
J. STABLES.

*Extract*

*Extract of Proceedings of the Governor-general and Council, in their Secret Department of Inspection, the 12th May 1785.*

THE Secretary lays before the Board the following letter, and its enclosures, from the Accountant at Lucknow, and military Paymaster-general in the Upper Provinces.

Edward Hay, Esquire, Secretary,

Sir,

In obedience to your commands, I have the honour to transmit to you a statement of the sums that have been received monthly by the Accountant at Lucknow. The Vizier, with the consent of the late Governor-general, has thought proper to allow me a commission of one and a half per cent. Large as the commission will appear, it should be remembered, that it was given to me in lieu of those great advantages which I should have derived from my office, if, in the course of the late arrangement at Lucknow, an alteration had not taken place in the exchange in the Lucknow rupees; and that after the close of the present year, the Nabob's debt to the Company having been discharged, the commission will be reduced to the actual disbursements to the Company's troops in the dominions of his Excellency the Vizier.

I transmit also a statement of the establishments of the Accountant and Paymaster-general.

I have taken the liberty to enclose the copy of a letter I received, unsolicited, from the Vizier, the day of my departure from Lucknow.

Having occasion for another assistant in the office of Accountant, I request you will mention to the honourable Board, that a great favour will be conferred on me in the appointment of Mr. Marcus Sackville Taylor, now at Lucknow, to that office.

I am with respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

(Signed) J. WOMBWELL,

Account. and Paymaster-gen. at Lucknow.

Calcutta,  
12th May 1785.

Receipts of the Accountant-general.

February 1784	-	5,13,950	3	11
March	-	4,89,347	10	6
April	-	28,72,894	2	2
May	-	1,31,370	1	3

June

June	-	-	3,02,057	3	—
July	-	-	-	-	-
August	-	-	23,48,308	2	7
September	-	-	3,14,000	—	—
October	-	-	5,00,000	—	—
November	-	-	5,00,000	—	—
December	-	-	20,00,000	—	—
January 1785	-	-	3,25,000	—	—
February	-	-	3,25,000	—	—
March	-	-	3,25,000	—	—

Fyz. 16 Sun Sa. Rs. 1,09,45,927 5 5

**The Establishment of the Office of Paymaster General without the Provinces.**

Salary per month	-	746	13	—
Batta per day, 40l. per month	1,240	—	—	—
House rent	-	400	—	—
Allowance for Sircars Shroffs	364	—	—	—
Establishment for his office	1,121	—	—	—

St. Rs. 3,871 13 —

The establishment of the office of Accountant to my salary for the month of February

To allowance for monthly writers, duffories, stationary, candles, and other contingencies	-	1,000	—	—
To allowance for house and office rent	400	—	—	—
	C. Sa. Rs.	2,600	—	—

*Translation of a Persian Letter from the Nabob Vizier to Mr. John Wombwell.*

WHATEVER allowances have been settled for your services at my Sircar were voluntary, and given with all my heart; and with respect to the commission of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. fixed for you upon my disbursements to the army, it was established by my consent; and my orders are, to continue to you during your residence with me.

Ordered, That the commission of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. granted by the Vizier to the Accountant at Lucknow be annulled, and do cease, from the 1st proximo; and that Major Palmer and Mr. Wombwell be informed thereof.

The Board will take into consideration the establishments annexed to the Accountantship at Lucknow, and

to the office of Paymaster-general beyond the provinces, when the resolution of the 11th March last, That no civil servant be permitted to draw the allowances and salaries of more than one office, &c. shall be carried into execution.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter from the Resident at Furruckabad :

*To Mr. Edward Hay, Secretary.*

Sir,

I HAVE received the honourable Board's order, transmitted by you respecting my allowances at Furruckabad.

The allowance drawn by all my predecessors was six per cent. upon whatever was collected from the Furruckabad districts, and to the same, by my appointment, I was entitled; but by arrangements since my nomination I have had only 3 per cent.; and the whole that I have received this year amounts but to 10,500 rupees. This is from the Nabob Muzuffer Jung. I have no allowance from the Company or the Vizier.

The establishment to the Sezawal's office for Muttasfedies, Moonshies, and Writers, &c. is ten thousand rupees, which does not near defray the expence.

This is deducted from the Vizier's tribute.

There is a further deduction from the tribute, of fifty-one thousand rupees, for the payment of the Nujubs, which his Excellency the Vizier maintains in Furruckabad for the protection of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, as stipulated by an express article in the last treaty between them.

I am, Sir,

Calcutta,  
10th May 1785.

your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) J. WILLIS, Resident.

The Board having it in contemplation to propose some arrangements for Furruckabad, ordered, That the foregoing letter from the Resident do lie for consideration until that period.

Read the following letter from the Secretary :

*To the Honourable John Macpherson, Governor-general, &c.  
Council, in the Secret Department of Inspection.*

Honourable Sir, and Sirs,

Having been required by your orders of the 3d instant to ascertain from the records, and acquaint the Board, whether the allowance of two lacks of rupees per annum, received by the commanding officers in the Vizier's country in lieu of Bazar customs, has had the positive or implied

plied sanction of this government, I beg leave to lay before you the following particulars, which are all that I can find in the Consultations on this subject.

An Aīzee is recorded on the proceedings of the 2d November 1780, from Rajah Govind Ram, the Vakeel of the Nawaub Vizier, enclosing the copy of a letter that he had received from his Excellency, in which the Nawaub observed that the gentlemen stationed with the brigade at Cawnpore, Furruckabad, &c. wrote Perwannahs to the Aumils for every place, directing them to supply provisions and other necessaries for the army; that this method of proceeding brought great distress on his country, and he therefore wished it to be represented to the Governor-general, that it might be prevented in future, and that the gentlemen of the army might not send Sepoys into his districts; the Vizier said also, that on information being given to him and to the Company's Resident at this court, of the quantity of provisions wanted, orders should be immediately issued to the Aumils to furnish it every month, and the amount should be deducted from the Tuncaws.

Nothing appears to have been determined on the subject of this application until the 15th February 1781, when it was renewed in a letter from the Vizier to the Governor-general, and in a second from his Excellency to his Vakeel; the latter states the complaint more at large than it was stated before, and estimates the loss sustained in the Nawaub's revenue, from the conduct of the English officers at Cawnpore and Fuddy Ghur, at 3 lacks of rupees.

The late Governor-general observed, on submitting these representations to the Board, that the exercise of such a power as the Nawaub desired might be done away, must be inevitably attended with effects ascribed to it, and therefore ought to be suppressed, whether it were for the removal of past, or for the prevention of the future and only possible oppressions; and for these reasons and ends the Governor-general proposed that a general order should be issued to the army serving in the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier, stating his Excellency's complaints, and his consequent proposal to furnish the fixed military stations in his country with ample supplies of provisions and necessaries through his respective Aumils residing nearest to those stations, if it should be found necessary to employ their agency; and commanding in the most positive manner that from the first day of April 1781, no officer commanding at the fixed stations of Cawnpore, Fuddy Ghur, or Darnagur, or any other fixed or occasional station of the army, should on any account or pre-  
tence

tence whatsoever issue Dustucks, Perwannahs, or other instruments, nor levy or receive, nor suffer any persons acting under his authority to levy or receive, duties upon articles brought into the camp or other Bazares, nor erect or possess Gunges, nor send out military guards for the purpose of seizing any sort of provision, necessaries, or merchandize, nor in any manner directly or indirectly impede the free progress or passage of any native merchant or dealer through any part of the dominions of the Nawaub of Owde.

The Governor-general observed, on proposing this regulation, that as in redressing the injury done to the Nawaub it might deprive the commanding officers of a long-established, and under just restrictions, perhaps a just, perquisite in the duties collected upon the provisions and necessaries voluntarily brought into the camp, he thought it just to recommend that the Nawaub should be requested to grant a monthly gratuity in compensation for the emoluments thus taken from the commanding officers for the better regulation of his government and revenues.

The general order was agreed to and issued, and the Governor-general was requested to inform the Vizier of the regulation contained in it, and urge him to grant such a gratuity, in lieu of the emoluments taken from the commanding officers, as he and Mr. Middleton might mutually agree upon as equitable, the same being previously submitted to the board for their approval.

It appears by a letter from Mr. Middleton, dated the 13th April, and recorded in consultation 4th June 1781, that the Vizier had cheerfully assented to the recommendation made to him, and that he immediately sent his proposals to the commanding officers of the 2d brigade, and of the Darnagur detachment. These propositions, with the answers to them, shewed the final plan of adjustment, and Mr. Middleton laid them before the Board.

The gratuity fixed on by the Vizier for the commanding officer of the 2d brigade was one lack of rupees per annum, to commence from the 1st April 1781, and to be paid monthly; and the gratuity fixed on by the Vizier for the commanding officer at Darnagur was 36,000 rupees per annum.

No resolution, approving or disapproving this allowance, appears to have been entered on the records, nor was any thing done upon the general subject, except that a reference was made to the commander in chief of some propositions laid before the Board by Colonel James Morgan, in consequence of the order of the 15th February, and his opinion was desired upon them.—An extract of Mr. Middleton's letter, and copies of the papers accompanying

companying it, were at the same time sent to the General. I cannot, however, find any answer from the commander in chief to these references, nor do I believe that any were sent in.

I have the honour, &c.

Fort William,                      honourable Sir and Sirs,  
 Secret Depart. of Insp.              Yours, &c.  
 7th May 1785.                      (Singed)              E. HAY, Sec.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, 13th May 1785.*

SOME doubts having been suggested with respect to the meaning that be given to that part of the letter written to Major Palmer on the 3d instant, which states, that the allowances therein granted to the Company's servants at Lucknow were to be considered as allowances from the Company, and in lieu of all others; agreed, that the Secretary do acquaint Major Palmer, that these several allowances were fixed by the Board, as connected with the respective situations and offices of the gentlemen who are to draw them, but are not to deprive those gentlemen of the allowances to which they are entitled, according to their rank in the civil or military service of the Company.

*Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; 16th May 1785.*

WE have the honour to acquaint you, that we have made very considerable reductions in some of the allowances paid by the Vizier to your servants, &c. at Lucknow, and annulled others. The total saving amounts to more than twelve lacks per annum. The particulars will be mentioned to you by the first opportunity that may offer for our transmitting to you fuller advices. We have ordered, that the allowances which are either agreed to or permitted by this government shall be recorded on your public accounts, and paid by your Accountant at Lucknow. We also think it necessary to inform you, that we are proceeding in the work of retrenchment with all possible dispatch.

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 26th May 1785.*

*To the Vizier: Written 12th May 1785.*

I HAVE the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, containing requests that you may be relieved, as much as possible, from expence for the gentlemen stationed at Lucknow. This is a matter full of important benefits,

benefits, and I have attended to your wishes therein.— Accordingly some arrangements have been already resolved on, the particulars of which will be communicated to you by Major Palmer.

*Secret Department of Inspection.*

Fort William, 28th June 1785.

At a Council; Present,  
The Honourable John Macpherson, Esquire, Governor-  
general, President,  
John Stables, Esquire, and  
The Honourable Charles Stuart.

Read and approved the proceedings of yesterday.

Read the following letter from the Governor-general to the Vizier and his ministers, and the Vizier's reply.

*To the Vizier : Written 12th May 1785.*

I HAVE the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters, containing requests that you may be relieved as much as possible from expence for the gentlemen stationed at Lucknow. This is a matter full of important benefits; and I have attended to your wishes therein accordingly. Some arrangements have been already resolved on, the particulars of which will be communicated to you by Major Palmer, to whom I refer you.

To Hyder Beg Khan, and Hussen Reza Khan, of the same tenor and date.

*From the Vizier : Received 21st June 1785.*

YOUR agreeable letter has arrived; and what you have ordered on the subject of the relieving me from the expences of the gentlemen, I learnt fully from the representations of Major Palmer, and became grateful for your favours and friendship. From your true affection I am convinced, that you will be favourable in relieving me from other expences also, because the particulars of my distresses are well known to you.

The Secretary lays before the Board the following letter from Major Palmer :

To



To Edward Hay, Esquire, Secretary to the Secret Department, Fort William.

Sir,

WHEN I had the honour to receive your letters of the 3d, 12th, and 13th ultimo, I was labouring under a very severe indisposition, which to this time has rendered me wholly incapable of any application to business; the substance of their communications has, however, been given to his Excellency the Vizier, who entertains a very grateful sense of the attention which the honourable Board have bestowed upon the state of his finances, and of the reductions which they have ordered for his relief. Upon this subject, and also those of the requisitions for the payment of the two Roffalahs of Mogul cavalry, and the Company of foreign infantry, I have had the honour to transmit the Vizier's answer to the honourable the Governor-general.

I have not yet been able to notify in form the resolutions of the Board to the several gentlemen who are affected by them, but shall proceed to do it immediately. You have not signified the intention of the Board as to the time when the reductions should take place, except those of the account general and commanding officers at Cawnpoor and Futtighur; and it is doubtful whether the others are to have the same commencement, or that of the period which I informed the Governor-general I considered as terminating the authority by which I had acted in applying for the former allowances, that is, the departure of the late Governor-general from Lucknow. You will be so good as to inform the Accountant-general at this station of the Board's decision upon this point.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient servant,

(Signed) WM. PALMER.

Lucknow,  
10th June 1785.

Ordered, That Major Palmer be informed, that the Vizier's allowances to the servants of the Company, and others at Lucknow, were not authorized by the Members of this government, who had no account or knowledge of them until they were stated by Major Palmer; that the Board cannot interfere in the subject; and that they leave it to the Nabob to do as he may think proper.

Ordered, That this information be communicated to Lt. Colonel Harper, and to the Accountant at Lucknow.

(Signed) JOHN MACPHERSON.  
JOHN STABLES.  
CHARLES STUART.

*Extract*

*Extract of Letter from the Governor General and Council, in their Secret Department of Inspection; dated the 31st July 1785.*

Par. 2. Among other objects of reform, which called for our attention, was the relief of your ally, the Nabob Vizier, from the very heavy burthen which report informed us was imposed upon him, in the allowances granted to your servants and others, resident in his dominions, but granted without our knowledge or approbation. The Governor-general having received from Major Palmer an account of all these allowances, laid the same before us for our consideration. Major Palmer's letter to the Governor-general, and the statement which accompanied it, are recorded in the Consultation noted in the margin\*. The following orders and resolutions were passed thereupon, and communicated to the Nabob Vizier and Major Palmer, for immediate effect.

3. We restricted the allowances to the Governor General's agent at Lucknow to the amount usually paid to a minister of this government at a foreign court; viz. Sonat rupees 2,988 per month.

4. We reduced Mr. Wheler's allowances as Assistant to the Accountant at Lucknow, to the amount usually granted to the assistants to foreign ministers; viz. Sonat rupees 512 per month.

5. We permitted Lieutenant Colonel Martin, Keeper of the Nabob Vizier's arsenal, to draw only the difference between his pay and batta as a captain, which he receives from the Company, and the pay and double batta of his rank as Lieutenant Colonel.

6. We directed that Mr. Blaine and Mr. Bruce, surgeons to the Vizier, and to the civil and military establishments at Lucknow, should draw only the pay, batta, and allowances of full surgeons in the field; viz. Sonat rupees 684 per month.

7. We restricted the allowances to the officer commanding the regiment at Lucknow to the monthly amount paid to the commanding officer of a regiment of Sepoys on service in the Vizier's dominions; viz. Sonat rupees 1,536 per month.

8. The salaries paid to Major Browne, and his secretary, Mr. Bird, ceased of course, in consequence of the embassy to Shah Allum having been withdrawn; and the Governor-general's agent has been directed to acquaint the Vizier, that those paid to Lieutenant Anderson, Resident with Mahajee Sindia; to Captain Frith; to Mr.

Gall, assistant to the Auditor General; and, to Mr. Orr, assistant to Mr. Wombwell, cannot be authorized.

9. We have annulled the appointments of Messrs. Gregory, Grant, and Johnstone, as assistants to the civil establishment at Lucknow, as well as that of Mr. Taylor, the Dawk master; but the Governor-general has been authorized by us to continue that gentleman in his station, if he should think it necessary to his correspondence at Lucknow, that there should be a Dawk master there.

10. Having called upon Mr. Wombwell, the Paymaster-general and Accountant at Lucknow, to state to us the amount which he drew either from the Company or from the Vizier for these offices, and to acquaint us with the average monthly amount of his commission; and having received from that gentleman an account of the same, we resolved that his commission should be annulled from the 1st of June, and that the establishment of his offices of Accountant at Lucknow, and Paymaster-general beyond the provinces, should be taken into consideration, when our resolution of the 11th of March last, that no civil servant should be permitted to draw the allowances and salaries of more than one office, should be carried into execution.

11. The allowances granted by the Vizier, of one lack of rupees per annum to the officers commanding in his Excellency's dominions, in lieu of Bazar customs, have been discontinued, and the mode which was in practice before the year 1781, for supplying the camp Bazars in the Nabob's country with provisions, has been renewed under the following regulations; which, we doubt not, will ensure constant supplies to the army, and prevent all grounds of complaint from his Excellency's officers in future, similar to those which gave occasion to the former regulation.

1st. " That the commanding officers do not, on any account whatsoever, issue Purwannahs for any articles but the provisions actually required for the consumption and use of officers, soldiers, and camp followers, at their respective stations.

2dly. " That they do not collect duties upon any articles before such articles shall be brought into their Bazars. Every commanding officer being, in a great measure, responsible for the supply of his camp, these duties will of course be reasonable, or no provisions will be brought in to it; there is therefore no occasion to restrict their amount; besides, the Board have an entire confidence in the commanding officers, that no duties will be levied but such as are necessary for the general  
" regulation

- “ regulation of the prices of the provisions, and for de-  
“ fraying the expence of their Cutwally establishment.  
3dly. “ That no military guards be sent out for the  
“ purpose of seizing provisions or merchandize, or per-  
“ mitted to impede in any manner, directly or indirectly,  
“ the free progress or passage of any native merchant or  
“ dealer, through any part of the dominions of the Na-  
“ bob of Oude.  
4thly. “ That no officer under the commanding of-  
“ ficer be allowed the privilege of issuing a Purwanna for  
“ provisions, unless such officer be employed on detach-  
“ ment, and receive the authority of his commanding  
“ officer for this purpose.  
5thly. “ That every officer issuing Purwannas for  
“ provisions, &c. be careful to receive back such Pur-  
“ wannas, on return of the persons to camp to whom  
“ they were delivered; and if the whole quantity speci-  
“ fied in each be not brought in at one time, new Pur-  
“ wannas are to be granted for the remainder.  
6thly. “ That all officers do keep a register of all  
“ Purwannas granted by them respectively, that no im-  
“ proper use may be made of them, or if detected, that  
“ the persons to whom they were delivered may be iden-  
“ tified, and punished.  
“ Any disobedience in any officer to the rules here laid  
“ down will, on proof thereof, be considered as disobe-  
“ dience of orders, and treated accordingly.”

12. The office of Auditor-general of the accounts of the troops serving beyond the Provinces has been abolished, and these accounts are in future to be audited by the Commissary-general, in the same manner as before the appointment of Auditor-general beyond the Carumnassa took place, Mr. Scawen, who held this office, is admitted to the station of Deputy Commissary-general, in obedience to the orders of your honourable Court of the 17th May 1780, and in the room of Mr. William Atkinson, who has resigned.

13. We have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Governor-general has received a letter from the Vizier, expressing his gratitude for our interference in his behalf, and for the relief which we have thus afforded him, which we trust will enable his Excellency to discharge with punctuality the claims which we have upon him on account of the troops stationed for the defence of his country.

14. A question having been stated to us by Major Palmer, at what period the reductions we had ordered should take place, we acquainted him in reply, that as

the former allowances were not authorized by us, and as we had no knowledge of them, till they were stated to us by himself, we could not interfere in the subject, but left it to the Nabob to do as he might think proper.

### ALLOWANCES IN OUDE.

*List of Allowances from the Nabob Vizier to the Servants of the Company, Civil and Military, employed in his Excellency's Dominions.*

Monthly.

	Former Allowances.	Present Allowances.
Major Palmer, agent from the Governor-general at the Durbar, for dawks, established for the purpose of intelligence, servants, cattle, and table expences, upon an average	—	19,000
Mr. Wombwell, paymaster and accountant-general, one and a half commission on receipts	—	—
Mr. Wheler, assistant to Mr. Wombwell	5,000	5,000
Commanding Officers at Cawnpoor and Futtyghur, in lieu of Bazar customs, each one lack of rupees per annum	—	16,666
Lieutenant Colonel Martin, keeper of the arsenal, pay, batta of his rank	—	3,730
Mr. Blaine, surgeon to the Vizier, and to the civil establishment	8,000	5,000
Mr. Bruce, do. to the military establishment	3,000	2,000
Mr. Scawen, auditor general	—	2,000
Mr. Gall, assistant to do.	—	1,000
Major Browne, on a deputation to the Shah	—	3,000
Mr. Bird, secretary to do.	—	1,000
Lieutenant Anderson, on a deputation to Mahajee Sindia	—	3,000
Commanding Officer of the regiment stationed at Lucknow, for the protection of the Company's treasury	—	2,000
		Captain

Captain Frith, commanding four battalions of Sepoys, in lieu of all charges and contingencies whatever	—	5,000
Mr. Gregory, assistant on the civil establishment	3,000	2,000
Messrs. Grant and Johnstone, ditto, each 2,000 rupees	—	4,000
Mr. Taylor, dawk master, 1,000 rupees for dawks, and 1,000 rupees for dawk bearers	—	2,000
Mr. Orr, employed by Mr. Wombwell	—	2,000
Mr. Willis, Sihzawal for the Vizier's tribute at Furruckabad, allowed 48,000 rupees for a battalion of infantry, 5,000 rupees for artillery, 10,000 rupees for horse, annually, and a commission of 3 per cent. upon the tribute.—N. B. The commission is paid by the Nabob Muzuffer Jung		
Captain John Mordaunt	8,000	8,000

*Extract of Secret Letter from Bengal; 16th May 1785.*

WE have the honour to acquaint you, that we have made very considerable reductions in some of the allowances paid by the Vizier to your servants, &c. at Lucknow, and annulled others. The total saving amounts to more than twelve lacks per annum. The particulars will be mentioned to you by the first opportunity that may offer for our transmitting to you fuller advices. We have ordered, that the allowances which are either agreed to or permitted by this government shall be recorded on your public accounts, and paid by your Accountant at Lucknow. We also think it necessary to inform you, that we are proceeding in the work of retrenchment with all possible dispatch.

**COPY OF A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT COLONEL HARPER TO THE HON. JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ. GOVERNOR GENERAL OF BENGAL, DATED THE 20<sup>th</sup> OF SEP.; AND, OF ANOTHER LETTER DATED THE 25<sup>th</sup> OF OCTOBER 1785, RELATIVE TO THE STATE AND CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE OF OUDE, AND THE PAYMENT OF THE BALANCES DUE FROM THE NABOB VIZIER TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.**

*Extract of Bengal Secret Consultations, the 11th October 1785.*

THE Governor-general lays before the Board the following letter, which he has received from Lieutenant Colonel Harper, and from the Vizier and his ministers.

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor-general, &c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

The inclosed copy of a letter, which I this day received from Mr. Wombwell, the Accomptant here, will shew you, that the balance of the crore and five lacks of rupees, due from the Vizier's government to the honourable Company for the Fussullee year 1192, is now finally settled.

I shall proceed with the Vizier and his ministers to make out the estimate for the ensuing year; and, knowing the necessities of your government, and the protection afforded to the Nabob's dominions by the British troops, my utmost endeavours shall be exerted to make the supplies as considerable as possible, and to obtain a sum of ready money to pay off the arrears to that part of the army at present stationed for the security of these provinces.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,  
with the greatest respect,

Lucknow,  
the 20th Sept. 1785.

Honourable Sirs,  
your faithful servant,  
(Signed) G. HARPER,  
Minif. Gov. Gen. at Lucknow.

Sir,

The 20th Sept. 1785, Lucknow.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I have this moment received from the Minister the bills on Calcutta and Surat, and which complete the agreement of his Highness

Highness the Vizier with the honourable Company for the Fussullee year 1192.

Lieut. Col. G. Harper, Minister for the Go- vernor-general at the Court of the Vizier.	I am, with respect, Sir, Your most obedient, and most humble servant, J. WOMBWELL. Accomptant.
(Signed) G. Harper, Minister, Lucknow.	A true copy.

From the Vizier : Received 3d October 1785.

By the blessing of God, and the good favour and assistance of your Excellency, one kwse and five lacks of rupees of the money of the Company's Sircar have been, without balance, paid according to engagement, from the collections of the money, and the loans of the bankers. In return for the favours that you have, on every respect, given me ease of mind and confidence, and that my ministers and the bankers, being comforted, have paid the money of the Company's government, I bring thanks and praises from my tongue, and may the Almighty preserve you for these attentions to friendship! My friendly heart is convinced, that by the blessing of God and your favours, in future also the money of the Company's Sircar will be properly paid, and the management of this concern, and the cultivation of the country, will be cause of a daily increase of reputation to you.—My hope from your kindness is this, that you will always continue fixed in the same favour of heart to my concerns.

From Hyder Beg Khan : Received 3d October 1785.

By the blessing of God, and your Excellency's favours and assistance, the money of the Company's Sircar one crse, and five lacks of rupees, which in the year 1192 Fussillee had been engaged by his Highness, has been paid without balance, from the collections of the country and the loans of the bankers. The good state of the affairs of both governments, and the payment of the money of the Company's Sircar, and the cultivation of the country, are solely from your Excellency's favours; that you have in every respect granted strength to his Highness, and have bestowed favours and kindnesses upon us, from which ease of mind having been received, the completion of the monies of the Company's Sircar has properly taken place. I return thanks for your kindnesses and favours. In future also, the blessing of God and the favours of your



your Excellency, the completion of the monies of the Company's Sircar, and the payment of the debts to the bankers, and the cultivation of the country, will properly take place.—Every hand is employed in prayers for the increase of your life and dignity.

To the Honourable John Macpherson, Esq. Governor General, &c. &c. &c.

Honourable Sir,

I have already had the pleasure to acquaint you, under date the 20th ultimo, of the final settlement of the crore and five lacks of rupees which were paid by the Nabob to the honourable Company: I have the honour now to inform you, that for the service of the present Fussullee year 1193, beginning the 19th of last month, and ending in September following, the Vizier and his ministers have agreed to furnish sixty-five lacks of rupees, which, by the account I now inclose, you will perceive provides for the sums that I have been directed to bring into the account with this government, as well as the arrears of the Futtu Ghur detachment, the subsidy for the Cawnpore brigade, and part of the estimate for the Futtu Ghur troops for the present year 1193. And the Vizier and his ministers, approving the present mode of carrying on the business of this court with your presidency, being sensible of its utility to both governments, being desirous of relieving the honourable Company from any expence, where they derive at least an equal advantage from the cause of it, and to testify also their sense of your attention to their convenience, in reducing the expence of salaries, beg me to entreat, you will allow them to defray the arrears and salaries of the present year to the servants of the residency here, and allowances to the military officers, who, by your orders of the 3d of May last, are entitled to receive them, the account of which I have now the honour to transmit; whereby you will perceive, that it will prove a saving to the honourable Company of 1,62,164 rupees; so that in fact, the money that is to be paid by this government for the service of yours for this year, will be a clear net revenue, unattended with any expence or diminution.

The kists or monthly payments for the present year, of 3,25,000 rupees, will be regularly paid, and which, when the arrears to the troops shall be in part wholly liquidated, will be found I hope sufficient for both stations; and to enable you to pay off as much of those arrears as they can, the ministers agree to furnish, over and above the regular kists, whatever is possible between this time and the

the 15th of December: a particular account of which, as well as the Kistbundee itself, I shall have the honour to forward, as soon as the sum can be ascertained. In the mean time I am endeavouring, with the assistance of the minister, to obtain ready money, by every means in my power, to relieve the present distresses of the troops.

I have also the honour to tell you, that the Vizier and his ministers, looking to future events, and a firmer establishment of friendship with the honourable Company, have, I think, in contemplation to propose to you a specific sum for the service of the Fullelee year 1194; and as soon as there shall remain no doubt of the present harvest succeeding as happily as it promises (on which every thing depends) I hope to acquaint you with the amount; and if you approve of my doing so, I shall urge it at the proper season, and endeavour to obtain a fund at least equal to your expences, so that the disbursements for both years shall be completely provided for.

When I make this communication of what appears to me to be favourable events, I must acquaint you with the source from whence they spring. It is, Sir, the confidence you have, by your actions towards this government, established in the minds of the Vizier and his ministers, of your fixed resolution to support them in all their rights, demanding nothing but what is just for the protection afforded their country, and enabling them to take measures to revive the prosperity and happiness of these provinces, which already begin to wear a face of joy: hence they have the ability to furnish these supplies so soon after paying off so large a sum of money as the honourable Company's late accumulated debt. At the same time I must acquaint you, Sir, that the Nabob and his ministers have strained every nerve on this occasion to testify their desire to assist the honourable Company; and particularly to convince you, Sir, and the gentlemen who compose the present honourable Board, of their high respect and veneration.

And that I might, as much as lay within the compass of my own abilities, be assisting to these ends, and to enable the Vizier and his ministers not only to fulfil their late engagements, but to provide as amply as possible for the future expences of the troops, and other exigencies of the honourable Company, I have, upon a representation from the minister, that the revenue was much injured by the monopoly of salt petre, absolutely given up all pretensions to it, nor will I employ any agent to make or purchase a single maund.

The monopoly of salt petre has been so long attached to the office of Resident at this place, that it has been

looked on as a perquisite of right; and when I give it up, I know I part with twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum; but twenty thousand pounds a year bears no estimation in my mind, when the relinquishing it serves to promote the public service, and to obtain the approbation of you, Sir, and of the honourable Board, who have in so flattering a manner ratified your nomination of me to this office, and from whom it is I hope to receive the reward I shall endeavour to deserve.

I esteem it the most fortunate event of my life, that I have been selected to assist your endeavours to promote the public service, and to procure happiness to this almost ruined country. I claim no merit beyond a desire to execute your wishes, and the plan you have laid down, which you have enabled me to do by the support you have given me; and even this would have been insufficient, had it not been attended by a noble confidence and friendship, which, whilst it stimulated me to an ardent desire to do my duty, assured me I had nothing to dread as long as my conduct tended to promote the general good.

The late Governor-general, soon after his arrival in Bengal, thought proper to remove me from a very honourable station I then held at the Court of Sujah ul Dowlah. Before his departure, however, from India, he was so good as acquaint me with his reasons for doing it; and I must own they would have been just, had they ever existed: it is foreign to my purpose to trouble you with them at this time—suffice it to say, that Mr. Hastings, the day before he left Calcutta, did me the honour to assure me “he had always approved my former conduct, which, had he continued in the government, he would have given me proofs of; that he could then only assist me by recommending me to his successor as “a person fit to be employed in public trust.” Mr. Hastings did speak to you, Sir, and you have selected me, almost a perfect stranger to your acquaintance, and in preference to many gentlemen who had the nearest claims on you, to fill the most important station which I conceive an individual can enjoy under your government; for this friendship, and flattered by the motives of your partiality, it is but bare duty in me to make you every return in my power, by a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in me: but, Sir, my honour and gratitude prompt me to much more than this; and when I express my hopes of your continuance in the first office in India, and for health to do the arduous duties of it, I know I am wishing for the greatest good fortune to the honourable Company’s possessions, as well as to these provinces.

I flatter

I flatter myself the honourable Board's approbation and ratification will follow this communication of what I have done with this government, and after providing for all the articles of the general account, and supplying as much as possible for the arrears and expences of all the troops at Cawnpoor and Futtu Ghur, to the end of this Fustullee year :193, that is in September 1786, the Vizier and his ministers hope you will be pleased and satisfied with their conduct, and give them an acquittal of public demands. I wish, Sir, you may perceive the good effects that will surely arise from this mutual attention to each other's confidence and convenience; it will be the means I hope of getting more in the next year than y u may obtain for the specific article of pay to the Futtu Ghur detachment—it will certainly tend to improve the revenues of this country, whence your government may on any future emergency draw very great resources, and it will assist to obliterate the recollection of some past acts that perhaps had better never happened, and the immediate profits of which have probably not compensated for the opinions those acts have served to establish in the minds of the princes and people of all the provinces of India. It is under your administration, Sir, that I am confident we are to see those sentiments revive which formerly were of more consequence than even our military character, and both united made the British arms invincible, and their name the admiration of the East.

I have thus presumed, from a principle of duty, to touch on points not immediately though relatively connected with the original subject of this address. I should think myself unworthy the post I hold to have been at this time totally silent on them, professing, as I do, the highest respect, and taking pride in subscribing myself,

Honourable Sir,

Your faithful servant,

Lucknow,  
25th Oct. 1785.

(Signed) GABRIEL HARPER,  
Minister for the Governor-general  
at the Vizier's Court.

A true Copy.  
E. Hay,  
Secretary.

## ESTIMATE of CLAIMS for 1193.

A	R	M	Y.	
Arrears Futtyghur detachments			11,60,000	
Brigade for 12 months	-		31,20,000	
Regiments at Lucknow	-	-	3,00,000	
Futtyghur detachments	-		17,40,000	
			63,20,000	
Mirza Saudit Ally	-		2,00,000	
Rohilla stipends	-		61,578	
Mr. Frazer's bond, and interests	-	-	1,70,000	
Interest due to the Shroffs	-	-	4,00,000	
Contingent bills of Majors Lumsdain, Gilpin, Captain Dennis, &c.; and arrears resident's guard	-	-	1,29,456	
Abdul Rheman Cawn's Candahar cavalry	-		76,000	
Batta to the Shroffs 5. 9. 3 on the balance due them when the late Governor fixed the Lucknow Sicca Rupees to pafs as of equal value with the Fyzabad 16 Sun's	-		71,910	
			74,28,944	
			74,28,944	

The Vizier and his ministers, in compliance with the desire of the Board communicated to Lieutenant Colonel Harper, have consented to include the sum of 71,910 rupees, for batta to the shroffs; but observes, that if the honourable Board will be so good as order an investigation of this transaction, it will be discovered, that it has already been adjusted with the shroffs, and that their present demand is not founded in justice.

(Signed) GABRIEL HARPER,  
Minif. Lucknow, for the G. General,

A. true Copy.  
E. Hay,  
Secretary.