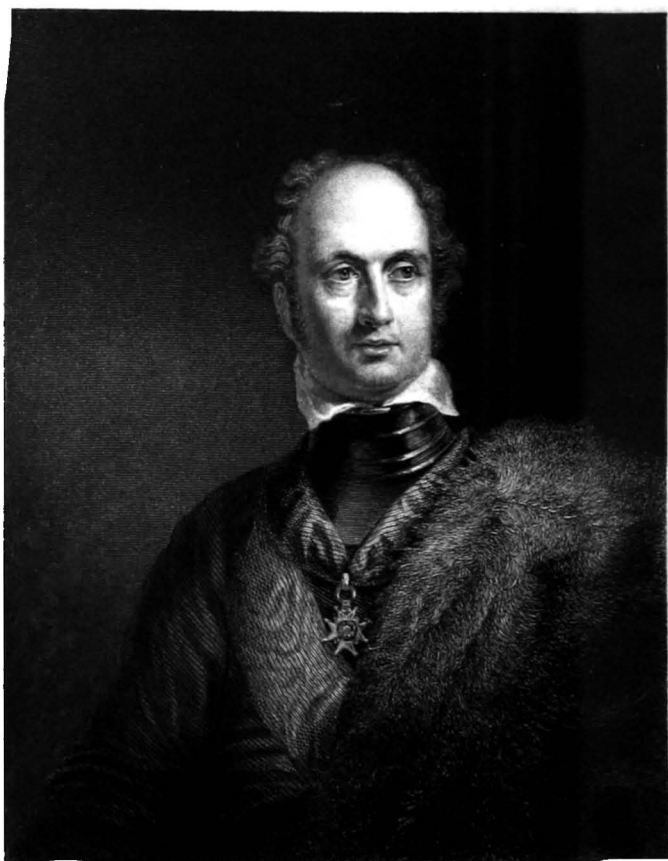


Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-000981



John Malcolm

THE
LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL
SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B.,

LATE ENVOY TO PERSIA, AND GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY;

FROM
UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

BY
JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,
AUTHOR OF THE "LIFE OF LORD METCALFE," "THE HISTORY OF THE WAR IN
AFGHANISTAN," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
SMITH, ELDER, AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.
BOMBAY: SMITH, TAYLOR, AND CO.

MDCCLVI.

[The right of Translation is reserved.]

V2, L, 8, 7 L69

A856.1

98 L

DEDICATION,

TO

THE HONORABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

THESE MEMOIRS

• OF ONE OF HIS

MOST DISTINGUISHED COTEMPORARIES AND ATTACHED
FRIENDS

ARE RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

As I believe it will be more generally asked why the Life of Sir John Malcolm was not written before, than why it now makes its appearance, I think it is well to state, that many years ago the late Captain Hamilton, the accomplished author of "Cyril Thornton," undertook to perform the task, which has since devolved upon me; but death arrested his labors. He had proceeded but a little way with his work, when he was thus prematurely lost to the world. Some of the earlier papers had been placed in his hands; he had marked a few passages in the correspondence, and he had written, with little result, some letters of inquiry to the few surviving friends of Malcolm's boyhood; but I have not been able to learn that he ever wrote a line of the Memoir.

From the time of Captain Hamilton's death, in 1842, up to the autumn of 1854, when I undertook to prepare the present work for the press, the voluminous correspondence of Sir John Malcolm (with the exception of one very valuable collection of letters) remained in the possession of the family, with the fullest intention on their part, as soon as fitting opportunity should present it-

self, of publishing some selections from it, accompanied with a narrative of Malcolm's eventful career. When this correspondence was placed in my hands, I found that the only difficulty it presented to the biographer was the difficulty of selection. Sir John Malcolm began, at a comparatively early date, to adhere rigidly to the custom of keeping copies of all his own letters on public affairs, and preserving those which were addressed to him. As these letters were, for the most part, arranged in books, and were in a very tolerable state of preservation, I had no reason to complain of the quality or quantity of my material. It is true that the records of Malcolm's early life were somewhat scanty; but this is a deficiency with which biographers have so commonly to contend, that neither writers nor readers feel any disappointment at its occurrence. It may be observed, too, that Malcolm, in his younger days, wrote both rarely and briefly to his friends; in that respect furnishing a strong contrast to Munro and Metcalfe, whose biographies are among the few exceptions to the rule of which I have spoken:

Voluminous as were the family papers placed at my disposal, they by no means constituted the whole of my materials. I had many large collections of Malcolm's letters in my possession before those papers passed into my hands. Some of the letters derived from foreign sources were the originals of those in the family letter-books. Others were hastily-written, but often suggestive communications referring to immediate topics of the day, of which no copies had been preserved. These undress effusions are often of more value to the biographer than more studied compositions; and it may be mentioned,

whilst on this subject, that the very best biographical materials at my command have been Malcolm's letters to his wife.

And I do not think that any reader will have just ground of complaint that I have suffered, in this work, the historical to overlay the biographical. The Life of Sir John Malcolm is the life of a man actively employed in the public service, with rare intervals, for half a century. And of these public services the Memoir furnishes a detailed account. But it may with truth be said, with reference to all the great historical events glanced at in this Memoir, that Malcolm was not merely in them, but of them—*pars magna*. To use one of his favorite expressions, the "laboring oar" was always in his hand. So large and so distinct was his individuality, that the man himself is ever to be seen in the foreground, impressing himself upon all the events with which he was connected, and shaping them by the force of his own personal character. I believe it would be no exaggeration to say that the History of India can be but imperfectly understood without an understanding also of the character of Sir John Malcolm.

And I am reminded by this of the obligations which I owe to some of the surviving friends of the subject of this Memoir, for oral communications of more value than written documents. As I never saw Sir John Malcolm; who died whilst I was on my way out to India as a cadet, I have endeavoured to the utmost to supply the wants of my own personal knowledge by gathering unrecorded information from those who knew him best. And as he was not one to pass readily out of the recollection of any

who had once known him, I have seldom failed to elicit some characteristic reminiscences from the cotemporaries whose assistance I have sought.

It remains only to be observed, that, with the exception of two or three letters, the correspondence quoted in this Memoir is now published for the first time. In the later editions of the Wellington Correspondence may be found one or two of the Duke's letters to Malcolm, which appear also in the first of these volumes. The publication of the remainder, however, has not been anticipated by Colonel Gurwood. There was no one to whom the Duke of Wellington wrote more unreservedly than to Sir John Malcolm. This unreserve has rendered necessary a cautious use of the correspondence; but enough is still given to show the intimate terms on which they corresponded, and to illustrate, at the same time, many interesting traits of the Duke's character.

On turning over these printed pages, before finally dismissing them to take their chance with the Public, and on again referring to the materials (literally a room-full) out of which the Memoir has been shaped, I cannot resist a strong sensation of regret at the thought of the many interesting and valuable papers still lying unused around me. I must console myself with the thought that a selection from these may some day be laid before the Public.

J. W. KAYE.

LONDON, *November*, 1856.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOYHOOD OF JOHN MALCOLM.

[1769—1782.]

	PAGE
The Home in Eskdale—Ancestors—Parentage—Misfortunes of George Malcolm—The Family at Burnfoot—Offer of a Cadetship—John's Visit to London—Ordeal at the India-House—Departure for India	1

CHAPTER II.

SUBALTERN-LIFE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

[1783—1794.]

Arrival at Madras—Departure for Vellore—First Years of Service—Idleness and Extravagance—Early Reformation—The War with Tippoo—Operations of the Nizam's Force—Oriental Studies—First Staff Appointment—Return to England	9
---	---

CHAPTER III.

FURLOUGH TO ENGLAND.

[1794—1795.]

Restoration of Health—Detention in London—Introduction to General Clarke—Visits to Burnfoot and Alva—Resolution to Return to India—Arrangements for the Voyage—Appointment to the Staff of General Clarke—Departure from England—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope	30
---	----

CHAPTER IV.

THE STAFF AT MADRAS.

[1796—1798.]

	PAGE
Appointment to the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief—The Military Secretaryship—Letters to Burnfoot—Departure of Sir Alured Clarke—Appointment to the Staff of General Harris—Departure of Lord Hobart—The Town-Majorship of Fort St. George	49

CHAPTER V.

HYDERABAD AND MYSORE.

[1798—1799.]

Arrival of Lord Wellesley—The Hyderabad Assistantship—Disbandment of the French Corps—Malcolm's Share in the Operations—Voyage to Calcutta—Meeting with Lord Wellesley—The Siege of Seringapatam—The Mysore Commissionership—Return to Hyderabad	63
--	----

CHAPTER VI.

ACROSS THE PENINSULA.

[1799—1800.]

Malcolm's Appointment to the Persian Mission—Its Objects—Rumored Invasion of Zemaun Shah—Local Attachments—Malcolm's Journey to Hyderabad—Business there—Incidents of Travel—Return to Bombay	89
---	----

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSIAN EMBASSY.

[1800—1801.]

Arrival at Muscat—Negotiations with the Inaam—Delays at Bushire—Presents and Ceremonies—Reception at Shiraz—Halt at Ispahan—Journey to Teheran—Interviews with the King—Negotiation of the Treaties—Their Character—Approval of Government—Return to India	105
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRIVATE SECRETARYSHIP.

[1801—1803.]

Dangerous Voyage to Calcutta—Departure for the Upper Provinces—Intercourse with Lord Wellesley—The River Voyage—Letters to Mr. Barlow—Confidential Mission to Madras—Return to Bengal—Death of the Persian Ambassador—Mission to Bombay—Journey across the Peninsula—Dealings with the Persians—Return to Calcutta—Appointment to the Mysore Residency	155
--	-----

CONTENTS.

x

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL WELLESLEY'S CAMP.

[1803—1804.]

	PAGE
Mahratta Politics—Flight of the Peishwah—The Treaty of Bassin— Malcolm at Head-Quarters—Intercourse with General Wellesley—Re- storation of the Peishwah—The Mahratta War—Illness of Malcolm— Departure from Camp—Effects of his Return—The Treaty of Peace .	199

CHAPTER X.

THE TREATY WITH SCINDIAH.

[1803—1804.]

Progress of the War—Malcolm's Return to Camp—His Genial Presence. —Wattel Punt—Mountstuart Elphinstone—Negotiations for Peace— The Subsidiary Alliance—Mission to Scindiah's Camp—Scene at Durbar—Conclusion of the Treaty—Approval of Lord Wellesley— Death of Malcolm's Father	235
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

THE GWALIOR CONTROVERSY.

[1804.]

Malcolm's Continuance at Scindiah's Durbar—The Question of Gwalior and Gohud—Historical Antecedents—Opinions of General Wellesley, Malcolm, and the Governor-General—Correspondence with Calcutta— Displeasure of Lord Wellesley—Review of Malcolm's Conduct . . .	262
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

MYSORE AND CALCUTTA.

[1804—1805.]

Departure from Scindiah's Court—Residence at Vizagapatam and Ganjam —Correspondence with General Wellesley—Voyage to Madras—The Mysore Residency—Departure of General Wellesley—Correspondence with the Governor-General—Summons to Calcutta—Councils of State	288
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

LORD LAKE'S CAMP.

[1805—1806.]

Journey to the North—Arrival at Head-Quarters—Malcolm and Met- calfe—Lord Cornwallis Governor-General—Malcolm's Perplexities— Succession of Sir George Barlow—The Treaty with Scindiah—Resto- ration of Gwalior and Gohud—Pursuit of Holkar—The Peace . . .	314
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

CALCUTTA AND MYSORE.

[1806—1807.]

	PAGE
Malcolm and Barlow—Detention at Calcutta—Correspondence with Sir Arthur Wellesley—Departure for Madras—Return to Mysore—Proposed Expedition to Turkey—Love, Courtship, and Marriage . . .	366

CHAPTER XV.

CONTEMPLATED EXPEDITION TO PERSIA.

[1808—1809.]

The Peace of Tilsit—The Mission of Sir Harford Jones—Malcolm's Departure for the Gulf—State of Politics at Teheran—Failure of Malcolm's Mission—Voyage to Calcutta—Second Mission to the Gulf—Recall to the Presidency	399
--	-----

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MADRAS MUTINY.

[1809.]

Abolition of the Tent-Contracts—Conduct of General Macdowall—Arrest of Colonel Munro—Excesses of the Army—Measures of the Madras Government—The Mutiny at Masulipatam—Malcolm despatched thither—His Treatment of the Mutineers—Return to Madras—Disprobation of Sir George Barlow—Opinions of Sir James Mackintosh—Reappointment to Persia	457
---	-----

APPENDIX	513
--------------------	-----

ERRATA.

Page 42, line 10 from bottom, for "for those feelings," read "to those feelings."

Page 91, line 4, for "Ooshegs," read "Ooshegs."

Page 336, line 18, for "millah," read "nullah."

The name of Admiral Sir P. Malcolm should be spelt throughout "Pulteny."

APPENDIX.

MEHEDI ALI KHAN'S MISSION.

(Chapter VII., page 116.)

(From the Journals of Sir John Malcolm.)

“AFTER we were seated, the Meerza commenced by observing, that to make me master of all his actions since he was sent into this quarter, he should take a cursory view of them from the time of his arrival at Bushire until the present time. He had been informed, he said, by Mr. Duncan, that while the Company was engaged on one hand with Tippoo Sultan, Zemaun Shah, on the other, threatened an invasion of the provinces of Oude; and that he had suggested the possibility of creating a diversion in the Afghan dominions by exciting the Persian monarch to hostilities in that quarter, which certainly would have the effect of recalling Zemaun Shah from any attack upon India; that having been authorised to make an attempt of this nature, he had, with the aid and advice of Hadjee Khalil Khan, opened a correspondence with the King and also with the Prime Minister, and in the course of this he had artfully avoided pledging the Company's name; that he had represented as from himself the ravages of the Afghans at Lahore, and mentioned that thousands of the Sheea inhabitants of that quarter, who had fled from his cruelties, had found an asylum in the Company's dominions; that if the King of Persia possessed the ability to check the career of such a prince he would be serving God and man to do so; if he did not, why of course he would remain quiet. He also endeavoured to accelerate the

advance of Mahmoud and Feroze Shah, the fugitive brothers of Zemaun Shah, and he added that all his endeavours were (as I had heard) crowned with success.

“ Last season the King of Persia had lost his time in besieging Nishapoor (it was true), and effected nothing. But the object, Mehedi Ali Khan said, that he had been directed to accomplish, was to prevent Zemaun Shah's invading India, not to destroy that monarch; and that object had been gained. Zemaun Shah, alarmed at the movement of the Persian monarch, had returned from Peshawur and hastened to Herat; and the winter, which was the season for his invading Hindostan, had been lost.

“ After the King's retreat, Mehedi Ali Khan said he had gone to Teheran, where he was honorably entertained, and that his Majesty had received him with distinction, and lodged him with the Prime Minister. Mehedi Ali Khan added that as he found that affairs had taken the most favorable turn, and that the King of Persia was obliged in honor to continue the contest with the Afghan Prince, he saw no good in making use of those powers with which he had been entrusted, and incurring an unnecessary expense for the Company. He therefore, when asked the purport of his mission, declared he was only sent to condole with the King on the death of his uncle, and to congratulate him on his auspicious succession. What he had before stated respecting Zemaun Shah's cruelties, and the protection which the Company had afforded to those whom his inhumanity had forced from the country, he declared was from himself, not from the English, who, so far from desiring aid against Zemaun Shah, wished him to advance, that they might try him in arms; that it was a matter of indifference to them whether the King of Persia advanced or not, further than they would always rejoice to hear of his Majesty's good fortune and increased power.

“ As there was a necessity for Mr. Duncan's letter to the King corresponding with this language, Mehedi Ali Khan said he took the one sent from Bombay out of the purse, as its contents (which represented him as a man charged with power to make any agreement he chose) would have excited suspicion, and made the King urgent for an advance of money, and substituted in its place a letter which condoled with the King on his uncle's death, and congratulated him on his own succession.

“ Respecting the French, Mehedi Ali Khan said he had procured orders to be sent for their persons to be seized, and their property to be plundered, if they came to any ports in Persia ; and that he himself had orders to that effect from the King to the Sheikh of Bushire.

“ He concluded by saying that at an audience before he left Court, where all were excluded from the presence except himself and the Prime Minister, a long conversation had taken place on the intended expedition to Khorassan and Candahar, which the King swore by his head he intended to prosecute. On his advice being asked whether he thought it should be proclaimed as a war of religion or one of ambition, Mehedi Ali Khan stated that both grounds were objectionable, as they were likely to unite those whom it was his Majesty's interest should be divided ; that it was best for his Majesty, in his opinion, to take public notice of the Prince Mahmoud, who was at his Court, and to proclaim his royal intention of placing that prince, who was Zemaun Shah's elder brother, on a throne which was his birthright.* This pretext was honorable, and would probably gain friends to the King among the chief leaders of the Afghan tribes, who were, by all accounts, not a little disaffected. The King approved this advice, and told him he was resolved to send Prince Mahmoud with Sadik Khan in advance, in the beginning of April, and he should himself follow in the rear with 20,000 men.

“ This was the state of affairs, Mehedi Ali Khan said, when he took his leave, and he had no doubt that the King would march ; and if he does, there must be war between him and Zemaun Shah ; and, let who would conquer, the purposes of the Honorable Company would be answered.”

* This, however, is a mistake. Ha-Shah ; Zemaun, the second ; and Mahmoud was the eldest son of Timour —K.

THE PERSIAN TREATIES.

(Chapter VII., page 143.)

Translation of a Firmaun from Futteh Ali Shauh, King of Persia, and an annexed Treaty concluded by Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Prime Minister, on the part of the King of Persia, by whom he was fully empowered; and by Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the English Government, by virtue of powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General of India, &c. &c.

Firmaun.

In the name of the beloved and great God. The earth is the Lord's. Our august commands are issued: That the high in dignity, the exalted in station, the refuge of power and glory, the noble and great in authority, the chiefs of high nobles, the Beglerbegg, the Haukims, the Naibs, and Mootasuddies of the kingdom under our protection (who are raised by our royal favor), become acquainted, that, at this period, the dignified and eminent in station, the prudent, able, and penetrating, the greatest of the exalted followers of the Messiah, Captain John Malcolm, deputed from a glorious quarter (from the Government of the King of England, whose Court resembles the firmament, an emperor in dignity like Alexander, possessing the power of the globe, and from the repository of glory, greatness, and ability, endowed with nobility, power, and justice, the Governor-General of the kingdom of Hindoostan), for the purpose of establishing union and friendship between the two great States, has arrived at our threshold, founded on justice, and has been honored by admission to our royal presence of conspicuous splendor, and has expressed a desire that the foundations of amity and union should be laid between the two States, that they should be connected together in the bonds of friendship and harmony, and that a constant union and reciprocal good understanding should exist. We, from our august selves, have given our consent, and have granted the requests and desires of the high in rank above mentioned, and a treaty, sealed

with the seal of the Minister* of our ever-enduring Government, has been given to him; and you, exalted in station, are positively enjoined of the necessity (after you become informed of our royal and august order) for all of you acting in strict conformity with the conditions of the treaty concluded and exchanged between the high in rank, the exalted in station, the great and glorious in power, near to the throne, on whom the royal confidence is placed, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, and the high in rank the Envoy (Captain John Malcolm) whose titles have been before enumerated. Let no one act contrary to this high command, or to the contents of the annexed treaty; and should it ever be represented to us that any of the great nobles conduct themselves in opposition to the stipulations of this treaty, or are in this respect guilty or negligent, such will incur our displeasure and punishment, and be exposed to our royal anger, which is like fire; and let them view this as an obligation.

Dated in the month of Shaubaun, in the year of the Hejrec 1215, corresponding with the month of January, A.D. 1801.

Sealed in the usual form on the back of the Firmaun by the following Ministers:

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Meerza Shuffee, Meerza Roza Kooli, Meerza Assud Oollah, Meerza Rezy, Meerza Ahmud, Meerza Mortiza Kooli, Meerza Fazoollah, and Meerza Yoosuf.

Treaty Annexed.

Preamble.

Praise be to God, who has said, Perform your covenant, for the performance of your covenant shall be inquired into hereafter.

As establishing the obligations of friendship between all mankind is a charge from the Almighty, and it is a most laudable and excellent institution, and as the Creator is pleased, and the happiness and tranquillity of his creatures consulted by it, therefore, at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune, of great and splendid power, the greatest

* Literally, one in whom confidence is placed.

among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendor, and fortune, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, on being granted leave, and vested with authority from the part of the high King, whose Court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the King of the universe, like Cahermaun the mansion of mercy and justice, the phoenix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the King powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the Princes exalted to majesty by the Heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High, a Khoosrow whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon, a Prince of great rank before whom the sun is concealed.

Arabic Verse.

[Thy benevolence is universally dispensed; everywhere drops are scattered; thy kindness shadows cities; may God fix firm the basis of thy dominion!]

And the high in dignity, the great and able in power, the adorer of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power (seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty and sovereignty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory and empire, the blazing sun in the sky of greatness and glory, lord of the countries of England and India, may God strengthen his territories, and establish his glory and command upon the seas!) in the manner explained in his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious possessing fortune, the origin of rank, splendor, and nobility, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor-General of India.

This treaty between the two great Powers shall be binding on race after race, and the two Governments must ever, while the world exists, act in conformity to what is now settled.

Article 1st. The merchants of the high contracting States are to travel and carry on their affairs in the territories of both nations in full security and confidence, and the rulers and governors of all

cities are to consider it their duty to protect from injury their cattle and goods.

Article 2nd. The traders and merchants of the kingdoms of England or Hindoostan that are in the service of the English Government shall be permitted to settle in any of the seaports or cities of the boundless empire of Persia (which may God preserve from calamity) that they prefer, and no Government duties, taxes, or requisitions shall ever be collected on any goods that are the actual property of either of the Governments, the usual duties on such to be taken from purchasers.

Article 3rd. Should it happen that either the persons or property of merchants are injured or lost, by thieves and robbers, the utmost exertions shall be made to punish the delinquents and recover the property. And if any merchant or trader of Persia evades or delays the payment of a debt to the English Government, the latter are authorised to use every possible mode for the recovery of their demands, taking care to do so in communication and with the knowledge of the ruler or governor of the place, who is to consider it as his duty to grant on such occasion every aid in his power. And should any merchants of Persia be in India attending to their mercantile concerns, the officers of the English Government are not to prevent them carrying on their affairs, but to aid and favor them; and the above-mentioned merchants are to recover their debts and demands in the mode prescribed by the customs and laws of the English Government.

Article 4th. If any person in the empire of Persia die indebted to the English Government, the ruler of the place must exert his power to have such demand satisfied before those of any other creditors whatever. The servants of the English Government resident in Persia are permitted to hire as many domestics, natives of that country, as are necessary for the transaction of their affairs; and they are authorised to punish such in cases of misconduct in the manner they judge most expedient, provided such punishment does not extend to life or limb. In such cases, the punishment to be inflicted by the ruler or governor of the place.

Article 5th. The English are at liberty to build houses and mansions in any of the ports or cities of Persia that they choose, and they may sell or rent such houses or mansions at pleasure.

And should ever a ship belonging to the English Government be in a damaged state in any of the ports of Persia, or one of Persia be in that condition in an English harbor, the chiefs and rulers of the ports and harbors of the respective nations are to consider it as their duty to give every aid to refit and repair vessels so situated; and if it happens that any of the vessels of either nation are sunk or shipwrecked in or near the ports or shores of either country, on such occasions whatever part of the property is recovered shall be restored to its owners or their heirs, and a just hire is to be allowed by the owners to those who recover it.

Final Article. Whenever any native of England, or India, in the service of the English Government, resident in Persia, wishes to leave that country, he is to suffer obstruction from no person, but to be at full liberty to do so, and to carry with him his property.

The articles of the treaty between the two States are fixed and determined. That person who turns from God turns from his own soul.

Dated in the month of Rumzaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with the month of January, A.D. 1801.

Seal of	Seal of
Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.	Captain John Malcolm.
(Signed)	JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

Additional Article.

It is further written in sincerity, that on iron, lead, steel, broadcloth, and perpetts, that are exclusively the property of the English Government, no duties whatever shall be taken from the sellers; a duty not exceeding one per cent. to be levied on the purchasers. And the duties, imposts, and customs which are at this period established in Persia and India (on other goods) are to remain fixed, and not to be increased.

The high in rank, Haujee Khulleel Khaun, Malek-oo-Tijaur, is charged and entrusted with the arrangement and settlement of the remaining points relative to commerce.

Seal of	Seal of
Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.	Captain John Malcolm.
(Signed)	JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

Political Treaty.

Translation of a Firmaun from Futteh Ali Shaub, King of Persia, and of an annexed Treaty, concluded by Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Prime Minister, on the part of the King of Persia, by whom he was fully empowered; and by Captain John Malcolm, on the part of the English Government, by virtue of powers delegated to him for that purpose by the Most Noble the Marquis of Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General, &c. &c.

Firmaun.

In the name of the beloved and great God. The earth is the Lord's. Our august commands are issued: That the high in rank, the exalted in station, the great Rulers, Officers and Writers of the ports, sea-coasts, and islands of the provinces of Faur and Khoozistaun, do consider themselves as particularly honored and advanced by the royal favor; and whereas, at this period, the foundations of union and friendship have been cemented, and the habits of amity and intercourse have been increased between the Ministers of the (Persian) State of eternal duration and the Ministers of the high Government of the refulgent sun of the sky of royalty, greatness, and eminence, the Sovereign of the countries of England and India; and, as various engagements and treaties calculated for duration and permanence, and for mutual good understanding, have been contracted, therefore this command from the palace of glory, requiring obedience, has been proclaimed, that you, high in rank, do cheerfully comply, and execute the clear sense and meaning of what has been established. And should ever any persons of the French nation attempt to pass your ports or boundaries, or desire to establish themselves either on the shores or frontiers, you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place; and you are at full liberty and authorised to disgrace and slay them. You are to look upon it as your duty to aid and act in a friendly manner to all traders, merchants, and men of rank of the English nation. All such you are to consider as possessing the favor of the King, and you must act in conformity to

the conditions of the annexed treaty, that has been concluded between the trustworthy of the high State, the bracelet of the graceful Government, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, and the high in rank, Captain John Malcolm. View this as an obligation.

Dated the 12th of Shaubaun, in the year of the Hejree 1215, corresponding with January, A.D. 1801.

Sealed in the usual form on the back of the Firmaun by the following Ministers:

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, Meerza Shaffee, Meerza Reza Kouli, Meerza Assud Pollah, Meerza Rezy, Meerza Ahmud, Meerza Moortiza Kouli, Meerza Fazoollah, Meerza Yoosuf.

Treaty Annexed.

Preamble.

. Praise be unto God, who said, O you who believe, perform your contracts; perform your covenant with God when you enter into covenant with Him, and violate not your engagements after the ratification thereof.

After the voice is raised to the praise and glory of the God of the world, and the brain is perfumed with the scent of the saints and prophets, to whom be health and glory! whose rare perfections are perpetually chanted by birds* of melodious notes, furnished with two, three, and four pair of wings, and to the highest seated in the heavens, for whom good has been predestinated, and the perfume mixed with musk, which scenteth the celestial mansions of those that sing hymns in the ethereal sphere, and to the light of the flame of the Most High, which gives irradiate splendor to the collected view of those who dwell in the heavenly regions, the clear meaning of (the treaty) which has been established on a solid basis is fully explained in this page, and it is fixed as a prescription of law, that in this world of existence and trouble, in the universe of creation and concord there is no action among those of mankind that tends more to the perfection of the human race, or to answer the end of their being and existence, than that of cementing friendship and of establishing

* Metaphorically, angels.

intercourse, communication, and connexion betwixt each other. The image reflected from the mirror of accomplishment is a tree fruitful and abundant, and one that produces good, both now and hereafter. To illustrate the allusions that it has been proper to make, and to explain these metaphors worthy of exposition, at this happy period of auspicious aspect, a treaty has been concluded between the high in dignity, the exalted in station, attended by fortune of great and splendid power, the greatest among the high viziers, in whom confidence is placed, the faithful of the powerful Government, the adorned with greatness, power, glory, splendor, and fortune, Haujee Ibraheem Khaun, on being granted leave and vested with authority from the port of the high King, whose Court is like that of Solomon, the asylum of the world, the sign of the power of God, the jewel in the ring of kings, the ornament in the cheek of eternal empire, the grace of the beauty of sovereignty and royalty, the King of the universe, like Cahermaun the mansion of mercy and justice, the phoenix of good fortune, the eminence of never-fading prosperity, the King powerful as Alexander, who has no equal among the Princes, exalted to majesty by the Heavens in this globe, a shade from the shade of the Most High, a Khoosrow whose saddle is the moon, and whose stirrup is the new moon, a Prince of great rank before whom the sun is concealed.

Arabic Verse.

[Thy benevolence is universally dispensed; everywhere drops are scattered; thy kindness shadows cities; may God fix firm the basis of thy dominion, and may God fix and extend thy power over the servants of the Almighty!]

And the high in dignity, the great and able in power, the adorer of those acquainted with manners, Captain John Malcolm, delegated from the sublime quarter of the high in power (seated on a throne, the asylum of the world, the chief jewel in the crown of royalty and sovereignty, the anchor of the vessel of victory and fortune, the ship on the sea of glory and empire, the blazing sun in the sky of greatness and glory, lord of the countries of England and India, may God strengthen his territories and establish his glory and command upon the seas!) in the manner explained in

his credentials, which are sealed with the seal of the most powerful and most glorious possessing fortune, the origin of rank, splendor, and nobility, the ornament of the world, the completer of the works of mankind, the Governor-General of India.

This treaty between these two great States shall be binding on race after race, and the two Governments must ever, while the world exists, act in conformity to what is now settled.

Article 1st. As long as the sun illuminating the circle of the two great contracting parties shines on their sovereign dominions, and bestows light on the whole world, the beautiful image of excellent union shall remain fixed on the mirror of duration and perpetuity, the thread of shameful enmity and distance shall be cut, conditions of mutual aid and assistance between the two States shall be substituted, and all causes of hatred and hostility shall be banished.

Article 2nd. If the King of the Afghauns should ever show a resolution to invade India, which is subject to the government of the monarch (above mentioned), the Prince of high rank, the King of England, an army overthrowing mountains, furnished with all warlike stores, shall be appointed from the State of the conspicuous and exalted high and fixed in power (the King of Persia), to lay waste and desolate the Afghaun dominions, and every exertion shall be employed to ruin and humble the above-mentioned nation.

Article 3rd. Should it happen that the King of the Afghaun nation ever becomes desirous of opening the gates of peace and friendship with the Government of the King (of Persia), who is in rank like Solomon, in dignity like Jumsheed, the shade of God, who has bestowed his mercy and kindness on the earth, when negotiations are opened for an amicable adjustment it shall be stipulated in the peace concluded that the King of the Afghauns or his armies shall abandon all design of attack on the territories subject to the Government of the King above mentioned, who is worthy of royalty, the King of England.

Article 4th. Should ever any King of the Afghauns, or any person of the French nation, commence war and hostilities with the powerful of the ever-enduring State (of the King of Persia), the Rulers of the Government of the King (of England), whose Court is like heaven, and who has been before mentioned, shall

(on such event) send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors, and such (supply) shall be delivered over at one of the ports of Persia, whose boundaries are conspicuous to the officers of the high in dignity, the King of Persia.

Article 5th. Should it ever happen that an army of the French nation, actuated by design and deceit, attempts to settle, with a view of establishing themselves on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a conjunct force shall be appointed by the two high contracting States, to act in co-operation, and to destroy and put an end to the foundations of their treason. It is a condition, if such event happens, and the conquering troops (of Persia) march, that the officers of the Government of the King (of England), who is powerful as the heavens, and has been before mentioned, shall load, transport, and deliver (for their service) as great a quantity of necessaries, stores, and provisions as they possibly can; and if ever any of the great men of the French nation express a wish or desire to obtain a place of residence or dwelling on any of the islands or shores of the kingdom of Persia, that they may there raise the standard of abode or settlement, such request or representation shall not be consented unto by the high in rank of the State encompassed with justice (the Government of Persia), and leave for their residing in such place shall not be granted.

While time endures, and while the world exists, the contents of this exalted treaty shall remain an admired picture in the mirror of duration and perpetuity, and submission to the fair image on this conspicuous page shall be everlasting.

Seal of

Haujee Ibraheem Khaun.

(Signed)

Seal of

Captain John Malcolm.

JOHN MALCOLM, Envoy.

[The spelling of the names and titles in the above treaties differs from that employed in the text. The orthography in Malcolm's journal has been literally followed.—K.]

THE TREATY WITH SCINDIAH.

(Chapter X., page 243.)

Treaty of Alliance between the Honorable East India Company and the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. Concluded at Boorhampore on the 27th February, 1804.

Treaty of alliance and mutual defence between the Honorable the English East India Company, and the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah Bahadur, and his children, heirs, and successors, settled by Major John Malcolm, on the part of the Honorable Company; and by Bappo Eitul Punt, and Moonshee Kavel Nyn, on the part of the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah. After having communicated to each other their full powers, the said John Malcolm being deputed to the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindiah by Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley; the Hon. Major-General aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from his Excellency the most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, one of his Britannic Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council, appointed by the Honorable Court of Directors of the said Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies.

Whereas, by the blessing of God, the relations of friendship and union have been happily established between the Government of the Honorable Company, and that of the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Scindiah Bahadur, by a recent treaty of peace, the two Governments aforesaid, adverting to the complexion of the times, have now determined, with a view to the preservation of peace and tranquillity, to enter into this treaty of general defensive alliance, for the reciprocal protection of their respective territories, together with those of their several allies and dependents, against unprovoked aggression and encroachments of all or any enemies whatever.

Art. 1. The friendship and union established by the former treaty between the two States, shall be promoted and increased by this treaty, and shall be perpetual; the friends and enemies of either State shall be the friends and enemies of both; and their mutual interests shall henceforward be inseparable.

2. If any person or state whatever shall commit any act of un-

provoked hostility or aggression against either of the contracting parties, and, after due representation, shall refuse to enter into amicable explanation, or shall deny the just satisfaction or indemnity which the contracting parties shall have required, then the contracting parties will proceed to concert and prosecute such further measures as the case shall appear to demand. For the more distinct explanation of the true intent and effect of this article, the Governor-General in Council, in behalf of the Honorable Company, hereby declares, that the British Government will never permit any power or state whatever to commit, with impunity, any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of the Maharajah Dowlut-Rao Scindiah; but will at all times, in compliance with the requisition of the Maharajah, maintain and defend the same, when such requisition is made, in the like manner as the rights and territories of the Honorable Company are now maintained and defended.

3. With a view to fulfil this treaty of mutual defence, the Maharajah agrees to receive, and the Honorable East India Company to furnish, a subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular infantry, with the usual proportion of artillery, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition. This force is to be stationed at such place, near the frontier of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, as may hereafter be deemed most eligible by the British Government; and it will be held in readiness, at such station, to proceed as soon as possible for the execution of any service on which it is liable to be employed by the condition of this treaty.

4. And it is further agreed, that, in conformity to the stipulations of the fifteenth article of the treaty of peace, concluded by Major-General Wellesley, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Bappo Eitul, Moonshee Kavel Nyn, &c., on the part of the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, that all charges and expenses of the six battalions above mentioned, and of their ordnance, artillery, military stores, and equipment, shall be defrayed by the Honorable Company out of the produce of the revenues of the territories ceded by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, to the said Company, by the articles second, third, and fourth of the afore-mentioned treaty of peace, which territories are specified in a statement annexed to that treaty.

5. Grain, and all other articles of consumption, and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary number of cattle, horses, and camels, required for the use of the subsidiary force, shall, whenever the aforesaid force is within the territories of the Maharajah, in consequence of his requisition, be entirely exempt from duties; and whenever any further force of the Honorable Company shall, in consequence of war with any other state, be in the dominions of the Maharajah, they shall, in like manner as the subsidiary force, be exempt from all duties upon the aforesaid articles of necessary use and consumption. And it is also agreed, that, whenever any part of the army of the Maharajah is in the territories of the Honorable Company, for purposes connected with the fulfilment of this treaty, no duties on grain, camels, wearing apparel, &c., as stated above, which the party of the army of the said Maharajah may require, shall be collected; and it is further agreed, that the officers of the respective Governments, while they are in the fulfilment of the articles of this treaty, either with the army, or in the territories of the other, shall be treated with that respect and consideration which is due to their rank and station.

6. The subsidiary force will at all times be ready, on the requisition of the Maharajah, to execute services of importance, such as the care of the person of the Maharajah, his heirs and successors, the protection of the country from attack and invasion, the overawing and chastisement of rebels or excitors of disturbance in the Maharajah's dominions; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions.

7. Whereas it is agreed, in the thirteenth article of the treaty of peace, that the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Seindiah shall never take, or retain in his service, any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power, the Government of which may be at war with Great Britain, or any British subject whatever, European or native of India, without the consent of the British Government; the Maharajah now further engages that he will hereafter never employ in his service, or permit to reside in his dominions, any European or American whatever, without the consent and acquiescence of the British Government; the said British Government on its part engaging that it never will employ, or permit to reside in its dominions, any person, subject of the Ma-

harajah, or others, who shall hereafter be guilty of crimes, or of hostility, against the person or Government of the aforesaid Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah.

8. As, by the present treaty, the union and friendship of the two states is so firmly cemented, that they may be considered as one and the same, the Maharajah engages neither to commence nor to pursue, in future, any negotiation with any principal states or powers, without giving previous notice, and entering into mutual consultation with the Honorable East India Company's Government: and the Honorable Company's Government, on their part, declare that they will have no manner of concern with any of the Maharajah's relations, dependents, military chiefs, or servants, with respect to whom the Maharajah is absolute; and that they will on no occasion ever afford encouragement, support, or protection, to any of the Maharajah's relations, dependents, chiefs, or servants, who may eventually act in opposition to the Maharajah's authority, but on the contrary, at the requisition of the Maharajah, they will aid and assist to punish and reduce all such offenders to obedience; and it is further agreed, that no officer of the Honorable Company shall ever interfere in the internal affairs of the Maharajah's Government.

9. As the chief object and design of the present defensive alliance is the security and protection of the dominions of the contracting parties, and their allies and dependents, from all attack whatsoever, the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah engages never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any state or chief in alliance with the Honorable Company, or against any other principal state or power; and, in the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's Government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall meet with his full approbation and acquiescence.

10. The contracting parties will employ all practicable means of conciliation to prevent the calamity of war, and for that purpose will at all times be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other principal states or powers, and to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the principal powers of India, according to the true spirit and tenor of this treaty. But if a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other state or power whatever, then the Maharajah

Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah Bahadur engages, that the English force, consisting of six battalions, with their guns, &c., joined by a detachment of his army, consisting of six thousand of the Maharajah's infantry, and ten thousand of his Pagah and Sillahdar cavalry, which force the Maharajah engages always to keep ready, shall be immediately put in motion for the purpose of opposing the enemy; and the Maharajah also engages to employ every further effort for the purpose of bringing into the field the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions, with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war. The Honorable Company in the same manner engage, on their part (on such event occurring), to employ in active operations against the enemy as large a force as the service may require, over and above the said subsidiary force.

11. Whenever war shall appear probable, the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah engages to collect as many brinjarries as possible, and to store as much grain as may be practicable in the frontier garrisons. The Company's Government also, with a view to the effectual prosecution of the war, engage to adopt similar measures in their frontier garrisons.

12. The contracting parties entertain no views of conquests or extensions of their respective dominions, nor any intention of proceeding to hostilities against any state or principal power unless in the case of unjust and unprovoked aggression, and after the failure of their joint endeavours to obtain reasonable satisfaction, through the channel of pacific negotiation, according to the tenor of the preceding treaty. If, contrary to the spirit and object of this defensive treaty, war with any state should hereafter appear unavoidable (which God avert), the contracting parties will proceed to adjust the rule of partition of all such advantages and acquisitions as may eventually result from the success of their united arms. It is declared that, in the event of war, and of a consequent partition of conquests between the contracting parties, the shares of each Government shall be equal in the division of any territory which may be acquired by the successful exertion of their united arms, provided that each of the contracting parties shall have fulfilled all the stipulations of this treaty.

13. The interests of the contracting parties being identified this defensive alliance, it is agreed, that the Honorable Com-

pany's Government shall be at liberty to employ the whole, or any part of the subsidiary force established by the treaty, in quelling of any disturbance which may arise within their territories, or in the performance of any other service which may be required by the said Honorable Company's Government, provided such service shall not interfere with any other duties on which the said subsidiary force is liable to be employed, under the conditions of this treaty. And if disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of the Maharajah's dominions which lie contiguous to the frontier of the Honorable Company, and to which it might be inconvenient to detach any proportion of the subsidiary force, the British Government in like manner, if required by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, shall direct such of the Company's troops as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within the Maharajah's dominions; and if disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of the dominions of the British Government which lie contiguous to the frontier of the Maharajah, the Maharajah, if required by the British Government, shall direct such of his troops as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within the dominions of the British Government.

14. In order to strengthen and confirm the friendship established between the two states, it is agreed that neither of the two contracting parties shall enter into any alliance, or have any concern, with the tributaries or chiefs of the other; and in order to support the independent authority of both Governments, it is agreed and declared, that hereafter neither of the contracting parties will give protection or countenance to the rebellious tributaries and subjects of the other, but they will use their utmost endeavours for the apprehension of such rebels, in order that they may be brought to punishment.

15. The Honorable Company agree to exert their influence to maintain the observance of such usages on matters of form, and ceremony, and other customs, as shall appear to have been fixed on all points of intercourse and communication between the Peishwah and his ancestors, and the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah and his ancestors; and the English Government also agree to recognise the right of Dowlut Rao Scindiah to all possessions he holds, whether by written sunnuds or grants, or by the un-

written authority of the Peishwah, according to former usage, provided such sunnuds do not interfere with the faithful fulfilment of the treaty of peace; and provided also, that in all cases where disputes may arise on the subject of possessions held by unwritten authority, the Maharajah Dowlut Rao Scindiah agrees to refer to the sole arbitration of the said British Government, who will decide with reference to former usage, on the principles of truth and justice. The English Government further agrees to use its endeavour to prevent any acts which have been done by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, or his ancestors, under the authority reposed in him or them by the Peishwah or his ancestors, from being subverted, provided their being supported is strictly consistent with the preservation of the honor and dignity of his Highness the Peishwah, and of the stipulations of the treaty of peace.

16. This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, being this day settled by Major Malcolm, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Eitul Punt and Moonshee Kavel Nyn, on the part of Dowlut Rao Scindiah; Major Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian, and Mahratta, and English, signed and sealed by himself, to the said Maharajah, who, on his part, has also delivered one copy of the same, duly executed by himself: and Major Malcolm, by virtue of a special authority given him in that behalf by Major-General the Hon. Arthur Wellesley (himself vested with full powers as before stated), hereby declares the said treaty to be in full force from the date hereof, and engages that a copy of the same, from the Governor-General in Council, in every respect the counterpart of that executed by himself, shall be delivered to the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindiah, in the space of two months and ten days; and on the delivery of such copy, the treaty executed by Major Malcolm shall be returned.

Done at Boorhampore, the twenty-seventh of
February, A. D. 1804, or fourteenth of Zeecada,
A. H. 1218.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY ON THE PEACE WITH SCINDIAH
AND HOLKAR.

[The following are the letters to which reference is made at the close of Chapter XIII. They are all written in the year 1806.]

London, February 25, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I returned from the Continent only a few days ago, and have not yet had leisure to read the Indian papers which have come into my hands, in order to enable me to form an opinion of the state of affairs up to the latest period. I think it probable, however, that you will have peace, and that it may be permanent or otherwise in proportion to our own firmness and the means of the enemy of disturbing our tranquillity. So many principles, however, have been abandoned, or overturned, that we must look for peace from a course of accidental circumstances, and not from the steady adherence to any settled system of policy. I will try to get a living for your brother, but you see that a revolution (commonly called a change) has taken place in the Government of this country. *We* are not actually in opposition, but we have no power, and if I get anything for your brother it must be by the influence of private friendship. I don't think that this Government can last very long. You can have no idea of the disgust created by the harshness of their measures and by the avidity with which they have sought for office, and by the indecency with which they have dismissed every man supposed to have been connected with Pitt. His friends will, I think, remain connected, and will act together as a body, and a most formidable one they will be to any Government, on account of their numbers. I am tolerably well in health, and I shall be quite well if I can contrive to spend a few weeks at Cheltenham this summer. The regiment which they have given me, and the staff, have made me rich. As soon as I shall have read all the Indian papers which I have got, I will sit down and write you a long despatch upon them. In the mean time,

Believe me, yours most sincerely and affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

There is a report about London which I cannot bring myself to

give credit to, that you had been hurt by a horse, and that your leg had, in consequence, been amputated. I was employed for two days tracing this report, and at last I found that you had been bit by a horse in the arm. I only hope not by Sultan.

Hastings, in Sussex, July 31, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I have received your letters up to the 14th of January, for which I return you many thanks. The subjects to which they relate are too large to be discussed in a letter which must go to the post this afternoon, in order to be despatched by the ships which sail in a few days. I shall, therefore, satisfy myself by telling you that I consider you have acted a part entirely consistent with your own character, and in strict conformity with my sentiments, in everything that you have done. The arrangement with Scindiah is precisely that which you and I recommended long before, and which I urged, and I believe was ordered, when I was in Bengal, in the year 1804. I thought, also, at that time, and so did you, that the Rajpoots ought to have been subjected to the control of Scindiah's Government, as the only mode of re-establishing it in the state in which it must exist, if it is to exist at all. This object might with ease and justice have been effected at that time, if the state of Scindiah's Government had permitted it; and I am not sufficiently acquainted with all that has passed between the Rajpoots and our Government since the period of Monson's defeat to be able to decide that we ought not to deliver them over to Scindiah, notwithstanding the favorable change which has taken place in the state and dispositions of his councils.

I regret that it has been necessary to allow Holkar to exist and to be at large. I should be inclined to suspect that he will never allow us to be at peace, and without peace we cannot reduce the debt, which must be the great object at present. However, if it was necessary to allow him to exist, I see but one amendment which could have been made to the treaty with him, that is, to have kept permanently Amber and Chandore in the Deccan, and some place of similar consequence in Hindostan, either in our own hands, or those of our allies, as a perpetual memorial to the whole world that we had defeated him. The powers of India will not

now believe that our moderation alone has occasioned the treaty which has been concluded, and I should not be surprised if it gave ground for a belief the most erroneous, that Holkar's power and his mode of warfare had been more destructive to us than the resources, and the efficiency, and discipline of the armies of the other Mahrattas.

In respect to the necessity of peace with Holkar, no man can be a judge of it who has not been in this country, who has not sat in the House of Commons, and had means of ascertaining the public opinion at its fountain head. I really believe that in the opinion of the majority of people in this country it would have been better to cede the whole of Oude to Holkar, than to continue the war with him.

As for myself, I am here now in the command of a force—stationed on this part of the coast—the old landing-place of William the Conqueror. You will have seen that I am in Parliament, and a most difficult and unpleasant game I have had to play in the present extraordinary state of parties. I have desired Sydenham to send you a copy of a speech which I made upon the Budget. I have seen your brothers Pulteney and Charles, both well. The former is in the *Donegal* off Brest, the other unemployed in London. But Sir Thomas, who I saw likewise, expects to be able to get a ship for Charles soon. God bless you, my dear Malcolm; do not stay too long in India, and believe me,

Ever yours most affectionately,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

Pray remember me most kindly to Wilkes, and all friends at Seringapatam.

Deal, Dec. 10, 1806.

MY DEAR MALCOLM,—I hear that the ships will soon sail from Portsmouth, and I will not allow them to go without a few lines, although I have but little to tell you. I know no more of public news than what you will see in the newspapers, which indeed, in these days, contain everything. You will read with horror the accounts of the French successes against the King of Prussia, but will learn with pleasure that, considering the line of policy which

that Government has adopted for some years, those successes are not likely to do us any material mischief immediately, whatever may be their eventual consequence in relation to our ally the Emperor of Russia. Of the truth of this opinion I am thoroughly convinced, from a personal knowledge of facts, as well as because I know it is entertained by some, for whose judgment I entertain the greatest respect.

As for India, I know but little respecting it. If I had been employed in North America, I might be informed and consulted on the measures to be adopted in India; but as it is, that is out of the question. Lord Minto will sail soon—I believe, early in next month; and General Hewitt, who is appointed Commander-in-Chief, will go with him, or shortly after him. You will find this to be a sensible and good-natured gentleman, and well disposed to carry on his business in the manner which experience has proved to be most suitable to the country. I doubt whether his health or his age will permit him to remain long, or to be very active in the field.

The last letter which I received from you was dated from Cawnpore, in May, I believe, but I sent it to Lord W., who has kept it. You are already acquainted with my opinion generally about your peace with Holkar, and your treaty with Scindiah. I only wish that you had kept anything from the former which might have been held out as a perpetual signal and memorandum to all India that he had been defeated by us, for I am apprehensive that the opinion to which I know all were inclined, that Holkar's system of warfare was the same with the old Mahratta system, that it was the best against us, and that Scindiah was ruined by his adoption of a more regular system, than which nothing can be more erroneous, may occasion another war with a confederacy. I know that we have no danger to apprehend from this war, if we keep up not so much the strength of our armies as our equipments; and if our troops are commanded by officers who know how to make use of them. But I dread the expense, and the effect which the renewal of these wars will have in this country, and I know full well that there are many delicate questions to be settled in the Mahratta Empire, the arrangement of which, in peace, will require all the impression from former victories, all the vigor, all the prudence, and all the temper which

have brought us through our former difficulties. The fault which I find with the peace with Holkar, therefore, is, that it has strengthened an erroneous opinion, which has deprived us of the greatest advantage of our victories, viz., their impression, and that in this manner it will increase the chance of war upon the occasion of the arrangement of every question which remains to be settled in the Mahratta Empire. The want of this impression renders the exercise of a vigorous administration nearly impracticable, excepting in a state of constant preparation for war; which, after all, is nearly as expensive as war itself; and yet I don't see how the Government in India is to be carried on excepting with vigor.

I see no material objection to the treaty with Scindiah; and I believe that I recommended that the treaty of peace should be arranged upon the principles of that treaty, and that a treaty to a similar purport should be concluded with Scindiah when the treaty of peace was arranged differently.

You will have heard with astonishment of Paull's attack upon Lord Wellesley. The impudence of this gentleman in setting himself up for Westminster, has afforded an opportunity of unveiling him to the public, and his character is now well known. Only think of that fellow standing for Westminster, and having him not far from carrying his election! He is not now in Parliament, and I doubt whether he will come in; and if he should not be in the House of Commons, it is not quite clear that anybody will undertake the cause which he will have left. But whether there should be such a person or not, I have some reason to believe that the House will not allow the business to be brought forward again, although, from the state of parties, I am afraid that it will not be got rid of in the manner which would be most agreeable and honorable to Lord Wellesley and his friends. You who know him well, will be aware of the impression which all that has passed upon this subject, and the state of the public mind on Indian subjects generally, have made upon him. I will not pretend to describe it to you in a letter, and I cannot venture to enter into particulars on many subjects on which I should wish to give you information, considering the danger to which letters are exposed on their passage, and the bad consequences which have resulted, and must always result, from the publication of intercepted correspondence.

Your brother is well, and off Brest in the *Donegal*. Charles has got a ship, and is, I believe, still at Plymouth.

Ever, my dear Malcolm, yours most affectionately,

A. W.

Remember me most kindly to Wilkes, Barclay, Symonds, and Piele, and all friends at Seringapatam. Also to Colonel Close, when you write to him.

END OF VOL. I.